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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1907-1908.

EMBRACING

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS; THE CENTENNIAL OF ZEB-
ULON MONTGOMERY PIKE'S VISIT, INCLUDING A REVIEW OF
ONE HUNDRED YEARS UNDER THE FLAG; FIFTIETH AN-
NIVERSARY OF THE FIRST FREE-STATE TERRITORIAL
LEGISLATURE, 1857; ALSO THE FIRST STATE LEG-
ISLATURE, AND THE SESSION OF 1868; THE
DISAPPEARING INDIANS; THE SOLDIERS
OF KANSAS; FLOODS IN THE MIS-
SOURI RIVER; AND INTER-
ESTING PERSONAL
NARRATIVE.

Edited by GEO. W. MARTIN, *Secretary.*

VOL. X.

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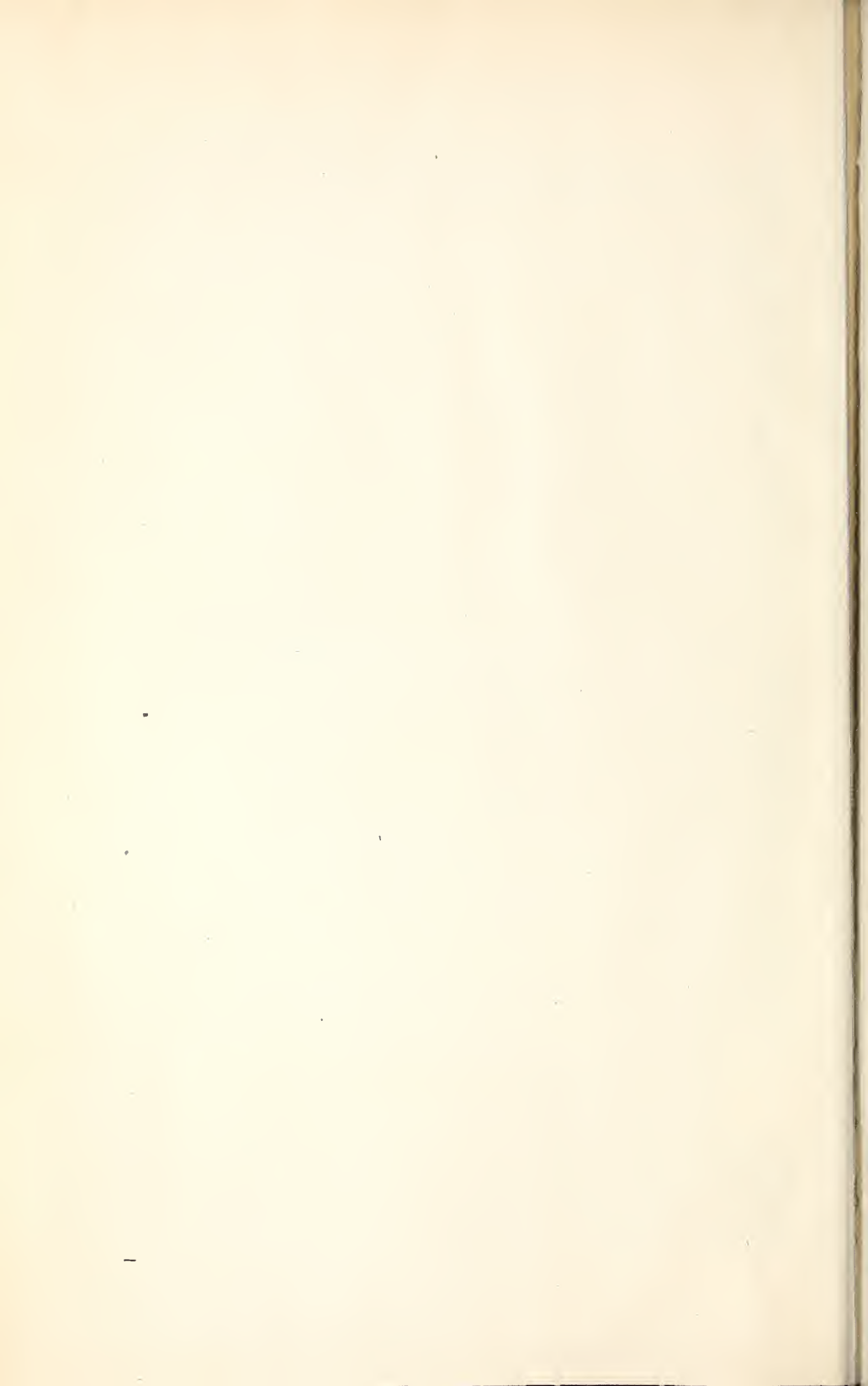
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PREFACE.

THIS book is a disappointment in two directions: First, it exceeds in size what such a book ought to be, and, second, we were unable to include in it all we had designed. There is an absorbing interest about the history of Kansas without limit or abatement. For several years to come there could be issued annually a volume like this, using the materials we now have, and this should be done in justice to all interests and sections. A very competent young lady, who has for four months been doing research work with us in the interest of a contemplated publication, has made a most thorough investigation of our manuscripts, and in a sense has taken an account of stock. In following her work we have been amazed at the facts revealed of Kansas material in our keeping as vital and interesting as any yet given to the public.

A new feature, and one hard to realize, is that one of the difficulties in bringing out volume X was the crowding out of matter by the record of centennial and semi-centennial observances. The fiftieth anniversary of the first free-state territorial legislature opened a period—the last half of 1857 and the first half of 1858—of such interest it was about impossible to find a place to let go the subject. In all American history there has not been another locality or a like period in which so much happened. It was sure to follow that having obtained biographical sketches of the members of the session of 1857, a like effort should be made in behalf of the sessions of 1861 and 1868. To follow up and gather what we have about the scattered and forgotten members of those sessions, involved the writing of three hundred letters. The effort was amply rewarded by finding many who had made distinguished records elsewhere. Occasionally in later years private enterprise has published a biographical directory of a legislative session, but there are still many sessions that would require as much labor to gather up the unknown as was given to the legislatures named. Each session should collate and print carefully prepared sketches of its own members. There is no history more valuable and inter-

esting than the biographies of those who represent the people in places of trust and power.

Volume X covers the beginning of things in Kansas in a sense more completely than ever before. The wonderfully able paper of John B. Dunbar, "The White Man's Foot in Kansas," must assure the students of that period that it was the fertile plains of Kansas to which Coronado and Padilla came. These worthies are no longer myths, but living realities, while the Pawnees with whom they sojourned, connect that visit with the present, and give a continuous thread to the history of our state.

George P. Morehouse, in his admirable paper, has first put together a history of the Kansas Indians, and has given a new source for the charmed name of the state.

The chapter covering the first free-state territorial legislature and the first state legislature throws much light on the difficulties confronting those who gave us organized government. And the papers on the Second Kansas regiment, by Edwin C. Manning, and the Nineteenth Kansas regiment, by James A. Hadley, with other accounts of struggles on the border, show that the difficulties in maintaining the new state were severe and long extended, from 1854 to 1878, the year of the last Indian raid.

Among the papers crowded over to another issue is one entitled, "Early Days on the Old Kansas Pacific," written by John D. Cruise, of Kansas City, Kan., a telegraph operator in that service. Not a line was in existence about the great constructing firm of Shoemaker, Miller & Co., who built that road across the state; but the Society recently obtained from the estate of Col. John B. Anderson, of Manhattan, 600 letters and papers, extending from 1805 to 1897, and among them are about forty statements, bills, and letters concerning the inside workings of Shoemaker, Miller & Co. It was with regret that we found it impossible to do justice to the subject in the space, labor, and time we had at command. We have great love for the sort of history which tells of the construction or advancement of some enterprise, rather than the holding of office and the drawing of a salary.

It will be observed that there is a steady advancement in our volumes towards the west half of the state. There are twelve articles of historical value pertaining to the old-time plains of Kansas. Our membership list also shows a gratifying interest in the work of the Society, with members in Rawlins, Trego and

Hamilton counties. There will never be less interest in the territorial period, but we must enlarge the field to the whole of Kansas. We hope in our next volume to give more space to personal narrative.

There is a constantly increasing demand for the historical collections of the Society from school authorities, teachers, and libraries. These volumes are used in all teachers' institutes. The utmost care is taken to make them correct and authoritative. Every article published is tested by the most thorough research work. It had been our purpose to include in this volume a course of study for the schools, covering the material in the ten full volumes; but Charles A. Shively, A. M., teacher of history at the Western State Normal School, at Hays, has issued a second edition of a very practical little pamphlet entitled: "Outlines in Kansas History," which we think largely answers the purpose.

The material placed in the care of the Society by the act of the legislature of 1905, establishing a Department of Archives, has proved of incalculable benefit in this work. We now have thousands upon thousands of letters and documents from various departments of state, and they are daily referred to. History to-day is becoming a matter of documents almost entirely.

The Society is under great obligations to those interested in this class of work for their splendid services. We are profoundly grateful that such distinguished non-resident scholars and writers as John B. Dunbar, Warren K. Moorehead, William J. Chapman, Rev. Joab Spencer, and James A. Hadley, have honored these pages. It would be impossible to name all upon whom we have called by letter, and to whom we are greatly indebted. The editorial and research work of Miss Zu Adams, Miss Clara V. Francis, and George A. Root, have been painstaking and faithful. There is a fabulous amount of statement of fact, dates, and proper names in this publication. The care and cheerful help of all about the state printing office has been a source of comfort and worthy of unstinted credit.

G. W. M.

I.

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

A RECORD OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Address by the president, COL. HORACE L. MOORE, of Lawrence, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-first annual meeting, December 4, 1906.

SINCE the organization of the Historical Society its chief object has been to gather up the records of the past and cast them in so permanent a form that they would be preserved for the use of future generations. It is the object of this paper to call attention to the necessity of preserving the records of things which occur to-day, and in that way form a basis for the history of families and individuals, which otherwise would be lost forever.

Some four years ago an effort was made to interest the legislature of Kansas in a law intended to effect a more complete registration of births, marriages and deaths in the state. A bill for that purpose was drawn and introduced in the legislature, but the business of electing a United States senator and passing bills carrying comfortable appropriations so overwhelmed in importance the keeping a record of the births of the future citizens of the state, a proper record of the marriages of its youths and maidens—the establishment of the families on which the future of the commonwealth depends—and a record of deaths, that after its introduction the bill was never heard of again.

All this may occur many times more, but the law will come, as it has in the older states, and then the only wonder will be that it did not come long before.

The states bordering on the Atlantic were much more fortunate without adequate legislation than we are, for the custom of keeping records prevailed from the beginning. In the New England states, town records were kept with great care and most conscientiously. In addition to this, the officers of the church kept the vital statistics, a custom which I presume has in recent years been almost entirely abandoned, and the first pastors of churches in the new settlements brought with them the custom of keeping complete records of the births, marriages and deaths occurring in their societies.

Full and absolutely reliable family records kept by the authorities, and preserved as we preserve the records of deeds and mortgages, is the only record that would prove satisfactory to the great-great-grandchildren of the people assembled here to-night. Bibles are sometimes poorly bound, and the best of them being in constant use, as they are in the families of Kansas, will only last for a generation or two. The old family Bible almost always goes to the home of some daughter, and when she is through with it it goes to her daughter, with another change of name.

I have the Bible record of my great-grandfather's family. The Bible is

all gone except the record, which was discovered in the keeping of the fourth generation of female descendants.

Nothing will prove effective except public records kept in accordance with the provisions of a law providing payment for service done and penalties for a failure to perform the duties required.

A comparison of the provisions of our statute with the laws of older states will probably be the most effective way in which to make apparent what is deficient in ours. Our law provides for the appointment by the governor of nine physicians, who shall constitute the State Board of Health, and this board is vested with the power to appoint a secretary. Members of the board receive no compensation for their services, but the secretary may be paid in case the legislature appropriates the money for that purpose.

The board is required to supervise the registration of marriages, births, and deaths, and is required to prepare blanks necessary to procure and preserve the records mentioned and furnish these blanks to the local boards, which consist of the county commissioners of each county and a doctor appointed by them, and called the health officer. He is to receive as compensation for his services whatever the county commissioners see fit to allow him. The law makes it the duty of practicing physicians to report deaths to the local board of health, but provides no compensation for the service. It also requires the township and city assessors to collect information touching births, marriages, and deaths, and report the same to the local board of health.

An amusing incident was given by one of our township assessors who was trying to pick up the information required by the board of health. He found a home where the head of the family had been taken away during the year, and on inquiry as to the cause of his death was informed by his son that it was rheumatism, but the daughter pronounced it lumbago, while the bereaved widow rebuked the children, and informed the assessor that her beloved husband had had the backache more or less all his life, and that was what finally carried him off.

Everybody knows that a report of the cause of a death, to be of any value as an item of vital statistics, should be made by a physician, and in technical language—a language that means one thing, and can mean nothing else.

The most, and I presume all, of our city governments have made a burial permit necessary before an interment can take place, but the statute is silent on this subject, and there are scattered all over the state country cemeteries (there are seven in one township in Douglas county) where interments are being made from time to time without a record of death or a permit from anybody.

To procure a marriage license, proof must be offered that the contracting parties (which proof is an affidavit signed by one of them) are not related within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and that neither one is epileptic, imbecile, feeble-minded, or has been afflicted with insanity.¹ I am not certain but that some people who make this affidavit lay themselves liable to a charge of perjury in denying one or two of these specifications. The probate judge is forbidden to issue a marriage license to a male below the age of twenty-one or a female below the age of eighteen without the

NOTE 1.—Kansas Session Laws, 1903, ch. 220.

consent of the parents or guardian; and with that consent below the age of seventeen and fifteen respectively.²

There is another objection to the form used in Kansas: The parties are not described in a way to make their identification complete. The male may be described as John Doe and the female as Jane Roe; the age of the parties is given, but not their parentage.

In the older states, where experience has taught the necessity for accurate and complete records, they have amended their statutes and are enforcing them with such care that there seems to be little left to be desired.

Take Massachusetts to begin with; and first, the statute in that state specifies the kind of ink that may be used in keeping public records. This is to insure against the fading out that has lost to us many records of the past. As to the births, the Massachusetts law provides that every town clerk shall receive, obtain, record and preserve returns of births, marriages and deaths. The record of a birth shall contain date of record, date of birth, place of birth, name of child, sex, color, the names and birthplaces of parents, including the maiden name of the mother. The births shall be reported by the physician, and he shall receive a fee of twenty-five cents for each birth reported, and a failure to make a report subjects him to a fine of twenty-five dollars. The town clerk receives fifty cents for each record. In Kansas the physician gets nothing.

A record of marriage in Massachusetts must contain date of record, date and place of marriage, name, residence and office of the person who solemnized the marriage; the names and places of birth of the parties married, residence of each, age and color of each, number of marriage, condition—whether single, widowed or divorced (in which event the woman's maiden name shall be given)—the names of the parents, including the maiden names of the mothers. Such a record as this would furnish a complete identification of the parties to the marriage.

A record of deaths shall contain date of the record, date of death, name of the deceased, sex, color, condition (whether single, widowed, married or divorced), supposed age, residence, occupation, place of death, names and places of birth of parents, maiden name of the mother, disease or cause of the death, and place of burial, name of cemetery (if any); and if deceased was married, or a divorced woman or a widow, her maiden name and name of her husband must be given. This furnishes an identification of the deceased which is entirely satisfactory. The statute provides that no undertaker or other person shall bury a human body without he has received a permit from the person appointed to issue such permit, and no person having care of a cemetery or burial-ground shall permit a human body to be buried therein until a permit for such burial has been delivered to him. In the state of Kansas we bury without a permit or a record of death.

In Connecticut the law is very similar. In a report of a birth the medical attendant is required to state, in addition to what is required by the Massachusetts statute, the age and birthplace of the parents and the number of the child. His fee is twenty-five cents for making the report. A certificate of death is somewhat fuller, as follows: It shall contain the date and place of death, including street number (if any) of building, and, if a tenement, the number of families in the house, with parents' full names and birthplaces and the maiden name of the mother. The statute provides that

NOTE 2.—Kansas Session Laws, 1905, ch. 302.

no burial shall take place until a burial permit has been issued stating the place of burial and that the death certificate has been returned and recorded.

The statute of Rhode Island requires the same record of births and authorizes the payment of the same fee. The application for a license to marry contains the same complete identification of the contracting parties as is required by the other statutes quoted. Undertakers are allowed to proceed with the interment of the remains of the deceased person on the certificate of the attending physician, which certificate must be returned immediately to the town clerk.

In New Hampshire the report of birth shall be made to the town clerk within six days. Application for marriage license must contain the full names of the parents, with maiden name of mother, and their birthplaces. The statute provides that no person shall be buried without a permit, which must be returned to the town clerk within six days. The fee for making a report of a birth, marriage or death to the town clerk is twenty-five cents, and fifteen cents to the town clerk for securing, recording and returning the same.

The statute of Vermont seems to be about as lame and impotent as ours. There no returns of births or deaths are required from physicians, but it is made the duty of the clerk of the school board to ascertain annually the births and deaths in his district and report the same to the town clerk. It seems that no burial permit is required.

The statute of Maine (1903) seems to have overdone the matter of reports as much as other states have fallen short. In Maine the physicians are required to make a report of births and deaths, and the law makes it the duty of parents to give notice to the clerk of the city or town of the birth and death of their children. Every householder shall give notice of every birth and death happening in his house, and the eldest person next of kin shall give notice of the death of his kindred. The statute makes it the duty of assessors, when taking annual inventories, to collect and return to the town clerk the births which have occurred within their respective jurisdictions within the year. All this might perhaps result in a duplication of records.

In Ohio the statute requires reports of births and deaths from physicians in counties containing cities of first class (150,000), but in other counties it seems that the statistics are to be gathered by the township assessor, the reports of which are made to the probate judge. The statute empowers the State Board of Health to create a complete and accurate system of registration of births, deaths, marriages and interments for the purpose of legal or genealogical investigation, which, of course, the board has not done, and never will do. Application for marriage license contains a complete identification and also gives the name of the person expected to solemnize the marriage. This last is important, as it records the name of the offender in case the certificate of marriage is not returned to the probate judge. The burial or cremation of a dead body without a permit is prohibited.

I have procured the services of a lawyer to prepare a bill, which I hope to get introduced in the next legislature, but to say that I expect to see it become the law of the land requires an exercise of faith that I confess overreaches my capacity. The Census Bureau at Washington is moving in this matter, and is making an effort to have a uniform law passed in all the states. The pamphlet which the Bureau is distributing contains a form for

a bill with all the necessary blanks, which it seems to me is very full and complete, with the exception that nothing is mentioned touching the facts required in order to procure a marriage license, nor the record of the marriage, which should be preserved. To add another section, similar to the one on this subject contained in the statute of the state of Massachusetts, would accomplish the desired object. This bill is prepared by the Division of Vital Statistics of the Bureau of the Census, and is being distributed by Doctor Wilbur, chief statistician. His bill is prepared to meet the requirements of the physician, who is interested only in vital statistics, but it will serve the purpose of the genealogist equally well.

To the genealogist the generations of the past are not simply so many numerals to be added up that percentages may be figured. It is generally true that the man who boasts of his ancestry has nothing but ancestry to be proud of, and the man who despises an interest in ancestry is the one who has none. Talk as glibly as we please, there is not one among us but would like to know how his great-grandfather bore himself in times of prosperity, and how he carried himself in times of stress and storm. What lessons of patriotism did he teach his children in 1775, while the family was drawn up around the great fireplace of a wintry night? Who is there but would like to know whether his great-grandmother was a blond or brunette? What was the color of her eyes? What number of shoe did she wear, and did she ever dance the minuet? When she got home from meeting, what sort of a roast did she give Parson Moody, who paused in his sermon to remark, "There comes Judge Sewell with his new wife and ungodly strut," when the Judge dropped into meeting a little late.

I have in mind, away in the East, a story-and-a-half house, with the eaves to the road and a lean-to behind. From the front door to the gate were two rows of flowers, one on each side of the walk. There were June roses and hollyhocks, pinks, coxcombs, bouncing Bess and bachelor's-buttons; there were marigolds and gilliflowers, and in the corner a lilac bush. In the garden there were sage and summer savory, dill and caraway. A few years ago I wandered over the old place again, and through all the rooms of the house. The old fireplace was still there, its brick hearth and jambs worn smooth by little feet and little hands, that since those days of long ago have many times been torn and abraded by the thorns that grow by life's pathway. I saw the old fire-shovel, hammered out by the blacksmith that lived at the corners, and the prints of his hammer were as plain on the iron as his name is on the bit of marble that marks his last resting-place. There was the old straight-backed and splint-bottomed chair. The sight of it peopled the house again. I saw the faces of many of those who have since climbed the golden stair. She sat in the chair, her locks almost as white as the cap she wore. Her foot was on the treadle of the little wheel, and the flax on the distaff was running through her fingers onto the spindle to make up the linen of the household. A newly arrived citizen is disturbed in his sleep, and for a moment the wheel stops while she jogs the cradle and hums an old lullaby while he tries to get his fists into his mouth or his eyes. Watch those little hands and take note of the vigorous cry. Who can tell but those hands will be stretched out in benediction over the bowed heads of a great congregation; that the child grown to manhood will teach lessons of morality and love of country. Maybe those lips will grow eloquent over the wrongs that his country is suffering from bad laws

or the bad administration of good ones. Maybe the time will come when his bearded lips will shout commands that will send the armed forces of his state against its enemies and win great victories in the cause of liberty. It does seem as though the state ought to take interest enough in the advent of its citizens, any one of whom may achieve some things that are imagined of this one, to see that a proper record is made of their birth and parentage.

The wheel hums on again, for there is to be a duplication of the household linen. Quilting-frames are in evidence, for a neighbor boy has been taking Mary to spelling-school and singing-school, and now and then to a husking-bee. They have danced money-musk and the Virginia reel together. They have been seen taking slow walks where the road was shaded by the painted leaves of autumn, and he has asked her to go with him and help to make a home of their own. The most important of contracts is to be made. A new family is to be organized.

The preservation of the family is indispensable if we would preserve the republic. It is to this, more than all other causes combined, that we owe our civilization. The state of Kansas has never yet succeeded in keeping an adequate record of this most important contract that its citizens ever enter into.

So the girls go, one after another, to homes of their own, and the boys come back bringing brides with them to be welcomed around the old hearthstone. When Thanksgiving night comes they all come, children and grandchildren, and the old mother and grandmother welcomes and blesses them all, and feels that there cannot be too many. Finally the time comes when they are summoned to the old home, and it is not Thanksgiving. They tread softly and speak low, for there is a dread presence in the house that has never been there before. She blesses them for the last time, and tells them to teach the children to be manly and true; she tells them to teach their children to love their country, and if need be die for it; and, with the assurance that they will see her standing on the other shore to welcome them, this old mother and grandmother falls asleep, for her work is done.

It is to the everlasting disgrace of Kansas that just such women as this are dying every day within our borders, without one word being written to record the time when they ceased from their labors, or the place where their sacred forms are mouldering back to dust.

THE LITTLE ARKANSAS.¹

Address by the president, JAMES R. MEAD, of Wichita, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-second annual meeting, December 6, 1907.

THE central third of Kansas was bountifully provided by nature with rivers and streams of pure running water, bordered by lines of stately trees. No more beautiful or diversified pastoral landscape could be found on the North American continent.

There was no monotony. At short intervals the traveler would find a convenient camping-place in the shelter of tall trees, beside a running stream or spring coming out of a cliff. He could usually supply his larder with fish, turkey, venison or buffalo within a few minutes' walk of camp, while his horses were grazing in the sweet grasses and many-colored flowers which covered valley, hill and prairie alike. As he proceeded on his way he might observe the many forms of animal life grazing on the abundant herbage or basking in the warm sunshine. Occasionally would be seen the stately elk, with his head-dress of immense horns, from two or three old bachelors to bands of several hundred. To vary the landscape were occasional hills of the red Dakota sandstone, or strata of white magnesian limestone cropping out of the river bluffs, broken blocks covering the slopes, quarried ready for use. In another locality would be seen cedar hills crowned with heavy formations of gypsum, which sometimes formed cliffs along the watercourses, while at convenient distances were salt streams, springs or marshes to supply the needs of the animal life, suggesting the sea of rock salt which underlies much of this portion of the state. What more could nature or art do to improve upon this natural park?

I write of the country as I saw and explored it in 1859, and later years; as it then was and had been for untold ages in the past. All of these streams were tributaries of our two great rivers, the Kansas and the Arkansas; appropriate names for the rivers of Kansas. All of these rivers and nearly all of the streams flowed eastward or southeastward towards the morning sun.

These streams had some interesting history before civilized man came upon the scene, and many of them much interesting history since. There should be a local historical society in each county to gather and preserve the tragedies, comedies and romance of the early days.

When the writer roamed over the hills and valleys of the Solomon, Saline and Smoky Hill, from 1859 to 1862, he imagined that the most beautiful country on earth. Then his red brethren warned him of impending wrath soon to come, and thinking of his loved companion and baby boy, he wisely decided to seek a new field of activity toward the sunny South. Here he discovered that the "raging Walnut," as it was called, and the Little Arkansas, were just as beautiful and interesting as the country to the north, and in later years has found that all of Kansas is very good.

NOTE 1.—The following early authorities give some description of the stream and its environment: Lieut. James B. Wilkinson, November 10, 1806, in Coues' reprint of Pike's Expedition, pp. 548, 549; Josiah Gregg, in his *Commerce of the Prairies*, June, 1831, vol. 1, p. 56; Col. P. St. Geo. Cooke, October, 1843, in his *Scenes and Adventures in the Army*, p. 278; Wm. E. Connelley's reprint of Doniphan's Expedition, by Col. John T. Hughes, July 9, 1846, p. 158; Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, July 11, 1853, in *Pacific Railway Survey*, vol. 2, pp. 18, 19.

The Flint Hills, which were once considered utterly worthless, are now the choice natural grazing grounds of the state.

The Little Arkansas was a gem; a ribbon of stately trees winding down to the parent river through a broad, level valley of green, as I first saw it, dotted over with the black bodies of fat, sleek buffalo and an occasional group of antelope or straggling elk, and not a living human soul in all the country now known as Sedgwick county. Such was the Little Arkansas as the writer first saw it from the highlands to the east, overlooking the valley, on a sunny afternoon in June, 1863.

From whom or when the Little Arkansas obtained its name, or why, of all the many tributaries of the big river it should have been given its diminutive, I have not been able to learn.² The earliest explorers of whom I have knowledge called it by that name. This river was the western hunting-ground of the Osage Indians when the first explorers visited them on the Osage river. At that time they had a name which signified it was the young or offspring of the big river. The Arkansas was "Ne Shutsa" (red water); the Little Arkansas river, "Ne Shutsa Shinka" (the young or little red water), associating the two rivers as parent and child.³ Or, perhaps some early explorers or trappers coming down from the mountains, following the almost treeless Arkansas (all trails on Kansas rivers were on the north side), came to the beginning of the continuous body of timber on the big river, ten miles above the junction, and a short distance to the east saw another heavily timbered river, with a V-shaped valley between, and considered the two equally entitled to the name.

The Santa Fe trail crossed the head of the Little Arkansas near its source, where it was a small stream, and there it was known by the same name. The writer's description is intended for the lower portion of the river, in Sedgwick county. The Little Arkansas was the dividing line between the plains proper, the range of the wild Indians, and the country to the east, the home of the reservation Indians, and was near the eastern limit of the main range of the buffalo at the time of which I write. It was the dividing line between the limestone formations, with their black, heavy, waxy soil, and the sandy, loamy soil to the west. It was the western limit of the oak in this part of the state, some fine oak timber growing in the wooded bends near its mouth, and was the last heavily timbered stream in Kansas as the traveler proceeded directly west, and south of the big river.

In Sedgwick county it lies under the sixth principal meridian, which divides the state of Kansas. Commencing at this meridian, the ranges are Nos. 1 to 25 to the eastern boundary, and Nos. 1 to 43 to the western boundary. It is about the eastern limit of the Cretaceous formation.

Its pure waters were fed by springs issuing from the sheet of sand and gravel underlying the valley, and abounded in fish and mollusks. Of the latter, *Unio purpuratus* grew to maximum size and beauty, while *Unio arkansensis* was first found here and named from the stream. Beavers made their home in its banks as late as 1878.

NOTE 2.—The earliest allusion to the anglicized name which I have found is in Jacob Fowler's "Journal," October 9, 1821, page 16, where, being on the west branch of the Walnut, about eight miles above its mouth, he remarks, the Osage "Indians say it is about two days' travel to the little Arkansas."

NOTE 3.—The name "Ne Shutsa Shinka (water, red, little). I learned from the Osages, not from books. They called the big river "Ne Shutsa" (water, red). "Shinka" means "child," "young animal," or the young of anything.—J. R. MEAD.

About six miles above the junction was the western terminus of the great Osage trail from the Neosho and Verdegris to the Little Arkansas, evidently long in use, from the deep gullies washed in the trails on the slopes of the hills. Hunters and traders followed the trail and came to the little river at the same gravel ford.

The country beyond to the south and southwest was almost unknown, and none ventured very far in that direction, both hunters and Osages being in fear of the wild Indians referred to by the Osages as "Paducas," who they said were as plenty as the grass, somewhere to the west. No one on the southwestern frontier knew of such a river as Medicine Lodge or Salt Fork, or of there being timber in that direction.

Of the history of the Little Arkansas prior to 1860 but little is known. In Du Pratz's map of Louisiana, published in 1757, in which the course of the Arkansas is properly laid down, at the junction of the two rivers is marked "A Gold Mine." In 1836, Jesse Chisholm guided a party from Arkansas, in search of this mine or of buried treasure, to the mouth of the Little Arkansas. There is a tradition that long ago a party from New Mexico, descending the river in boats, were surrounded by Indians in the night at this point, and after a siege of several days were all killed but one, who escaped, after he had buried their gold and silver. Recently parties dug for two years in search of this treasure. Whether found or not, this valley has proven to be a gold mine to the industrious agriculturist.

This was the favorite hunting-ground of the Little Osages, who usually came out in June and again in September, under their chief, Mint-sho-shin-ka (Little Bear), and No-po-wal-la, second chief.⁴ They camped along the Little Arkansas in the timber and made their lodges of rows of green poles set in the ground about eight feet apart, bent over and tied together, forming an arch about six feet high; other poles would be lashed to the sides with willow withes, and all covered with dry buffalo skins, forming very comfortable houses, ten, twenty or more feet in length.

Buffaloes were here in endless numbers, except in the winter months, when they, along with the other countless herds from the north, moved off southwest to their vast winter home, western Oklahoma and Texas, the Pecos river and the Gulf, which they had abandoned in the summer for the cooler uplands of the north, leaving the grass to grow undisturbed for use on their return. Some wintered in the broken hills of Medicine Lodge and along the Salt Fork, as they did in the hills of the Solomon and Saline. The last buffalo seen on the Gulf were two bulls killed on a peninsula below Corpus Christi, in the winter of 1868.

The Osage (Wa Sashes),⁵ Wichita and plains Indians used the bow and arrow in killing buffalo. I have witnessed a run which left the prairie strewn with dead cows for ten miles, and it was pitiful to see the little red calves gather on the slight elevations, looking for their mothers to come back to them.

Of the first attempts to settle on the little river, I have learned that in 1857 a party of men came from Coffey county, Kansas, for the purpose of hunting and trading. Of these, Moxley and Ed Moseley built a trading-

NOTE 4.—These two names appear in Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 881, as "Me-too-shin-ca," and "No-pa-wah-la."

NOTE 5.—Isaac McCoy, in the first number of his "Annual Register of Indian Affairs," 1835, p. 16, says the name is "Wos-sosh-e; o as in not, accent the second syllable."

house at the Osage crossing and engaged in trading with the Osages. C. C. Arnold, Bob Juracken and others went up the big river a few miles and built a cabin, and it is said broke up some ground, and undertook to make a fortune catching buffalo calves for the eastern market. Moxley was drowned not long afterwards fording the river at Lawrence. Moseley returned to Humboldt, and their trading-house was burned. Arnold and his associates left for Butler county, and soon no trace of their occupation remained. These parties were hunters and traders and could hardly be classed as settlers. But in 1860 came John Ross, with his wife and two children and a hired man, equipped with tools and utensils for farming and housekeeping. He built a comfortable cabin, stables, etc., about three miles beyond the Osage crossing, on a high bank of the big river, broke up some ground and planted a crop. All went well with him until, in the fall, he, with his man and team, went for a load of meat a few miles across the river, in the direction of Cow Skin Grove. They did not return. A party of horsemen from the Walnut came out, and after a long search found Ross's body, nothing more. How he came to his death is not known; probably killed by Indians. His man and horses were never found. The body was buried on the bank of the river and a mound of stone placed over it. His fate was that of many of the pioneers, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. His family returned East, and the two Arkansas rivers reverted to their original solitude.

When, in June, 1863, the writer, with two men, visited this valley on a three weeks' hunting and exploring trip, and camped in the Ross cabin the first night, there was not another human being in what is now Sedgwick county, nor another vestige of human habitation, as we learned by driving all over it. But of animal life there was plenty. Close by the Ross cabin the writer killed sixteen buffaloes and a big-horned elk within an hour. Yet some time in the dim ages of the past a people had lived here, for the flood-tide of the Arkansas, in cutting into the natural strata of the valley, disclosed a pottery vessel of good workmanship, five feet below the surface—made perhaps by the Lansing man's wife. The valley here was above high water.

In the fall of 1863 came the affiliated bands comprising the Wichita Indians.⁶ They made their village on the little river near its junction, in the timber, some 1500 of them. They flourished on buffalo meat and the fine gardens of corn, beans, squash and melons they raised the next summer. They built cone-shaped houses of poles, thatched with grass, ten to twenty-five feet in diameter, fifteen to twenty feet high, very comfortable and durable. They were a kind, gentle, honest people. At the same time there came from the south camps of Kickapoos, Shawnees, Delawares,⁷ and others, who settled on the Walnut and White Water. These Indians were the friends of all the wild Indians of the plains, and so long as they

NOTE 6.—The Handbook of American Indians, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1907, contains a history of the Caddoan family, to which the Wichitas belong. For an extended sketch of the sojourn of these Indians in Kansas see Mr. Mead's article in volume VIII, Kansas Historical Collections, p. 171.

NOTE 7.—"The Kickapoos I mentioned lived in the Indian Territory or Texas, were kinfolks and friends of the Kickapoos in Old Mexico. At the close of the civil war, or about the fall of 1866, they outfitted at my place and all left for Old Mexico, directly across the country. They knew the country well, and were the finest body of Indians I ever met—brave, honorable, noble; expert hunters. There were not over thirty men with families. Their lodges were models of neatness and comfort. The Shawnees and Delawares I mentioned also lived in the Indian Territory before the civil war, and returned there."—J. R. MEAD, 1908.

remained the southwestern frontier was safe from hostile attack. With these Indians as guides we traveled all the plains in safety, and visited the wild tribes and thoroughly explored the country of the Cimarron, Canadian and Washita, the winter home of the wild tribes. These rivers some years later were stated by military men to be an unknown country, when the fact was that some of us knew that country well as early as 1864, and visited the wild tribes in their winter camps with teams and wagons for the purposes of trade, and came and went at all times, winter or summer, without difficulty, loss or hardship.

There were pretty lively times along the Little Arkansas after the Wichitas came. The Osages were here part of the time. Parties of Kaw Indians occasionally came. The plains Indians came here visiting their friends, the Wichitas. The writer met here Black Kettle, the Cheyenne chief who was killed at the Washita fight; Satanta, the great war chief of the Comanches, and Heap of Bears, the great medicine-man and warrior of the Arapahoes. Col. J. H. Leavenworth was sent to this point by the government to arrange with the wild Indians for a treaty of peace, as we could communicate with them at all times, and to him in a large measure should be given the credit for the success of the treaty of 1865.

The most influential man among these Indians was Jesse Chisholm, a Cherokee who was beloved of all the Indians. He, in his younger days, had bought captive Mexican children from the Comanches and raised them as members of his family. They were entirely devoted to him, became expert in all the lore of the plains, and were excellent guides and interpreters, as they could speak or understand all languages of the plains, including the sign language which was in universal use. Of these most faithful and devoted men, I remember the names of Jackson, Caboon and Yonitob. They were very handy to have along when we ran into a war party of Indians, strangers to us, as happened the writer a number of times. Chisholm laid out the trail bearing his name, from the Little Arkansas south to the North Fork of the Canadian, and the stream running through Wichita was named for him, as he was the first person to build a house on it.

The treaty of the Little Arkansas was held on the east bank of the Little Arkansas, about six miles above its mouth, in the middle of October, 1865. The commissioners on the part of the United States were William S. Harney, Kit Carson, John B. Sanborn, William W. Bent, Jesse H. Leavenworth, Thomas Murphy, and James Steel. The Indians were represented by Moke-ta-ve-to (Black Kettle), Oh-to-ah-ne-so-to-wheo (Seven Bulls), Oh-has-tee (Little Raven), Oh-hah-mah-hah (Storm), and other chiefs and head men on the part of the Indians.

The Indians, several hundred in number, camped along the river, on either side, as did the one or two companies of soldiers who were present. The Wichita, Waco, Caddo, Ioneye, Towakony, Kechi, and other Indians, some 1500 in number, were living here at the time, and were scattered along down the river to the junction. They had cultivated extensive gardens, and had scaffolds covered with sliced pumpkins, beans and corn drying for winter use, with plenty of melons in their gardens, which were a feast to visiting brethren.

Kit Carson came down the Arkansas river from New Mexico with an officer's ambulance and army wagons, with teamsters, cook, and an escort of six soldiers, and was well equipped with tents, provisions, etc. Colonel

Bent came down from his fort on the big river up towards the mountains. General Harney and Kit Carson were the most noted persons present. The former, a noted Indian fighter and athlete, was as slim as our former senior senator, six feet four in his moccasins, his luxuriant hair as white as snow. He was a famous story-teller. Kit Carson was his opposite in everything but fighting qualities. He was short-legged, standing, I should think, about five feet five or six, stoutly built, short arms, round body, ruddy face, red eyes with rays running from the pupils like the spokes in a wheel, his silky, flaxen hair reaching almost to his shoulders. He was a man of fierce, determined countenance. With a kind, reticent and unassuming disposition, he combined the courage and tenacity of a bulldog. His prominent characteristic seemed to be instant decision and action. Carson and Bent were much together. The latter was a famous Indian trader, dark, almost, as an Indian, with jet-black hair and eyes. By invitation I camped with Carson while the treaty was in progress and heard from his lips some of his adventures on the plains and mountains.

Carson died at Fort Lyon; Colonel Bent at Westport, Mo., I believe, and General Harney in Louisiana. Black Kettle was killed by Custer's men in the battle of the Washita, and most of the other participants in the treaty, both white and Indian, have long since gone to their long home.

All kinds of rumors were floating about during the progress of the treaty and there was considerable uncertainty and anxiety as to its success. The Indians were friendly, but very independent and indifferent, and reluctant to relinquish their rights to all of their country north of the Arkansas, and much of that to the southwest. They justified their depredations and cruelties by the wanton slaughter of their women and children by white men at Sand creek a year before.

While the treaty was in progress a rumor came that a party of Indians coming down from the north to the treaty had been attacked by soldiers on the Santa Fe trail, and thirteen of them killed. At once the camp was in an uproar. A runner came into the tent, where I was sitting with Carson and Charley Rath, and told of the rumor. Instantly Carson said, emphatically, "I don't believe a word of it; those Indians could not possibly have been there at that time," and turning to me said, "If that rumor is true the treaty is gone to hell. I had six soldiers coming down, and would need a hundred going back."

I asked him about some of his adventures of former years, of which I had read in the papers. He replied, "Some of these newspaper fellows know a damn sight more about my affairs than I do." The origin of one story he told as follows: "When I was a young man I was going out to Santa Fe with a pack-train of mules. We camped at Pawnee Rock and were all asleep in our blankets in the grass when a party of Indians rode over us in the dark, yelling to stampede our stock. I jumped up and fired my rifle in the direction they had gone, and shot one of my best mules through the heart."

About rattlesnake bites on man or animals, he said: "I cut the bite open and flash powder in it three times and it is all right. One of my men was once bitten on the hand by a big rattler. I cut it open, flashed powder in it three times, and that afternoon he killed and scalped two Injuns."

The next year, 1866, Grierson and Custer, with the famous Seventh cavalry, were stationed at the Santa Fe crossing on the Little Arkansas,

where there was a stone corral, and built a log stockade. The crossing was a noted place on the trail, as running water was always present and timber for fuel abundant, as well as fine grass for grazing. In 1867 a detachment of Fifth United States infantry, under command of Col. Thos. F. Barr, was stationed near the mouth of the river, by the Indian village, where Wichita now stands. These troops brought the cholera with them, and many Indians and about a dozen settlers of Butler county died, including one of the writer's household.⁸

The cholera spread all over the plains. As the Wichita Indians were returning to their former homes on the Washita, in the fall of 1867, so many of them died that at one creek they were unable to bury their dead, and we gave the name of Skeleton creek to that stream.

In the summer of 1867, the Indians were said to be on the war-path, but we traveled over the plains as usual, unmolested.

Why a company of infantry should be sent to this point we were never able to learn. In the previous years we had been coming and going over these plains with no protection whatever, and all had been peace and quiet in this part of the state. A company of infantry would not have been effective beyond a half-mile of their camp. None but well-mounted horsemen, trained to plains life, could have protected an extended frontier.

General Sheridan came out and organized a winter campaign in October, 1868. The Nineteenth Kansas cavalry was ordered to proceed across the country to the junction of Beaver creek and the North Fork of the Canadian, *via* Camp Beecher, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas. The writer, by chance, met the command going into camp on the South Fork of the Cottonwood; a splendid body of men and horses, under an able and honored commander, whom I well knew, and was invited into his tent. On asking the colonel where he was going, he replied that he was not allowed to say, but from inquiries he made as to the country beyond I soon learned his destination. I then said: "Colonel, you cannot get through that country at this season of the year unless you know just where to go; it is exceedingly broken and difficult." I asked to see his guides. He sent an orderly out who brought in two young men, neither of whom I had seen before. I knew they were never in that part of the country or I should have known them. They were absolutely ignorant of the country they were attempting to guide a regiment through. One of them was Jack Stillwell, who knew the country north of the Arkansas well enough. They soon went out. When I told the colonel that he never would get through with those men as guides, and offered to furnish him guides who knew the country, as for several years we had sent teams over the same route in winter and summer, trading with the Comanches, who wintered in the vicinity of his destination, our outfits always returning safely, the colonel replied in language too forcible to repeat that Sheridan had furnished him these guides, and they had to take him through; that he had no authority or money to employ other guides.

The command reached Camp Beecher, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas, on the 12th of November. From there to Camp Supply, their destination, was about 160 miles by our route. For ninety miles, to the junction of

NOTE 8.—Among those who died of cholera in the fall of 1867, in Butler county, was Sam Carter, my faithful clerk and all-round useful man. He died at my house at Towanda. Sam Fulton, Doc. Shirley, of the Washita, who happened to be at my house, and myself worked over him all night, then, after his death, washed and dressed the body and next day buried him, reading the burial service.—J. R. MEAD, 1908.

Medicine Lodge and Salt Fork, there was a plain trail over a level country; Camp Supply was three days' march beyond, over a good route if one knew where to go. It was a six-day trip from the Little Arkansas to Camp Supply; a good horseman could ride it in three days, with ease. The command left Camp Beecher November 14 and reached Camp Supply November 28. It should have made the trip in six days and arrived safely at the destination two days before the terrible snow-storm of the afternoon of the 22d, which came near destroying the command and caused untold suffering and loss. My only apology for writing of this stupendous blunder is that it is properly a part of the history of the Little Arkansas.

The writer is not one of those who believe that only dead Indians are good Indians. During the five years' residence of the Wichita Indians on the Little Arkansas I knew of but one crime committed in the country. Jack Lawton, in charge of my trading-post between the rivers, was killed by a renegade white man. In the first five or six years after the Indians had left, and the country was open for settlement, I have a record of some twenty men who came to a sudden and violent death. Most of these were no special loss to the country.

In the summer and fall of 1867 white horse-thieves were engaged in running off the Indians' horses, going in the direction of Fall river and the Cottonwood. In retaliation, just before their departure, the Wichitas took some horses from those rivers.

With the survey of the country in 1867, and its opening to settlement, there drifted into the country some of the most vicious and lawless characters to be found in the West. Very soon we found it was necessary to lock our doors at night and take indoors any loose property we might have; something we were unaccustomed to do during the Indian occupation. Prohibition prevailed, in fact, as well as in name, on the Little Arkansas until the white man came.

Briefly, I have written something of the freedom, beauty and chivalry of the country as it was, and the fascination of those times and scenes lingers in my mind like the memory of pleasant dreams; but gone are the Indians, the bison, and the beaver, and in their haunts along the little river are the gardens, fields, orchards, homes, cities and villages of thousands of prosperous people.

It is my prayer that in the happy hunting-grounds of the Great Spirit I may again meet some of my faithful friends of those early days, both red and white.

II.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS UNDER THE FLAG.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT PIKE'S PAWNEE VILLAGE.

ON the 14th of May, 1906, the people of Republic City held a public meeting, under the auspices of the Pawnee Historical Society, and unanimously resolved to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the visit of Lieut. Zebulon Montgomery Pike to their neighborhood in the fall of 1806. It was further determined to have a four days' celebration, September 26 to 29, 1906; that Wednesday, the 26th, be Woman's day; Thursday, the 27th, Historical day; Friday, the 28th, Grand Army day; and Saturday, the 29th, Pike's day. The following committee on finance was agreed upon by the meeting: H. H. Smith and M. C. Polley, Republic City; A. W. Vale, Webster; O. H. Durand, N. H. Angle, Elizabeth A. Johnson, Republic City; and Thomas Charles, of Belleville. This committee was authorized to give Kansas, for her first centennial, a demonstration as nearly equal as possible to the event which happened at the Pawnee village September 29, 1806.

After the meeting the aforesaid committee appointed other committees, as follows:

General Arrangements: N. H. Angle, H. H. Smith, T. J. Charles, J. W. Ambrose, E. D. Haney, A. B. Evans, W. S. Lower, and S. Eddy.

Music: Mrs. Eva Moore, Dr. D. E. Foristall, Mrs. J. W. Ambrose, and H. E. Clark.

A variety of entertainment features were provided. Four batteries of United States artillery were sent from Fort Riley, and an elaborate program arranged. Everything was in perfect readiness on the opening day. The park, underneath the hill upon which stands the monument, was amply provided with booths, platforms, and seats. The weather for the four days was ideal, and the attendance large, culminating, on Saturday, the 29th, with an enormous crowd. The village site and park is two miles from the nearest railroad, at Republic city, and is accessible only by wagon travel. Several bands from neighboring towns were in attendance.

Wednesday, the 26th, Woman's day, was in charge of Mrs. J. D. McFarland, president of the Woman's Kansas Day Club. The ceremonies opened with "A Woman's Greeting," by Mrs. E. W. Hoch. Mrs. Noble L. Prentis spoke in behalf of the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Charles E. Adams, of Superior, Neb., ex-president of the National Woman's Relief Corps, spoke on "Good Citizenship"; Mrs. Albert H. Horton, of Topeka, representing Mrs. Donald McLean, president general, spoke of the "Daughters of the American Revolution." In the afternoon, Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe,

of Topeka, represented the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. Eva M. Murphy, of Goodland, the Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Mrs. Cora G. Lewis, of Kinsley, the Woman's Kansas Day Club, in an address, "A Romance Century." Mrs. Elma B. Dalton, of Winfield, spoke in behalf of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic. These papers exhibited the progress and accomplishments of women during the one hundred years under the flag.

September 27, Historical day, the following addresses were given: "The White Man's Foot in Kansas," written by Prof. John B. Dunbar, of Bloomfield, N. J., and read by Mrs. Cora G. Lewis, of Kinsley; "The Pawnees, As I Knew Them," by James R. Mead, of Wichita, read by M. C. Polley, member of the legislature from Republic county; "Characters and Incidents of the Plains," by William E. Connelley, of Topeka, read by Mrs. Elma B. Dalton, of Winfield; and "The First Two Years of Kansas," an address by Geo. W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society. Rev. Dr. J. A. Sutton closed the exercises of the day with an able address on "Providence in History."

Capt. Patrick H. Coney, department commander of Kansas, was president of the day September 28. "The Grand Army of the Republic, Its Attainments and Its Mission," was the subject of an address by Captain Coney. Capt. Charles E. Adams, of Superior, Neb., ex-department commander of that state, next spoke on "Patriotism"; and Hon. W. A. Calderhead, member of Congress from the fifth district, closed the day with a stirring address.

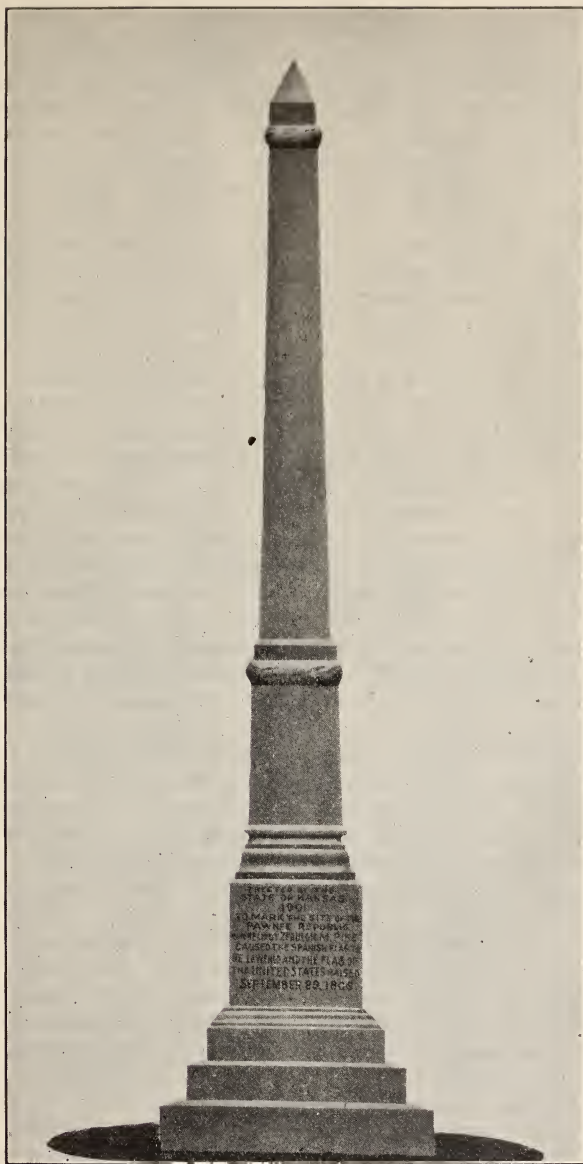
By order of State Supt. I. L. Dayhoff, every public school in Kansas devoted an hour this Friday afternoon to the story of "Pike and the Flag"—the 300,000 school children of Kansas acting in unison with the services at Pawnee village.

Saturday, the 29th, was the real anniversary of the incident which occurred at the Pawnee village September 29, 1806, as related by Lieutenant Pike: "After a silence of some time an old man arose, went to the door, took down the Spanish flag, brought it, and laid it at my feet; he then received the American flag, and elevated it on the staff which had lately borne the standard of his Catholic majesty. This gave great satisfaction to the Osage and Kans, both of whom decidedly avow themselves to be under American protection."

The people of the surrounding country for miles, even across the line into Nebraska, seemed to have quit business for the day, and passed into the grove until there was scarcely room to contain them. Wagons, carriages, guns and horses were so thick that inextricable confusion would have resulted but for the creditable management of the local committees.

Gov. E. W. Hoch made an address on "This Country of Ours." Gomer T. Davies gave an account of the neighborhood efforts to establish the location of the village; and Hon. Chester I. Long, United States senator, arrived in time from Colorado Springs, where he made the principal address at a like celebration on the 27th, to make an address on the subject of "Kansas." Colorado celebrated from the 23d to the 29th of September.

Several exhibition drills were given by the Second, Twenty-second and Thirty-fifth batteries of artillery, under command of Captain Mott. On Pike's day the flag was raised over the village site with military honors, and a short address was made by Governor Hoch.



Erected by the State of Kansas,
1901,
To mark the site of the Pawnee Republic, where
LIEUT. ZEBULON M. PIKE
caused the Spanish flag to be lowered
and the flag of the United States to be raised,
September 29, 1806.

After the close of Senator Long's speech, George W. Martin, Secretary of the State Historical Society, spoke as follows:

The Woman's Kansas Day Club was organized to fill a long felt want. For many years we have had a Kansas Day Club, that is, an organization for celebrating the 29th of January, the day Kansas was admitted into the Union. But that is a Republican partisan organization, limited to men who, in addition to assuming vast credit, discuss party policies, and put up a job or two, or perhaps three; anyhow, always absolutely selfish. A couple of years ago some women, who thought they had as much interest in the natal day of our state as the men, concluded to organize along patriotic lines solely. Their purpose is to cultivate state pride among women, and at the same time as far as possible secure due credit for their sisters in the wonderful history-making peculiar to Kansas. At their first meeting they presented to the State Historical Society a very rich painting of Sara T. D. Robinson, the widow of the first governor of the state, still living. They resolved that their work for this year should be some assistance to this delightful success, the celebration of Pike's visit to Republic county, and an acknowledgment of the first act of United States sovereignty over Kansas and Colorado asserted by him on yonder hill. So we have here with us from all parts of the state eighteen or twenty members of this woman's organization. Besides assisting here, this body caused meetings to be held yesterday afternoon in 5000 school districts of Kansas, where the story of Pike and the flag in Republic county was told to more than a quarter of a million children. Can you grasp what that means? While the Grand Army from this platform was giving patriotic lessons, the entire population of the state was acting in unison with you. Could anything be more inspiring or serviceable? The women have struck the key-note of patriotism and usefulness.

Most people have a funny idea of history. They think it comes from governors, senators, politicians, and those who obtain some notoriety. They are off. It comes from you folks who work on the farms. True, there must be leaders and bosses, but if you stop for a season or two raising corn and alfalfa and wheat, the leaders and bosses will have to walk out. The greater part of history is made by the daily toilers—people in the humbler walks of life.

The State Historical Society, as compared with similar institutions, has a remarkable collection, and is doing a remarkable work. There are from 100 to 200 visitors roaming through the corridors of the state-house every day. Many of them are travelers and sightseers from other states. I talk with a great many of them. They tell stories about men whose pictures are on the wall, and they ask many questions. On the walls, among the portraits of many eminent characters in Kansas history, we have a life-size photograph of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson. The question is universally asked, "Why is that woman here among these governors and other distinguished men?" I have repeated the story probably a thousand times in the past five or six years, that Mrs. Johnson is the wife of a farmer in Republic county; that she spent years in searching for the village site where Lieutenant Pike caused this change of flags, with only 22 American soldiers amid 1400 Indians, and 350 Spanish cavalymen lurking around in the neighborhood; that she bought the land to keep it from being plowed up; that she presented it to the state; that she induced the legislature to spend \$3000 in

marking the site. I have told this to eastern women, who didn't have the slightest idea that any such thing ever occurred on these prairies, and they stood before me absolutely thrilled. A farmer's wife to do this, out in the country, with farms only surrounding it; and not in some elegant city park? I believe they thought more of this act than that of twenty soldiers. They universally responded, "Surely this woman is entitled to a place in a historical collection." I could name a score or more of men, on the same walls, who all combined have not done as much entitling them to a place there.

Now is it any wonder that our sisters of the Woman's Kansas Day Club are so interested in the Pike celebration, and that they want the record made complete in the adoption of a resolution acknowledging faint credit for one to whom much credit is due. Representing the State Historical Society, which will preserve a full account of this splendid occasion, I now call upon Mrs. Lewis.

Mrs. J. M. Lewis, jr., offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The supreme glory of the state is the sacred spot where the flag is first exalted in the name of our country; therefore, we believe the site of the Pawnee village, being the spot where Lieutenant Pike first raised the stars and stripes in our state, should be held in reverence in the hearts of every loyal Kansan; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the people assembled to commemorate the first centennial anniversary of the removal of the Spanish flag from the soil of the United States, hereby express to Mr. and Mrs. George Johnson our sincere appreciation and loving gratitude for preserving for us and our children the place where our beloved flag was first raised. We believe that the lowering of the flag of one nation and the establishment of the sovereignty of another, in the name of peace and without bloodshed, to be one of the things that consecrates our state and lights the way to the universal peace which is the hope of Christian civilization. Therefore, Mr. and Mrs. George Johnson have given us the most sacred spot on Kansas soil, the site of the Pawnee village, now marked by the state with a granite monument in honor of Zebulon M. Pike; therefore, be it further

Resolved, That it is our privilege on this memorable occasion to publicly tender to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson the tribute of our love and gratitude.¹

MRS. J. M. LEWIS, JR., Kinsley, *Chairman*.

MRS. E. W. HOCH, Marion.

MR. GEO. W. MARTIN, Topeka.

Governor Hoch moved the adoption of the resolutions, and United States Senator Long seconded the motion.

The resolutions were adopted by a rising vote of the large assembly.

NOTE 1.—At the close of the anniversary, Saturday evening, the 29th, Mrs. Johnson gave her house party of forty guests a banquet, with Mrs. Cora G. Lewis as toastmistress. Addresses were made by Senator Long, Governor Hoch, and Captain Mott, of the regular army. At the meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club, January 29, 1907, the ladies constituting the guests of Mrs. Johnson for the week made Mrs. Johnson a gift of a gold badge, George W. Martin making the presentation address as follows:

"My sympathies are very strongly with the Woman's Kansas Day Club, because you observe the natal day of the state along proper lines—patriotism and history. There is one fact I will repeat and emphasize on all occasions, and that is, that women are not properly recognized in the history of Kansas. Looking through the *Annals of Kansas* the other day for something else, my eyes hit the following, concerning the days of 1856: 'The women of Kansas suffered more than the men, and were not less heroic. Their names are not known; they were not elected to office; they had none of the exciting delights of an active outdoor life on these attractive prairies; they endured in silence; they took care of the home, and of the sick; if home they brought her warrior dead, she nor swooned, nor uttered sigh.'"

"Now, Mrs. Johnson, you are not arraigned before this interesting assembly as a horrible

A PEACE DANCE FOREVER.

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., September 25, 1906.

Geo. W. Martin, Secretary of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND—I have your notice of “the one hundredth anniversary of the unfurling of the American flag on Kansas soil,” etc., and fully intended to be with you at “Pawnee village” on the 29th inst., to celebrate my seventy-eighth birthday and pursuit of Pawnees through the country more than fifty-six years ago—June, 1850, but I am sorry to say that my health will not permit me to make the journey.

Of the Pawnees then living it is safe to say that all, through their devious ways, have landed upon the “happy hunting-grounds,” where the white man has ceased from troubling and the weary warriors are at rest.

Of the pursuing party, so far as I know, I am the only one left, and if in the final wind-up I find my comrades in as safe a haven as the Pawnees hoped for we will have a peace dance that shall last forever.

I sincerely hope that during the celebration you may be blessed with such an Indian summer as can be found nowhere outside of Kansas, and that every man, woman and child may thank God that his or her lot has been cast within the charmed circle.

If Lieutenant Pike could have known how near the heart of the best of earth he was planting his flag, and the wonderful people and institutions that were to grow up around it, he should have been a happy man.

With best wishes for all that you and the celebration represent,

I am, sincerely your friend,

P. G. LOWE.

specimen of territorial or pioneer woe. Your innate disposition to be clever and helpful, your broad acres, pleasant and hospitable home, and splendid companion (male, of course) who shares with you, give us to know that you have always had a good time. We are not here, however, to celebrate the good times you have had; but we do sincerely and joyously desire to celebrate the good times you have given others. I have been to your home six times in the past five years, in the interest of an historical task—caused and consummated by yourself. There is no necessity on this occasion to repeat the story of your connection with the Pawnee village and Lieutenant Pike's appearance with the flag in Republic county. You are almost solely responsible for one of the most interesting chapters in Kansas history. Twice in the year 1901, July 4 and September 29, you authorized me to invite forty guests to your home, and each time you entertained over thirty in the most royal manner. Again, in 1906, when the one hundredth anniversary of Pike's flag raising reached us you authorized me to invite fifty to be your guests for a week. You had over thirty with you for five days. Everything was as free as water from the time we left the train until we returned to the train for home, and your watchfulness for the comfort of all was beyond any words of mine to state. And the four days of patriotism, oratory and artillery closed with a banquet at your house Saturday evening, September 29, equal to the Waldorf, and for happy and solid talk, and smart and good-looking women, was never equaled anywhere.

The story of the flag in Kansas will speak strongly and enthusiastically of the duty you performed in the interest of the public and of the history of your state, but the friends who enjoyed your hospitality would be unspeakably indifferent or selfish if they did not by some token show appreciation of the delightful time your heart and hands gave them.

Accordingly, in behalf of the ladies constituting your house party September 24 to 30, 1906, I hand you a golden badge, so designed that it is not only a token of appreciation and love, but a souvenir of historical significance, closely allied with the most precious incident following the transfer of the Louisiana territory by France to the United States.”

House party at Mrs. George Johnson's, September 29, 1906: Mrs. Albert H. Horton, Mrs. Lee Monroe, Mrs. Eva M. Murphy, Mrs. Anna Dick Rodgers, Mrs. Josephine Martin, Mrs. E. W. Hoch, Mrs. Noble L. Prentiss, Mrs. C. B. Brittin, Mrs. Elma B. Dalton, Mrs. A. A. Adams, Mrs. Sarah L. Felt, Mrs. James D. McFarland, Mr. George W. Martin, Mrs. James M. Lewis, jr., Mr. Luther M. Nellis, Capt. Charles E. Adams, Col. P. H. Coney, Gov. E. W. Hoch, Senator Chester I. Long, Capt. Thos. B. Mott (U. S. Artillery), Ralph H. Faxon, Jesse S. Leach, Miss Zu Adams.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 24, 1906.

1644 Newton street, N. W.

Geo. W. Martin, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society, Pawnee, Kan.:

MY DEAR MR. MARTIN—I am in receipt of the program of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the unfurling of the American flag on Kansas soil, and I enclose a tribute to the state from one of her children.

Yours very sincerely, JOSEPH STEWART.

SONG OF KANSAS.

By JOSEPH STEWART.

Kansas, thou state whose story blends
Heroic deeds with peaceful ends,
Whose birth was Freedom's glad acclaim,
Whose deeds were done in her fair name,
Oppressed with strife 'tween friend and foe,
Attained the stars through years of woe;
O Land of Story, unto thee
Clings all thy children's memory!

Land of the ever-shining sun!
Thy fame rests not on battles won
Where men contend in deadly strife
For victory exchanged for life.
Such triumphs grace the school-boy's theme.
More lasting didst thou lay the beam
On which the structure of thy fame
Was reared to thy beloved name.

The Star of Empire in its way
Bestowed on thee its brightest ray;
And progress found within thy state
Conditions for achievement great;
Built cities on thy vasty plain;
Changed flowering lands to fields of grain;
Inspired thy children with the aim
To make for thee a deathless name.

No walls of prejudice or caste
Enclose thy realm, and direct past
Thy gates the step of those who come
To seek within thy state a home.
No privilege or right secured
To one, that's not to all assured.
No burdens cast on any one,
Except the hazards all must run.

Thy main of sighing grassy seas,
O'erswept by fresh'ning perfumed breeze,
Extends to distant hills that rise
And break like waves on shores of skies

With which the wild-flowers' mild tints blend,
 Where one begins and the other ends.
 'Neath cloudless skies, 'mid scenes like these,
 Doth inspiration come to men.

The glory of thy sunset skies,
 When stars rush out and daylight dies,
 Thy days intense, thy nights serene,
 Thy storms through which the hot sun gleams;
 To all these charms I trace the spell
 By which you hold your sons so well,
 While round their hearth your lavish hand
 Spreads bounties of a prosperous land.

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

By J. W. OZIAS, Company H, Twentieth Kansas,
 United States Volunteers, Lawrence, Kan.

Our Flag! to Liberty our country's guide,
 Forever lead on patriot millions tried!
 Glorious Standard, forever wave!
 Emblem of the sov'reign brave,
 Thy shadow dishonor debars,
 Thy wid'ning stripes and blazing stars,
 They thrill me with thy glory and renown!
 Thou art Freedom's anchor and Liberty's crown.
 Ever float, champion of the noble free,
 Benignly o'er land and sea!
 Beacon to every land oppressed,
 'Till right is right and wrong redressed,
 Thy folds be forever unfurled—
 Freemen Ensign to all the world!

THE PAWNEE REPUBLIC.

By A. B. WARNER.

Tread lightly to-day, for the dust of your feet
 Is the tomb where a nation lies sleeping;
 The cold blast of winter and summer's soft breeze
 Together their vigils are keeping.

No monument o'er them to crumble to dust,
 Unmarked as the realms of the fairy;
 These children of nature, how sweetly they rest,
 Embalmed in the green of the prairie.

A blast from the tempest swept over the scene;
 The nymphs of the vale have a story;
 They stand at the portal of nations and plead
 For a people entitled to glory.

The fierce battle-ax and the torch of the foe
Were the doors to this climax of horror;
The sun in its glory set peaceful and calm,
But rose sullen and black on the morrow.

The voice of the infant was cruelly hushed,
It perished beside its dead mother;
The maiden arrayed in her bridal costume
Died in the cold arms of her lover.

You ask of the warrior, and where could he be,
'Mid the flame and the carnage and rattle;
Surprised and outnumbered, a hero was he,
As he fell in the front of the battle.

Old Father Time, with his sickle so keen,
Sweeps down the tall oak and the heather;
And nations unborn with the nations that be
Shall mingle their ashes together.

The voice of each mortal shall cease to be heard,
And palsied the arm of the giant;
And kings with their kingdoms shall lie in the dust,
And the tongue be no longer defiant.

These toilings for gain and for honor we see,
Ambition's loud claim for preferment;
The bustle and turmoil and strivings that be,
Be unknown in the place of interment.

The prince and his palace, the serf and his hut,
Shall mingle their ashes together;
From dust and to dust again is the decree,
And not a leaf missed from the heather.

And, at the last page of the records of time,
When the nations from slumber shall rally,
Then the Pawnee Republic shall shine as she stood
In her pride overlooking the valley.

A WOMAN'S GREETING.

By MRS. GOV. E. W. HOCH, at Pike's Pawnee Village, September 26, 1906.

I AM glad indeed to be with you here to-day, not because I have any good thing to offer, for I am not a public speaker, but because I love to see a people whose hearts are full of and overflowing with patriotism and love of country. There is something about this country of ours, this land of the free and home of the brave, which makes our hearts glow with pride, and causes us to breathe a prayer of thankfulness that our lot has been cast in beloved America. Doubly glad should we Kansans be that it is ours to live right in the center of this country, right up against the beating heart of the nation. Love of state is akin to love of nation. Indeed, it is a pulsing part of it, and happily Kansas pride is based not alone upon its marvelous ma-

terial resources and possibilities, but upon its splendid place in history, upon its thrilling historic achievements. Among these things of heroic history stands the incident we have met to commemorate; an incident from which the rounded century has taken no luster, but to which it has added new radiance. To my mind the taking down of the Spanish flag and the raising of the beautiful stars and stripes on this spot, the hundredth anniversary of which we have met here to-day to commemorate, was one of the most heroic and patriotic acts recorded in human history.

Think of a young man, with not more than 20 officers and soldiers, meeting in council 500 savage warriors with the Spanish flag floating over them; and in spite of the fact that all around him and his little party there were thousands of Indians, who wore the war paint and carried the tomahawk, ready at the least provocation to give the war whoop, and yet, in the face of all this, this young American had the courage to ask, yes, demand, that the Spanish flag be lowered and be replaced with the star-spangled banner. I imagine that this young man stretched himself just a little bit taller, and his heart beat just a little bit faster, when that old Indian warrior took from that pole the Spanish emblem and raised in its stead the stars and stripes. It seems to me I can hear the song of praise as it swelled in the young man's breast.

"The star spangled banner, O long may it wave,
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

To the woman heart this is a happy and proud hour. And this celebration is to us of peculiar significance, because of the fact that it was an intelligent, enterprising, pioneer Kansas woman who discovered this historic spot and made the perpetuation of this thrilling incident in Kansas history possible in this definite and tangible manner.

This marble shaft will forever stand not only as a memorial of Pike and his immortal act, but also as a monument to the memory of this thoughtful, persistent, plucky, pioneer Kansas woman, Mrs. George Johnson, whose presence here to-day gladdens all our hearts and glorifies this occasion.

She it was who first furnished positive proof as to the exact location of the Pawnee village where the flag incident occurred, who contributed to the state the land upon which this monument stands, and whose perseverance, like the perseverance of other saints, finally triumphed in the legislative appropriation which resulted in the erection of this beautiful monument.

We pay grateful homage to-day to the heroes of this occasion—to Zebulon M. Pike and his gallant band. We salute with affection the heroine of this hour, our sister Johnson. But, friends, all our hearts go out in love and devotion to the real king and queen of this occasion, our precious symbol of liberty, our dear old flag, Old Glory!

"Old Glory! say, who,
By the ships and the crew,
And the long, blended ranks of the Gray and the Blue,—
Who gave you, Old Glory, the name that you bear
With such pride everywhere,
As you cast yourself free to the rapturous air,
And leap out full length, as we're wanting you to?—
Who gave you that name, with the ring of the same,
And the honor and fame so becoming to you?

Your stripes stroked in ripples of white and of red,
With your stars at their glittering best overhead—
By day or by night
Their delightfulest light
Laughing down from their little square heaven of blue!
Who gave you the name of Old Glory—say, who—
Who gave you the name of Old Glory?

“The old banner lifted, and faltering then
In vague lips and whispers fell silent again.

“Old Glory,—speak out!—we are asking about
How you happened to ‘favor’ a name, so to say,
That sounds so familiar and careless and gay,
As we cheer it, and shout in our wild, breezy way—
We—the crowd, every man of us, calling you that—
We, Tom, Dick, and Harry, each swinging his hat
And hurrahing ‘Old Glory!’ like you were our kin,
When—Lord!—we all know we’re as common as sin!
And yet it just seems like you humor us all
And waft us your thanks, as we hail you and fall
Into line, with you over us, waving us on
Where our glorified, sanctified betters have gone.
And this is the reason we’re wanting to know
(And we’re wanting it so!
Where our own fathers went we are willing to go)
Who gave you the name of Old Glory—O-ho!—
Who gave you the name of Old Glory?

“The old flag unfurled with a billowy thrill
For an instant; then wistfully sighed and was still.

“Old Glory: the story we’re wanting to hear
Is what the plain facts of your christening were,—
For your name—just to hear it,
Repeat it, and cheer it, ’s a tang to the spirit
As salt as a tear:
And seeing you fly, and the boys marching by,
There ’s a shout in the throat and a blur in the eye,
And an aching to live for you always—or die,
If, dying, we still keep you waving on high.
And so, by our love
For you, floating above,
And the scars of all wars and the sorrows thereof,
Who gave you the name of Old Glory, and why
Are we thrilled at the name of Old Glory?

“Then the old banner leaped, like a sail in the blast,
And fluttered an audible answer at last.

“And it spake, with a shake of the voice, and it said:
‘By the driven snow-white and the living blood-red
Of my bars, and their heaven of stars overhead—

By the symbol conjoined of them all, skyward cast,
As I float from the steeple, or flap at the mast,
Or droop o'er the sod where the long grasses nod,—
My name is as old as the Glory of God.
 . . . So I came by the name of Old Glory.'''

—James Whitcomb Riley.

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Address by MRS. ALBERT H. HORTON, of Topeka, at Pike's Pawnee village, September 26, 1906.

IT was said by one of the ancient and inspired writers, in his complaint of the unsatisfactory nature of all worldly affairs, "There is no new thing under the sun." But there are some old truths which will bear repeating many times and still have power to stir our hearts afresh and incite us to greater efforts in all that will make us nobler men and women and better citizens of this grand republic.

Liberty, patriotism, loyalty, are words with which most of us have been familiar since the days of childhood; and perhaps we sometimes feel that Fourth of July orations and Washington's birthday speeches are a trifle monotonous for this day and generation. The tragedies of one hundred and thirty years ago may have faded into insignificance beside those of the later national strife, and the heroes of 1776 may have been, in a measure, supplanted by those of 1861; but in the hearts of all loyal Americans the heroic deeds of the patriot fathers and mothers will be forever cherished in loving and grateful remembrance.

It was for love of liberty that the Pilgrim fathers crossed the sea and fought cold and hunger and savage men; and it was for love of home and country that, a century and a half later, their descendants freely shed their blood to preserve to us the priceless boon of freedom.

The spirit of '76 resisted taxation by England, poured the contents of her tea chests into Boston harbor and sent Paul Revere upon his famous ride. It spoke from the rifles of the American soldiery at Lexington and Bunker Hill, and the ragged and destitute Continental army was doing its bidding when our soldiers left their bloody footprints on the snow at Valley Forge.

The same spirit led the "boys in blue" through years of hardship in camp and field, to meet death by shot and shell or wasting disease, that all men might be free.

We still scatter flowers upon the graves of the heroes of the civil war, and while we thus honor them let us not forget the heroes and heroines of the Revolution, for there were brave and noble women as well as men in those days, who patiently bore danger and privation—their portion of the great sacrifice. Indeed, they did more; they labored incessantly, not only at the spinning-wheel and the loom, but they tilled the soil and gathered the harvests; they cared for the children and the home, and, if need be, could mold the bullets and use the rifle. They bravely welcomed home the victors when the long struggle was over, while mourning for those who would come no more.

We have but meager accounts of the home life in those far-away times, but during the years immediately preceding the Revolution, when the colonists

were becoming restless under the continued persecution of England, who can doubt that those patriotic mothers taught their children by the fireside that spirit of independence and inspired them with that love of liberty which in later years bore fruit, when all who could bear arms were summoned to the defense of that which they held so dear?

"She has seven sons in the rebel army," was the excuse made by a British officer for allowing the home of a poor widow to be burned and her farm to be plundered.

The American women of to-day are doing their full share of the world's best work; and while times and circumstances have changed they are just as loyal to the principles of truth and justice and just as patriotic as were the women of the Revolution. The latter accomplished their mission and passed on. We are in the midst of the conflict and we cannot afford to be less faithful to the tasks set before us than were our foremothers. It is for us, then, to instil into the minds of our children the great principles of liberty and patriotism, to encourage them to preserve the history of all that is best for our national life, and especially that of our own state; and to love and honor the dear old flag and all it means to us and to them, and to protect it from foes abroad and from desecration at home.

And it was for these purposes that the society of the Daughters of the American Revolution was first proposed, the object of the society being stated in their constitution as follows:

"1. To perpetuate the memory of the spirit of the men and women who achieved American independence, by the acquisition and protection of historical spots and the erection of monuments; by the encouragement of historical research in relation to the Revolution and the publication of its results; by the preservation of documents and relics, and of the records of the individual services of revolutionary soldiers and patriots, and by the promotion of celebrations of all patriotic anniversaries.

"To carry out the injunction of Washington in his farewell address to the American people, 'To promote as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge,' thus developing an enlightened public opinion, and affording young and old such advantages as shall develop in them the largest capacity for performing the duties of American citizens.

"3. To cherish, maintain and extend the institutions of American freedom, to foster true patriotism and love of country, and to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty."

The national society, to which we all belong through our local chapters, was organized in Washington, D. C., October 11, 1890, the wife of President Benjamin Harrison being elected the first president general.

Since then the organization has grown marvelously, now having a membership of over 45,000 women, with divisions or chapters in nearly every state in the Union.

The results of the combined efforts of these thousands of women toward preserving the historic landmarks and records of the Revolution would fill volumes, but we have not time to-day to enter upon the details of this work.

However, I must speak briefly of their greatest undertaking, the building of Continental Hall in the city of Washington. This magnificent building is intended as a perpetual memorial to the men and women of the Revolution, and there will be deposited the most valuable relics and records belonging to the society; and there, also, will be held all their meetings.

This hall will cost \$400,000, including \$50,000 paid for lots, the money be-

ing contributed by the different chapters and by individuals who are interested in the object for which it is designed.

The first chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Kansas was organized in Topeka, in January, 1896, and named the Topeka chapter. There are now nine chapters in the state, with a membership of several hundred patriotic women.

We have a state organization also, composed of the local chapters, and this is auxiliary to the national society. We meet annually to report what each chapter has been doing and to formulate plans for future work. These meetings are interesting and profitable and serve to stimulate our patriotism, and we become each year more enthusiastic in regard to the history of Kansas and her pioneer men and women.

Of course, being so far removed from the scenes of the Revolution we cannot do much in the way of marking the many interesting spots in that part of our country, but we do strive to carry out the design and spirit of the national society by aiding in the preservation of that which is most worthy and important in our own state.

The Topeka chapter has placed a tablet with suitable inscription in the sidewalk in front of old "Constitution Hall" where that document famous in Kansas annals, and known as the Topeka constitution, was framed. It was also from that old hall that the legislature of 1856 was dispersed by government troops sent by order of President Franklin Pierce.

A tablet has also been placed in the wall of the handsome brick building now standing upon the site of the first log cabin erected in Topeka; and prizes have been given to the pupils of the Topeka high school for the best essays upon the old Santa Fe trail and the Indian tribes of Kansas. Other chapters in the state have been just as busy, and could make excellent reports of what they have accomplished.

No doubt every one here has heard something about the old Santa Fe trail, that great highway through the state along which passed for more than fifty years the traffic from Missouri and the East to the great Southwest. A history of the trail was written several years ago by Col. Henry Inman, but the romance that still lingers about it, and the tragedies of the fifty and more years of its use can never be fully told. The memory of them is slowly vanishing like the trail itself, all vestige of which will soon be obliterated unless some method is used to preserve it.

In view of that fact it was suggested by our former state regent, Mrs. A. H. Thompson, now deceased, that the Daughters of the American Revolution undertake to mark this old highway in some suitable manner; so that all traces of it should not be entirely lost. This proposition was received with enthusiasm and we are now trying to preserve that famous landmark from oblivion. But it will cost more money to do this efficiently than one society felt able to furnish, and as we were sure that all patriotic Kansans would be glad to assist in the good work, we appealed to the last legislature for financial aid, which we received in the form of \$1000 to be used toward the completion of this plan.

Mr. Dayhoff, state superintendent of public instruction, became interested in the scheme, and notified the teachers of the public schools of the state to prepare an historical program to be given on a certain day last spring. The pupils of the higher grades were asked to write essays upon historical topics, and prizes were given for the best ones. The school children were asked to

contribute one penny each toward the fund for marking the trail, the object of this being not so much for the purpose of raising money as to interest the pupils in Kansas history. However, we realized several hundred dollars from the children's donations, and they can have the satisfaction of knowing that they are aiding in the preservation of Kansas' most historic highway.

The trail is to be marked by the placing of red granite boulders at intervals along the way, and more especially where it is crossed by roads now in use and at other well-known important points. These boulders will bear appropriate inscriptions cut deeply into the solid rock, and will be permanent reminders of the romantic history of the old thoroughfare.

The Topeka chapter has already provided a boulder as a memorial to Mrs. Thompson, and it will be placed in the town of Burlingame where the trail passed through or across one of its streets. Other chapters are marking historic points also, and we are hoping that friends outside our society will assist in the good work. It has been suggested that some of the counties or towns through which the trail passes might become interested enough to undertake to place these markers along the trail within their boundaries.

I could tell you of much more that this society has done, and still more that it hopes to do, but I will not trespass on your time and patience longer to-day.

It seems eminently fitting that the Daughters of the American Revolution should assist in the first centennial celebration in Kansas, not only because we belong to a patriotic society, but because it was a woman who first conceived the idea of preserving this spot from oblivion, and whose untiring efforts created an interest which has resulted in the erection of a beautiful monument upon the site of the old Pawnee village and the assembling here to-day of so many patriotic Kansans.

We are proud of the enterprise and perseverance of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, and congratulate her most heartily upon her success. We thank her and the Pawnee Historical Society for the opportunity to aid in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the unfurling of the stars and stripes for the first time on Kansas soil, and for the privilege of joining you in paying this well-merited honor to the memory of brave Zebulon M. Pike.

SOME WOMAN SUFFRAGE HISTORY.

Address by MRS. LILLA DAY MONROE, of Topeka, at Pike's Pawnee village,
September 26, 1906.

BEFORE entering upon this history, I think it is my right to establish some sort of a comradeship between myself and the gentlemen present by telling them just how it happens that I was chosen to make them miserable. I belong to a club which is something like the Mafia. Our president has a little story that she tells; then she draws the moral for us. It is to the effect that when a victim is selected there is no escape, no demurring; nothing but death excuses. Suicide would not clear the record; it would still stand that the victim had shirked. I was a victim as well as yourselves. No woman wants to talk on woman suffrage to a man. It is inevitable that the man should feel aggrieved. He is hurt by inference, if not by actual indictment. You will go away feeling that I have said unpleasant things, and my committee that handed me the topic will not be able to help me bear the burden of your displeasure.

I know just what some of you said before you came: "Do I have to go there to that woman meeting and sit and be scolded at because I am a man?"

Now, I want to assure you that you were never in your lives more mistaken. You haven't done anything. You are not arraigned. You are not the men I am going to mention when I must mention men. I am going to say a few things, perhaps, about some other men, but they are purely abstract men; possibly some of your ancestors, but I think not. You are not even accessories after the fact, unless you choose to be, because these conditions are, have been, and will continue so long as women do not object. So, if you please, I wish you would take this backward journey with me, in happy unconsciousness of the fact that any men are under indictment, for they are abstract and lived very many years ago, and I shall say we, and that will mean all of us.

Once upon a time, in a dry-goods store in the Hoosier state, I witnessed a little scene that burned itself into my memory, although I was but a girl, and I have never yet been able to eradicate the impression it made. A countryman and his wife were standing by the counter and she asked for some money. "How much do you want?" "I guess a dollar will do, I want to get some things." "What things?" "Oh, some gingham for the children, some aprons."

They were standing so near I could not help hearing all the dialogue, which ran out to considerable length, when finally he took out a dollar and she reached for it. By that time the man knew that he had an audience, for the people present were interested to know whether she would get the money. So, in the spirit of mischief he held to the dollar and would not let her have it, taunting her with her inability to get it from him. Her eyes, as well as my own, filled with tears, when she saw that she was being held up to ridicule, and she turned away to leave him. He, however, called her back, and with a great show of generosity and magnanimity gave her twenty-five cents, so that we could all know of it.

That is the man who will be mentioned, for, while I hope he has long since joined the silent majority, his shade still clutches that dollar, which has come to mean, to my mind, universal suffrage. He has not met the wants of the poor little beggar at all by handing her out the pitiful little twenty-five cents' worth of municipal suffrage. She knows, just as you and I know, that she could meet the needs of her family better if she had the whole dollar, for that would get her more gingham, in the shape of consideration from the officers, whom she cannot now reach with her twenty-five cents' worth of influence at the polls. And that shade now twits her with: "I thought you were going to do so much when you could vote. *You* voted at the city election; why don't you clean things up?" And the shade of that mischievous ghost holds on with a death grip to the handle of his dollar broom, and the little beggar looks with humiliation and despair at the little twenty-five-cent straw that she holds in her hand while the filth accumulates in the Augean stables. Now please, Madam President, this is all abstract and mixed metaphor, as it happened over in Indiana.

Seventy years ago, when Florence Nightingale, Dorothy Dix, Mary A. Livermore, Clara Barton, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and their kindred spirits were in pinafores, women voted nowhere in America. They voted over in benighted Russia on home issues, but we

are only considering highly civilized countries now. I want you to notice how the God of human progress is working out our salvation. Woman for hundreds of years had been just as loyal, just as patriotic as men, but because they stayed at home and let men go to the war, their sacrifices for their country and firesides went without saying. The man took his choice and went to war. I asked a soldier: "Which would you rather, fight in the front ranks, or let your wife go and you remain at home with the children?" Note his answer: "Fight; a hundred times over! Why, I stayed at home one night with them, and one got mad at me because I interfered with her play, and threw a fork at me."

But seriously, let me ask you: Is it not infinitely easier to go out into the action and do things than to be held at home by ties that cut to the quick because you must not sever them?

But the world did n't see this till we had the whole of the argument in. We had soldiers in the form of Florence Nightingale, Dorothy Dix, Mary A. Livermore, Mother Bickerdyke, and other women who were just as fearless as any man in the ranks. They faced insidious gossip, that is more penetrating than bullets, disease or exposure, but they scored their point for women, and a wave of public approval swept over the world.

Balzac said: "Empire began with the sword and ended with the inkstand." Women were to be given a taste of the inkstand empire. School suffrage was tendered them in Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, New Hampshire, Oregon, and Massachusetts; municipal suffrage in England, West Australia, and South Australia, between the years 1869 and 1871. We did not hear the old question then, "Can a woman fight?" She could and did. By the way, that argument is always saved for times of peace anyway. Kansas gave woman limited suffrage in '61,¹ after Kentucky had given her widows school suffrage, and even then it was not handed to us on a silver salver, as it was in Kentucky, and as it has been in old conservative Louisiana. No, the poor little beggar was here in the shape of Mrs. Clarinda I. Howard Nichols and others begging for the dollar, pleading for the family's sake, but we only got one point. It was a little better than the twenty-five cents' worth of suffrage in Kentucky, but you will pardon our heart-sick friends if it looked like thirty cents to them.

Why New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage in '67, Scotland in '81, New Zealand and New Brunswick in '86, and Kansas, after a pitched battle with prejudice, grudgingly handed it over in '87,² twenty-two years after woman had been granted full suffrage in Wyoming. In the same year, Montana, as is the custom of those extreme western fellows, raised the lid, and woman might vote on any question submitted to the taxpayer if she herself was a taxpayer.

Even the granting of school suffrage has been marked with bitter battles all along the course of its progress, and, while many of the states have passed such measures, poor old Pennsylvania does not give the women a voice in anything; yet we remember how the women were begged to assist

NOTE 1.—School suffrage in country districts.

NOTE 2.—The legislature of 1887 enacted chapter 230, providing, "That in any election hereafter held in any city of the first, second or third class for the election of city or school officers, or for the purpose of authorizing the issuance of any bonds for school purposes, the right of any citizen to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex; and women may vote at such elections the same as men, under like restrictions and qualifications; and any woman possessing the qualifications of a voter under this act shall also be eligible to any such city or school office."

the men in the last campaign against gang rule and for law and order in Philadelphia. They saved the day, too. But their time is coming, for New York so far unbent in 1901 as to give women suffrage in townships where money was to be raised by bond or assessment, the proposition to be voted upon.

The details of the progress of universal enfranchisement are not pleasant to dwell upon. They are humiliating and distressing in the extreme. It is the same old scene with the woman holding out her hand for the favor and the man holding it back, while he taunts and ridicules her because she wants something which he is not inclined to give her. I think, and I am sorry to think it, that the foreign countries have had so much less of that exhibition than has America with all our boasted chivalry and refinement.

After Colorado had granted full suffrage in 1893, South Australia in 1895, Utah and Idaho in 1896, some of the best women in the state of Kansas came before the legislature and asked for presidential suffrage, after they had been defeated for an amendment to the constitution; and the bitterness of the struggle, the fight against the measure, was not equaled by any contest (save and except the contest in the last legislature over the same question), notwithstanding the fact that those women had almost 26,000 petitioners behind them. It was the only question that drew some of the statesmen from their every-day amusements. But the contest at every trial changes aspect a little.

One day the American woman said to herself: "I will get it in time. What need for me to go rushing about the country making confusion and discord? I will get all I need as time goes by." But the new conditions have been against her. She sat at home in her fancied security till she now finds that, instead of being allowed to come into her own without hiring a lawyer to take care of her case, judgment has been rendered against her in all social and civic courts. A battlement is raised against her in the shape of negro franchise,³ foreign franchise,⁴ intemperance and vice of all kinds. And these barriers become every day more insurmountable. When Elizabeth Cady Stanton said "woman is man's enemy in this contest," she did not mean to convey any idea of hatred or of malice. She meant that, unfortunately for herself, woman was on the other side of the controversy; and because she is many men will do small, underhanded things against her that they would scorn to do in a fight against each other. Few men have the temerity to be as honest as one of the legislators of 1893. He was asked to give his ballot for the suffrage bill. "No!" he said, and looked squarely at his petitioner. "Would you mind telling me why you are opposed to it?" she asked him, as gently and patiently as could be. "I haven't any reason. I am constitutionally opposed to it, and that's all." She was not yet satisfied, because his daughter was drawing state money on a slightly padded pay-roll, so she pressed the point a little further. "Will you please tell me what argument you have against it?" "Haven't any; don't need none. I'm against it, and always will be. You've got more power now than is good for you, and if I had my way you would n't vote on anything." And he turned and left so abruptly that she has felt ever since that there is great danger of her taking her little twenty-five cents' worth

NOTE 3.—In 1900 there were 977,000 negro voters who could neither read nor write.

NOTE 4.—In 1902, from southern Europe alone, came 457,456 voters who could neither read nor write, but you know they are opposed, to a man, to woman suffrage.

of municipal suffrage in her hand, letting go all hold on discretion, and running madly away, with the ship of state dangling along helplessly at her heels. It's a dreadful feeling that, to think that you have so much power. The responsibility is awful, and there seems to be no one left to shift it on.

Now for the felicitations. What are some of the fruits by which ye shall know us? I will not number them, because ministers have found that the high numbers put their audiences to sleep, and we must use the high numbers, for we have so much to our credit, in spite of our difficulties. We will begin with the trained nurse. When the chivalric doctor met Elizabeth Blackwell, the pioneer woman in medicine, on the threshold, he said, "If we had had even a little by-law against you you would never have gotten in." They had not dreamed that women would have the temerity to try to enter a college of medicine, but she proved herself and the trained nurse followed. So give us the credit when her gentle touch shifts your pillow, cools your forehead, or ministers to your comforts. She is one of our dearest fruits.

We have given to you the woman clerk, the girl stenographer. Eliminate the sweet, tactful, capable girl with her clicking typewriter from the business house of to-day, and think of the result. Forty years ago no girl could have worked in any man's office and still have been respected, and no business man could afford to have a girl in his office who was not respected.

A few years ago a man was asked by one of his young lady friends to give her a place in his store, because she must earn her own living and knew not what to turn to. He refused, saying, "It is really no place for you." The young lady went to his wife and asked her to intercede with the husband, saying, "he insists it is not a fit place for me, but I must live. Perhaps I could get along anyway and pay no attention to my surroundings." The man explained to his wife later that there were a lot of good fellows who loafed around the store and it was not a fit place for a girl. "But" said the wife and mother, "you let your boy stand around there. If it is not a fit place for a girl it is not for our boy. Suppose we go to work now to make it a fit place for both." The girl got the place. So by giving you girls for help we purify the air for your sons.

We have proved that there is a relation between wages and the ballot. Women's wages in Denver have steadily increased since they have been given the ballot, and as a result of increased wages and better protection police authorities report that there are three per cent. less of fallen women in the city of Denver than there were before the ballot was in the hands of women. If but one girl was saved from a life of shame, and that one yours, would you not say that woman suffrage is the most blessed thing under the sun? Listen to these statistics for a minute: In the District of Columbia, where so many women go to work and are compelled to take the wages of sin or starve, women constitute 17 per cent. of the prisoners; in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 14; in New York, 13; and so on down the line until we come to the states where women vote, and we have Colorado and Utah, 2 per cent.; Arizona and Kansas, 1 per cent. (and please remember that both houses of Arizona voted for woman suffrage, but the measure was vetoed by a governor who was not elected by the people); Wyoming and Idaho, none. Think of it.

In Massachusetts a woman school-teacher gets about one-third the pay of a man. The law in Wyoming and Utah says equal pay for equal work. In

view of this, 1400 school-teachers of California, in their state convention, passed a resolution recommending a suffrage amendment to their constitution. The American Federation of Labor, at Pittsburg, recognized all this, and passed a resolution declaring that "woman can never come into the full wage scale until she comes into her full rights of citizenship." Other labor unions are now declaring for woman's equality, and thus do we see the light of day. Can you not see the professional politician cultivating us when the labor unions recognize us fully?

Now, what the trade-unions are to the cities the granges are to the country. And when that far-sighted and shrewd Scotchman, Mr. William Saunders, some thirty-eight years ago organized the grange he saw to it that women were taken in on a perfect fraternal equality. They have a social and fraternal equal suffrage ready to be applied to their political life. Half of the American people are farmers, and from that body came Lucy Stone, who blazed the path of our girls of to-day to higher education. She gave us the sweet girl graduate, of whom we had, in 1903, over 18,000 more than we had of the boy graduate. Do you not believe that those 18,000 young college-bred women had as much right to become American citizens as have that same number of illiterates who have helped to make Philadelphia proverbially the "worst governed city in America," as it is most often called?

We have proved that women vote where they are allowed to do so. The New York *Evening Post* stated this concisely for us in giving the results of our city election when Mayor Wm. S. Bergundthal was elected: "Topeka is a town of about 34,000 inhabitants, and the men and women are about equally divided. In the election the men polled 81.46 per cent. of their registration, the women 81.92 per cent. The Republican candidate was elected by a 3000 majority; of this the men only gave him 528 votes. Which goes to disprove the threadbare assertion that women would only double the result of the vote as it stands."

In Colorado, where there are many more men than women, thirty-five to forty-eight per cent. of the votes are cast by women.

We have made it possible for twenty-five counties in the state of Kansas to elect women county superintendents, saying nothing of women in such capacities in other states.

Speaking of running for office: There is, over in Logan county, a young woman running for the office of clerk of the court against an old bachelor, the present incumbent. Isn't that a test of man's chivalry? Now, will he withdraw in her favor, or will he hold on and, if elected, offer to share the emoluments with her? We await the returns anxiously.

Then, too, there is a woman in Texas who is running for Congress. If those Southern men enfranchise their women first the men of Kansas will never be able to hold up their heads again.

We made possible the General Federation of Women's Clubs, an organization which has a greater leverage for good than any other organization in the world—and that is the tribute of men. We cannot take time to enumerate what it has accomplished, but it is the prime mover in every good cause under the sun. And as Mrs. Philip Carpenter, the head of the New York delegation, said, "As a matter of fact, the majority of the New York delegates, if not all of them, are suffragists," and as we know that a majority of the Kansas delegation were suffragists and placed one of the best-

known suffragists, Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, the wife of our chief justice, in office, it is safe to conclude that most of the 600 delegates to the biennial were also. It was, in fact, conceded that the sentiment of the whole biennial was for woman suffrage, and our Margaret Hill McCarter touched the mainspring when she declared that the shortest route to a result was by way of the ballot. The women proved by the ovation they gave her that they had found this out to their humiliation many times. When Judge Ben Lindsey, "the kid judge," of Denver, paid his handsome tributes to the voting women of Colorado, it brought down the house. He said, among other things: "It does not take any mother from her home duties or cares to spend ten minutes in going to the polling-place and casting her vote and returning to the bosom of her family; but in that ten minutes she wields a power that is doing more to protect that home now, and will continue to do more to protect it in the future, and to protect all other homes, than any other power in the state of Colorado."

You see, he does not even except the church, and you can see why. The church is an *influence*; the ballot is a *power*.

We have all that the General Federation accomplishes to our credit, because it was the pioneer suffrage women who made it possible for women to organize for any reason whatsoever. Why, we made even the woman card-club possible. However, we are not boasting of that especially, because the life of the woman to-day, with her blessed opportunities in civic and educational fields, ought to be so full that she could find no time to devote to cards, except with her husband and his friends occasionally in the evenings.

We have been responsible for the most wholesome laws for women and children, such as the equal-guardianship laws, for which poor old Massachusetts women worked for fifty-five years before they were passed, while in Colorado, where women vote, the mother's right to her children came without a fight. The age of consent, in many states, has been raised. A woman can have her own wages; has a right to half of her husband's property in Kansas; has the benefit of more rational divorce laws; can be administratrix, etc.

We paved the way for women in scientific research, and have to our credit radium, the greatest discovery of the age.

Senator Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire, cites the woman cashier to prove that woman has made good in the commercial world. And when postmaster Andrew J. Arnold, of Topeka, recommended women to the post-office as heads of departments,⁵ he said, "Then I can go to sleep nights and know that the funds are safe, because I shall be sure that those to whom they are entrusted will not be out gambling them or drinking them up." Such are the testimonials of our friends, among whom we may count Abraham Lincoln, who said: "I am for a government by the people, by no means excluding the women." Theodore Roosevelt advocated woman suffrage in his message to his legislature, and Gov. E. W. Hoch quoted him as follows in his message:

"In 1899, Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, said, in his annual message, 'I call the attention of the legislature to the desirability of gradually extending the sphere in which the suffrage can be exercised by women,' and I am glad to follow such an illustrious example in a similar

NOTE 5.—Mr. Arnold was the first to appoint a woman as head of a money-order department.

suggestion to you. Municipal suffrage has worked no ill to womanhood or to the state, and seems to be satisfactory to the people."

We might go on with our felicitations, but we must pay tribute to our men friends who back up the faint feminine voice, when it prays "open sesame" to the doors of prejudice, by striking on it with his ballot, saying, "Open up there; we are coming in."

Ralph Waldo Emerson, Senator Geo. F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Secretary John D. Long have put themselves on record for us in most convincing arguments. Many of our most influential newspapers are for us. "Golden Rule" Jones, Toledo's most illustrious mayor, was wont to say on the subject, "Who but a blasphemer could say that his mother is inferior to himself?"

And when a list of questions was put to sixty-nine mayors in the state of Illinois in regard to suffrage, all but one of them gave it their unqualified approval; and Mayor Edward F. Dunne was one of that greater number. Another list was propounded to some of our Kansas mayors as to the practical workings of municipal suffrage, and I am proud to read some of them to you. The present mayor, 1906, looked them over carefully, and cautiously refused to answer even the most harmless, as to the number of women voting in Topeka. These answers were simply to be given as expert testimony for the benefit of some of the people taking part in the campaign in Chicago for municipal suffrage there. The eighth question, "Do you recommend woman suffrage in cities?" W. S. Bergundthal, ex-mayor, answered "Yes," and underscored it three times, and added "and county, state and nation, also." T. W. Harrison, ex-mayor, said "Yes, everywhere. They are the mothers of men. They pay taxes and bear their full share of public burdens, and they ought to have the right everywhere to signify their preference as to who shall govern and what public measures shall be adopted." F. L. Martin, mayor of Hutchinson from 1901 to 1903, said, in answer to the same, "Yes, and that cities be governed by a commission composed partly of women." J. W. F. Hughes was just as enthusiastically our friend. Those five eminent Kansans were truly in favor of a square deal in Kansas, because they are in favor of giving all of the people their just dues.

Let us from this moment take up the slogan of the "square deal" men. Can any one be in favor of a square deal who taxes people without allowing them representation?

Woman suffrage is not an academic question. Two hundred thousand women voted for president of these United States in 1904, and over one million have been enfranchised in the last ten years. But Kansas has practically stood still, giving us that little modicum of bond suffrage,³ if our city were large enough.

But our supremest felicitation is that we have made good where our

NOTE 3.—The act of 1887 conferring municipal suffrage upon women included the right to vote bonds for school purposes. This privilege was enlarged in 1899 to include bonds for public buildings and sites in cities of the first class having a population of not less than 30,000 or more than 40,000. The legislature of 1903 revised the Kansas code relating to cities of the first class, and enlarged woman's bond-voting privileges, as it extended men's. Section 14 of chapter 122 reads: "In all elections held for the election of city or school officers, or for the purpose of authorizing the issuance of any bonds for school purposes or other public improvements, the right of any citizen to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex, and women may vote at such election the same as men, under like restrictions and qualifications, and any woman possessing the qualifications of a voter under this act shall also be eligible to any such city or school office." Section 164 of the same chapter defines the bonds which may be voted on by electors of a city of the first class. Chapter 106, Session Laws of 1905, is amendatory of this section, defining the character of bonds.

power has been unlimited, as witness this concurrent resolution from Wyoming; where there are no women prisoners, and where the ratio of divorces falls away below that of any other state in the Union.

The Wyoming House of Representatives of 1893, just before adjournment, passed by a unanimous vote the following concurrent resolution:

"Be it resolved by the Second Legislature of the State of Wyoming, That the possession and exercise of suffrage by the women in Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism and vice from this state, and that without any violent or oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government, and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order; and we point with pride to the facts that, after nearly twenty-five years of woman suffrage, not one county in Wyoming has a poorhouse, that our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the state, almost unknown; and as the result of experience we urge every civilized community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay.

"Resolved, That an authenticated copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the governor of the state to the legislature of every state and territory in this country, and to every legislative body in the world, and that we request the press throughout the civilized world to call the attention of their readers to these resolutions."

THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Address by MRS. EVA M. MURPHY, of Goodland, at Pike's Pawnee village, September 26, 1906.

One hundred years! Looking forward, how long it seems! Looking backward, how short! Standing here in the September sunshine I can fancy it was only yesterday that Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, that earnest, patriotic soldier, stood on the same spot and addressed the circle of Pawnee Indians seated about him.

My imagination pictures him standing here dressed in the uniform of the revolutionary soldier—cocked hat, braided coat, and top boots, with his twenty men, also in all the bravery of dress they could muster, standing behind him. It is not a very imposing array, but what it lacks in glitter and splendor is made up in the impressiveness of their attitude.

I hear Lieutenant Pike saying, "You are no longer subjects of Spain, and the Spanish flag which I see flying from the door of your chief can afford you no protection. You are now the children of your American father, who has sent me to bring this beautiful flag of stars and stripes, the emblem of a free people, and to request that you take down that Spanish flag, and give it to me as a sign that you renounce the Spanish yoke and acknowledge yourselves children of your new father; for it is impossible for the nation to have two fathers; you must either be the children of the Spaniards or acknowledge your American father."

Then I see him stand with folded arms—outwardly calm and unflinching; but we know that this quiet exterior masked a heart that was beating tumultuously with the fear that these 400 grim warriors might not accede to a demand which he, with his puny handful of men, had no power to enforce. Yet, "daring the unequal," there he stands, one of nature's noble-

men; a brave soldier of a brave nation; a hero whose name and deed have lived in the hearts of a people who admire bravery wherever found.

I see the faces of that circle of Pawnee Indians—grave, unresponsive, sorrowful. I feel with Lieutenant Pike and his loyal men the suspense and uncertainty. I see, after a while, an old Indian slowly rise, and slowly and reluctantly pull down the Spanish flag; more slowly still advance and sadly lay it down at the feet of Lieutenant Pike, receive from his hand our beautiful starry banner and place it on the staff so lately supporting the yellow flag of Spain, and then its glorious stars and stripes float out on the breeze of that sunny September day from its first home in Kansas, 100 years ago.

We have met here to-day on the very spot where Zebulon M. Pike and his men so bravely and loyally instructed our Indian brothers in their duty of loyalty to the country, to rehearse a century of the history of our state, believing with our poet:

“Than in our state
No illustration apter
Is seen or found of faith and hope and will,
Take up her story:
Every leaf and chapter
Contains a record that conveys a thrill.”

It is my pleasant task to review the record which the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the organization which I have the honor to represent here to-day, has made. I am sure the record contains the thrill. Whether I shall be able to make you feel it remains to be seen. If our record of achievement were farther in the background of the picture, so that you could get a truer perspective, I should have no doubt about the thrill; or if the record were not so well known to you, so that I would not be placed in the uncomfortable position of an entertainer who realizes that his company has heard all his stories before, I should feel surer of the thrill.

However, I shall imagine that Lieutenant Pike and his little company of faithful soldiers have been permitted to return here to-day, in spirit, and that the Pawnees also have come back from their happy hunting-grounds, and are all listening to the stories of the wonder-things which Kansas people have been doing in the century just closing—and my stories will be new to them.

I suspect that the greatest surprise of all to Pike and his men, if they could come back to this historic place to-day, would be the fact that women are participating in such a meeting as this. It has been “woman's century,” and the history of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is very largely the history of woman's development.

In 1805, just one year before Pike's visit to Kansas, was born a woman who was destined to train up a child who should become the leader of a host of women banded together to fight one of the greatest and most powerful enemies our country has ever had to contend with. Mrs. Mary T. H. Willard, the mother of Frances E. Willard, saw and heard something of the evil effects of alcohol, even in that early day. Miss Willard tells of one of her earliest remembrances being of a framed steel-engraving—the certificate of her father's membership in the Washingtonian Temperance Society—which pictured a well-kept, tidy home, with the father, mother and children around the evening lamp in happy converse, and opposite it a dilapidated, disorderly

cabin, with father, mother and children in rags, fleeing from a drunken father with a bottle in his hand.

In the Willard home no bottle had ever dimmed the joyous sunshine of happy childhood, but when Frances became a woman and learned how the demon in the bottle was dragging down to ruin men who had been kind and loving fathers and husbands, and taking all the joy and happiness that belonged to little children from so many homes, bringing misery and heart-break to so many wives and mothers, her great heart of love was enlisted to lead in this "woman's war" for God and home and native land.

As you all well know, this great movement against intemperance had its beginning in Hillsboro, Ohio, in 1873, when Dr. Dio Lewis told the story of his own mother's rescue of his drunken father through her faith and prayers, and urged the women of Hillsboro to begin a crusade of prayer to drive the saloons out of the city. The leader of this band of praying women was Mrs. Eliza J. Thompson. Neither she nor her husband had heard the lecture, but a son and daughter had.

The father was lying partly asleep on a couch when they returned, and in low tones gave an account of the meeting to their mother, and finished by telling her of the plan of the women to visit the saloons. "And mother, they want you to lead them," said her son, "and you will, won't you?" "What tomfoolery is this?" exclaimed the husband and father, rousing up. The children slipped out of the room and the father and mother had an animated discussion, he denouncing the plan and insisting that it was all "tomfoolery." At last his wife said, "Well, the men of this country have been monopolizing the 'tomfoolery' business a long time; it may be God's plan to have the women take a hand at it."

Mrs. Thompson was reluctant at first to lead in such an unusual movement, but her early training had fitted her for it. She was the daughter of Gov. Allen Trimble, of Ohio, and had gone with her father to Saratoga, N. Y., when a young girl, to attend the first temperance convention ever held. This was about 1835. When they reached the door of the dining-room of the hotel, where this first meeting was held, and saw only men, she drew back, saying, "Oh, father, I'm afraid. I shall be the only woman. Will they not think it an intrusion?" But her father took her by the hand and led her in, saying, "My daughter should never be afraid, even if she is alone, in a good cause."

You know how the crusade movement swept the country like wild-fire. You know how the women, after some months of this prayerful effort, came to the conclusion that the saloons would never be driven out of our land by this method alone, and in 1874 organized, at Chautauqua, N. Y., the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with its six main departments of work, viz.: Organization, preventive, educational, evangelistic, social and legal. Miss Willard says: "More than any other society ever formed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is the exponent of what is best in this latter-day civilization. Its scope is the broadest; its aim the kindest; its history the most historic."

I yield to none my admiration of woman's splendid achievement in church work, and in the foreign missionary society, but the denominational character interferes with its unity and breadth. The same is true of the woman's educational undertakings, glorious as they are. Her many-sided charities

in homes for the orphan and the indigent, hospitals for the sick and asylums for the old, are the admiration of all generous hearts; but they are local in their interest, and result from the loving labors of isolated groups. Nor do I forget the sanitary work of women, which gleamed like a heavenly rainbow on the horrid front of war. Far be it from me to seem indifferent to that electric movement from which have resulted the societies, literary and esthetic, in which women have combined to study classic history, philosophy and art; but these have no national unity.

Miss Willard did not live to see the great club movement of these later times, which has adopted the methods of organization of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and has its local clubs banded together in district, state and national federations which have been a tremendous power for the advancement of civilization in our nation. Broad-minded woman that she was, no one would have rejoiced more than she in the splendid work of the federated clubs. But, glorying in all that had been accomplished, she concludes: "But when all is said, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, local, district, state and national, in the order of its growth, with its unique and heavenly origin, its steady march, its multiplied auxiliaries, is an organization without a pattern and without a peer."

Preceding ages would not have understood the end in view, and would have spurned the means; but the nineteenth century, standing on the shoulders of its predecessor, has a wider outlook and a keener vision. It has studied science and discovered that the tumult of the whirlwind is less powerful than the silence of the dew. It has ransacked history and learned that the banner and the sword were never yet the symbols of man's grander victories; and it begins at last to listen to the voice of that inspired philosophy which through all the ages has been quietly saying, "The race is not always to the swift; neither the battle to the strong."

Kansas' part in this battle is surely "a record of faith and hope and will." She had her crusade bands, and unions were organized soon after the movement started at Chautauqua. Miss Willard appointed Miss Amanda Way to act as leader until the state could be organized. She could not have chosen a more fitting leader. Miss Way was a strong character. She had begun her temperance work in the Good Templar lodge of Indiana, where she was state organizer for many years. She was chairman of the meeting called to organize the State Woman's Christian Temperance Union at Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, in 1878.

At this meeting Mrs. M. B. Smith, of Topeka, was chosen president. One who knew her well says she should ever be gratefully remembered as the pioneer who brought the twenty-six unions together and made a state union more than a name. She served one year in this capacity, and was afterward, for years, matron of the Home for Friendless Women at Leavenworth.

Her successor in office was Mrs. Drusilla Wilson, of Lawrence; a typical Quaker woman, tall, well-formed, well-poised, and forceful. She began her temperance work at the time of the crusade, when she was president of the praying band in Lawrence. She says, "We worked faithfully on that line until we saw that we must change tactics." During the campaign year of 1879 and 1880 she traveled by carriage, accompanied by her husband, over 3000 miles, holding over 300 public meetings in schoolhouses and churches, in

the interests of the prohibitory amendment. For this magnificent work she received not one dollar of salary, and she was sixty-four years of age when she accomplished it. For three years she led the growing host of temperance women in Kansas. Her successor was Mrs. Laura B. Fields, of Leavenworth; "one of the gentlest of brave leaders," Miss Willard called her. Her administration of two years was one of great efficiency during this formative period of our history.

In 1884 Mrs. Fannie Rastall, of Burlingame, became president. It is generally conceded that Mrs. Rastall was one of the best executive officers the Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union has ever had; a woman of rare business ability. During her administration some of the best of our legislative work was done. She served for seven years, at the end of this time being called to the business management of our national organ, the *Union Signal*.

Mrs. Sophia F. Grubb followed with a service of two years. Mrs. Grubb had been active in the Freedmen's Aid Society. Her hatred of slavery was the beginning of her hatred of this other bondage of men to the drink habit.

Mrs. Lurenda B. Smith, of Burlingame, was the next in succession. Mrs. Smith took the work in the hardest years of Kansas history, even harder than its beginning. Enthusiasm was wanting; the hard times were upon the people, the boom had collapsed and hundreds were ruined. Thousands left the western part of the state and every one was disheartened; but she bravely held on to the work for three years, although her home was left desolate by the passing on of one who had walked by her side for thirty-five years.

Mrs. Ella W. Brown, of Holton, came next and served three years. Mrs. Brown was professor of English literature at Campbell University eight years. She was the first woman to study law at the State University, graduating with the degree of LL. D. She also received the degree of M. A. from Campbell College. She practiced law with her husband for five years, two years of that time being city attorney of Holton. The women of Kansas appreciate the power and impetus given to our work by such a leader.

Following Mrs. Brown came our present leader, Mrs. Elizabeth P. Hutchinson, who is just completing her seventh year of service as president of the Kansas Woman's Temperance Union. Mrs. Hutchinson has been a wise and strong leader, much loved by the women of the organization, and under her leadership it has steadily grown in members and influence.

And what of the rank and file? From 26 local unions in 1878 we have grown to number about 300, with a membership of about 5000 of the most loyal, patriotic women of Kansas, made up of all classes and conditions of women.

And what have we done? Besides this work of organization we have been constantly educating our own members and also the public, holding up high ideals, exposing crime and corruption, neglect and abuse. Preaching the gospel of purity, urging the need of the white life for two, insisting that the race will not reach its highest state of development until woman stands side by side with man, sharing in the government not only of the home but also of the city, state, and nation. We have besieged the legislatures with floods of petitions for better laws, especially to protect women and children. They have listened to us, and granted our petitions in many

instances. Some of the most important measures we have advocated and secured are the raising of the age of consent for girls, the placing of police matrons in our city prisons, the scientific instruction law for all our school children, and many others which time fails me to enumerate.

The Girls' Industrial School at Beloit was started and carried on successfully for more than a year by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Kansas, whose mother hearts realized the need of such an institution in our state and proved its utility, after which the state took charge and provided for this neglected class of her people. A man of wide sympathies said of this work: "If the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Kansas never did another bit of work, this Industrial School for Girls is monument enough to it."

We have carried on educational work at the Chautauqua assemblies of the state which is far-reaching in its influence. So much have our women valued this opportunity for educational work that they have built large and well-equipped headquarters on two of these assembly grounds, Ottawa and Lincoln Park, at a cost of about \$3000, and others are being planned.

At fairs, soldiers' reunions and other open-air meetings, our women are usually on hand with a rest tent, where literature is distributed, meetings are held, and an effort made to counteract the evil influences surrounding such places. Our latest effort in this line was a tent at the Fort Riley School of Instruction this summer.

Our sister states, whose soldier boys were coming to this place of temptation, shared the expense of this tent and its furnishing with us.

Our national superintendent of work among soldiers visited and talked to the men in camp. The tent was named for her the Ella M. Thatcher tent. A letter received by Mrs. Hutchinson from the chaplain in charge will explain the work. Tables and chairs and writing material were furnished, and the men invited to spend their leisure time at the tent:

"CORRESPONDENCE TABLE, ELLA M. THATCHER TENT,
CAMP OF INSTRUCTION,

"*Dear Mrs. Hutchinson:*

FORT RILEY, KAN., August 21, 1906.

"Your Kansas National Guardsmen came looking for the W. C. T. U. tent. They had heard about it at home and were expecting to be well treated. Our entertainment last night was called 'Kansas night,' and we had a good program and about 1100 men to hear it. Of course, the tent is not large enough, but we roll up the sides and hundreds stand around the circle.

"Chaplain Watkins, of Fort Scott, spoke Sunday night. The attendance was nearly 1000. The men use 1000 sheets of this paper every day, and for their letters and postal-cards we yesterday sold 2000 stamps and 900 stamped envelopes, and our supply ran out or the number would have been greater.

"Our services are strong, our entertainments are clean and attractive. The stream of men toward the tent is continuous, and the young men who are detailed to help are most courteous and thoughtful. Our piano is seldom quiet, the graphophone works overtime; and what more can we ask? When the interest begins to lag I will use the stereopticon and motion-picture machine.

"This may seem like very indirect Christian work, but it keeps men away from places of evil resort, lets them feel that there is a place in the Christian life for joy and wholesome pleasure, and that the best people are interested in their welfare.

"May the dear Lord bless all those who have helped make all this possible.

Cordially, JOHN T. AXTON."

These are some of the things we are doing to make this old world hap-

pier and better, to lift our loved Kansas nearer the stars. We gladly clasp hands with every other woman's organization which is doing things for humanity. We believe in Kansas and in Kansas men and women. The founders of this state had high ideals of her destiny. Shall we of these later times block her progress by failing in our duty as loyal citizens?

"I am glad I was not born in Plymouth," was the unexpected remark of a visitor to that historic old town. His reason, as he proceeded to express it, was certainly wise, if not altogether charitable. "You see, nobody has ever done anything here since the days of the Pilgrims. The people are consumed in contemplation of the glories of their ancestors, and it has never seemed to occur to anybody in Plymouth to pitch in on his own account and be as big a man as the Mayflower ancestors of whom he boasts."

A measure of forgetting things which are behind is wholesome in all departments of life. A past is only good so far as it serves to make the present better. But it is good to recall the heroic past, to measure ourselves by the biggest and noblest men and women among our ancestors or predecessors, in order to spur ourselves on to equal or excel them in all the graces, the beauty, or the strength of their characters.

Looking backward we can see so readily how their acts, their decisions, made history. We need to remind ourselves often that we, too, are making history. It is harder to be a patriot now than it was a hundred years ago. The problems which confronted the American of the revolutionary days were simple as compared with the problems which every true and brave citizen is called upon to face to-day. Yet because our duty is more delicate and difficult it becomes the more our duty. Greater need calls for greater loyalty. These are days when every lover of our blood-bought flag should stand, at any cost, for what he believes to be the highest ideals of patriotism.

The banner of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is a silken flag with the motto "For God and Home and Native Land" in gold letters on one of its pure white stripes. As an organization we yield to none in love of country, in state pride, and loyalty to her laws and institutions. As the editor of the *Chicago Advance* said of us, "No nation with such homes and schools as these women aim to make will ever totter towards a fall."

Here, on this historic spot where this glorious flag which we love was first planted in our state, we promise you to go on doing our utmost to help our state to reach her high destiny; to realize the ideals of her founders; to maintain her place in the galaxy of states, and fitly represent the biggest and brightest star in that heavenly field of blue.

A ROMANCE CENTURY.

Address by MRS. JAMES M. LEWIS, JR., of Kinsley, in behalf of the Woman's Kansas Day Club, at Pike's Pawnee village, September 26, 1906.

STANDING before this monument sacred to the memory of Pike, we are carried back in the mind's eye across a century so full of romance it is like the shifting pictures in a dream. Pike's imagination was not equal to his powers of discovery, and he could not see the desert of the early years, a land of houses, with a schoolhouse every few miles, a telephone line into nearly every house, and mail delivered at every door.

It has been a romance century. Distance has been annihilated; human

slavery abolished; the stage-coach exchanged for the railway flyer; and the domain of the United States carried to the blue waters of the Pacific. The genii of invention have touched all material things. The white man has become master of an empire in the West that in 1806 belonged to Indians and solitude. Where in all time is there a story so full of romance, so rich in dramatic history?

When the first discoverers came to America they found a friendly people ready to welcome them. The early settlers occupied the seacoast, where the water furnished food and transportation. When the pioneer moved out to conquer the West, he found the Indian savage from ill usage, defending with the pathos of desperation his disappearing hunting-grounds. Every foot of the path our government has taken on its way to the land of the sunset is hallowed by labor, by tears, by the sacrifice which is the supreme passion of life. It is strewn with heart throbs. There were young men and women, full of enthusiasm; old men who had met misfortune elsewhere; those with the glitter of gold before their eyes, and those who went to teach the gospel of Christ. If the first trails broken across the plains had tongues we should hear stories of daring and bravery richer in color and adventure than were chanted of the knights of feudal ages. The days of chivalry sent men forth to the "clanking of armor and the prancing of steeds," with some "faire ladye" waving a farewell from the castle window.

The crusaders went to the beat of martial music; but Pike and the long column of discoverers and settlers who followed him went forth in the simple garments of their daily working lives to enlarge the dominion of their country. No martial music was needed, because their hearts were filled with the exaltation of service to their land. They went forth to make sure that no alien flag waved over our territory rendering it impossible for all who wished to have homes in free America. Quietly, without heralds, without noise, but strong with the strength of a fine manhood, they went, led by the supreme ideal of a ministering service to mankind. The thought of it stirs the pulse and goes through our being with the warmth and instancy of blood. The cross initials every page of their history.

In every hard condition of life the heaviest burdens are borne by women. The sorrows and hardships, the bravery and fortitude of the women who were early settlers in Kansas will never be fully known. But this we know, that every soul may be in a true sense aristocratic, that is, may be the treasury of the best thought of the age, and, disappearing, leave to the oncoming generations a high ideal of living. The sweet womanhood of Kansas to-day proves by its life the descent from royal mothers. Let us, on every occasion for the celebration of the things worthy to be remembered in Kansas history, pay our tribute of affection to the memory of our pioneer women.

The organization I have the honor to represent on this historic occasion, the Woman's Kansas Day Club, has for its special objects the collection and preservation of our early history, the teaching of patriotism, and the promotion of comradeship. In a state settled by such women as Kansas has attracted to her it seems unnecessary to teach patriotism. Yet it is by constant tending the flame that we keep the sacred fire burning; and, like those who guarded the sacred fires of home, the women who keep the heart aflame with love of country and comradeship are simply being true to their heritage.

The story of Pike teaches us the profound lesson that the destiny of

Kansas was foreordained. In order that we might live here in peace and comfort, a generation of pioneers had to face these vast prairies and to conquer them by subduing the nature that environed them. Fate decreed that the heart and center of the Union should be a state whose name should mean freedom, equality and justice.

The first people who came here to live after Pike's discovery were nearly overcome by the spirit of the prairie. They were smitten by the blizzard; they were parched by drought, scorched by fiery winds, and scourged by grasshoppers. Their souls were tried by fierce experiences, and those who were not of the hardy type gave up in despair and returned to more genial climes, leaving the desert and the unfriendly plain to those who were determined to dominate. Many of these pioneers are with us yet, and of many who have passed on we have the stock; and, because like attracts like, this brave, hardy race of pioneers has drawn, by ties stronger than blood, others who were willing to do and to dare for principle, and because they needed land for homes.

While we may easily sketch the high-lights of their collective history, there are volumes of the human side of the pioneer story that are only kept by the recording angel. There are soul histories so full of somber tragedy that the pen and imagination of Hugo are needed to portray them. I am sure there are many pages on which the recording angel has dropped tears.

Many of our old friends in western Kansas were cattlemen. Not the booted and spurred brand of the festive magazine writer, but men of culture; men who participated in the larger life of the state, and who contributed much to its upbuilding; big-minded men of honor and integrity, clean, lovable and wholesome as a breath of prairie wind. One of these friends, a man of few words and wide experience, used to sit by our fireside in the evening and tell western stories as he looked in the fire; stories that had as keen an insight into human suffering as Walter Peters. He was for years connected with the Gorham Cattle Company, near the old Fort Supply site.

I remember one tale clearly. On a certain year many cattle were stolen, and this man, Mr. E. T. Bidwell, went up to Dodge City looking for cattle-thieves. While there some horses were stolen, and he started north towards Ellis, with an officer who wanted the horse-stealers. Not finding their men, they went west on the road to Wallace, and soon came across a man driving a covered wagon with drawn canvas. They halted and asked the man where he came from, and what was concealed in the wagon, thinking it might be plunder. The traveler looked worn and ill, and answered the questions with a dazed sort of hesitation, but finally gave them to understand that the wagon contained his three little children and the dead body of his wife. Mr. Bidwell, a man of keen sensibilities, felt he was telling the truth. You who know the early conditions in the West know how necessary it was that the weight of the law be laid on the transgressor, because the immense amount of unsettled country furnished fine hiding-places for the lawless. So the official made up his mind to search the wagon, and the man in the prairie schooner was too sorely stricken to offer any resistance. When the officer drew up the side of the wagon-cover there were the three desolate children and the slender body of their dead mother. Alone on the road in the terrific heat of a Kansas summer, torn by grief and sorrow, this man was taking his wife's body somewhere to find a coffin in which to bury her. Mr. Bid-

well went on to Ellis with the wayfarer, and in that city not enough new lumber could be found to make the coffin.

The man and his wife had gone to the western part of the state to take a homestead for themselves and their children. The drought had driven the other settlers away, leaving them to face life alone in the new land. The wife had been overcome by work, privation and suffering, and passing on left three babies. The husband, with that human clinging to what had held the dear brave spirit, could not leave her alone in the pitiless land that had swallowed up their youth, their substance, their hope, and the life of the woman.

Western Kansas is full of such pathetic life stories. It is on such occasions as this that we commemorate and record them.

While we must remember the daring, the bravery of those who have gone before us on these occasions, we should renew our allegiance to the highest ideals of our ancestors by facing the future, and by trying to reach the highest solution of all our problems. In every age some great intuition takes possession of the race and for centuries will dominate the collective will. With faltering footsteps, with many deviations, sometimes leading like a white star in the darkness of ignorance, again lost in the mists of prejudice and superstition, slowly a mighty ideal will make a pathway of progress. The intuition that has grasped modern life is the belief in democracy, the faith that if every human life has its measure of liberty and opportunity and justice the world will be better. We know that the fine instruments of justice are peace and brotherhood. It was this that lifted the sword of vengeance in the French revolution, that drove the barque of the Pilgrim fathers across the stormy Atlantic, that fired the soul of the American patriot in the Revolution. The love of the human heart for justice and opportunity is the impulse for the supreme peace movement. It led the westward-marching men, whose coming to the Pawnee republic we are here to celebrate.

The coming of Pike to this illustrious spot is one of the beautiful events in our national history. It has often been said that Kansas was born in conflict. Far back of the conflict was its conception, when the state was made possible by Pike's journey. We should recount his travels and trials often to our children. All the stars were auspicious when he came. The great Jefferson was president.

The Pike expedition was to promote peace and friendship among the people of the plains. He was told to take the captive Osages in the Cantonment of Missouri back to their tribe; then he was told by General Wilkinson to turn his attention to bringing about a perfect peace between the Kansas and Osage Indians, and lastly to effect a meeting and establish a good understanding between the Iatans and the Comanches. His instructions read: "Should you succeed in this attempt, and no pains must be spared to effect it, you will endeavor to make peace between that distant powerful nation and the nations which inhabit the country between us and them, particularly the Osage; and, finally, you will endeavor to induce eight or ten of their distinguished chiefs to make a visit to the seat of government next September, and you may attach to this deputation four or five Panis and the same number of Kansas chiefs. As your interview with the Comanches will probably lead you to the head branches of the Arkansas and Red rivers, you may find yourself approximated to the settlements of New Mexico, and there it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection, to

keep clear of any hunting or reconnoitering parties from that province, and to prevent alarm or offense; because the affairs of Spain and the United States appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment; and moreover, it is the desire of the President to cultivate the friendship and harmonious intercourse of all the nations of the earth, and particularly our near neighbors, the Spaniards.—(Signed) JAMES WILKINSON."

All the events of the Pike expedition breathed of peace, notwithstanding he came with a military escort. Kansas was born of the strength that comes of the finer things in life. This monument marks one of the rarest events in history, the taking down of the flag of one nation and the raising of another, without strife, and in the name of friendship.

The story is familiar to all, of Pike's arrival September 25 at the Pawnee village, and the call for a grand council on the 29th. On that day the flag of Spain floated before the chieftain's tent. Standing here on the plains, a little handful of men, far away from their own kinsman, faced 400 men of alien blood. Pike, armed with a sublime faith in God and his western mission, demands that the flag of Spain be taken down. It is a dramatic moment. He says every face was full of sorrow. The plain, unassuming band of Americans made but a tame impression on these children of the prairies beside the memory of the gay chevaliers of Spain so recently departed; but the might of the spirit prevailed.

The manhood of Pike and his men struck a spark from the manhood of the Indians, and an old man took the flag of Spain and laid it at his feet. In its place he ran up the American flag, the symbol of our national life. The Indians put their faith in the strength and righteousness of men who came to them for the sake of brotherhood, rather than in the material grandeur and military display of Spain. And to-day there are a million and a half of people dwelling in harmony and plenty in the shadow of this sublime beginning. We have more than our share of sunshine. Our clouds have silver linings, and we usually wear them with the lining out. We are marked by destiny to be leaders in all that makes for the grandeur of America, in the humanities that socialize life, in literature, music, art and purified politics, that with us must not be an iridescent dream.

During our wonderful period of growth as a state we have been full of youth, vigor, self-assertiveness and magnificent strength, and these qualities have made it possible for us to subdue the desert, with its biting blasts and burning winds, its dry sands and savage foes. All this we have done in the romance century that is ended. To-day the spirit of the prairies is a friendly sprite.

The elements are more full of neighborliness, the winds are softer, the snows are milder, the mists spread their gray benediction over vast spaces that knew them not in the old days. Great wastes of sand have been blessed by grass and turned into majestic plains of green. Full-fruited orchards delight our eyes with a glory of coloring where the buffalo fed. Peaceful towns dot the places where the Indians hunted. Along the direction taken by that romance road, the Santa Fe trail, great railway systems go, carrying the commerce of the country. Bounteous wheat-fields shed their golden harvest to the very foot of the Rocky Mountains, and alfalfa-fields glimmer like emeralds on every hillside. There are gardens and vineyards in the valleys. All these things are our material riches. Our spiritual possessions

are of a quality and kind to be the pride of a great state. These we may recount with pride, but we are not to be satisfied with them.

The state of Kansas has a constitution so framed in wisdom and statesmanship that it provides for a large part of the needs of a growing commonwealth. Our schools stand side by side in efficiency with those all over the land. No Kansas child, from the eastern border to the western line, but may have the blessing of an education. In material things justice may seem to be a laggard, and conditions may be unequal, but the roads to church and school are public highways, free to all. This charter of free education to our children is their most precious heritage. Our higher institutions of learning take rank with those of older states.

Kansas has taken many steps toward recognizing the greater humanities, but it is yet a far cry to the perfect care that the defective and delinquent, the aged and the stricken should receive from society. There should be a dignity of conscience in these sweet voluntary ties of citizenship that looks beyond money. A prosperous commonwealth must sometimes look at the side of the picture that is darkened by sorrow to be able to sympathize fully. Because the social waste in an agricultural state is small in comparison with communities having large cities, it seems to interest few people.

Kansas has nearly 5000 persons in her charitable institutions, 1500 more in the penal and reformatory, with more room needed, making nearly 7000 who must be cared for, cured, reformed, protected and segregated. The lesson for us to learn from these things is, that it behooves us, as a Christian state, to take serious preventive and educational measures to stop the ceaseless flow of children into the places where the unfortunates are cared for. Our child-labor and juvenile-court laws we should watch with care and sustain with faith. They may both be faulty, but they are a protection to children, and public sentiment will one day enlarge their sheltering use. In these matters of the scientific care of the wards of the state we want Kansas to lead.

Our good fortune is wonderful; the banks are full, the mark of the prosperous is on almost every lintel. Will you not open your hearts and your pocketbooks, representative men of Kansas, and through the next legislature give all the money needed for the comfort, care and cure, the education, reformation and happiness of those who are in the custody of the state, that society may be safe? This population includes the insane, the blind, the deaf, they for whom there is no light of reason, the orphan, the neglected child, the wayward and the criminal.

Do you ever stop to think that, for the insane, all that life holds for them is held within the four walls of an institution? Taken from family and friends, from freedom and all choice of life, they must be part of a system, abnormal, because it is not home life. I believe you want them to have attractive food, artistic surroundings, books to read, flowers, pictures and music, all the sweet things that sustain and soothe and elevate the soul. The state, in which you men are the sovereign electors, has no right to assume the relation of guardian to these people without fulfilling its duty to them. It means money, and it is a matter of far greater importance to Kansas than who will be United States senator, if you do not read as much about it in the newspapers. There are no libraries worthy the name in our asylums, no magazines, no newspapers. The long, lonely hours that must pass without the companionship of family may be brightened by the com-

panionship of other minds in books. There is plenty of food, but when I see the newspaper boasts of crops so immense they cannot be measured, the thought rankles in my soul that the inmates of the charitable institutions must eat oleomargarin on their bread. Think of it, you prosperous men who sit down in health and strength to attractive food three times a day. If you don't know what you feed those dependent on society for Christian care, I refer you to the "Jungle."

Why are these suffering people fed oleomargarin? Because it might cost you taxpayers an extra five cents a year in taxes to give them butter. The politicians throw up their hands in the legislature when appropriations are asked for, and say "the people will not stand for extra expense." I have never heard them scream when the special private appropriations to take care of the brethren were under consideration. I have never believed Kansas men were stingy, but that they do not know the needs of these people. I wish I could take every Kansas voter to the Industrial School for Boys, and let them see how little is really done to reform the boys, because of lack of money to work with. Two hundred and thirty-five boys shut in on 160 acres of land and only about 80 of that tillable. One good healthy Kansas boy could farm it all. They go to school every day except Sunday, and get a lot of their physical exercise in a military drill.

We do not need to train militiamen in Kansas; we need to train farmers, who know how to make an acre of land produce without losing its fertility. These boys could make the Industrial School nearly pay its own expenses if they got more exercise behind the plow or driving a header barge. They would then learn the dignity of real labor and the pride of being creators of wealth.

There should be a big appropriation in the next legislature to buy 2000 acres of land somewhere in western Kansas for these boys to work out their reformation on. The present system finds them first in the Boys' Industrial School, next in the Reformatory, and then, later, many of them in the Penitentiary, with the state burdened with their support.

Dear friends, will you not celebrate the Pike centennial by doing your share to create public sentiment, and pay your share of big appropriations for all classes of the defective and delinquent? Put up the buildings they need to work in, to play in, to worship in. They are your people and mine, who are sinful and suffering. You have provided no sort of home or training for the orphans of your state who are crippled, or maimed, or under two years of age. What will you do with them? Are they to be left to beg, to starve, or to grow up without the industrial education by which they may be self-supporting. I have not told you half their needs; it would sadden this season of celebration for you. Some of these needs are for the civilizing things that educate the soul and feed the spirit, and are as necessary to life as bread. Others are economic necessities, to make the institutions self-supporting.

The care of these people is the biggest proposition that faces the governors of Kansas. Every executive should visit the state institutions before he writes his message, and be able to tell the legislature exactly what is wanted in every one. Our aspiration should be to lead civilization in the humanities to cure more insane, to save more wayward boys and girls, to re-

form more criminals, and to educate more orphans; in a word, to save the largest possible per cent. of useful citizenship.

And lastly, let us give more thought and appreciation to the spiritual things of life, literature, and art, and music. May God speed the day when some Kansas artist shall put upon canvas a picture that will immortalize the prairie with its wonderful distances of green, its charming lights and shadows and "seedy, feathery grasses"; when the spirit of the prairie may sing its rich song of sunlit spaces into the soul of a Kansas musical composer; when some one of our own people shall see the vision of a pure type of architecture that shall harmonize with a Kansas landscape as the Parthenon crowned the Acropolis; when some choice spirit shall write our ideal literature.

The years of our romance century are rich in the eternal things that make literature sublime. "All history is at last absorbed in imagination taking form in literature," so a country must have an historical background before it can have a great literature. By means of it we may come to know all that is exalted in the race mind. It is the best conservator of civilization, cementing society by the thought tie instead of the blood tie. To agree on "the best that has been dreamed, or thought, or done" is to be bound by the ties of spirit that no power can loosen. As our shadows are cast on time, in the next century may we write well the new story of the mightiest of all the states, Kansas.

Let us close with the words of Pike, when he first beheld the flag of his country after his capture by the Spaniards on this expedition. "All hail the sacred name of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of men."

THE LADIES OF THE GRAND ARMY.

Address by MRS. ELMA B. DALTON, of Winfield, National President.

It has been said that "this nation is fast becoming a nation of hero worshippers." Whether this be true or not, it seems appropriate and well-becoming in a people to render honor and respect to those who have sacrificed their own personal interests and the comforts of life to advance a principle, to help humanity to establish a government wherein liberty, freedom and equality are great controlling factors, or to evolve from science an element whereby it can truthfully be said the nations of the world are drawn closer together.

It is meet and proper that on this centennial of the unfurling of the American flag on this historic spot, the Grand Army of the Republic, composed of men who, when that flag was assailed, promptly and proudly offered life and the sacrifice of all that life holds dear for its defense, should be permitted to participate in the honoring of that hero who here unfurled that flag upon this now sacred soil. This is indeed a day which should be forever sacred to every Kansan, and be devoted to the teachings of patriotism and of love and reverence for the flag.

It is indeed a pleasure to me to participate in the exercises of this occasion.

The invitation came to me a few days ago to come here as a representative of the organization known as the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, a society founded on the heroic service of war with the belief

that war has been an important factor in the progress and civilization of nations. However much we may desire universal peace and hope for the cessation of all armed force in the future, we know that in the past it has been through strife and struggle that the evolution of the race has thus far progressed. From the lowest forms of life upward the survival of the fittest has been the law of life.

Soon after the civil war, or from the year 1869 on, several societies composed of the women of soldiers' families were formed, with the purpose mainly of aiding the then young posts of the Grand Army of the Republic. Under various names these local societies in the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, California and Illinois united to form the national society of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, retaining the original eligibility of membership limited to the mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, or the lineal descendants of honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the war for the Union. We now have reached a membership of 45,000 and an honorary membership of veterans of 25,000.

In the perfecting of the national society the term "auxiliary," which had been authorized by the Grand Army to be used by all women's societies working with and for that organization, was dropped, and the organization became an independent society. We now have departments in twenty-nine states. Though our membership is limited, yet we have abundant cause for existence, and ample cohesive strength for an enduring and useful society; and when the posts of the Grand Army of the Republic shall have passed away and ceased to be there is no reason why our society may not continue always by perpetual renewals and tenacious descending longevity.

The Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic will continue to exist as a society of patriotism and of records, through our lineal descendants, for all time, like that noble and patriotic society, the Daughters of the American Revolution; and with like purposes and similar name, as, perhaps, "Dames and Daughters of the War for the Union," we will celebrate the crowning glory of Appomattox, or the centennial of Lee's surrender, one hundred years from the date of that event.

In many states our society is building cottage homes for occupation by the veteran and his wife; these cottages being near the soldiers' homes now maintained by the government or state.

While the government and state care for the veteran, our society will care for the aged wife, so that in their declining years they may together enjoy many comforts and both realize something of the people's gratitude and love.

Our society now maintains several of these homes. One at Hawkins Station, Pa., dedicated June 26, 1890, accommodates 55 old ladies, and a home for veterans and their aged wives, in Philadelphia, accommodates 100 persons. A double cottage home is maintained in Minnesota for soldiers' widows; also a widows' home in Chicago, Ill.; and a cottage plan of home is maintained in California.

Our society of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic is also pledged to perpetually observe Memorial day in the spirit intended by that distinguished volunteer officer, Gen. John A. Logan, in his original memorial order.

Appearing before you as a representative of the woman's society, I shall

anticipate the counter-thoughts of some of you by briefly alluding to facts concerning and arguments against war.

Some of you perhaps know of no good reason for the existence of any society based on the idea of war. We hear much talk of late against "militarism" and the "military spirit."

There appears to be, among certain classes, a growing sentiment against war, bred and developed by the surfeit of blood, the atrocious butcheries and wholesale mortalities of the Japanese-Russian conflict. Satisfaction is expressed at the attitude of our peace-loving, warrior president; and the American nation is urging a board of arbitration for the settlement of national disputes. Patriotic societies founded upon war service are perhaps, just now, not so popular as they once were.

It is estimated that over twenty millions of men were killed in one century of time in Europe by various wars. Every year Europe expends \$1,200,000,000 in army and navy establishments for shedding her children's blood. France is each day spending \$400,000 for a like purpose. Though forty years have passed, our civil war is entailing privations and misery upon many thousands of families to this day.

Contemplating the appalling sacrifice of the lives of strong young men on whom the nation depends for its future progress, and the vast amount of money turned from the channels of industry and education by war, it indeed seems strange to many that even a remnant of mankind should resort to arms in this enlightened age. War is but a copy of the individual dueling of former times. In some barbaric ages the personal duel was supposed to satisfy the ends of justice, because of the belief that the guilty man was always killed while the just one survived.

Still further back the ancient combat had its origin in the belief in "brute force," and the idea that *might* was right.

In view of these facts, we might suggest to our modern peace societies the idea of returning to individual dueling in settlement of national disputes. One man, trained and specialized to the highest degree of warfare—a doughty warrior, well-armed, a modern young David, a giant in strength and a Titan in courage—might go forth to battle, in superb equipment and confidence, to meet an equally equipped foe, and they fight together, and let the issue decide the point of dispute between the two nations represented. Thus millions of lives and treasure would be saved.

Should such a custom be adopted, might we not hope then that one strong woman would be found, with love of fighting in her heart, inspirited with a sense of right, panoplied with a desire for justice, who would enter the arena of duel contest and joyfully go forth to battle with the hope of winning for her patiently waiting sisters the rights of free American citizenship, which, strangely enough, she is not born unto under the benign provisions of the American constitution, but that she must attain unto by argument or strife?

In this line of brute force and dueling warfare, something might be learned of certain lower animals regarding war.

It is said the following impressive scene occurred in the Rocky Mountains: "By moonlight a herd of fine deer, with many a frolicking doe, came down from the mountain trail to drink from a small crystal lake. They were led by a powerful buck with spreading antlers. Suddenly, on the opposite shore,

a like herd appeared with the intention of drinking from the same fountain. There was an immediate dispute of territory, and a season of confusion followed. The two powerful leaders of each herd finally advanced as champions of each side, and engaged in a desperate and fierce combat until one lay mangled and lifeless on the ground. The herds in the meantime separated, surrounded the does, and calmly watched the fight. Then the victorious leader led away the two willing herds back to the mountains, deer justice having been satisfied."

There is a human interest in aggressive struggles and sanguinary strifes, which thus far seem to have been the law of life and advancement.

While war is a dreadful alternative, and many of its aspects are wastefully sad and horrible, not all its flowers are "gory red"; some are *white*. I think it is not because of eras of peace, that in this, the beginning of the twentieth century, our American flag is so respected wherever it floats on land and sea among all nations, but because the foreign eye clearly discerns these startling and immortal figures, 1776, 1812, 1846, 1861, 1898, written across, ingrained, and ever shining from our banner.

These wars were waged for constitutional government, for freedom, for union, for civilization, and for progress.

Periods of peace or war are but conditions; they are as tools to the world's workmen, and can only be judged as good or evil by what they accomplish for the advancement of the human family. By this gage, the heroic war period from 1861 to 1865 is the most glowing era of history, the war for the Union the most important war ever waged; because it gave freedom to four million of slaves, because it assured freedom to the free, because it brought into being the homogeneous nation of the United States of America—the beacon, the hope and leader of the world to-day—because it made possible the still greater America of the future with bounds unset, and because its resultant social, moral, political and financial benefits were not alone felt by this nation, but by all civilized nations of the earth.

The war of the rebellion left several million women the heritage of that greatest fraternal organization the world ever beheld—the Grand Army of the Republic—an ideal brotherhood, comrades in fraternity, charity and loyalty, without regard to former rank, without racial or religious bigotry, political differences or pride of birth or station, based upon the truest, highest aristocracy of brave, self-sacrificing individual service to country, which has been our nation's loftiest standard of patriotism for the past one hundred and thirty years.

The Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic feel proud and earnest to maintain a society founded upon such war service; and we find it good to repeatedly speak to our children of the sparkle and splendor of those great days.

The memory of a noble era, of a great age, is the most precious, sacred heritage a nation can possess.

As a tree is nourished by its own cast leaves, so is our republic fed and invigorated by memories of its great heroes, its glorious vanished days. So I say these patriotic societies should be fostered and encouraged by all. They are Uncle Sam's workshop, where patriotic thought is kindled, molded and directed into practical, useful avenues. If we had many, many more of them as centers, there would emanate from them such steady and strong

influences that, after a few generations, we might have that most trustworthy kind of patriotism, patriotism by inheritance.

We are a patriotic people, but we are not patriotic enough. Some of us are always patriotic; millions of others are not so; thousands of non-assimilated aliens are constantly coming to our land; millions of our native-born children are ever emerging on the scene, and all of these need be nurtured, instilled, grounded in American principles. They need, all of them, to be constantly, fully educated and enlightened upon the true meaning, the beneficent nature, and the grand significance of American ideals of government—all, all of them, and all of us; we all need more lessons in patriotism; need to learn the world message of the American flag, so that every American may be able truly and with ardor to adopt as his own the glowing words of the bard of Avon, "I do love my country's good, with a respect more tender, more holy, more profound than mine own life."

THE WHITE MAN'S FOOT IN KANSAS.¹

Address written by JOHN B. DUNBAR, of Bloomfield, N. J., and read at Pike's Pawnee village September 27, 1906, by MRS. JAMES M. LEWIS, JR., of Kinsley.

ONE HUNDRED years ago to-day there were met in solemn conclave here representatives of the two types of civilization that thus far are rightfully accorded prominent place in the annals of our country. On one side of that assemblage were seen, few in number, the restless, persistent, progressive descendants of the fair-haired, blue-eyed barbarians that one thousand years earlier were, on sea and land, overrunning and possessing western Europe. Wherever they established themselves, barbarians though they were, a new phase of life, of thought, and conduct soon began to appear. Their impress, in due time, was recognized as making, in the main, toward a better order of things. The kindlier phases of life, social and civil, became more manifest and controlling; the thought of home and its value was appreciated and cherished; the cruelties of war were mitigated; forms of civil administration became more benign; education was encouraged—in short, wherever this new race penetrated an influence for manifold good

NOTE 1.—As to the source whence the material for this paper was derived, appeal has been constantly made to the published account of Pike's tour through central Kansas, as far as the Pawnee village upon the Republican in northern Kansas; thence southwest to the Arkansas, westward to the Rocky Mountains, and finally south into New Mexico, till he was arrested and conveyed to Santa Fe, and soon thereafter to Chihuahua. The data presented in his published report, after his return to the United States, are ample, varied and always interesting. He was quite as ready and effective with his pen as with his sword, and whatever he records is well worth reading. To the material thus at hand certain additions, derived from a brief memoir of the general prepared by William Whiting, and published as volume V of the second series of American biographies, published under the general supervision of Jared Sparks. Various articles in certain periodicals published early in the last century have also been consulted, as well as sundry documents in the archives of the War Department in Washington. In a recent edition of Pike's journals, by Elliott Coues, copious annotations present frequently collateral information that is both interesting and of essential value.

Within the last month word has appeared in certain Eastern periodicals to the effect that the original journals of his expedition, as kept from day to day, but taken from him soon after his arrest by the Mexican authorities, have at last been found among the archives in the War Office in the City of Mexico. If access may be had to these documents, the long mooted query as to whether Lieutenant Pike was in any degree tainted by the syren song of the Burr Conspiracy may at last be solved. Coues seems to be convinced that Pike did yield to the temptation. If this theory were proved to be correct, he was in all probability induced to the step by the ignoble malapert, General Wilkinson, an active agent with Burr in planning the establishment of an independent dominion in the Southwest. He had been essentially befriended by Wilkinson, in being appointed to conduct two important explorations, and may have been thus influenced to yield in some measure to the syren song of the wily Wilkinson, intimating that should he be willing to join in the enterprise, already deeply involved in the scheme, better things would be in store for him. Till this fact is actually proven, however, it becomes the part of justice, as well as of charity, to believe that Pike, like a true soldier, lived and died untainted, without spot or wrinkle or any such grave charge marring his military record.

was felt and encouraged. So far this transforming impulse seems to have constituted the noblest heritage, save one, that has fallen to man. All that the much lauded Greek and Roman civilization contributed to the well-being of man in thought and in progress, and the contribution they made is larger than is usually recognized, pales into insignificance in the presence of this later, greater and more pervasive influence.

On the other side in that council, in far greater numbers, were to be seen the representatives of one of the longest known, most influential and respected tawny-faced tribes of the Mississippi valley. In character and in life they were widely divergent from the small group of pale-faced visitors. Time out of mind they, with the three other bands of the Pani tribe, had been the recognized suzerains of the fairest hunting-grounds of the plains, extending essentially from the Missouri river to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and from the Niobrara to the Arkansas. In industry, in kindliness, and in prowess, they were the peers of any tribe known to them. On each of the four rivers of their domain, the Missouri, the Platte, the Kansas, and the Arkansas, evidences of their long occupancy and control may yet be traced. The fairest of the hunting-grounds was theirs to traverse at will. But, unhappily, in these very advantages of territory and of easy access to it was found the occasion of their undoing. Two centuries ago, or earlier, the trapper and trader from Canada or from the South, by way of the Mississippi and Missouri, found ready access to them. Though cordially welcomed, these adventurers too frequently proved to be an insidious source of evil to them. In trade they were unscrupulous; in personal relations, too often conscienceless. As the result of such continued conditions the tribe steadily degenerated in character, as well as in the physical traits, activity and endurance. The handful of all the four bands or clans of the tribe surviving to-day in the Indian Territory would not equal one twenty-fifth of the tribe as it existed when Lieutenant Pike stood boldly before the hostile council here one hundred years ago.

In this connection one other more recent adverse condition deserves brief notice. The opening of the Santa Fe trade early in the last century, and later the overland migration to the Pacific coast by way of the Platte, the Kansas and Arkansas rivers, resulted too frequently in difficulties between these adventurers and the Panis; and, with reluctance, the statement is ventured that, at least in a fair proportion of the controversies, the emigrants were not entirely blameless. Instances were not always wanting wherein individual members of emigrant trains, in passing from the usual restraints of frontier life out upon the plains, appeared to feel that the rigid observance of the principle of *meum* and *tuum* was no longer strictly in force. A stray Pani pony or other unguarded property was therefore now and then carelessly appropriated. If the owner by and by appeared, and assumed to assert his rights, there were times when rough means were taken to be rid of him. In such cases the Pani, by patient watching, ere long at times found opportunity to liquidate his losses quietly and safely, and perhaps need not always be thought blameworthy. Let it not be forgotten, furthermore, that this tribe, within the recollection of many now present, has repeatedly rendered heroic and valuable service to the government in protecting property and life on the prairies against other hostile tribes.²

NOTE 2.—Occupying, as they did two or more centuries since, the choicest hunting-grounds east of the mountains, the Pawnees early incurred the hatred and jealousy of the Comanches,

Having thus briefly sketched the two parties with whom we are especially concerned to-day, with the antecedents and traits of each, as now met in grave consultation for the first time, we are perhaps prepared to consider the circumstances that brought them, Lieutenant Pike and the Pani, together here. In the year 1802, four years previous to this council, Mr. Robert R. Livingston, our minister in France, ascertaining that Louisiana Territory and the two Floridas had been ceded by Spain to France, in order to secure free navigation of the Mississippi river to the states west of the Alleghanies began negotiations with Napoleon for the transfer of East Louisiana and the two Floridas to the United States. The sum of \$2,000,000 was suggested as a suitable compensation. For nearly a year no appreciable progress was made. To expedite the matter meantime, President Jefferson appointed Mr. Monroe to act with Mr. Livingston. To the great surprise of the latter, however, in a conversation, Talleyrand, acting for Napoleon, April 11, 1803, suggested the purchase of the entire Louisiana Territory, comprising the present states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming, together with East and West Florida, and inquired what compensation would perhaps be offered. In reply, Mr. Livingston ventured to suggest as probable \$4,000,000. Meantime, Mr. Monroe, dispatched by the president as special envoy to coöperate with Mr. Livingston in hastening the transaction, arrived. Soon thereafter the sum of \$20,000,000 was named by the French representative. Later this offer was reduced to \$16,000,000. At the final conclusion of the whole business the title to all of Louisiana Territory, with West Florida, as being a part of the state proper, *i. e.*, of Louisiana, passed to the United States. East Florida remained with Spain, since at the time of the treaty it had not been transferred to France. The entire cost of the domain as finally acquired was \$15,000,000; \$11,250,000 for the purchase proper, and \$3,750,000 to be expended by the United States in liquidating the so-called French spoliation claims; in other words, in paying claims presented by American citizens for losses suffered from armed vessels on the high seas.³

Kiowas, Arapahoes, Utes, and Apaches, as also that of the Kansas, Osages and Missouris upon the east. As a result frequent raids and counter raids, incurring more or less loss upon either side, was the order of the day. Later the Dakotas and Cheyennes from the north joined in the fray. Placed thus as it were between the upper and nether millstone, the tribe put forth ever the most heroic efforts to maintain their territory undiminished. For nearly a century in a large degree they succeeded; but the inevitable at last came. By constant war and the visitations of contagious diseases their numbers began early to decline, till as early as Pike's visit there survived probably not half the original number. Yet their pristine heroism survived till recent days. Under the command of the late Maj. Frank North, of Columbus, Neb., for several years, in cooperation with regular soldiers, they rendered valuable and effective service as guides and scouts, as well as volunteer cavalry, upon the western frontier, against the Dakotas. For the time their original clan and sturdy spirit burned anew, eliciting cordial encomiums from regular officers of long experience upon the plains. The paltry number of survivors to-day, 650, an abject remnant, are all that survive to remind us of the Quivirans of Coronado's day, or the Pawnees of a more recent date. The paternal policy of the government has hastened their decadence quite as effectively as the constant wars and tumults of the earlier days.

NOTE 3.—Some years after the close of the revolutionary war, France, then at war with Great Britain, solicited assistance from the United States. This request our government declined. Thereupon French cruisers were authorized to capture and confiscate all American merchantmen engaged in trade with England. These depredations continued from 1793 to 1800, the French claiming that they were thereby offsetting losses entailed upon their citizens by the failure of our government to fulfil pledges assumed by the American negotiators of the treaty of alliance between the two powers in 1778. Later, in 1803, France released our government from certain treaty engagements, and in requital was relieved from paying any claims presented by our citizens for losses inflicted by French vessels, the United States thereby securing peace by entailing serious loss upon many citizens. The losers, or their heirs, repeatedly brought the matter before Congress, but no progress was made till 1885. That year the consideration of the entire question by an act of Congress was referred to the court of claims in Washington, with the result that claims to the amount of \$5,708,125.17 have been approved and paid, \$453,815.14 are awaiting payment, while about one-third of the claims are still before the court.

Very singularly, at the date of the completed treaty so important to both parties (April 30, 1803), neither knew the exact boundaries of the main transferred. Other than between Texas and Louisiana proper, no limits had in any way been definitely agreed upon. The French seem to have consistently asserted that, north of the Red river, their possessions by settlement or exploration extended from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and northward to the British possessions. The Mexican government, on the other hand, laid claim upon all lands north of the Red river eastward to the Mississippi, westward to the mountains, and northward to the North Pole. To be sure, since the day of Coronado's vagarious exploitation, in 1541, toward an east and northeast still unknown, by a path almost as untraceable now as the bird's through the air, toward achievements that man's eyes has yet to behold, occasional commands or special envoys from New Mexico had traversed this region more or less extensively in various directions, conducting negotiations with different tribes, frequently in hostile conflict with them, thereby at least presenting the appearance of exercising rightful authority over the domain; while at the same time French explorers, traders or commissioned envoys were busily passing to and fro, and by their unpleasing manners and exuberant temperament winning and retaining the good will and confidence of the tribes. Where such relations existed there could be no doubt as to where the controlling power rested.

Of course, the knowledge that France was even entertaining the thought of conveying this extensive and valuable territory to the United States could not long be kept entirely secret. Spain early had knowledge of what was going on, and evidently dispatched at once intelligence of the matter to the officials in Mexico, with the natural suggestion that it might be to their advantage to at least make a demonstration of their interest, activity, and, so far as possible, their actual authority among the several tribes east of the mountains. Like intelligence was also probably forwarded to Mexico from East Florida, from Louisiana, and from St. Louis. President Jefferson, meanwhile, was quite as eager and active, no doubt, in this matter of exploration. The purchase had nearly doubled the area of the country. Not a few of his new citizens, especially in the older states, through ignorance of the character and value of the new acquisition, were for a season much inclined to rebel. The time-honored maxim, *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, which Mr. Jefferson, at least for a time, seemed inclined to regard as not entirely inapplicable prospectively in this instance, was no longer a seductive plea with the plodding hard-working farmers, as most of the population then were. To them, seeing was believing; and as all could not at once go forth to see and possess the new country, he very sensibly set about sending forth chosen men to spy out the several parts of the land and bring back to the people a report thereof. In this direction he was quite as promptly and effectively aided by evidence as his slower-footed rivals, the officials in Mexico. Three expeditions were soon organized and started.

The first, and as he thought most important, was placed under the command of Capt. Meriwether Lewis, at the time acting as his private secretary. Capt. William Clark was soon after detailed as associate commander. Under their joint authority were placed fourteen soldiers selected from the regular army, nine chosen riflemen long familiar with Indian warfare, and two French voyageurs to serve as hunters and interpreters. An additional party of six soldiers and nine boatmen were to attend them as far as the

Mandan village on the Upper Missouri. In the instructions given by the President the officers were directed to observe carefully the topography of the country traversed, the soil, the flora and fauna, the minerals, the opportunities for commerce, the fur trade, etc.; the Indian tribes, so far as possible, were to be approached, their manner of life and character studied, their good will conciliated, etc. Occasionally a sentence is met in these instructions that, after the lapse of a hundred years, reads strangely; *e. g.*, when Captains Lewis and Clark are gravely directed to ascertain what tributary of the Upper Missouri will afford the most direct and practicable communication with the Pacific by the way of the Oregon, Columbia, or Colorado! After some delay at St. Louis, in procuring suitable boats, providing needful equipments, provisions, etc., May 4, 1804, the command turned their faces toward the distant, unknown destination. The ensuing winter was passed at the villages already mentioned. Resuming the voyage April 7, 1805, the Pacific was at last sighted at the mouth of the Columbia the 16th of November. The winter ensuing was occupied, so far as possible, in making researches in the region roundabout. March 23, 1806, their faces were turned homeward; and August 22, the long unheard of explorers quietly landed at St. Louis.

The results of this distant tour, occupying more than two and a half years, passed the most sanguine expectations. The information secured as to the extent, features and value of the domain traversed, as well as to the life and character of the numerous tribes of Indian occupants, when published six years later, was discredited almost as too highly colored. Imagination failed to appreciate the wonderful disclosures spread before it. Like the story of Magellan's circumnavigation, the published account was received for a time as a tale that is told.

The other exploring expeditions of like date planned by the President merit brief mention. One of them, led by Capt. Richard Sparks and Mr. Thomas Freeman, was designed to ascend the Red river, trace its sources, and examine the region drained by them. Scarcely was the company well started, however, from the Louisiana frontier, ere they were met and turned back by an armed force under Capt. Francisco Viana, in accordance with orders from Col. Antonio Cordero, governor of Texas. Originally the third exploration contemplated seems to have been intended to include the district drained by the waters of the Arkansas. Upon learning of the failure of the previous undertaking, the President modified the plan, to include now the country adjacent to the Black river and Washita north of the Red river as far as the well-known Hot Springs, in Arkansas. Mr. Thomas Hunter, and Mr. William Dunbar, a gentleman of recognized scientific accomplishments, were assigned to this task, and within four months had satisfactorily completed the enterprise.⁴

While these three undertakings were in contemplation or in progress of

NOTE 4.—This gentleman, son of Sir Archibald Dunbar, in Scotland, came to this country soon after completing his education; settled in 1771 at Natchez, Miss., and soon became known as a successful planter. He early found time to familiarize himself with the flora and fauna of the Mississippi region, compiled an interesting description of the Mississippi river, and contributed several interesting papers to the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, among them the first attempt ever made to enlist interest and attention in the study of the sign language of the Indians, the most remarkable product of Indian thought, and quite equal to the best of similar efforts put forth by our higher civilization. The journal of the tour kept by Mr. Dunbar as chief of the expedition, is one of the most interesting publications of the entire series of explorations resulting from the Louisiana purchase. The clear perception and suggestive style imparts an unflinching interest that even the casual reader may recognize. He also kept a detailed journal of the geometrical survey of the expedition.

fulfilment, the disturbed officials in Mexico were not indifferent. Three enterprises, to be executed in concert, seem to have been matured. One of them we have already seen actively present in the neighborhood of the Red river.⁵ Another, so far as actual record of it has been met, was intended apparently to move northward along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains as far as the North Platte. There is thus far no discovered evidence, however, that the movement was ever actually on foot. Of the third, happily, data sufficient to permit us to follow with tolerable accuracy its general development are at hand. The officer in charge of this detachment was Don Facundo Malgares, a Spaniard by birth, of eminent and wealthy family. In character he was brave and chivalrous. At this time he was serving as lieutenant in the Mexican army, and had already highly distinguished himself in several campaigns against the Apaches—not an insignificant distinction in days more recent. The natural inference would be that, in recognition of such achievements, he had been advanced to the command of the most important, extended and difficult of these enterprises.

His instructions directed that he should move down the Red river 233 leagues, holding on the way a conference with the Comanche tribe; then swerve to the northeast, and to continue until the Pani village upon this spot was reached. But on the way difficulties early began to develop. By law, at that date, in Mexico all soldiers served without pay, and also furnished their own arms, horses, clothing and rations. The government supplied the ammunition only. As they were moving down the Red river provisions began to fail them. Thereupon inquiry was made of the commander as to whither he was going, and as to what was the purpose of the expedition. The curt reply was received, "Wherever my horse leads me." A few days later a petition bearing 200 signatures was presented to him, requesting that the militia might be permitted to return to New Mexico. Malgares at once ordered a halt, commanded the dragoons to erect a gallows, and the assembly was sounded. The petitioners were placed apart; the man who handed in the petition was singled out, tied, and given fifty lashes. The threat was then given out that any man that dared thereafter to grumble would be hanged. Pike remarks that this was the first instance of corporal punishment in the province of New Mexico. Naturally, we may infer that during the remainder of the march relations between commander and men were not entirely cordial.

When at length the Arkansas was reached, a detail of 240 men was left there to watch over and endeavor to recruit a large number of exhausted or injured horses. When we recall that the march was begun with an outfit of more than 2000 horses and mules, one for the use of each man and the rest to carry the various supplies, the inference seems not unwarranted that the advance had, for some reason, partaken of the nature of a forced march. Again, the prolonged stay of so large a body of meagerly provisioned troopers, 350 or more, at the village here, was a heavy burden upon their involuntary hosts. Possibly the stay here was intentionally extended, and instead of Malgares continuing on to the Pani villages on the Platte, as his instructions required, the head chief of the Grand or Chaui band there was persuaded to visit Malgares here, and an amicable compact of some sort seems to have been arranged between them. In the face of plausible ob-

NOTE 5.—This Red river, it will be understood, was the upper portion of the Canadian, not the Red river of Louisiana.

jections of established usage, for the Indian is a chronic stickler in matters of precedent, there was in this instance one obvious advantage. It would have been exceedingly embarrassing had Malgares visited them, to be confronted perhaps daily by the sight of Pani braves innocently riding about the village on horses easily recognizable as stolen, as chance would have it, from his own command, while upon the Red river a few weeks previous. Other ominous omissions there were in the Spanish commander's program: he had been directed to negotiate treaties with the Omaha and Kansas tribes, and probably also with the Osages. No attempt was made to meet any one of these tribes. More than that, so complete was the knowledge had in Mexico, before Malgares started, of the exploratory work then doing on our part that he had been especially charged to intercept and turn back Pike in his progress over the plains toward the frontier of New Mexico. This most important duty was entirely neglected. Curiously he did remember, however, to arrest such unfortunate traders and trappers as crossed his path on his return march to Santa Fe and to deliver them into the hands of the authorities there. Nearly a year later Pike found several of these hapless sufferers living in abject poverty in Natchitoches, La.

Having now discussed briefly the achievements of this commando from New Mexico, we are at last prepared to recognize and welcome another manner of man, the man of the occasion, unbeknown, it would seem, so far, even to himself, divinely commissioned to inaugurate quietly but effectively the most creditable work of setting back into its due limits for all time the most ruthless and bloody political system that ever marred this continent—Zebulon Montgomery Pike.⁶

At this point, as an effective but not uncommon illustration of a familiar maxim, we have occasion to meet again the names of Lieutenant Pike and Gen. James Wilkinson, two remarkable men, apparently then in intimate relations as honorably ambitious members of the same profession. While President Jefferson was maturing plans for expediting his explorations, it seems that the restlessly active general, then in command of the western frontier, with headquarters at St. Louis, had also received permission to make a reconnaissance of the Upper Mississippi river and the adjacent region. To discharge this service he designated Lieutenant Pike July 30, 1804. So expeditious were the preparations for the enterprise that August 9, in a keel-boat seventy feet in length, propelled by the twenty soldiers that accompanied him, and carrying provisions for six months, the party was on the way northward. The instructions given to the commander required that, while ascending the river, he should carefully study the lands on either side to its sources; indicate sites suitable for military posts; negotiate treaties with the several tribes met; establish friendly relations between the Dakotas and the Chippeways; inquire into the dealings of the Northwest Company (Canadian), at the time controlling an extensive fur trade within our terri-

NOTE 6.—While Pike was sojourning, after his arrest, in Chihuahua, by the courtesy of Lieutenant Malgares, he was introduced to many of the prominent families of the city. Spain at that date was under the control of the French. Being thus, as it were, at sea as to their probable destiny, for political discussion was rife in many parts of Mexico, and at no quarter more frequent and ardent than in Chihuahua. Pike was frequently present at such debates. Whenever invited he instantly declared in favor of national independence as against further European control. This conduct, coming to the ears of Commandant General Salcedo, Pike was cautioned through Lieutenant Malgares that further agitation might seriously affect his personal safety. Though Pike was thus silenced, the discussion started by him continued under the leadership of the famous priest, Miguel Hidalgo, of Costilla, better known as Hidalgo, till he was captured and put to death. Soon thereafter Chihuahua became a great center of agitation for independence, till finally freedom was secured and acknowledged.

tory, and to correct certain alleged oppressive abuses in their commerce with the natives, if found actually existing; and finally to trace and map the head waters of the Mississippi, with a view to ascertaining its true source. To fulfil these charges the northern portion of the present state of Minnesota was traversed in various directions, by himself and his men, during the bitter cold of a winter in that latitude. April 30, 1806, with its manifold duties satisfactorily discharged, the expedition reported at St. Louis.

Scarcely two and a half months elapsed ere another more extended and varied trust, apparently an indorsement of the work just completed, was assigned. In this new assignment Pike is ordered to ascend the Missouri and Osage rivers to the village of the Grand Osages; thence to proceed overland to this place; from here northeast to the Pani villages on the Platte; then turn southwest toward the Arkansas in the vicinity of Great Bend, and continue that route till the frontier of New Mexico was reached; from this point he was to direct his course toward the sources of the Red river, carefully explore the region, descend the river to the Mississippi, and proceed thence directly to St. Louis. It seems fitting and fortunate that he was, in this instance, and probably also in the previous expedition, allowed to select his own men to accompany him, twenty in number. In one only, in both explorations, was he mistaken. The rest, even amidst the severest sufferings, served him to a man ably and cheerfully, till incapacitated.

Starting from St. Louis July 15, after thirty-five days of arduous contention with the roily shoals and tortuous shallows of the deceptive Missouri and Osage rivers, he reached the village of the Grand Osages. Twelve days were here occupied in purchasing an outfit of horses sufficient for the transportation of needful provisions and other supplies. One of those days was made specially memorable by the restoration to their kindred of about forty Osages, who had been ransomed by our government from captivity with the Potawatomes and entrusted to Pike for delivery to their kindred—a service no doubt grateful to him, as was also the establishing of friendly relations between the Osage and Kansas tribes. Resuming again the progress, now overland, by a somewhat direct course, nineteen days brought Pike, according to the record in his journal, nearly 170 miles on the way hither, as far as to the present site of Marion, in Marion county, in this state. From that camp he sent forward to this place Doctor Robinson and a Pawnee to announce his approach. Five days' advance, ninety-eight miles nearer, and no intelligence is received from here—a discouraging feature. Two days later the outlook becomes grave; on the 22d a Pani hunter is met, who affirms that the day after the doctor reached the village here the chief set out with forty or fifty horses to meet and escort them to the village, but had lost his way—the only known instance of an Indian chief being found unable to orient himself on his native heath, as well as a surprising breach of Indian *punctilio*. Two days further and strolling Panis were much in evidence, and with them came the display of medals, horses, bridles, saddles, blankets, etc., all too plainly of Spanish origin—not an amicable manifestation. The next day, after advancing twelve miles, they were met three miles distant from here, and the command was curtly requested to halt till a formal reception might be arranged. The solution of their undiplomatic attitude was now becoming manifest; they had felt that, till their recent visitors might be well out of the way, an attempt to extend an artistic

greeting to scarcely more than a score of dusty, bedraggled footmen, after their recent great display of good feeling toward the Spaniards, even though the sincerity of their friendship had meantime very largely abated toward the mounted, gaily caparisoned, lordly dons, 350 strong, would be, even to an Indian's mind, too much of an anti-climax. Still, the abatement of friendliness toward the Spaniards did not indicate friendliness toward these newcomers. Pike and his men were kept waiting till the Panis could welcome the Osage chief and his braves, who had accompanied Pike thus far, into the village. At his leisure the chief finally appeared again with a large body of mounted, fully equipped warriors, halted a mile distant, divided them into two parties, rode forward at full speed and began to circle about Pike and his men in opposite directions. This display was kept up till they had reached the outskirts of the village. Here a halt was made, a few horses were presented to the command, and it passed on to a spot beyond the village and encamped. Pike makes no direct statement as to what his feelings were in the face of such deliberate discourtesy.

He was, however, soon made to realize keenly each day that he must be prepared to face studied and persistent opposition, if not open hostility. Feeling, therefore, that he should at once take a decided stand, he moved his camp nearer the village, to the top of a hill that enabled him to overlook it, and thus know what was going on therein. Here the head chief visited him and made a display of a Mexican commission, bearing the date June 15, 1806, presented to him by his recent guest, Lieutenant Malgares—a studied affront. Prompted perhaps by this incident, on September 28 the Pani leader held a conference with certain chiefs of the Osages and Kansas tribes that were present, and concluded a treaty of friendship with each delegation.⁷ The next day, September 29, became memorable with the Republican Panis for more than a half century. Apparently at Pike's urgent and repeated solicitation a formal council was at last held. An evident crisis was at hand, and more than 400 warriors, many of them bearing arms, were in attendance. Pike, in his opening address, after averting in a conciliatory tone to certain matters of mutual interest to the Panis and to our government, in connection with other demands presented, referred to the presence of numerous Spanish flags in the village. Then, turning toward one of them then floating before the head chief's door, he demanded that it be lowered and delivered to him, and our national ensign unfurled in its stead. Several responses to his speech were made, but each orator carefully avoided any allusion to the offensive flag. Pike, in reply, protested that they could not serve two fathers; they must take side with the Spaniards or yield to their American father; and renewed his demand for the flag. A prolonged and ominous silence ensued; till suddenly, interrupting the long suspense, an aged Indian quietly arose, went to the door, lowered the flag, folded it, brought it in, and laid it at Pike's feet. Receiving an American flag, he unfurled it in the place of the offensive colors of Spain. Noticing that the faces of all present in the council were downcast over this change, Pike, as soothing their feelings, remarked that inasmuch as they had in exchanging flags virtually acknowledged their American father, he

NOTE 7.—The Pawnee chief, fearful that he might not be, unaided, able to hold his ground against Pike, had been quietly negotiating with the Osages and Kansas, in order to secure their support in his scheme to destroy Pike and his force, if fit opportunity presented, or to influence them to turn back. Evidently he did not find the two tribes favorable to his fond scheme. At all events the desired treaty was not concluded.

would return the Spanish flag, with the understanding that it should not again be unfurled while he continued with them.

In this occurrence, so unexpected and so sweeping in its results, is disclosed the radical distinction between the white man and the Indian. In social life and in the usual activities of life the two are much alike. A white infant reared among Indians would in these relations become essentially Indian; and, *vice versa*, an Indian child, so reared among the whites, would in a fair degree acquire the common traits of his associates. More than this, all the tribes, to greater or less degree, possess an oral, and even in part a written literature of no mean character; and their code also, in ordinary relations, contains provisions that are eminently commendable and salutary. But when we contemplate the Indian as a statesman; as being able to work out a coherent system of political, patriotic conduct, whereby there may be secured, when necessary, the abeyance of personal preference or ambition in behalf of the general welfare, the Indian taken in masses has always failed. King Philip in New England, Pontiac and Tecumseh in the central West, and Chief Joseph in the remoter Northwest, each of them endowed with no ordinary gifts, sought to establish a system of extended civic combination, in order to enforce thereby the recognition of the common rights and well-being of the Indian. Each failed completely, primarily because the ordinary Indian was not equal to the conditions required. In a much smaller way a combination of the so-called Republican Panis here, was, one hundred years ago to-day, attempted, after they were apprised of Pike's approach. Sarecherish, or Angry Chief (Pike's form of the name, *Characterish*, is manifestly incorrect), had evidently persuaded the warriors to adopt for the impending and momentous exigency a special policy of his own devising. Had the braves only been able to persist in carrying out the scheme, had they only held together, Pike and his chosen men would have ended their explorations here; and the large space so fitly occupied since in our annals by the narrative of his heroic services cheerfully rendered to our country in the hour of need—and in so doing he gave all that he had—would never have existed. But fortunately he well knew the constitutional defect of the Indian, his inability to maintain steadfastly and carry to a complete issue a complex scheme of concerted action; and so the too well devised plan of massacre crumbled, as he no doubt had foreseen that it would. The Indian who lowered and surrendered the offensive colors, Kiwiktaka, *White Bull*, had years before been a chief of note and influence, and naturally his unexpected action completely broke the spell. It was indeed bad medicine administered by one Indian to his fellow tribesmen.

In the little band of soldiers, on the other hand, we see the exact counterpart. Pike was a man of unusual discernment. He was also, under an equable, usually quiet exterior, a man of noticeable ability and force. He had himself selected the men who accompanied him. For nearly two months and a half he had been daily associating with them, training them, and working with them. He felt, no doubt, that they were in entire sympathy with him, and so he implicitly trusted them. When the emergency came, therefore, they did not fail him. The lesson that the red man failed signally and repeatedly to appreciate, they, under a most competent leader, had thoroughly mastered. *United we stand; divided we fall*. It was this innate defect of the Indian, repeatedly manifested, that gave this continent finally to the white man.

October 2 information was brought by friendly Indians (Kansas) that the Pani chief had declared that his braves were resolved to prevent Pike from proceeding further on his explorations. Such a promise they had made, it would seem, to the Spanish commander before his departure. When this word came to the ears of his men, Pike seemed to note with evident pride and pleasure the comments made by them in anticipation of such a crisis. As more horses were needed for conveying all the baggage safely, an attempt was made to purchase some in the village, with only meager success. Four days later, October 7, camp was struck for the departure. As the Indians, in case an attack was to be made upon him while moving through the village when he began his departure, could use the lodges as places of refuge, he formed his men in a compact body, the pack-train accompanying, and passed round the village to the top of a hill to the south from it. From there it became at once evident that the thought of attacking was actual. Many braves were to be seen moving nervously about with arms in readiness. But the unanimity and entire coolness of the little band had evidently overawed them. Pike had beforehand instructed them that by acting in perfect concert, if attacked outside the village, with musket and bayonet they could kill a hundred Indians ere they were all killed—20 resolute men facing 500.

After a brief pause, Pike, with one soldier and his interpreter, galloped back into the village directly to the lodge of the chief, and was soon satisfied that no serious trouble need be apprehended.⁸ Returning, therefore, to his men, he resumed his march, conforming his course somewhat to the trail of Malgares's retiring command, and proceeded south by west till the Arkansas was reached, October 18, at or near Great Bend. It is interesting to note Pike's equable poise during this advance; from the number of fires made by Spaniards at their different camps, he estimated with accuracy the number of men in the column; from the demeanor of the Panis who accompanied him, in apparent friendliness, for a few days, from the village, on their usual buffalo hunt, he inferred that their hostile attitude during his stay there might have been in some measure a matter of temporary policy. Their expert and effective use of the bow and arrow in the pursuit of larger game evidently elicited his admiration. His observation of scenes traversed and his alert judgment of conditions presented were remarkably correct. His long-continued study of military science in the text-books then most esteemed, as well as his daily experience as a subaltern, had influenced his entire conduct; and yet the simplicity and genuineness of his character as a man was in no wise appreciably affected. In both these phases—as a soldier and as a man—he impressed others. Even the erstwhile hostile Pani chief, at their final parting, October 10, seemed to evince a genuine respect if not profound admiration of him.

Some days after reaching the Arkansas, October 27, Lieutenant Wilkinson, with five of the command, was detailed to convey to General Wilkinson, at St. Louis, a report of the results of the expedition thus far. Pike, with the sixteen men remaining, continued westward along the river, and November 23 entered the present state of Colorado, where four days later he saw for the first time the distant peaks of the Rocky Mountains, one of which was ere long most appropriately to become a permanent and most

NOTE 8.—The meaning of this maneuver was a personal challenge to the chief to meet Pike at once, as friend or foe; a bold act, prompted by his knowledge of Indian methods. In this instance he cowed the chief for the time. Such challengers, however, did not always escape so fortunately.

impressive memorial to himself. His last day in Kansas was rendered noteworthy by an unexpected encounter with a band of sixty Chaui Panis, well armed with bows and arrows, lances and guns, returning from an unsuccessful foray upon the Comanches. Naturally, they were in an ugly mood, and proceeded at once to take sundry liberties with the sixteen way-worn soldiers. For a time it seemed probable that their scalps might soon be borne in triumph to the Platte river, in lieu of anticipated trophies from their southern foemen. The sturdy attitude of the commander, however, seconded by his handful of men, soon freed them from further annoyance. Small as his number was, he seems to express himself as almost regretful that he did not at the outset meet the Pani insolence with instant resistance—the only case in which he was ever so treated by Indians.⁹

After the mountains were reached, for two months, till January 25, 1807, he and his party were almost continuously engaged in an endeavor to trace out the various sources of the Arkansas among the mountains. As their horses were all worn out or had perished, the work was prosecuted almost entirely on foot, through deep snow, amid bitter cold, with only light summer clothing for protection. At times game, their only resource for food, became so scarce that the most persistent efforts enabled them to accomplish very little. Their only protection at night much of the time was pine boughs spread upon the snow, and no cover to shelter them. January 18, the rest of the men being completely broken down by reason of frozen feet and lack of food, Lieutenant Pike and one other, as being in the best condition, went hunting, in hope of thereby securing some relief from their dire distress. After tramping in vain all day, rather than return to camp empty-handed and thereby aggravate the patient, hopeless suffering of their starving comrades, they preferred to pass the night unsheltered amid naked rocks upon the mountain side, almost wishing that they might not themselves survive to see the cheerless morrow. Providentially, the next day, after crawling a mile through the deep snow, they killed a buffalo, and were able to reach camp at dusk with a welcome supply for their suffering friends, the first food had for four days. Such was one of their bitter experiences. Pike records with evident pride that but once, amid all these extreme hardships, did he hear any murmuring or fretful complaint, and then from only one man. On the contrary, there was throughout a mutual appreciation and esteem existing between commander and men. January 28 it was resolved to cross the Sangre de Cristo mountains, an ill-starred movement, for in so doing the party passed unwittingly, so Pike represents, into the domain of New Mexico, and began to descend the Del Norte, supposing it to be the Red river. Upon a western affluent of this stream a stockade was finally erected, to serve as a protection for the remainder of the winter. After a fortnight's sojourn there the entire party was arrested by Mexican troops from Santa Fe.

On February 27 one of the two officers in command of the Mexican force, Lieut. Don Bartolomeo Fernandez, charged with numerous letters and dis-

NOTE 9.—The mention of this rencounter indicates what bold marauders the Pawnees were at that date. Incursions far to the southwest against the Comanches in New Mexico, and even into Mexico, were not uncommon. The chief object was, of course, to secure horses or captives, preferably boys and girls, for trade with the tribes toward the east and north. As indicated in this instance, they were not always successful in their forays. Though traveling on horseback, in case it became necessary to fight, offensively or defensively, they always preferred to meet their enemies on foot, a lesson that Xenophon taught his Greeks more than 2000 years since.

patches from his associate, Lieutenant Saltelo, with a command of fifty men, started to escort Lieutenant Pike to Santa Fe. In answer to an inquiry from Pike, with some hesitation, Saltelo explained that his instructions were that he should remain to collect all of the men who, because of injuries or exhaustion, had not yet been able to reach the stockade, and then conduct the entire party to Santa Fe, an explanation that for the time failed to afford the inquirer entire satisfaction. On the way, at the village of San Juan, Pike was accosted by a man,¹⁰ claiming to be from the United States, whose conduct soon indicated that he was an emissary of the local authorities, to ascertain the purpose of his presence in that region, a surmise very soon verified. The fellow, as developed later, reported that the lieutenant was formerly governor of Illinois, a sufficient warning as to what yet might be in store. The following evening, March 3, Santa Fe, at that day a city of vivid contrasts, was reached. After dismounting, he was conducted at once through various rooms, carpeted with skins of buffaloes, bears and other large animals, into the audience room, there to await the convenience of the governor, Don Joaquin del Real Allencaster. Upon his appearance a series of rapid interrogations and quick replies ensued, as follows (in French):

“GOVERNOR: Do you speak French?

PIKE: Yes, sir.

GOVERNOR: You come to reconnoiter our country, do you?

PIKE: I marched to reconnoiter our own.

GOVERNOR: In what character are you?

PIKE: In my proper character, an officer of the United States army.

GOVERNOR: And this Robinson—is he attached to your party?

PIKE: No.

GOVERNOR: Do you know him?

PIKE: Yes; he is from St. Louis.

GOVERNOR: How many men have you?

PIKE: Fifteen.

GOVERNOR: And this Robinson makes sixteen?¹¹

PIKE: I have already told your excellency that he does not belong to my party, and shall answer no more interrogations on that subject.

GOVERNOR: When did you leave St. Louis?

PIKE: July 15.

GOVERNOR: I think you marched in June.

PIKE: No, sir!”

In this colloquy, not the only one that had place between the two, the conscious dignity of the official and the poise and directness of the plain man are not entirely devoid of interest and suggestiveness. The governor was evidently nettled, though formally courteous, by the bearing of this

NOTE 10.—This fellow, Baptiste La Lande, was a renegade from Illinois or St. Louis. Some years earlier he had been engaged by Mr. William Morrison, a merchant in Cahokia, Ill., to convey a consignment of goods to the Pawnee country, and after opening a trade there, to pass rapidly to New Mexico with the greater part of the goods and dispose of them there at larger prices. But after this was done he quietly appropriated the funds received and settled for life in Santa Fe. His call upon Pike was evidently inspired by the Mexican authorities, with a view of ascertaining the actual motive of his presence there. In his awkward attempt, he of course failed to elicit the desired information. In reporting to Governor Allencaster he claimed that Pike had formerly been governor of Illinois, ignorantly basing his report upon the fact that for a time Pike had been in command of the troops then quartered at Kaskaskia, Ill.

NOTE 11.—Doctor Robinson was seemingly a free lance in the expedition, allowed place there by General Wilkinson, and for a time acted nominally as physician to the command, while his real charge was more likely to observe the conduct of the expedition, and later, upon nearing the confines of Mexico, to make his way to Santa Fe and there serve as an agent for the doughty general at St. Louis, by informing him as to the actual conditions of the province. Before leaving the command in the stockade upon the Conejos, Robinson confided to Pike that his motive for visiting New Mexico was of a pecuniary nature, apparently to collect an overdue claim from some

new type of a man, from whom each reply, like the adroit *riposte* of a trained fencer, came instantly and effectively. On a subsequent interview the soldier was the interrogator, while the official, as respondent, was soon reduced to a confession of ignorance. No wonder that his excellency soon became restive in the presence of such a charge; for two days after his arrival, with a Spanish escort, he was on his way to report to the commandant, Gen. Don Nimesio Salcedo, at Chihuahua. To the governor's credit, however, be it said, that in personal intercourse he seems to have been ever courteous and considerate. The morning that his charge took his departure, Governor Allencaster presented him with a neck-cloth and shirt, made, as he explained, for himself by a sister in Spain, and never yet worn by any one; and deigned to convey him six miles on the way in his own official coach, parting finally with the kindly charge: "Remember Allencaster, in peace or war."

A suggestive incident occurred after the convoy was well started on the way southward: A portion of Pike's men, apparently those who had sufficiently recovered from injuries received during the previous winter by reason of starvation or exposure to extreme cold, were permitted to carry arms throughout the remainder of the march. The invincible Spaniard, by long experience, had come to entertain a vivid sense of awe, when in the vicinity of the enterprising Apaches and Comanches, who at frequent intervals were wont to recreate themselves and their sure-footed ponies in forays over the region now being traversed. Very naturally, therefore, the thought had occurred to the receptive mind of some one in authority that the presence of a few armed Americans might exert a wholesome, dissuasive influence over the too familiar raider. The device was indeed timely, though not entirely patriotic.

After a few days' progress, near the village of San Fernandez, on the Rio Grande, without forewarning, Lieutenant Malgares joined the command. For once the evenly poised Pike quite lost his self-control,¹² and for a time rode apart in an effort to recover himself. Malgares, apparently without a trace of Castilian pride or reserve, courteously endeavored to reassure him.

delinquent debtor there. February 6 he set out alone for Santa Fe, and was thereafter occupied with matters other than the health of his recent comrades. There is reason, therefore, to infer that he was in some guise acting under special instructions from General Wilkinson, who was undoubtedly copartner with Burr in the great southwest conspiracy. After Pike reached Santa Fe, March 3, in an interview with Governor Allencaster he used language that might imply that he had no personal relations with Robinson, but during the entire progress of the expedition he seems to have been quite familiar with him; and soon after returning to the United States he attempted to aid in an endeavor to secure for Robinson a place in our regular army. At this point the query naturally presents itself, Was Pike in any degree aware of Wilkinson's purpose in thus giving Robinson a place in the expedition; and if so, was Pike also in any way personally involved in the ignoble business? That an alert, cautious officer like Pike could be easily hoodwinked in such a case is, to say the least, surprising. The matter most suggestive of his being not altogether free from malign taint is that an officer of so high character heretofore and such keen discernment should unwittingly cross the Sangre de Cristo mountains into New Mexico, thereby come upon the Rio Grande, descend it for some distance, and finally construct a permanent camp upon a tributary of that river, all the while supposing that he was upon the Red river (the Canadian)—all this is too remote to admit of easy credence. Evidently *there is a fly in the ointment here*—a thought reluctantly but unavoidably admitted. But there is a welcome counterpart to all this. Six years later, now Brigadier-general Pike, commanding for the first time an independent force upon the field of battle, mortally wounded at the moment of victory, lay dying upon the deck of a warship upon Lake Ontario. His victory just achieved was twofold: a woeful series of defeats was at last retrieved by a victory that was final, but at the cost of the young commander's life. He was now no longer the tainted self upon the remote frontier of Mexico. The costly sacrifice just made had rehabilitated him. Let this expiate!

NOTE 12.—Some of the Pawnees that met Pike upon his visit to the village on the Republican, still surviving in the early '30's, recounted some of their recollections of him to a missionary then residing with the tribe. Their statements were of a common tone. To them he was a new type of man; as they expressed it, *he was a man by himself*. He was quiet, but resolute; he did more than he said; was always the same (never lost his even poise); his face never blanched nor his eye quailed; his eye was never unsteady, nor did his lips ever quiver, meaning that he was without fear, and he was always truthful.

Within two hours, Pike adds, they were entirely at ease. During the remainder of their intercourse, Malgares seemed to find special pleasure in obliging or aiding his companion, a conduct that was thoroughly appreciated. Happily, Pike was not the only beneficiary. The narrative records that this Spanish gentleman was habitually kind and helpful to the poor and needy, frequently emptying his pockets in attempts to relieve their suffering.

Upon reaching Chihuahua, Malgares, apparently fearful that the results of his campaign might not receive approval, reported his return by letter, not in person, to Commandant General Salcedo. To his great relief, however, in an audience granted by the general the following day, his conduct during the expedition was commended. Upon the entrance of Pike, introduced by Lieutenant Malgares, a brief but very formal conversation was had between the general and Lieutenant Pike. The papers of the latter were carefully examined by the general and a large portion of them never recovered. During his sojourn of nearly a month, through the courtesy of Malgares, he was frequently made welcome and entertained by many prominent citizens.

CORONADO'S MARCH TO QUIVIRA.¹³

The familiar sayings that actual life presents more frequent and impressive surprises or contrasts than fiction can achieve; that extremes so meet more frequently than the ordinary observer is aware have become truisms long since. Raleigh, the fond favorite of Queen Bess, and later mounting the scaffold at the behest of the sordid, driveling James; Napoleon at Austerlitz, and a few years after a peevish, mental and physical derelict at St. Helena, are instances that may be readily paralleled. Of such experiences, Spain, once the proud mistress of two continents, and later shorn of all domain save the impoverished soil and unthrifty population of the Iberian

NOTE 13.—In the preparation of this paper the following documents have been constantly consulted:

Relacion de la jornada de Cibola compuesta por Pedro de Castaneda de Najera Donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados, y ritos y costumbres, la cual fue ano de 1540.

Relacion hecha por el capitan Juan Jaramillo, de la jornada que habia hecho a la tierra nueva en Nueva Espana y al descubrimiento de Cibola, yendo por general Francisco Vazquez Coronado.

Of these two narratives, as published in the fourteenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C., of the seventy-six pages of the translation of the first text, only four are concerned directly with the actual march toward Quivira, the investigations there made, and the final return thence to New Mexico; while in the brief record kept by Captain Jaramillo two of the nine pages are devoted exclusively to these matters. The former was manifestly deficient as an observer, and to that defect must be added the fact that he did not hold the pen of a ready writer. His topographical statements are not always clear, while his use of the Spanish language, apparently his mother tongue, is at times quite beyond the reach of precise elucidation. Jaramillo, on the contrary, seems to have been an officer whose mental cast bespeaks the presence of a rare precision and easy mastery in the recording of scenes and experiences met by the way.

To these two documents should be added two briefer records: Carta de Francisco Vazquez Coronado al Emperador dandole cuenta de la expedicion a la provincia de Quivira. Desta provincia de Tiguex, 20 Octubre, 1541; and Relacion del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cibola, 1541.

The first, third and fourth of these documents may also be found in volume 9 of a series of twenty volumes relating to early explorations in America, translated and published under the (supposed) supervision of Henri Ternaux-Compans, Paris, 1837-'41. The Jaramillo narrative appears in volume 6 of the same series.

La relacion que dio Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca de lo acaescido, translated from the Spanish text by Buckingham Smith. The title has legitimate place here as indicating that the course of de Vaca and Coronado actually touched at one point, though at different dates.

J. H. Simpson, brevet brigadier-general, *Coronado's March*, published in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1869. This carefully prepared paper is the result of a continued and painstaking inspection of the ground actually traversed, so far as General Simpson was able to discover, by Coronado's command after they passed the Tecolote mountains and entered the plains toward the east. It merits careful study from any one interested in the subject.

Cyrus Thomas, *Quivira—A Suggestion*. Volume 10, Magazine of American History. A brief, but valuable contribution to the much-vexed question.

Hon. James W. Savage. *The Discovery of Nebraska, and A Visit to Nebraska in 1662*. In the first article the writer presents an insistent plea to the effect that Coronado found no Quivira till he had penetrated eastern Nebraska. As a lineal Nebraskan it was for some years my fond

peninsula, presents a vivid illustration of the trite truth. One such instance directly concerns us as a fitting foreground in connection with this writing.

February 22, 1540, there were assembled at Compostela, in the state of Guadalajara, upon the western coast of Mexico, for formal inspection by the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, a military force numbering, according to Mota Padilla, a creditable authority, 260 mounted cavaliers, 70 footmen, and more than 1000 friendly Indian allies. To furnish this command with ample supplies of every kind that might be useful the arsenals in Spain had been impoverished, while Mexico had been ransacked for immense quantities of provisions of every kind, the country had been levied upon for horses for the cavaliers and their attendants, as also for pack animals for the conveyance of food for man and beast. The cavaliers were furnished with swords, lances, arquebuses, shields, armor and crossbows at will. Mendoza also contributed supplies of various kinds so liberally that he almost beggared himself. A more impressive and picturesque procession has probably not been since beheld in Mexico than was afforded as the column passed, Spaniards and allied Indians, in review before the eyes of the viceroy, now at last actually entering upon a campaign for exploration or conquest, as the case might be, of unknown extent or duration. Naturally the most sanguine expectations were entertained of its entire success. The route taken was to be north so far as the head of the gulf of California, and thence eastward to an undetermined distance.

At the head of this proud cortege rode the chieftain whose actions and experiences after he passed eastward from New Mexico we are to attempt to trace and elucidate, Francisco Vazquez Coronado, a Spanish gentleman, it is

desire that the theory might prove correct. But a repeated personal inspection of central Kansas and eastern Nebraska, together with a careful study of the narratives of Coronado's movements after crossing the Arkansas, satisfied me that he did not move further north than the Kansas river, with his headquarters probably in the vicinity of Junction City. During his brief sojourn he may for a short distance have ascended some of the near-by northern tributaries, as the Republican and others. Considerations of the topography round about, the frequent streams, the ever-varying surface features, bedecked by the pleasing variety and vigorous growth of its native products, attracted from the members of Coronado's escort far more frequent notice and mention than its northern sister could offer as an inducement to proceed further toward the north. But beyond this, so far as the tradition of the Pawnees (the original Quivirans) indicated, Nebraska was not finally occupied by them till the early part of the seventeenth century, perhaps during the years 1620-'50. Governor Onate, in his exploring tour of 1598, found the region of the Kansas still occupied by them.

The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, by W. W. H. Davis, Doylestown, Pa., 1869. This volume is in every respect a creditable production. The author, while busily engaged in multifarious official duties in New Mexico, soon after the American occupation, early became interested in the history of the territory, and with only feeble assistance succeeded in burrowing from the accumulated Spanish archives in Santa Fe materials sufficient to shed a flood of welcome light upon the earlier conditions during the long period of the Spanish occupation. His account of Coronado's tour is brief, as he was probably not able to consult at the time the original Spanish narratives, and so he was obliged to rely upon an imperfect French translation, already noticed.

Historical Sketches of New Mexico, from the Earliest Records to the American Occupation, by L. Bradford Prince, Kansas City, 1883. In chapter 5 of this volume we find a discussion of Coronado's Quivirian march. As there presented by this author, Coronado advanced quite to the Missouri river, at some point between Kansas City and Council Bluffs. Of course the distance from the Canadian river to this vaguely presented point might have been traversed within the forty-eight days allowed; but there is an entire dearth of evidence that such a distance was made. It is simply impossible that the command should have beheld the Missouri, the most imposing and mighty stream east of the Rocky Mountains, and made no mention of it. And so the vital fact in this chapter, the exact point at which Coronado's movement actually did touch upon the Missouri, is left entirely in the air.

History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, volume 17 of the works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, San Francisco, 1889. The view taken by this writer of the much-vexed theme of the exact site of the elusive Quivira, as here presented is partially satisfactory, inclining apparently to the conclusion reached by General Simpson, an excellent authority, to the effect that Quivira occupied a point in eastern Kansas between the Arkansas and Missouri rivers. The only stricture to be offered as to this decision is to the effect that topographical data, as already stated, as developed in the last days of Coronado's advance, seems to afford us satisfactory evidence that Quivira was in 1540, and for some time thereafter, upon the Kansas river in central Kansas. Upon that point the statements are distinct and authoritative.

a pleasure to record, thus far of unsullied repute, of ample fortune, and of acknowledged ability.

Scarcely had two years passed ere the counterpart of this hopeful picture was presented. The ragged, wayworn survivors of the expedition, returning from their futile quest, scarcely reached the frontiers of Mexico ere they began to leave their ranks and to attempt to make their way unknown, by devious paths, to their homes, if such they had. There was nowhere even the semblance of a welcome awaiting them. The proud heroes of the review at Compostela, exulting in the thought of victories to be won and fabulous wealth to be had for the mere taking, after two years of want and loss were seen returning homeward empty-handed, a mortification to their kinsmen and a malign burden to the country.

Returning now to our immediate text, the progress of this historic march east and northeast from New Mexico, so far as now known Coronado was undoubtedly the first white man that ever trod the soil of Kansas. By what route he reached its southern border, however, just how far in each direction he penetrated within its domain, what were his exact expectations and daily experiences while here, no one, at this distance in time, has been able to precisely determine. Oh, that the order of a later day, that every commander of an expedition sent out by the authorities of Mexico should keep a daily record of his movements, experiences, and discoveries, had been in force at that day! A journal of such character from the hand of Coronado would undoubtedly have proven a noteworthy contribution. Many a crooked way would have no doubt been made plain, much to his honor.

The relations now accessible, other than the letter of Coronado to the King of Spain, bearing the date of October 20, 1541, as giving a record of his various movements prior to and during the final direct march toward Quivira, afford evidence that they were compiled some time subsequent to the accomplishment of the expedition, apparently without reference to any contemporary notes, and under conditions widely diverse from the scenes and occurrences described. There is no apparent ground to suppose that the writers had any direct knowledge of other narratives than their own. Each of them may therefore be taken as an original and independent document, each serving in certain details to supplement or reinforce the others. To aid in interpreting them correctly, however, in the elucidation of Coronado's movements while endeavoring to reach the domain of Quivira, or the present Kansas, it seems desirable that certain important preliminary considerations be here presented.

The careful computation of the distance or progress made each day was most essential. The usual method seems to have been to detail a man or men each day, whose duty it became to carefully pace the day's march. The device was certainly easy and at casual view seemed no doubt fairly reliable. When, however, the influence of the topographical features encountered during each day's march are considered—the ever-recurring ascents and descents, the detours in avoidance of obstacles, the crossing of streams, the interference from surface growths, the nature of the soil as firm or yielding—all such conditions rendered necessary a careful revision of the distances apparently covered. Yet there is nowhere found evidence of any such correction even being thought of. Add to the foregoing data the steady decrease in the vigor of this human odometer, and the total reduction in the nominal daily estimates seriously prejudices the sum total in the final

records. From repeated personal inspection I am satisfied that in some of the marches made by Coronado in Kansas, notably while passing from his first crossing of the Arkansas northeasterly till near the present town of Great Bend and thence toward the Kansas river, the distances given are too large.

But this is not all: The matter of direction is quite as important as distance. In certain instances the statement is met in the narratives that the daily course was determined *by the needle*, an assurance by no means unwelcome. Evidently the compass was present, but not always in active service. Mention accordingly appears of a bowman, apparently an Indian (for such usage was familiar to them), serving as a substitute. The moment the column was ready to move in the morning, the bowman discharged an arrow at an elevation of about thirty degrees in the direction of the proposed advance. Noting the exact point at which the missile struck the ground, the archer advanced about two-thirds of the distance and sent another arrow, as nearly as might be with the same force, in the same direction. As he passed the first arrow, he carefully withdrew it from the ground, and so continued as long as the march lasted. To be sure there is an element of personal pride as well as novelty in this scheme; but as the day passes, it becomes mechanical and therefore wearisome, and at once its value thereafter is questionable. A striking illustration of the possible errancy of this usage is afforded in the return march of Coronado's army from the country of Quivira. Relying upon this method, upon reaching the Cicuye river they found themselves thirty leagues south of the point intended, *i. e.*, the bridge by which they crossed, when setting out, April 23, 1541. Another of the devices resorted to in this connection also evinced a degree of simplicity not usual in the stately Spaniard. A detail was made whose duty for the time it became to collect stones or buffalo-chips and arrange them in piles at intervals along the route, so that, in case of need, they might be enabled thereby to retrace their way in safety.¹⁴

At this point, preparatory to the final advance towards Quivira, an explanation of certain intermediate movements seems befitting. April 23, 1541, in pursuit of the long sought, evasive Quivira, the army leaving Cicuye, eighteen miles southeast of the present Santa Fe, crossed the eastern mountain range, the Tecolote mountains, and debouched upon the plains beyond. Four days brought them to the Mora, a deep, rapid confluent of the Canadian river. Here four days were occupied in the construction of a bridge. So far the march was in the direction of Quivira; but in the subsequent thirty-seven days' marching an unexpected change took place. Instead of continuing northeast, the proper direction, a deflection toward the east, and finally almost to the southeast, develops. At intervals on this long advance halts were made. But in no instance is an explanation made for the halts or for the change of course. A plausible solution may, however, be presented. For more than a year the army had been forcing its way north through Mexico and eastward through the present Arizona and New Mexico as far as the Rio Grande. Not infrequently horses and men

NOTE 14.—The explanation given at this point as to the use made of stones and buffalo-chips is misleading. Downtrodden grass did, if not completely beaten down to the ground, a condition not usual, soon resumes its natural position and apparently obliterate the trail; yet any one, with an eye to see, at half a glance might readily discover, without dismounting, the equally manifest and more permanent trail, the tracks of the horses in the only half-hidden soil. The extremely self-conscious Spaniards were not always renowned as quick or accurate observers.

had suffered from lack of sufficient sustenance. The winter just passed had been unusually severe and proper provisions scanty. It was natural, therefore, that April 23 the horses would not be found in good condition for a long and trying march. Coronado was a kind, observant man, and was of course entirely conversant with the situation. Instead of discussing the matter generally, he seems to have met the exigency quietly in his own way.

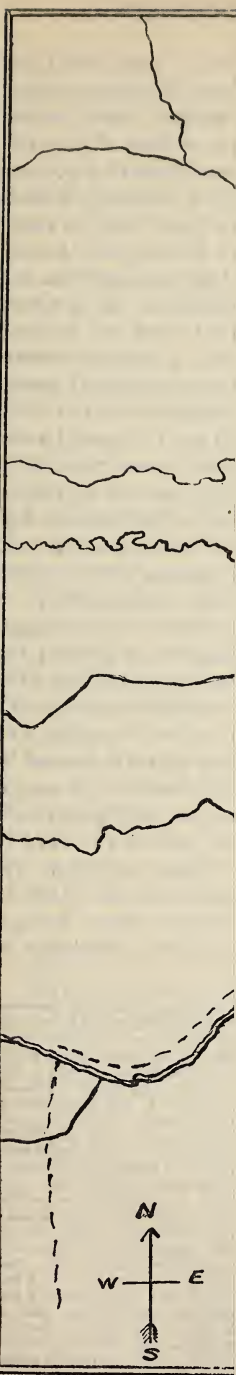
When the march was resumed, after the passage of the Mora river was accomplished, it was soon remarked that the course was inclining somewhat toward the east; at successive stages the deflection became more pronounced, till finally, as already indicated, it was almost southeast. The explanation is easy and natural. For an unknown period there has existed a frequented route or trail along the northern margin of the Canadian river throughout its entire course. As early as the date of the Louisiana purchase the Indians claimed that this trail had long been a common thoroughfare for eastern tribes when raiding into New Mexico for horses and other booty. The only probable reason that the pathway should exist there, rather than upon some other stream, must be that it was more expeditious; it presented fewer obstacles interfering with rapid and safe travel. Prior to all this, however, was another: the Indian captive, Turk, who was acting as guide, conceiving the idea of escaping to his own people, had so far beguiled Coronado as to induce him to move in this direction as the proper course to reach Quivira. Turk was no doubt a native of some tribe near the Mississippi, for his description of the scene quoted from Castañeda, one of the chroniclers of Coronado's march, portrays an ordinary, familiar scene upon the Mississippi river at that time; while the second writer, the Knight of Elvas, a chronicler of Soto's expedition, presents an ornate naval display on the part of the Indians before the Spanish chieftain. Though the conditions were so diverse, the underlined portions indicate essential resemblances.¹⁵ Between the two writers there could have been no collusion. The natural inference is, therefore, that each of the narrators was personally familiar with such scenes, and evidently for once Turk spoke the truth, and was probably, as he claimed, a native of the Mississippi valley. And so in his attempted misleading of Coronado, Turk's motive was obviously twofold—to escape to his own people, and also meantime to involve the Spaniards in some desolate region where, for lack of sustenance, all would perish, as will appear later.

As it happened, the route followed seems for the time to have satisfied both the commander and the guide: the former, in that it afforded an easy progress, with at least two notable halts at convenient points to rest and recuperate the horses; and the guide, in that each march served to bring him nearer to his kindred. At each of these two halts the command seems to have been welcomed and loyally entertained by each of the Indian tribes met, then upon their annual summer buffalo hunt, the Querechos, and farther east the Teyas, the two tribes probably representing the Tonkawas

NOTE 15.—The two passages are as follows :

"He (Turk) claimed that in his native country, where the land was level, there was a river two leagues in width, in which there were fishes as large as horses, and many canoes of great size with more than twenty oarsmen upon either side. The boats carried sails and the chiefs sat at the stern under awnings, while upon the prow was a large eagle of gold."

"The next day the cacique arrived, with 200 canoes filled with men, having weapons. They were painted with ochre, wearing great bunches of white and other plumes of many colors, having feathered shields in their hands, with which they sheltered the oarsmen upon either side, the warriors standing erect from bow to stern, holding bows and arrows. The barge in which the cacique came had an awning at the poop under which he sat."



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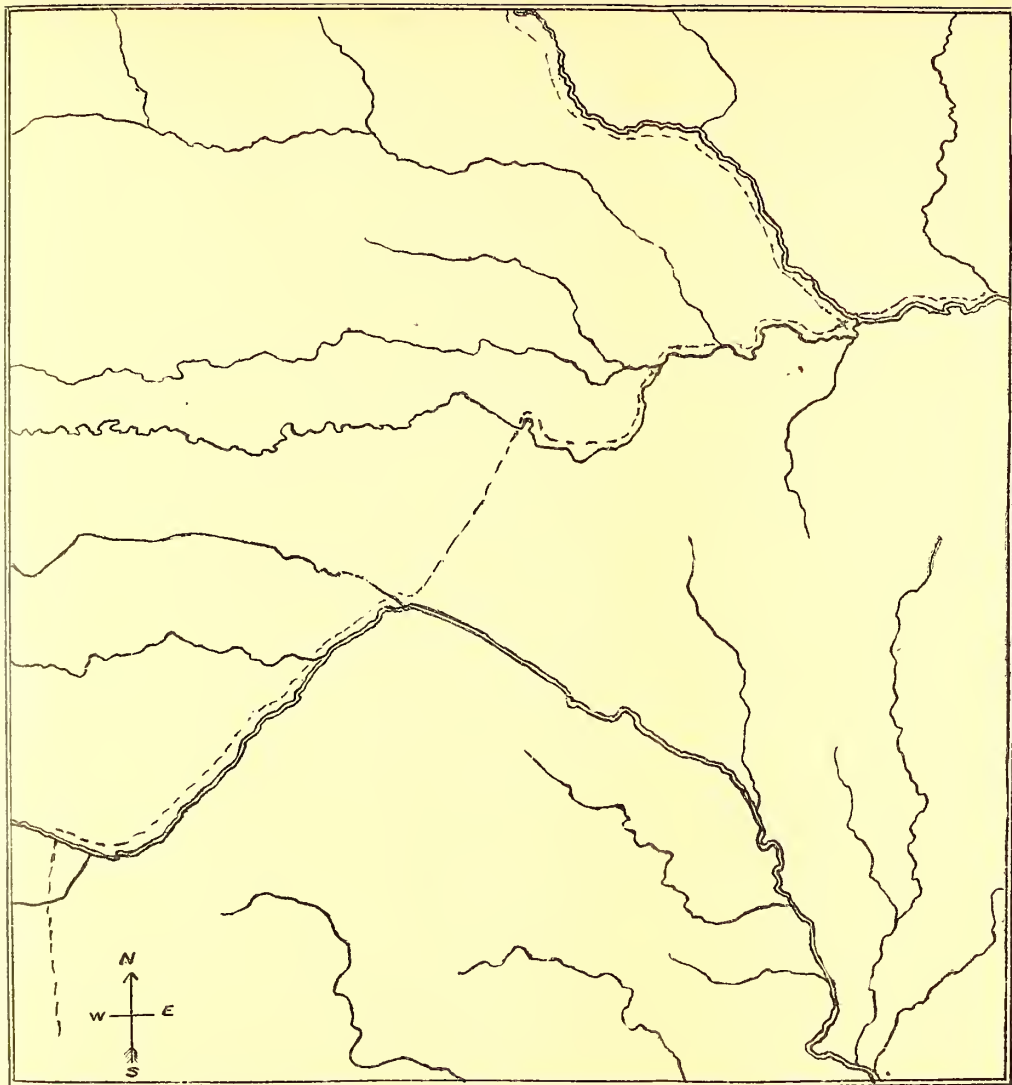
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CORONADO'S ROUTE IN KANSAS

See page 75.

and Comanches of later days. The abundant growth of buffalo-grass in the region attracted vast herds of those animals, and naturally at the proper season these Indians congregated thither. The conditions exactly suited Coronado's desires also. He obtained thereby a supply of dried meat, and secured a favorable opportunity to recruit his worn horses, as the grass was quite as grateful to them as to the buffalo, even though it did not supply the place of corn, their proper diet. Each of the Indian tribes, it may be observed, had pitched its village in a ravine or barranca, a miniature cañon, not uncommon in that locality, worn abruptly into the prairie by heavy rain torrents, as it afforded concealment as well as shelter and quiet. These halts at the same time afforded diversion to the men of the army, many of whom were not in a kindly mood. Accompanying the Indians upon the daily chase, themselves mounted, while the Indians were on foot, it is safe to say that in the excitement of the slaughter they did not spare their already worn horses. Thus far a progress of thirty-seven days of actual marching, with intervening halts, had been made, a distance of 250 leagues, if we may accept as correct the daily estimates as registered. The general direction had meanwhile for much of the way obviously inclined toward the southeast. The farthest point thus far attained was, therefore, short of the western border of the present Pottawatomie reservation, upon the Canadian river.

At this point a final crisis occurred. Coronado was undoubtedly in some degree already dissatisfied with the conditions developing. His horses were not gaining in strength nor in efficiency; and long and familiar intercourse with the Indians he saw was not advantageous to his men nor to the Teyas. The lawless conduct of the soldiers had proven offensive to the tribe as well as a source of serious loss to them. The wanton pillaging of a large store of tanned skins by the ruthless, turbulent soldiery, probably the entire supply so far secured in the summer hunt for use as clothing and shelter during the approaching winter, was a fair instance of the attitude of the Spaniards of that day toward the natives.¹⁶ The recollection of such imposition did not, however, readily or soon fade from the Indians' memory. Deterred, no doubt, for the time, by the obvious fact that the Spaniard had the advantage of horses, mail, and firearms, they prudently refrained from attempt at retaliation; but beyond question the hostilities, maintained for three cen-

NOTE 16.—In connection with this incident—the pillaging of the skins—there is an unsolved, perhaps insoluble mystery. At all events it is one of the noteworthy occurrences of this march that could not readily fade from the memory of the Indians. As the advance-guard of the army, after parting from the Querechos, neared the camp of the Teyas further east, the Indians gathered into an immense pile all the dressed skins so far taken that season, with eager expectation that some devout Spaniard would pronounce a blessing upon them, little suspecting what was the character of the approaching visitors. Later information derived from an aged, blind Indian served to explain the expectation of the Indians in so doing. It developed that some years previous Cabeza de Vaca and his forlorn comrades, the sole survivors of the Narvaez invasion of Florida, in their wandering through Texas, came upon this tribe, upon the very spot, so Castaneda affirms, where Coronado found them, while Jaramillo records that it was near there, but in the direction toward New Spain, *i. e.*, toward Mexico. Castaneda undoubtedly misunderstood the signs used by his informant, for it is not probable that Vaca was ever north of the Red river, while the statement of Jaramillo allows a plausible explanation. It may be, at the date of Vaca's coming, the tribe was for some reason hunting part of the season at some distance toward the southwest. Bandelier places the most northern point of Vaca's wandering at about latitude thirty-one degrees, upon the Colorado river in Texas; but that point could not be described as near. It is not, however, at all improbable that such a meeting did occur at some distance toward the southwest in Texas. Vaca, ere he met the tribe, had already, by certain cures that he had wrought upon sick Indians, conciliated the good will of certain tribes to such a degree that he was regarded as a magician, *i. e.*, as a great medicine man. The Teyas had evidently learned the fact. Upon his coming among them, therefore, he had met a cordial welcome. The Indians gathered all their tanned skins into a great pile and requested him to bless them, *i. e.*, to impart a magic charm to them. With this petition he complied. Upon the approach of Coronado's command, supposing them to be of like character with Vaca, the Indians ventured to solicit a like favor, with the result that the conscienceless cavaliers, to the dismay and grief of the confiding Indians, stole the greater part of their hard-won skins.

turies against the Spaniards of Mexico and New Mexico by the Comanches, had their earliest spring in the evil doings just mentioned of Coronado's men. The wrongs then quietly submitted to have since been thus avenged more than an hundredfold. In the presence of such development, it is no cause for wonder that the Teyas guides deserted Coronado ere he was well on his way toward Quivira; or that the guides of the main body of the army, while returning to New Mexico, were found to be thirty leagues astray from their goal, Tiguex!

But beyond all these embarrassing circumstances, Coronado was at last convinced that his chief guide, Turk, had all the while been cunningly be-guiling him far from his true aim, the discovery of Quivira. Startled by the awkward dilemma, the waste of precious time, he faced the crisis resolutely and effectively. Turk, made to confess at once and fully his knavery, was put into chains; thirty of the most resolute men were selected from the command, and mounted upon the best horses, with six sturdy footmen accompanying. To the appeal of the rest of the command, that they also might join in the exploration, a steadfast refusal was returned by Coronado, and instead orders were at once issued that they should occupy themselves for a few days in securing a supply of dried buffalo meat, and as soon as possible thereafter should set out upon their return to Tiguex. So persistent, however, were they in their solicitation that they even sent a delegation to overtake their commander when already well on his way, and again urged their request, with the only result that a more peremptory order was returned, that, without further delay, they proceed at once to their destination.¹⁷

Upon setting out Coronado seems to have recognized Isopete, a native of Quivira, as his chief guide and interpreter, though certain Teyas Indians were, for a few days, present in like capacity. The hapless Turk was taken along as a malefactor in chains. At this point a perplexing problem presents itself. While the other narratives are silent as to the exact route taken by Coronado, Jaramillo states specifically that the course taken from the Teyas village was due north. That such a course should have been literally followed seems scarcely possible—at least so doing would have brought the force to the southern boundary of Kansas far towards its eastern border, while the topographical data as to their movements in Kansas, the most distinctly traceable portion of the entire march, require that they should have entered the state far west of any such limitation. It is very possible, how-

NOTE 17.—“About this time [as the main body of the army was preparing to start for Tiguex], a tattooed Indian woman escaped from Capt. Juan de Saldivar and lay in hiding among the ravines, as she recognized the region [whither they were going] as Tiguex, where she had formerly been a slave. Later [after the army started for Tiguex] in her flight eastward, she fell into the hands of some Spaniards from Florida, who had penetrated thither on an exploring tour. After returning to New Spain, I heard from some of these men [Soto's] that the woman told them that for nine days she was fleeing from just such men as they were, and she even named several of the captains [Coronado's]. From this fact we were led to believe that we were then not far distant from the region where they [Soto's army] were then exploring.”

While Coronado was upon the point of starting for Quivira, Soto was probably approaching western Arkansas, late in June or early in July. If the farthest advance of the former was, as before suggested, somewhat west of the present Pottawatomie reservation, it was not impossible for the fugitive woman to traverse the intervening distance within the limit of nine days. The probable proximity of the two forces at this point naturally prompts the query why they did not meet. The prudent reserve of the Indians roundabout was doubtless the effective obstacle. The neighboring tribes undoubtedly understood the exact conditions as to the distance and plight of each army. As each commander had failed to conciliate their confidence or good will, they were simply left to themselves in blissful ignorance. Neither general, after so meager showing of actual achievement, would have been of any great advantage to the other. A meeting or conference under existing circumstances would have proven mutually mortifying. Such an ordeal was therefore mercifully spared them.

ever, that it did move directly north from the Teyas village till the Cimarron river was reached, then crossing to its northern bank, which is a comparatively open terrain, offering few obstructions, he followed its course toward the northwest till near longitude twenty-three degrees; thence two easy marches directly north would bring him to the Arkansas, at a point known in the early 1800's as *The Caches*, near the mouth of Mulberry creek, a short distance east of the present Fort Dodge, then a much used crossing place. The promptitude and precision evident in this progress so far we may safely attribute to the presence of the Quiviran guide, Isopete, a very different character from the tortuous Turk. Such a course, in an entirely simple and natural way, connects directly with the later movements made within Kansas. Jaramillo remarks that the moment Isopete saw the Arkansas he recognized it as the southern boundary of Quivira. As the stream was reached on St. Peter and St. Paul's day, June 28, Jaramillo chose to designate it as the River of St. Peter and St. Paul. Isopete described it as being below, *i. e.*, some distance south, of the Quiviran villages, forming thus the extreme southern frontier of their domain.

Crossing at the aforesaid Caches, the command moved with the current, *i. e.*, down stream, along the northern margin of the river, northeast for three days. On the way they came upon some Indians slaughtering buffalo to secure a supply of dried meat for conveyance to their villages, distant four days' march, northeast from the neighborhood of the present town of Great Bend. At the sight of the Spaniards the women and children raised a great outcry and began to flee; but at Isopete's calling to them they recognized the language as their own, and at once dismissing all apprehension associated with the whites without hesitation. Soon after the Indians set out with their dried meat for their villages toward the northeast. The command followed by easy marches, and in due time reached the Smoky Hill river, probably at or near the present Fort Harker. On the way much satisfaction was expressed in viewing the fine soil and excellent native products abounding along the watercourses, though they arrived in the dry season. Following the Smoky Hill in the detour through the counties of Ellsworth, McPherson, and Saline, a tour of three or four days, they discovered meantime six or seven considerable villages, probably at last arriving at the present Solomon City. Following the Kansas in due time eastward the command, it is quite safe to say, advanced as far as the present Junction City, as mention is made of meeting an affluent of the Kansas river which had more water than any other tributary thus far met, a distinction that still holds true, as well as more Indian villages upon its course. Besides, that stream was long a familiar highway or route with the Indians of that region when moving north or south, probably at that time, as it actually was for two or more centuries later.

One of the villages met was Quivira, the chief village of the domain known as Quivira, including at that date, it would seem, all of central and eastern Kansas. Just where that village, the capital, was situated, I was unable to determine. From all information thus far secured, from records, published narratives, as well as from repeated personal investigation of the country traversed by Coronado after he reached the Cimarron river, I am strongly inclined to believe that he did not penetrate into Nebraska. As a native of that state, born in the days when the lineally descended Quivirans (Pawnees) yet abounded in their pristine prowess, I long cherished the hope

that evidence complete and satisfactory might yet be discovered that would serve to substantiate the long asserted claim that he did really enter and for a time tarried in that region. But time nor effort in research upon the ground, tradition, nor documentary evidence, has availed, so far as I may discover, to substantiate the ever-recurring claim.

The geographical contour of the country inclines one to conclude that Coronado's headquarters were established at or near the present Junction City, while he and his men were busily engaged in exploring the region round about. From the farthest point reached toward the north he sent a request to the chieftain of Harahey—a region further towards the north—that he would consent to visit him (Coronado). Shortly after the dignitary appeared with an escort of 200 braves, armed with bows and arrows and wearing "some sort of things upon their heads," evidently imposing war-bonnets made of eagles' feathers, but otherwise almost entirely devoid of clothing or armor. These Indians were undoubtedly from Nebraska. The impression made by them upon Coronado seems to have been favorable; but the lateness of the season forbade longer tarrying.

At this point our last intelligence of the ill-starred Turk is had. The exact time of the occurrence is not given, but circumstances seem to combine in indicating this point in the record. Taking advantage of the absence of Coronado and a portion of his small escort while in conference with the chief of Harahey, Turk had by some means come in contact with the Indians of the village known as Quivira, and made an earnest and persistent endeavor to induce them to unite with him in massacring the entire Spanish force. The matter was communicated to Coronado after his return. Thereupon a council was called. The evidence against Turk was apparently conclusive. It was disclosed by himself that even before the command had started from Cicuye he had made a covenant with the chiefs of that village that he would, when once upon the plains, by leading them far away into some desolate region, where, once lost and their supplies entirely consumed, they would all perish by starvation. Thus at last the mystery of the march in search of Quivira is disclosed. Turk had deliberately led them southeast, instead of northeast, away from the desired goal, in an attempt to discharge his promise to the Cicuyan magnates. In view of such disclosures, Turk was at once condemned and put to death secretly. Jaramillo disposes of him quaintly and appropriately: "We learned of it [his intriguing with the Indians] and put him under guard and strangled him that night, so that he did not wake up."

Soon after this conference was had, in a council of his men called by the commander, it was decided that, as the season for further exploration was already brief, the winter in that latitude inhospitable, and an attempt to remain there, where supplies for men and horses could be obtained only with extreme difficulty, could not safely be ventured, their only course was to return so soon as might be to Tiguex. The claim was put forth that Coronado in his extreme northward movement, to meet the chief from Harahey, reached latitude forty degrees; but it must be borne in mind that the computations of Spanish explorers at that day were almost always too large in matters of distance. The entire time passed among the Quivirans was given as twenty-five days; busy days, no doubt, and not entirely resultless to either Indians or Spaniards. It will be noticed that during his sojourn in the country the relations of Coronado's men with the Indians,

wherever met north of the Arkansas, were entirely amicable. They furnished supplies to their visitors, acted as guides, and gave information readily, except when questioned as to personal or intertribal matters. Evidently the commander in this enterprise had selected safe men.

At first meeting, the impressions entertained of the Quivirans were to the effect that there was in them little to commend. But ere the final parting came this hasty view was essentially modified in their favor. They were found to be industrious, raising corn, beans and pumpkins in considerable quantity in the valleys along the streams; they constructed substantial frameworks of withes for their winter lodges and thatched them securely with prairie-grass, and overlaid this with thin turf. They tanned buffalo hides for winter clothing. They also dressed skins with the hair remaining upon them, and thus obtained warm bedding for winter use. It may also be added that, so far as extended investigation indicates, they were the first to introduce the cultivation of corn in our northern latitudes west of the Mississippi, bringing it from their kindred tribes upon the Red river when the northern migration begun. So close was the cultivation and use of this cereal associated with their tribal history that in their religious services they personified it as a token or symbol of the presence of the Great Spirit (the Power above). This corn, pulverized in a mortar after being parched, made a very palatable hasty pudding or bread. In this use they often spoke of it as *mother*. They also gathered and dried for domestic use some of the native fruits, as cherries, plums, and grapes. Certain wild nuts were collected and preserved for like use.

As to the nature of the soil and character of the country, so far as visited, Jaramillo remarks that he never saw a better region in all his travels in Spain, Italy, France, or any country where he had traveled in the service of the king of Spain. The surface of the country was diversified by hillocks, valleys and plains, and traversed in various directions by fine rivers and streams; in short, he writes as confident that under proper cultivation it would produce in abundance all kinds of crops. So favorable was the impression made as to the value of the country that a plan seems to have been entertained, if not actually determined, to return thither the following spring for the purpose of conquering and colonizing the entire region; but happily, ere that time arrived, Coronado's entire army was marching, empty-handed, in quite another direction. The only surviving evidence thereafter of his ever having been in Kansas was a cross erected, in the chief village probably, upon which was chiseled by the commander the statement that he had been there as general of an army—of thirty-six men! The route taken by his Quiviran guides seems to have been simply a retracing of his advance into Quivira so far as the Arkansas; thence they bore more to the west, much of the way following paths made by the buffalo in their annual migrations, till Tiguex was the last time reached. That Coronado's relations with the Quivirans was entirely amicable, so long as he was with them, is sufficiently evidenced in the conduct of his guides—they were faithful. From the Arkansas they brought him by a direct, much shorter route to the desired goal.

The results of this costly enterprise, so far as concerned Spain, other than the geographical knowledge gained of the country seen and traversed, were in the end destined to become to all concerned in it a source of extreme mortification. In fitting out and maintaining the expedition Mexico had impoverished

itself. The indebtedness incurred long hung like an incubus over the country. Instead of securing to the throne of Spain enlarged dominion and wealth of provinces, as time passed the new country for more than half a century remained unvisited and unoccupied, only to fall finally under the control of an unfriendly power, no lineal heir of Castile succeeding to its possession. Castañeda, for some unknown reason, seems to have been apprehensive that neither the feeble band that explored and discovered so much in the province that rendered it desirable to Spain, nor their descendants, should ever derive any advantage therefrom. Accordingly the proposed scheme of returning thither the ensuing year to conquer and colonize the country was never undertaken. When the white man's foot was again seen it came from the more benign sunrising. Another manner of man appeared, whom the denizens of the prairies soon learned to recognize as the master alike of the country and its inhabitants, the facile and versatile Frenchman.

One further incident merits notice at this point, a failure that seriously mars the record of the discoveries actually made. It is noticeable that, while Coronado was for twenty-five days busily engaged in his explorations in the region roundabout, there is no mention that any of these efforts were directed toward the east, at least further than the Big Blue, a few miles east from his probable headquarters, at or near Junction City. The natural explanation of this fact may be that the Indians, when questioned as to the conditions in that direction, diplomatically refrained from giving any specific information, and so, when already within less than a hundred miles of the most wonderful watercourse east of the Rocky Mountains, Coronado and his command were fated to return to Mexico blissfully ignorant of the existence and near presence of the Missouri river. The discovery and early exploration of the stream was thus fortunately reserved for their more complaisant and enterprising rivals, the French voyageurs and *coureur des bois*, who in due time thereafter were eagerly pressing westward from Canada along the great lakes and the eastern affluents of the Mississippi. So disheartening was the issue of Coronado's expedition that for fifty years or more the dream of the golden Quivira remained quiescent, at least so far as concerned any overt effort; yet, like the familiar stage ghost, it persistently would not down at the mere bidding. It still infected the minds of the Spaniards of Mexico. Near the close of the century, apparently during the years 1594-'96, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya commissioned Capt. Francisco Leiva Bonilla to chastise some turbulent Indians that were harrassing the province. While upon this service he conceived the scheme of extending his operations to the distant Quivira, and without authority set out thither. At some point, going or returning, he was in a quarrel killed by a subordinate, Juan de Humaña, who at once assumed the command. The expedition probably reached central Kansas, and possibly passed beyond toward the northwest to some gold-mines—the Black Hills, perhaps. While upon their return, at some point in southern Kansas, apparently the entire command was massacred, while asleep by night in camp, save two, a boy and a girl, who escaped by the aid of some roving Indians. The story of Governor Oñate's expedition will appear later.

The reader will have observed ere this that in his movements in Kansas, and even earlier, Coronado evinced an habitual penchant, not necessarily an unwise trait, to conform his movements to the course of streams met upon

the way. After crossing the Arkansas he moved along its northern margin, till information given by the Indians indicated that he must abandon it. Retaining his general direction, however, an easy march of three or four days would bring his escort to the Smoky Hill, near the present Fort Harker. This stream he undoubtedly followed in its southern detour, as already described, thereby meeting more frequent Indian villages; thence a few miles east he came upon the Kansas river, which brought him without doubt to the Republican, and quite likely to the Big Blue. A moment's glance at the map of the state would perhaps suggest to the Kansans of the present day that they, unconsciously, it may be, have to some degree entered into and perpetuated Coronado's liking for streams. During his brief exploitation of the region he was rarely if ever distant from the Republican, the Kansas, the Big Blue, or the Smoky Hill. Streams, moreover, as Jaramillo, who wrote an account of the movements of the command, wisely observed, furnish the best soil and the most varied products, and thereunto they that are wise do ever congregate; flourishing towns and cities bedeck them at easy intervals, and even the sordid (?) railways seem never so blithe as when in their close company. Yet the bards of the state leave these fair streams still unsung!

Before dismissing finally the multi-local theme, Quivira, it may be of some interest to review briefly the treatment accorded to it by the early geographers. The number of those that essayed to give it an actual habitat, as well as a name, is at least noteworthy, some of them having long since been accorded honorable recognition. First in order of time, so far as some research has afforded evidence, stands the name of Zaltieri, an Italian, whose map, dated 1566, is mentioned as probably the earliest that presents America as a continent distinct from Asia. Bering Strait he designates as *Streto de Anian*. Upon this map the realm of Quivira is given place in the central part of Alaska, occupying apparently a considerable territory between the Yukon and the Alaskan mountains, upon the southern coast. Once thus located it seems to have been regarded as convenient there or near-by at will. Furlani, in a map sketched but not engraved, 1574, accords it the same position. Mercator's map of 1569 had, however, meantime already transferred Quivira to the extreme southwest coast of Alaska. Once given place there by such an authority as Mercator, Ortelin's maps of 1570 and 1589, De Bry's of 1596, Wytfliet's of 1597, Quadus's map of 1608, and Hondius's of 1609, allow its position to remain essentially undisturbed, save a slight tendency toward the east. Meantime Molineux, upon his globe of 1592, had assigned Quivira a position east of Cape Mendocino, apparently east of the Coast Range mountains. A like disposition was made of it by Battista Agnese upon an undated map.

In 1661 there appeared at Florence, Italy, under the title *Arcano del Mare*, a collection of maps, several of them (thirty-three) relating to America. The author, Robert Dudley, who died twenty-two years before, merits special mention. Of noble birth and ample fortune, he was in turn a valiant seaman, a hydrographer, an engineer, and finally a geographer, and of honorable repute in all. One of these maps presents the best early view of our western coast from latitude thirty-eight to forty-nine degrees. The unexplored interior, from latitude forty-five to forty-eight degrees, is designated as the kingdom of Quivira. Now that the far-famed realm has become migratory, as an errant knight among the dominions of the earth, its

strides in this instance, from latitude sixty to forty-seven degrees, at a single step, are surprising, and admit of no easy elucidation. A map published in 1710 by John Senex, an Englishman, places Quivira still further east, longitude 107°, latitude 39° 30'. In a later map,¹⁸ Paris 1722, by Guillaume de Lisle, the elusive realm from longitude 266°, latitude 39°, greets us as having place upon the head waters of the Platte river. Thence, like a superannuated actor, it ventures its final appearance, or rather is forced to masquerade for a brief season, far to the east, as an evanescent and ill-omened creation of the ignoble Turk, who thereby most appropriately became the earliest known criminal judicially condemned and duly executed within the limits of fair Kansas.

OUR EARLIEST KNOWLEDGE OF KANSAS.

Such, in brief, was Coronado's march. But when we pause to inquire what were the advantages accruing from the costly adventure, we are, to our surprise, restricted to a confession of almost absolute ignorance. We know only that there was found a region, distant 200 leagues toward the northeast from New Mexico, described as a veritable land of promise, fair to look upon, and worthy of future investigation. By a strange irony of fate, however, to New Mexico and to Mexico itself it proved ere long a source of detriment and ultimately of bitter mortification. The knowledge acquired as to the topography or existing industrial opportunity in the country, so far as seen, was practically nothing. In short, the entire undertaking was simply all cry and no wool. The activity and resources of Spain thus prodigally lavished in this and other explorations within our present domain left absolutely no sign of good, but abundant indications of evil. Every early explorer—de Leon, Narvaez, Soto, and Coronado—set bravely forth with their hosts, and of them all Coronado alone returned, ever thereafter a disappointed and humiliated man. The Spaniard in each instance, save that of Coronado, seemed to be devoid of the amiable facility to conciliate the confidence or regard of the native tribes met by the way, with the logical result that their armies perished and themselves with them.

But a counterpart to these ill-starred enterprises is not far to seek. In due season, from another quarter, a different type of man ere long became known to the Indians. From the remote East, by way of the Great Lakes, appeared the complaisant Frenchman, not as a man of authority, but as a fellow being, willing to associate freely with the natives, even to become one with them in interest and in effort. His influence, to be sure, was too frequently not what it should have been. However a better class, though few in number, were willing to live with them, to toil with them, and if need be to suffer and cheerfully aid them in better ways of living. It is to two of these self-devoted pioneers of better things, a missionary and a layman, that I desire briefly to invite attention, as a sequel or supplement to the preceding narrative of Coronado's tour. It seems that late in 1672 Count Frontenac, then governor of New France, at the suggestion of his subordinate, the Intendant Monsieur Talon, authorized Louis Joliet, in company with Pere Jacques Marquette, *nomen venerabile et praeclarum*, to proceed west by way of the great lakes and undertake an exploration of the course of the Mississippi river to its mouth. Promptly the two, aided by five Frenchmen

NOTE 18.—On Hondius' World map of 1611, the longitude is numbered on the equator, running from 1 to 360 degrees; beginning at a point in the Atlantic about five degrees east of the extreme eastern point in Brazil.



St. Mary's
24th
St. Mary's

St. Mary's

St. Mary's

St. Mary's

St. Mary's

St. Mary's

St. Mary's

St. Mary's

St. Mary's

M.B.

MARQUETTE

St. Mary's

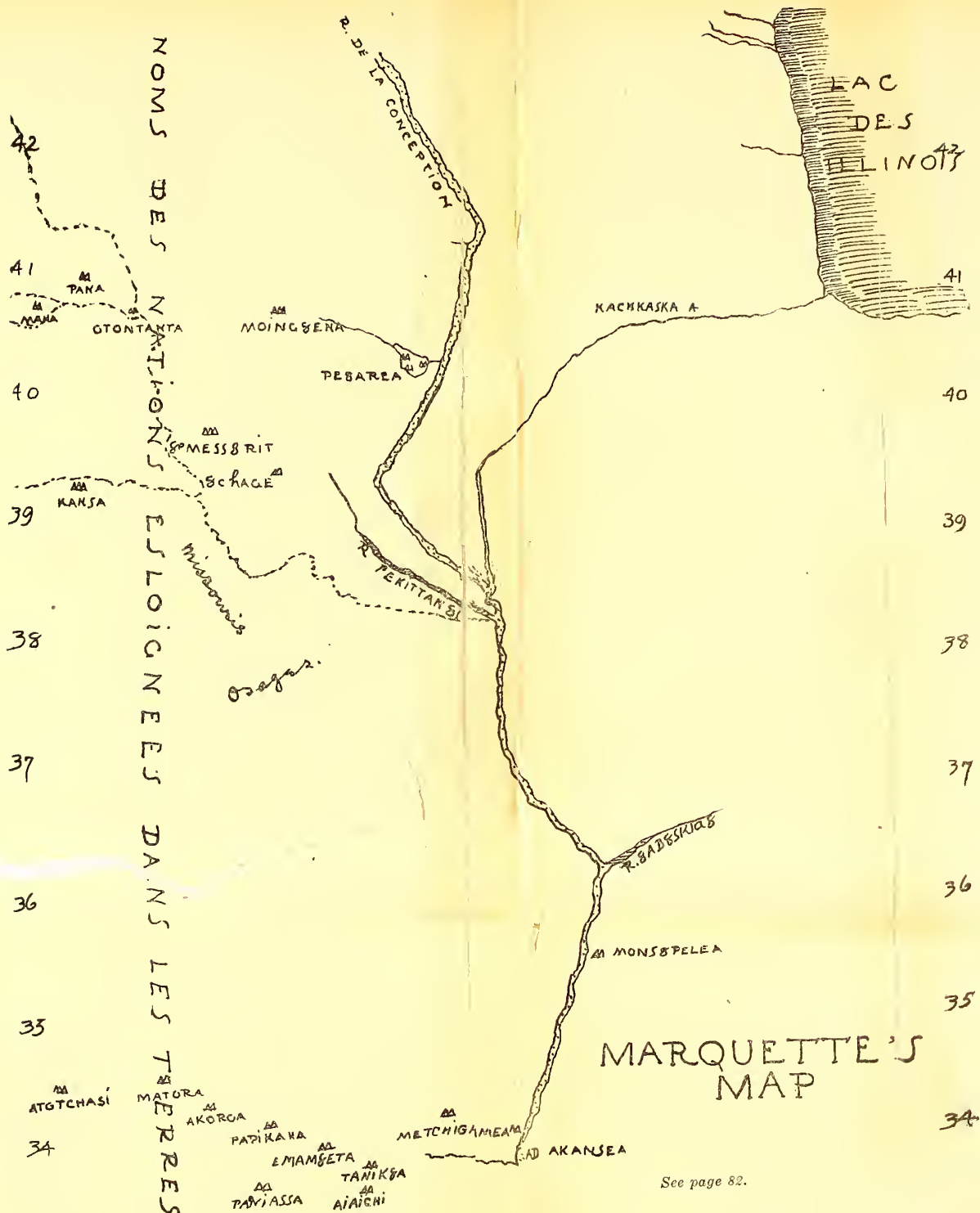
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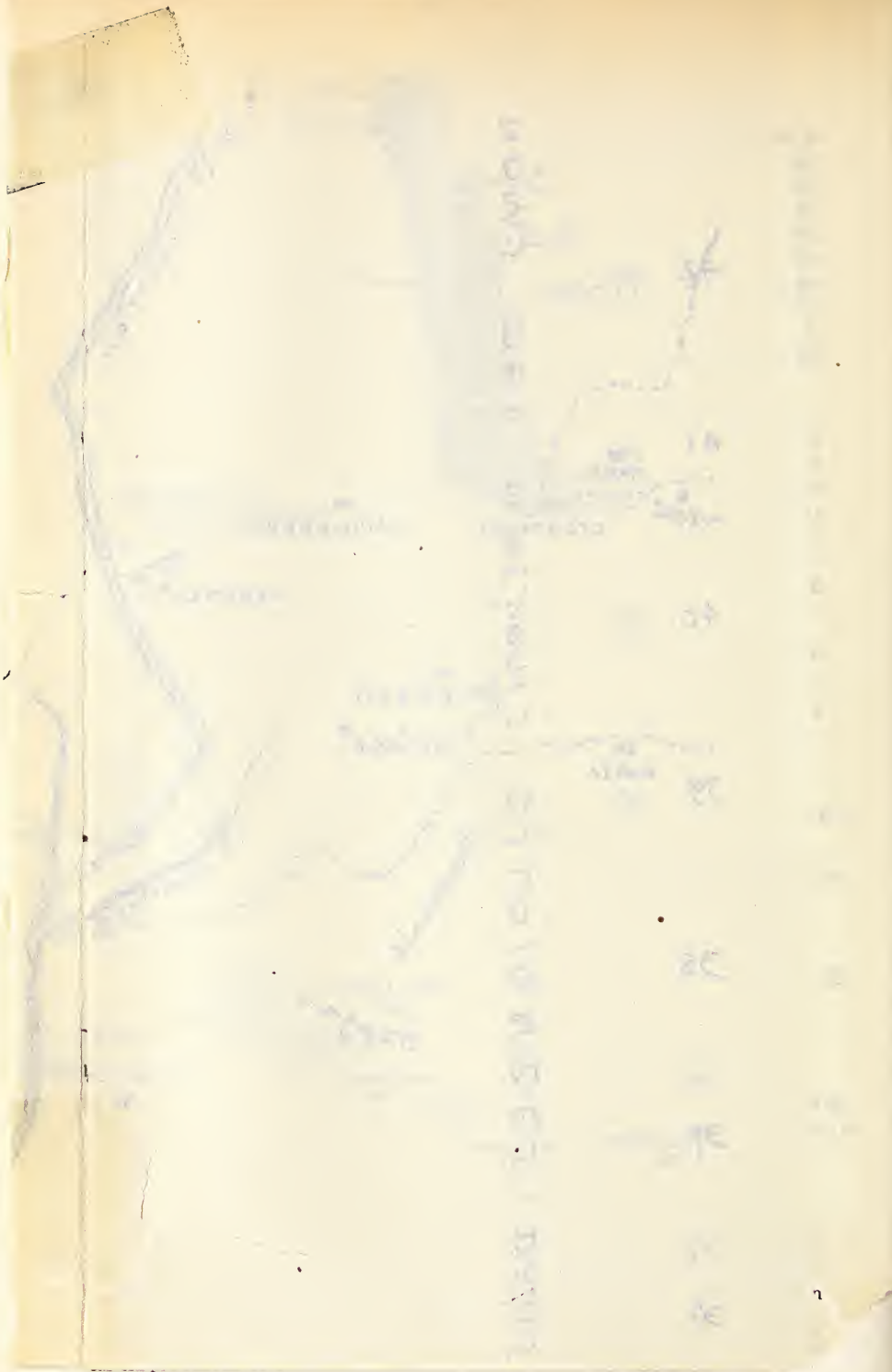
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as rowers, reported at Mackinaw December 8 ensuing. While wintering here, with the aid of such information as he was able to acquire from the Indians in the vicinity, Father Marquette endeavored to sketch the course of the great river, in a rude way, indicating the points at which affluents or villages of Indians would be met upon either side. May 17, 1673, setting out from Mackinaw, they ascended Green Bay and the Fox river, by a short portage entered the Wisconsin river, and June 17 passed out into the great river itself. Thence they soon reached the mouth of the Arkansas. Here they were informed by the Arkansas Indians that some of the tribes below were hostile, and that further advance was dangerous. Unable therefore to continue their way, they tarried here a few days, Marquette meantime busily occupied in questioning the Indians as to the topography of the country roundabout. By the aid of information thus gained he was able within the few days to trace in outline upon his map the course of the Wisconsin and Mississippi, so far as he had actually viewed it, as well as to note the points at which the Wisconsin, the Missouri, the Ohio and the Arkansas discharged into it.

So far the work done was Marquette's only, and as such was an original and valuable contribution to geographical knowledge. But when he proceeded to interrogate the Indians (the Arkansas) as to the location of other tribes and their villages, by means of the sign language, he became the willing pupil, and the Indians were, in the completest sense, his instructors—an ecclesiastic thoroughly trained in the current lore, secular and sacred, of his time, thus sitting a willing pupil at the feet of savages! But this instruction thus acquired, even from savages, he was able to leave so recorded that it has proven one of the most remarkable productions of the time. Though entirely ignorant of their language, he has yet left us a chart that indicates the sites of twenty or more villages of sundry tribes, not more than two or three of which he ever saw, upon the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Arkansas, Kansas and Platte rivers, some of them at a distance of 300 miles. And yet the locations assigned to these villages by his Indian tutors were in each instance creditably accurate. In explanation of this statement a brief divergence from our proper subject may perhaps be allowable.

In addition to the five senses common to the white man, the pristine Indian seems to have possessed a sixth, which in his mode of life was in some respects the most ready and vigorous of all—the topographical sense. The distance of a day's travel, even though the route had repeatedly changed direction and lay through a rugged, difficult region, he could readily estimate as the bee flies, with comparative accuracy. In like manner at any time he could sketch the general surface features of a region once familiar. Take a wild Indian, not yet spoiled by the white man, into a school building, for example, up two flights of stairs, allow him to enter a classroom for a minute, then pass him from the building by another door, and at request he will name the number of steps in each flight of stairs, the number of desks in the room entered, the approximate dimensions of the room, and sketch with fair accuracy the front of the building at which he entered. The cast of an intelligent Indian's mind in this respect seems, to a certain degree, to be fundamental. It appears to be in a limited sense only, an acquired trait. In its action it seems rather to partake of the nature of an original sense, and becomes thus comparatively early one of the most facile and responsive of

his mental endowments. Marquette's map is therefore, in all its essential features, a product of this special Indian sense. Constructed by a white man from his unaided recollection of what he had seen years since, it would probably have proven of small value. Certain ones of the Indians with whom Marquette tarried, for the few days of his visit on the Arkansas, who had at some previous period visited, or perhaps merely passed through, the localities here traced, indicated to him with singular accuracy the course of each considerable stream, as well as the site of each village appearing upon the map.

In this instance, by no means the only one, the usual conditions were reversed. The untutored Indian became the instructor, while the thoroughly cultured ecclesiastic simply registered his statements. O that an artist might have been present to sketch that unique scene! The map as completed is to all intents a genuine Indian production, and as such may safely rank as the equal in accuracy of some of the more ornate productions illustrative of the region of Quivira, as cited upon a preceding page. Compared with the too frequent hazy statements in the narratives of the Coronado tour, this naked presentation, with no explanatory text, pours a flood of welcome light upon the general *locale* of the country that constitutes the central western portion of the Mississippi valley at that date, especially the present states of Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, and Arkansas.

It is noticeable that, though the Arkansas Indians dwelt upon the river of the same name, and were thoroughly conversant with its general direction, the location of the villages of their tribe upon it, as well as the general character of the country upon either side, Indian-like they made no disclosures relative to either of these topics; while concerning districts more remote they were ever ready to speak precisely and fully. The explanation of this attitude was that they were not yet fully satisfied as to the precise purpose of the two strangers in coming thither, and so for the time they simply refrained from imparting further information.

This map, crude though it may be, serves to present with surpassing accuracy the domain now constituting the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska, together with the designation and location of the several tribes then (1673) known to be occupying territory within the northern and southern limits as marked by Marquette.¹⁹ The unoccupied country in the central region may naturally have been a common and convenient hunting-ground for the various conterminous tribes. It has already been seen, in the discussion of Coronado's march, that the Querechos and Teyas annually resorted to the southern portion of it as a chosen and coveted hunting-ground. When visited by Coronado, 1541, the Pawnees were undoubtedly controlling the country drained by the Kansas river and its numerous affluents, certainly as far east as Topeka, and possibly quite to the Missouri. At the

NOTE 19.—It may perhaps be in place to speak briefly of the notable family of which this heroic but unassuming pioneer missionary was a worthy member. As early as the middle of the fourteenth century various of its members were recognized as having won honorable renown by their chivalrous services in behalf of their native city, Laon, as well as in recognition of frequent knightly services rendered to the sovereigns of France. Four hundred years later three members of the family, serving in the French contingent of our armies, gave their lives that our country might become independent. The name of our present subject is equally renowned for untiring, useful services in a nobler field. Upon completing his studies in the order of the Jesuits he soon decided to engage in missionary service among the Indians of Canada. September 20, 1666, he landed at Quebec. After a sojourn there he began his labors among the Montagnais Indians; thence in one season he was in charge of the Ottawa mission, near Sault St. Mary's; and thence to the mission of Lapointe, near Green Bay, Wis., 1669. After his return from the voyage down the Mississippi, for a time he labored with the Kaskaskias and other

time of Governor Oñate's visitation, sixty years later, the advance-guard of the tribe seem to have progressed northward so far as the Platte river, though they had not actually taken final possession of any considerable area, as the greater portion of them seem to have fondly lingered in Kansas, apparently reluctant to part entirely from the pleasant conditions there once enjoyed. Between the coming of Governor Oñate (1601) and the massacre of Villazar with his command (1720) upon the Platte river, a few miles east of the junction of the north and south forks of that stream, the Pawnees had taken full possession of all the desirable land within the valley of the Platte and its affluents, including therein all the desirable portion of the state, except a small district adjacent to the Missouri, which the small tribes of the Otoes (Otontanta), Omahas (Mahas) and Poncas, who had conceded, or at least unsuccessfully disputed, the suzerainty of the Pawnees over the domain. The point in the distant South whence the Pawnees first began their remote northern migration is indicated by the Paniassa village, near the northern margin of Red river.

It will be noticed that the latitudes, as here indicated, are remarkably accurate, though I find no indication that Marquette had any instruments to aid him in the construction of the map. In this interesting and valuable sketch, therefore, meager as it is, we find our earliest definite information as to the relative situation of the four present states, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and Nebraska. The knowledge of the results of this tour by the heroic father, as evidenced in his sketch and journal, when once known, soon thereafter enkindled upon the part of early voyageurs and traders, even then busily engaged in exploiting regions toward the remote West by way of the Great Lakes, a generous and patriotic zeal that erstwhile was to secure a vast and most valuable region, the entire expanse of the great prairies north of the Red river as far west as the Rocky Mountains, to the already occupied realm of Canada, whence in due time it was transferred to the control of the United States, the first effective check given to the ruthless aggrandizements of Spain upon this continent.

As Marquette was descending the Upper Mississippi, from information already derived from the Indians he had been prepared to behold in the Missouri a mighty stream; but his first glance satisfied him that the half had not been told. As he viewed the flood, turbid and laden with uprooted trees and other debris torn from its banks far above, sweeping with irresistible momentum into the Mississippi, bearing along amid the manifold evidences of its destructive power his frail bark, his facile imagination was at once enkindled. As his Indian rowers informed him of the vast prairies that it traversed, after issuing from the lofty, far distant mountains toward the setting sun, the fond hope was at once conceived that by way of this great

tribes in Illinois. Here, as a result of his arduous toils and endeavors, feeling that his frail constitution was giving way, he attempted to reach the Kaskaskias. Arriving there he attempted to resume missionary labors with them. But rapidly declining health prompted him to set out for Mackinaw. While making his way northward along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, with two companions, his strength sank entirely, Saturday, May 18, 1674. His frail body was piously interred by his two accompanying friends. In nine brief years, while his hoped for life's work was barely yet begun, he ceased thus from his devout labors — called higher. Two years later a party of Indians to whom he had ministered, upon the return from their annual hunt, visited the spot of his interment, upon a slight hill near a stream, exhumed his remains, and bore them in solemn procession to the mission church at Mackinaw. There they were piously interred, with imposing ceremony, in the center of the building.

A full account may be found of Marquette's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, by Dr. John G. Shea, New York, 1852. Beside the life and voyages of Marquette, there are other articles of eminent value by various hands; but above all there is a full presentation of Marquette's map.

stream he might safely pass the intervening plains, and from its head waters amid the mountains penetrate unhindered to the sources of the Colorado, and thence descending it reach California—a fond dream, that still remains unrealized.

The character (8) appearing in the names Pekitan8i, 8missourit, 8chage, Pe8area, and others, is to be sounded as *oo* in *too*. The advance-guard of the Pawnees had at this date penetrated so far as the Platte, but had scarcely yet contemplated permanent occupancy. The Kansa were slowly approaching the Kansas river from the south. The 8missourit (the Missouris) and the 8chage (Osages) should have been located upon the southern margin of the Missouri (Pekitan8i) at the two points indicated by the names in script. The dotted marks are an attempt to show more exactly the course of the Missouri, the Kansas and the Platte.

JUAN DE PADILLA.

The Pioneer Missionary of Kansas.

There is a somber, perhaps not unbecoming, phase associated with Coronado's tour to Quivira that should merit independent notice in this connection. When the march thither began an important member of the force, Fray Juan de Padilla, was duly entitled to special mention. He was evidently a man of marked character and peculiar power. In early life he had served as a soldier. This manner of life he had forsaken for a more noble service. In the few brief notices that survive of him there is frequent evidence that in his final calling there was an initiative promptitude and persistency that impressed others. Upon arriving at Quivira he must have early been impressed and attracted by traits in the character and life of the Quivirans (Pawnees) not yet observed in other Indians. During his brief association with them at that time, the many soon enlisted his sympathy by their kindly attentions and services; while the medicine-men seem to have been equally prompt in avowing their disapproval of him and his proffered instructions. Naturally, he seems to have chosen to associate rather with those of the tribe whose lot was most difficult. Accordingly, during the brief stay with them, he preferred to move about on foot rather than mounted.

When Coronado set out from Quivira for Tiguex, Padilla accompanied him; but with the resolve, contrary to the urgent pleas of all others, that the next spring he would again be with the tribe. Evidently during his brief stay they had won his kindly interest. Though he had met other tribes, to this one he willingly yielded the precedence. So soon as the warm season returned, therefore, with his little company, taking as a gift to their distant charge a small flock of sheep, some mules, a horse and minor articles as presents to be distributed among them, he eagerly retraced the weary distance of nearly 700 miles.

The devoted leader, a Portuguese assistant, Andres do Campo, two Indian laymen, Sebastian and Luke, and a negro not named, constituted the working force of the prospective mission. Reaching the villages in due season, with his usual energy Padilla at once resumed the suspended work. What was the present attitude of the tribe soon became manifest. So encouraging was the outlook, soon after the reopening of the missionary efforts among them, that he ventured to devote some attention to other villages. This step, misinterpreted by some of his immediate charge, so one account

runs, wrought his undoing. As he was returning from one of these ministrations elsewhere he found a portion of his own village in hostile array against him. Their determined attitude satisfied him that the end was come. At once he urged Campo to escape instantly upon his horse; the two lay brethren, as they were young and active, he besought to flee on foot. Campo immediately disappeared; the laymen, reaching a hill at some distance, secreted themselves in the grass and awaited the end. The hostile Indians in a body approached the father as he knelt in prayer, and a flight of arrows closed his labors. The two laymen quietly awaited the coming of the night, then returned, dug a grave, piously covered the mangled body, and silently withdrew. Of the three, report was had in due time to the effect that after a weary flight of nearly 1000 miles they finally escaped in safety to Panuco, in Mexico.

Such is the current narrative of Fray Juan de Padilla's attempted missionary work and death among the Pawnees in central Kansas. Fortunately there is extant a brief account of the matter from an independent source.²⁰ As already indicated, Padilla was a man of unusual ability, of quick discernment, and instant in the presence of exigencies. When withdrawing from Quivira the previous autumn with Coronado, he carefully prepared and erected a cross in one of the villages, explained its significance to the Indians, and charged them that they must not in any way disturb it; that such an attempt would cost them dear. Though his commander and others in the force urged him to abandon all thought of ever returning, he alone was insistent. The ensuing spring he accordingly set out; and to his pleasant surprise found the cross still standing in its proper place and condition. Accompanying him were Andres do Campo and the others before named. With him were also returning to their native country the Quiviran guides, who, the previous autumn, had conducted Coronado by a direct route to New Mexico. To the great joy of the missionary everything was found in becoming plight. The reception by the Indians was encouraging; and naturally he began to contemplate an enlargement of his field of labor, with a view to reaching more distant villages. Contrary to the wishes of his immediate charge, who were evidently becoming attached to him, he set out with his usual escort. At a day's distance a band of hostile Indians met him. Realizing at once their unfriendly purpose, he urged Campo to mount his horse and take to flight, as in so doing he might be able to assist the two laymen and the negro to arrive at a place of safety. Falling then himself upon his knees in a last supplication, he was pierced by a flight of arrows. The savages immediately cast his body, scarcely yet dead, into a pit near by, and buried it beneath a heap of stones. The writer before named makes mention of the fact that some time after the death of the martyr the cross raised by him in the Pawnee village was still standing, a mute but eloquent witness of the esteem in which he was held by his adopted people.

The foregoing account has been ventured at this point with a view to

NOTE 20.—Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva Galicia*, Mexico, 1870. The author of this work is entitled, by the general character of his writings, to special mention. So far as appeal has been made to this volume, in comparison with other authorities upon the same subject, it has proven quite as safe as the best. He was evidently willing ever to make candid appeal to existing records, if accessible, ere he put forth his own opinions or conclusions. For this reason especially his account of the experiences of Fray Padilla among the Quivirans has been accorded precedence as most worthy of consideration or credence. Still, at times, he was not above yielding to the prevalent sentiment of the day; hence we find him gravely recording that the death of Padilla was made memorable by remarkable phenomena immediately thereafter—great floods, displays of blazing meteors, and comets that even obscured the sun.

offering a new interpretation as to the death of Fray Padilla. There is, to any one familiar with the Indian character ere he was debauched by the white man, an obvious inconsistency here. Indians in all essential matters were prone to be consistent. Simplicity in thought and in conduct was the rule. If they approved the original erection of the cross in the village, unless rare provocation intervened, they would hesitate to destroy it. The only explanation of its remaining undisturbed, therefore, is that a favorable impression as to the missionary's labors among them had been wrought in their minds. The character of the man as revealed in his walk and conversation impressed them favorably. The cross, ever before them, was an eloquent epitome of all his teaching and therefore an object of reverence—in their language it was *good medicine*; therefore the cross stood.²¹

The other thought is that, in all probability, Padilla was not killed by the Pawnees. Had the hostile band been such the fact would certainly have become known. When he set out upon the fatal journey the Indians endeavored to divert him from going. They were in all probability aware that he was incurring danger, as the event showed. At the distance of a day's journey a war party met them with hostile demonstrations, evidently belonging to an unfriendly tribe. Their motive in burying his body, as they did, already lacerated, in a pit under a mass of stones, was a gratuitous indignity, that it might be marred and mangled beyond recognition. Every statement in the entire account is consistent with this view. The father had uniformly befriended the Pawnees; in all his intercourse he had evidently sought their welfare, and this fact was becoming known to other Indians. The murderers recognized in him a well-wisher to their enemies, the Pawnees, and therefore they sought his life.

Though now identified with the Quivirans of old, the Pawnee tribe acquire no honor from the relationship. As known two centuries since they were far in advance of all that has been recorded of the former, save their hospitality, by Coronado's scribes, Castañeda and Jaránillo, or even by Coronado himself. Born within their domain, the most frequent and enduring reminiscences of the past are intimately associated with them. Once my life was saved by a Pawnee, who saw no reason why I should therefore be indebted to him; and I still bear the mark of another who meant last things when he gave the blow. The best and the worst in them are both familiar; but if fairly treated, the best abounded the more.

As already noted, Juan de Padilla had in earlier days chosen the career of a soldier. How long he continued in this service we have no means of knowing. Evidently the elements of military training and experience had

NOTE 21.—Prof. J. V. Brower, of St. Paul, Minn., president of the Quivira Historical Society, erected in Kansas four monuments commemorative of the Coronado expedition. These are:

The monument erected at Logan Grove near Junction City, on the farm of Robert Douglas Henderson, in honor of the Spanish explorer, Coronado, and dedicated August 12, 1902; cost, about \$600.

Monument in honor of Friar Juan de Padilla, the first Christian martyr to die on the soil of the United States, was erected in the city park, Herington, Dickinson county, and dedicated October 26, 1904; probable cost, \$500.

Monument to Ta-tar-rax, chief of the Harahey Indians, who visited Coronado in the Kansas valley, was erected in the city park at Manhattan, Riley county, and dedicated October 27, 1904; probable cost, \$400.

The monument at Alma, Wabaunsee county, in honor of the Harahey tribe of Indians, was dedicated October 28, 1904; probable cost, \$300.

A monument constructed of native uncut limestone was found by the early settlers of Morris county on the brow of a high point of land between the junctions of the valleys of Elm creek and the Neosho river, about a mile south of Council Grove. It has long been known locally as the Padilla monument. It has never been wholly overthrown, but stands ten or twelve feet high, and can be seen from all directions for miles.

left a deep and vivid impress upon him. Enough is recorded of him in the accounts relating to Coronado's march to indicate that he was early recognized as a person of mark in the army. In enterprises that demanded the elements of promptitude and precision and power he seems to have voluntarily borne his full share. Even after he became an ordained ecclesiastic, in exigencies requiring instant decision and prompt action, the soldierly instincts of an earlier day, reverting for the moment, seem to have suspended all thought of his higher functions as an ordained priest. Even before the march from Compostela began he had been designated as chief of the clergy that accompanied the army. His thought seem to have rarely been concerned about himself. Whenever special detachments were sent upon exploring tours in rugged regions, where passage could be scarcely found, he was ever at hand cheerfully enduring hardships among the foremost. In fact, it seems that commanders sent upon such undertakings must have requested that he accompany them. While so serving, no obstacle seemed to impress him, at times choosing to advance barefoot. Whenever his priestly services were needful, in case of sickness or injury, he was cheerfully at hand to assuage suffering, to assist in dressing wounds, or in administering religious consolation. It is not unnatural that the death of such a man, especially if his demise be sudden or violent, in the minds of the ignorant should be associated with supernatural phenomena.

"Fierce, fiery warriors fought upon the clouds,
The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets."

GOVERNOR ONATE'S EXPLORATIONS IN KANSAS.²²

Nearly two generations subsequent to the final, hurried withdrawal of Coronado from New Mexico, a scant period to assuage the sorrows and retrieve the losses that had been wrought among the Indian natives there, a new and very different invasion made itself felt. At its head came Don Juan de Oñate, a wealthy resident of Zacatecas, of worthy memory. After tedious negotiations with the viceroys Don Luis de Velasco and Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Acebedo, Conde de Monterey, September, 1595, to January, 1598, he finally was commissioned to conduct to New Mexico a larger, more varied and useful command. In this body were comprised an armed force of 400 men, 130 of whom, upon reaching the province with their families, were to engage in farming, Oñate himself undertaking to supply the necessary agricultural

NOTE 22.—*Documentos para la Historia de Mexico. Tomo Primero. Folio, A. M. Mexico, 1856.* This volume is the first of the third series of documents (most of them hitherto unpublished) relating to the early history of Mexico. The material comprised in these volumes appeared in the form of feuilletons in the *Diario Oficial*, in the city of Mexico. Subsequently a few sets of these feuilletons were assembled and bound. The volume (all published of the third series) is the rarest, and became at once unobtainable. There are nine different subjects discussed in this volume. In only one of them, however, are we here concerned, under the following title: *Relaciones de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo-Mexico se han visto y sabido, desde el año de 1538 hasta el de 1626, por el Padre Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron*, p. 208.

This author entered the missionary field in New Mexico early in the seventeenth century, and for a period of eight years seems to have been an active and earnest laborer among the Pueblo Indians, especially at Jemez, where he claimed that during that period he had baptised more than 6000 converts, an unusually creditable record, if correctly stated. There was, however, a degree of restlessness in his character, as he was ever urgent to engage in new fields of labor, not always a desirable feature in such work. The volume under consideration must have been to him a laborious compilation; but unfortunately there are evidences of hasty work in its pages, in the form of repetitions, indefinite statements, and, as distance lends enchantment, there is an obvious proneness to deal quite as freely with the past and future as with the more sober, unyielding present.

So far as I have been able to learn, no contemporaneous record of Governor Onate's exploring tour is now in existence; hence we are left to rely largely upon the volume just mentioned, which is unfortunately a compilation from various sources. Salmeron evidently had not the patience nor acumen to produce from such various material a coherent or logical narration of the recent

implements and provisions till they were in a condition to support themselves. The king of Spain apparently provided the needful arms and ammunition, at least a large portion of them. To convey the requisite subsistence, while upon the way and until the farmers could become self-supporting, a train of eighty heavily loaded wagons was provided. The column, when at last upon the march, was to be closed by a herd of 700 cattle, partly for consumption on the way, while the portion surviving upon reaching their destination was to be distributed among the expectant settlers. To defray the expenses thus incurred ere starting, Oñate had already disbursed 500,000 ducats.

The progress, when at last begun, January 26, 1598, was from San Bartolomé, upon the Conchos river, in Nueva Vizcaya, due north till the Del Norte was reached, April 20. Soon after crossing to the eastern side of this stream the advance was continued in a leisurely way till the long-cherished domain of New Mexico was at last entered. Oñate at once set himself energetically to the task of visiting and conferring with the Indian occupants of all the pueblos that he could then approach. The general demeanor of the Indians, so far as met, seemed to evince an amicable disposition. They voluntarily approached the immigrants with offerings of corn and other supplies, for the relief of present needs. Let this instance be noted: Indians, as human, are prone to nurse grudges to keep them warm, as Tam O'Shanter's wife did her anger. If these grudges are not glutted during life, the charge descends to the son. But in this instance, at their earliest appearing, and even till the colonists were distributed upon their farms, many of the natives cheerfully aided them in building their houses and opening their farms, even supplying clothing when needed. Yet the earlier kinsmen of these very helpers had, during the ruthless occupancy by Coronado's command, doubtless suffered bitter want and loss in property and in life. A fit instance, therefore, this, of rare forbearance and native kindness, not unworthy of mention, now that requital in kind is too late.

But not all were such. In at least one startling instance the fact became manifest. After holding a conference with the chiefs of thirty pueblos, July 7, in which all expressions made seemed to indicate entire friendliness on the part of the Indians, the expectant farmers began to separate in different directions to their new homes, and the soldiers in detachments were moving in various directions. September 19, a much larger gathering of Indians was assembled with like result. Meantime Governor Oñate had set out upon a tour of observation toward the remote West, while his subordi-

or present developments transpiring in New Mexico. Hence it is, no doubt, that current events of importance are at times not mentioned, while the talk or rumors are boldly exaggerated; as when he insists upon the existence of rich gold-mines as already under operation within the limits of Quivira, or magnifies to 1000 or more the loss inflicted upon the Escansagues and Aijados by Oñate's force of eighty men. The topographical data as to the route and progress made by Oñate are also so meager that we are sadly at a loss to determine the direction taken or the distance actually traversed. Certain of these careless incongruities are accordingly allowed to remain, without attempt at explanation, as there are no data present to serve as guides. In other cases, more numerous, the text has readily permitted an interpretation that admits of satisfactory adjustment within the limitations of actual time and place. The destruction of the command of Humana, the previous autumn, was in all probability an actual catastrophe as stated. The timidity of the Quivirans whenever the Escansagues or Aijados approached was probably real. They had not yet become established in the domain then occupied and had not arms that enabled them to meet these enemies upon equal terms. The story of Oñate's seizure of the Quiviran envoy and his almost immediate rescue by his fellow tribesmen bears all the evidence of being an actual occurrence. In brief, it is an excellent instance of native astuteness and dexterity upon the part of the pristine Indian. Such diversions were, of course, not frequent; but when undertaken, they were usually admirable instances of aboriginal humor and cleverness. When pitted thus against the stately and formal Spanish cavaliers, being naturally the more adroit and facile, the Indian usually had his way at will.

nate, Don Vicente Zaldivar, was moving eastward to explore the buffalo plains. Upon the return of Zaldivar, a visit was made to the strong pueblo of Acoma. The reception accorded to him and his men, so far as appeared, was most cordial. The next day, as the soldiers were in parties visiting the place, a sudden attack was made upon them. After a three hours' contest only eight survived. Instant preparation to avenge such treachery was begun. January 22, 1599, an assault upon the stronghold was made, and only after three days of unremitting effort was a victory secured. Of a population of 6000 in the pueblos, only about 600 survived. The lesson for the time was effective.

The reasonable expectation of Governor Oñate, as recompense for his philanthropic services, was an ultimate increase of his fortune from the mines that he hoped to develop in the territory. But prior to that he cherished an honorable ambition to achieve good for others first, by hastening the settlement and thrift of his immigrants, as well as advancing the comparative civilization of the Indians. An auspicious beginning gave ground for hope. But untoward limitations also developed. Soldiers deserted, and farmers, dissatisfied, attempted to make their way back into Mexico, as prophets of ill-omen, eager to disseminate evil reports. The better part, however, persisted, while at intervals others came to join and share with them. In addition to farming, prospecting and mining were in time attempted, with apparent prospect of fair returns being reached.

At last, June, 1601 (Salmeron says 1599), the governor seems to have felt that, for a season, he might safely direct his efforts toward the east, beyond the mountains. The siren song of a distant, golden Quivira was not unknown to him. A Mexican boy²³ that had seen service, not entirely honorable, upon the eastern plains had told him much, but had not altogether beguiled him. At all events the governor's thought seems to have been that it was high time that the much mooted question of Quivira, where it was and what it was, should once for all be taken up and finally solved. An industrious chronicler of the seventeenth century records that he set out from Santa Fe, accompanied by Padres Velasco and Vergara, and the Mexican boy as guide and interpreter, and eighty well-mounted horsemen. The course taken beyond the mountains is somewhat perplexing: one authority states that the movement was due east upon the buffalo plains; another seems to maintain that his ultimate goal was the north sea, and with that in view he advanced toward the northeast 300 leagues. Bancroft seems to suggest that the course followed was variable, between east and northeast, for a distance of perhaps 200 leagues. As the governor's primary purpose was to ascertain whatever information he might by a personal visit thither to Quivira, as well as of the intermediate territory, and thereafter move in search of the north sea,²⁴ it would be not strange that his movements may have at times become somewhat perplexing.

NOTE 23.—This elusive personage, Jose or Jusepe by name, was a member of the raiding party, before mentioned, led by Captain Bonilla and subsequently by Humana in a quest for gold, north or northwest from Quivira. After the force had passed the more densely populated region of Quivira, coming upon a broad river, very probably the Platte, while the Spaniards were busily engaged in crossing upon balsas [rafts], Jose, with two other Mexican Indians, improved the occasion to desert. Onate, while in Quivira, met him, and through his disclosures learned of the death of Bonilla as well as the subsequent entire destruction of the command.

NOTE 24.—The north sea here mentioned was probably Lakes Superior and Michigan. Indians from the lake country had naturally communicated the fact of their existence to the Indians upon the plains, and through them the Spaniards in New Mexico had apparently conceived of them as part of the northern Atlantic ocean.

In the presence of such conditions it becomes, therefore, a source of lasting regret that the narrative of Oñate's tour upon the eastern plains is, so far as known, no longer in existence. He was manifestly a man of unusual and varied endowments. Honorably ambitious to serve the interests of others quite as willingly as his own, he must have been far in advance of the average Spaniard of his day. He had an eye to see, as well as a mind ever ready to appreciate unselfishly, the varying revelations that the virgin country disclosed from day to day. Had his journal survived we would have doubtless found therein valuable records of frequent incidents by the way, as well as of novel and useful discoveries upon the vast expanses ever opening before him in whatever direction he turned. Not the least pleasing, moreover, would be the opportunity of meeting and having intercourse with the native tribes, wherever encountered. There must have been in his personal dealings with them an ease and sincerity of manner that conciliated their confidence. The fact that his route varied from time to time in direction was not without reason; he was rather earnestly desirous, so far as time and opportunity permitted, to explore thoroughly each region visited. Occasional expressions in Salmeron's compilation, evidently derived from Oñate's journals, afford evidence that he was eagerly and constantly searching out the country roundabout as opportunity permitted. The streams were noted as frequent; the plains were ever grateful to the eye, diversified at intervals by gently rolling hills admirably adapted to tillage; the climate was kindly and exhilarating.

In contrast with the Quivirans, other tribes met seem to have been almost constantly roaming, many of them without shelter, in whatever direction there were indications of game. The primeval law of existence, "what shall we eat, what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed," seemed to absorb most of their thought and control their voluntary efforts. Other than the Quivirans there were apparently no tribes met, so far as the records afford evidence, that were in any essential degree sedentary, or evinced any inclination to cultivate the soil with a view to thus securing a diversity of diet. Yet the commander's personal intercourse with the tribes met seemed to satisfy him that the Indians of the plains, abject as they sometimes appeared, were far superior in energy and courage to most of the sedentary tribes that he had known in Mexico.

That the first general direction of the march from New Mexico, for a distance of 200 leagues and even further, should be eastward, with frequent detours to the south or north, was quite natural. The region thus exploited was diversified and attractive. At some undetermined point, however, in the advance, a change of course was made, and henceforth the main progress was steadfastly northward. The occasional notices as to the nature of the country visited and examined, as he progressed, incline me to the opinion that he probably entered the present Kansas as far east as Chautauqua county. Thence his movements, as will become apparent later, undoubtedly became more deliberate. Adding to the delays thus caused the time devoted to detours upon either hand, it seems safe to say that his final advance, probably to a considerable distance north of the Kansas river, must perforce have been somewhat slow.

In the course of this final movement we are abruptly met by one of the perplexing problems, not infrequent in our earlier annals, relative to the unexpected presence and influence of certain Indian tribes at points far re-

moved from their original habitat. The narratives of Coronado's quest in Kansas, fifty years earlier, afford scant intimation of meeting or knowing of such tribes. We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that they had forced their way thither during the half century immediately preceding the appearance of Oñate's command.

The first Indians thus encountered were the Aijados, whom Oñate found occupying territory immediately south of Quivira. They welcomed the Spaniards, it would seem, somewhat effusively, evidently for reasons that develop later. After resting several days they were invited by the Aijados, then engaged in hostilities with the Quivirans, to unite with them in an amicable visit to that tribe. For reasons of his own Oñate readily complied and, escorted by the Aijados, 2000 strong, set out with his command. As they neared their destination, a Quiviran embassy advancing to welcome the governor, catching sight of the accompanying force of the Aijados, and at once apprehending some sinister motive in their presence, withdrew immediately, with their people, to a remote part of their realm. Thereupon the crafty Aijados, disappointed in the anticipated slaughter, began to pillage and burn the forsaken lodges and villages. This ruthless devastation Oñate at once forbade. Resenting this interference the disappointed warriors promptly directed their fury against the Spaniards, with the gratifying outcome that more than 1000 of them were killed, the Spaniards suffering no loss. These Indians, so the account runs, had for some years been waging relentless war against the Quivirans, and had finally succeeded in wresting from them a valuable gold-mine situated toward the north or northwest.

In a previous battle with another tribe the governor had rescued two captive Aijados boys. To display his knowledge of gold and its qualities the older boy, unaided, built a small smelting furnace, so the story runs, extracted the metal from the ore, and wrought articles with a skill that elicited the admiration of the goldsmiths of Mexico. They tried to deceive him with various alloys or ores, but in no instance succeeded. In each case he readily detected the gold alloy by the sense of smell or touch. The gold from the mine in Quivira was so plenteous, so it is claimed, that arrow heads and other common articles were wrought from it. The lineage of this tribe, the Aijados, I have diligently sought to trace, but without avail. Playing so prominent a part as they did in the story of Oñate's tour of exploration, it is scarcely conceivable that they should have disappeared utterly, leaving no sign. When we consider the extravagant statements made as to their familiar ignorance of the value of gold, as serving base uses only, the most natural issue from the dilemma, if such there be in the case, seems to be to reject the entire awkward fabrication. Certainly Kansas never laid claim to such a Golconda; nor did Oñate ever actually countenance its existence.

Another tribe of which Oñate had experience was known as the Escansagues, also enemies of the Quivirans, and at the time of his arrival their near neighbor, merits more extended notice, and fortunately there is no question as to their actual existence. So far as I have been able to trace their history I am much inclined to believe that they were of Ute stock, and so long as they appeared upon the plains were probably predatory intruders. The meager resemblance between their tribal name and that of the Arkansas Indians (now extinct) has been urged as evidence of a lineal relationship; but the claim merits no consideration. The two tribes were radically distinct. Their habitat upon the plains seems to have been sub-

ject to change from time to time, indicating probably that they were not able to conquer or retain any permanent abode. During the seventeenth century the tribal name appears at varying dates in the annals of New Mexico and even of Mexico. If the numbers are correctly reported in the narrative of Oñate's tour, the tribe must have been 15,000 strong. The first location assigned to them, east of the mountains, was 100 leagues northeast of New Mexico, *i. e.*, of Santa Fe.²⁵ Later mention is made of them as being upon or near the head waters of the Missouri. Oñate found them bordering upon the southern confines of Quivira.

At his coming they were in the act of moving northward against the Quivirans, doing much damage on the way to the abandoned villages. At the sight of their wanton devastation the commissary of the force, Padre Francisco de Velasco, moved with compassion because of the wanton destruction going on, besought the commander to stay them. Thereupon the Indians turned upon the Spaniards, and in the ensuing struggle there perished nearly 1000 Indians, while their foes lost not a single man, though a number were wounded by arrows. The Escansagues claimed that in this vicinity they had some time before destroyed Humaña and his entire force as they were returning from the mines in Quivira laden with gold. The force thus annihilated at this encampment was originally sent by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to chastise a turbulent Indian tribe of that state. The leader, Capt. Francisco Leiva Bonilla, after accomplishing his charge, as directed, had, contrary to orders, set out for the gold-mines of Tindan, north or northwest of Quivira.²⁶

The campaign against the Indians, together with the march to the mines, must have consumed at least half of the summer. The remainder of the summer, together with a part of the autumn, would be busily occupied in mining. We may therefore conclude, from the slow return march, many of them on foot, weighted to some degree with treasures from the mines, that by hard usage, disease, or theft upon the part of the Indians, a considerable number of their horses were no longer available. Many of the wayworn men, the narrative records, came into camp late daily, and in such condition would sleep long and soundly. Just here the watchful Escansagues found their opportunity. In such cases the attack was always made just before dawn, when slumber is heaviest. The task for the Indians in such case, was simply to fire the tall grass simultaneously upon every side of the

NOTE 25.—The position here mentioned as the abode of the Escansagues, if they were really of Ute stock, was probably the place of their first sojourn upon the plains after emerging from the mountains. Learning in due time of the presence of the Quivirans and their desirable country toward the northeast, they gradually moved in that direction, with a view, it would seem, to dispossessing them. Coronado, while in Quivira, seems to have had no knowledge of them, which indicates that in 1541 they were still distant. At the coming of Oñate they seem to have been located at a short distance south or southeast from Quivira, engaged in a petty warfare with that people, with a view of dispossessing them. The mention in the text of the Escansagues, while moving north in company with or at a short distance behind Oñate's column, coming upon unoccupied villages, does not necessarily (pacific as they always tried to be with other tribes) mean that the Quivirans had fled at the approach of the Escansagues. Much more probably they were at the time upon their annual buffalo hunt. The date of the arrival of Oñate in the vicinity would indicate that such was the case.

NOTE 26.—The terms Quivirans, Tindanes, Panis or Pawnees in this paper are properly used as interchangeable. Any Indian tribe was likely to be known under different appellations, according to the personal disposition of tribes that imposed the names as being hostile or friendly. The Quivirans, as just intimated, were in the course of time known by each of the designations above given. Their correct appellation, however, was Pani, Pawnee being a variant form of it. The terms Quivirans and Tindanes were probably conferred by other tribes as derogatory nicknames. For a time, however, embracing the visits of Coronado and Oñate, together with the intervening period, they seem to have been generally known only as Quivirans. Such instances were not uncommon.

camp, and with arrows securely shoot down the half-wakened sleepers as they attempted to escape through the flames. From the completeness of the massacre wrought here the spot was appropriately named *Matanza, slaughter*.

The absence of the original commander, Captain Bonilla, at the time of the catastrophe, was clearly understood. At some previous point upon the march he and his lieutenant, Humaña, became involved in a controversy, with the unfortunate result that he was wantonly murdered by Humaña, who immediately assumed Bonilla's place and authority. The fact that the men when awakened attempted no defense would suggest the incompetence of the new commander, as no effort seems to have been made to guard the camp. The fire had apparently swept the entire ground. Those that essayed to escape through the flames were mercilessly shot down with arrows. So destructive were the flames that no fragments of clothing or other combustible material were found. On the other hand, fragments of iron, bones and hoofs of horses, bits of top-boots, scattered skeletons of men, and a chance nugget of gold were here and there to be seen, as ghastly mementos of the occurrence. The little gold that was in evidence was, I suspect, obtained among the Black Hills, but not in abundance. The Pawnees, as late as fifty years since, sometimes exhibited small specimens from that source. Two Indian children, a boy and a girl, the latter somewhat burned while escaping from the camp, were the sole survivors. Some years afterwards there was a rumor that the boy, Alonzo Sanchez, had become a noted chief in his tribe. The report, however, was never verified. Each of them had been purchased from some tribe by a member of the command to serve as slaves. Such was one of the tragedies enacted in prehistoric days of Kansas. The exact locality of the slaughter is, of course, destined to remain unknown. The text, however, indicates that it was some distance south of Quivira, *i.e.*, perhaps midway between the Kansas river and the southern border of the state.

Just how long Oñate's sojourn in or near Quivira [Kansas] continued we have no precise means of determining. It may be safe to surmise at least a month, probably somewhat longer, with all the time busily and usefully occupied in various investigations. Such seems to have been his native bent, to hear, to see, to know whatever was valuable to man. His men were therefore eagerly moving in different directions, especially to the northward, as rumor had it that gold-mines existed at some point thitherward. But in this search he failed, though the endeavor served happily to inform him fully as to the character of the country. In contrast with the arid regions of New Mexico and northern Mexico, it seemed to him no exaggeration to speak of it as a veritable land of promise. The frequent streams, the wide prairies, pleasantly diversified with gently rolling hills and admirably adapted to cultivation, the rich soil, spontaneously afforded a variegated growth of grass, flowering plants and native fruits, nuts, Indian potatoes, etc., that added much to the attractiveness of the entire region, so far as he was able to view it.

The Indians met impressed him not always pleasantly. Of the three tribes specially mentioned, he seems to have observed little that elicited admiration save in the case of the Quivirans. In the Escansaques and Aijados his soul found no pleasure; and yet he was ever ready to recognize and appreciate generously traits of good in his fellow men, wherever met.

We may safely conclude, therefore, that the punishment bestowed upon the two tribes, the Aijados and the Escansagues, was given with hearty good will. The Quivirans, and he had ample opportunity to know them well, impressed him very differently. In character they seem to have been affable and kindly, disposed to recognize and deal openly and fairly with their fellow men. Alone of the tribes thus far met upon the plains they cultivated corn, beans and squashes in considerable quantities, the first step toward civilization. They constructed lodges of two types: the common lodge, consisting of tanned skins carefully sewed into the required form and stretched upon a conical framework of light poles, for use in warm weather or when traveling; and the larger earthen lodge, consisting of stronger poles set in a circle about five feet in height. Upon them smaller poles were fastened, and made to slope inward in conical form. These were then firmly bound together with withes, thatched with grass and overlaid with thin turf. Such lodges varied in size from fifteen to forty feet in diameter, the larger sometimes sheltering three or four families. The Pawnees (the Quivirans of a more recent day) used to assert, somewhat philosophically, that this usage tended to encourage a spirit of mutual helpfulness and complacency.

As indicated upon a previous page, in the cases of the retribution administered by Oñate to the Escansagues and Aijados, the Quivirans had preferred to vacate their villages and withdraw to a distance, rather than engage in hostilities; an extreme concession to amiability.

How long the Quivirans had occupied the region of central Kansas we have no direct means of determining; but it is perhaps not drawing a long bow to suggest that they had already resided there a century, or somewhat less, subsequent to the coming of Coronado, in 1541. The fragmentary surviving records indicate also that some portion of them had passed already to the region more nearly adjacent to the present Nebraska; at least, exploring parties sent in that direction reported that so far as their progress extended they found the country already occupied, and wherever met their demeanor was uniformly pacific. An earlier witness, Padre Juan de Padilla, the protomartyr of Kansas, had experience of them as a missionary half a century before, and his testimony was to the same effect. In no instance were they other than kind toward him.

A few details in somewhat fragmentary form have been met as to certain of their early usages. Important communications were disseminated by waving garments from the tops of trees or other eminences, an anticipation of a later method of signaling in vogue in military affairs, the earliest idea of which we owe to the Indians, quite probably to the Pawnees themselves, the later representatives of the Quivirans. Cultivating the soil, they worshiped the planet Venus, known as Hopirikuts, the *Great Star*, recognized by them as the patron of agriculture, as did in later days the Pawnees, their descendants. Sometimes, after planting their corn patches, to secure a good crop, they offered a captive girl as a sacrifice to Hopirikuts. Many of the tribe, as time passed, came to look upon this usage with disfavor, and finally, in 1819, by the interference of Pitalesharu, a young brave of well-known character as a man of recognized prowess as a war chief, the usage was finally discontinued.

The general inclination of the Pawnees, lineally derived from their ancestors, was to live void of offense toward other tribes. This disposition, when known to other tribes that had been crowded west of the Mississippi

before the advancing settlements of the whites, was naturally taken advantage of with a view of gaining possession of the lands long occupied by the Quivirans, or their lineal descendants, the Pawnees. Prominent among their assailants, during the early part of the last century, were the Dakotas, who, removing from Minnesota westward across the Missouri river, sought to force their way through Nebraska toward the south; while at the same time the Cheyennes, Comanches and Kiowas were attempting to wrest from them (the Pawnees) the hunting-grounds toward the southwest; an unequal warfare, that was relentlessly waged from both directions for nearly a century. Against such unequal odds—as it were, between the upper and nether millstones—the tribe was gradually worn down to scarcely more than a remnant of their former selves. To this issue the designing whites upon the frontier materially contributed. The tribe, notable as long being sincere friends of the whites, merited a better recompense.

In this connection there is a certain phase in our knowledge of the Quivirans and their lineal descendants, the Panis, or in its latest form, the Pawnees, that is entitled to special mention. In the surviving records of the early explorers and settlers in the west and southwest, as also in the east and northeast, there is found frequent reference to the presence in those regions of Pani slaves. The coming of such unfortunates from that direction soon became a familiar fact throughout Canada, in the province of New York, and to a less degree in other eastern settlements. There is repeated reference to them in the Canadian archives. In like manner Pani slaves were becoming known in considerable numbers as far southwest as New Mexico, and even into Chihuahua, as the existing state and ecclesiastical archives still amply certify. The natural inference in both cases was to the effect that all such persons were really of Quiviran stock. That the Quivirans, when earliest known, were really of a pacific nature, never engaging in overt hostilities save as a last reluctant resort, has been already brought to notice. The easy enlargement of the statement would make it appear that they were evidently known as a spiritless people, so bereft of the Indian's fondest ambition, to become known as a warrior, as to passively permit themselves or their children to be taken prisoners at will and bartered as abject slaves from tribe to tribe into either of the countries before mentioned, is, unless the actual conditions be clearly understood, to say the least, somewhat surprising. A natural interest in the tribe prompted me, therefore, some years since, to venture an investigation of the matter, with a view to ascertaining more exactly just how much of genuine foundation there might be to justify the time-honored assertion.

Long since the tribe, occupying in Kansas and Nebraska an intermediate position between the Mississippi river and the Great Lakes toward the east and northeast and New Mexico toward the southwest, came to be regarded with no friendly feelings by other tribes roundabout, as holding by right of long occupancy a somewhat strategic or central position, as it were, upon the natural highway between the two extremes—the remote lake region and the southwest. As early as the arrival of Coronado in Quivira, the fact was developed that the Quivirans were already familiar with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, while the Pueblos had equally intimate knowledge of the Quivirans. The two guides, Xabe and Isopete, who conducted Coronado in his final direct march to Quivira, were themselves natives of that country, and had served as slaves in New Mexico till ransomed by Coronado. As

there were existing hostilities between the two tribes, there were no doubt Pueblo slaves in equal numbers held by the Quivirans or Pawnees. Experience, however, soon developed the fact that such slaves, if retained in bondage by their captors so near their old home, were not always safe property. They were naturally eager to escape and return to their kindred, as their tribe was equally desirous to recover them, and at the same time retaliate in kind upon the captors.

Such conditions, unless the tribes were remote from each other, naturally became intolerable, and so a system soon came into vogue to avert the unpleasant exigency. The Pawnees, finding by familiar experience that captives from tribes too near by in either direction were liable to be raided from them by their kinsmen from the southwest or east, and so were an element of danger to them so long as they were in their midst, gradually developed a system of transferring them at the earliest opportunity to distant tribes. Those coming to them from the region of New Mexico were conveyed from tribe to tribe to the lake country, and even so far as lower Canada; while those from the northeast or east were bartered to tribes in the southwest. In whichever direction they were marketed, the fact of their coming from the Panis was of course soon known. Whether it originated in a natural mistake, or was the nature of an aboriginal *jeu d'esprit*, the Indians into whose hands the captives came soon learned to designate them as Panis slaves, as if they were of the *bona fide* Panis stock. Though coming into the hands of the Pawnees from diverse tribes, near or remote, they were known in trade as Panis only, a people that in current belief among tribes that did not know them were believed to be so inert and spiritless as to suffer their children to be ravished from them at the will of their enemies and sold into remote, abject bondage. To such a depth, then, the well-known and widely-known warriors *les gentelhommes du prairie*, as the French *voyageurs* styled them, who for two and a half centuries traversed and controlled at will the domain of Kansas, Nebraska and eastern Colorado had sunk! *Credat Judæus Appella!*

At this point it may be permitted to revert briefly to our previous acquaintances, the Escansaques. Living, as we have seen, apparently for some time upon the southern and eastern confines of the Quivirans, indulging meanwhile the fond hope that they might ultimately dispossess them entirely, and so become themselves heirs to the fair domain of Kansas and Nebraska, they were to their bitter disappointment at last constrained to dismiss their sanguine anticipations and turn reluctantly again as wanderers to seek a resting-place elsewhere. For a considerable period thereafter no specific mention of them appears. Half a century later, however, to our great surprise, intelligence is had of them as occupying by actual possession, it would seem, territory in latitude 46°, longitude 72°, a statement the acceptance of which makes necessary awkward concessions. To concede such a migration as a veritable occurrence we are obliged to assume that, discouraged at last as to achieving any substantial advantage over the Quivirans, they migrated toward the west and, as they neared the mountains, bore for an indefinite distance toward the northwest. That some early Indian migrations were surprising and erratic is a familiar fact, but in this case the conditions presuppose a too facile credence; for the statement soon follows that they are again at no great distance from the Quivirans or Pawnees.

That they were still numerous is manifest from the fact that they were

said to maintain a constant force of 5000 men in active service. Each year, moreover, in the month of February, they raided upon the Pawnees, destroyed one or more villages, massacred all that were capable of bearing arms, but saved all that were ten years of age or less, as all such had a marketable value. Later, in midsummer, they appeared regularly in New Mexico, *i. e.*, at Santa Fe, with these captives and great stores of tanned skins. The latter they exchanged for meal and flour for use in diversifying their diet. The captive children they offered for sale. If at the close of the fair any of these children were left unsold, their owners immediately decapitated them in the public market. When the report of such savage conduct reached the Spanish court, the king at once issued instructions that henceforth any such unfortunates thus exposed to cruel death should be ransomed by the authorities in New Mexico with funds supplied for that purpose from the royal treasury. The record states that such a butchery occurred as late as 1694. In view of the entire disappearance of the tribe soon thereafter from the early annals of our western history, it requires no stretch of imagination to conceive that, as they had meted out to others, Providence forgot not that like requital should be returned to them.

In connection with Oñate's sojourn in Quivira there occurred an incident in lighter vein that may serve quite pleasantly as an illustration of the comparative facility of the versatile Indian and the more stately Spaniard in the casual matters of diplomacy. As the Spanish force was nearing a large village, the camp at the close of day was pitched upon the southern margin of a river, presumably the Kansas, that lay between them and their desired destination. The chief of the village at once dispatched an envoy with a select escort to meet and welcome the command; but as they approached the stream, catching sight of some of their enemies, the Escansaques, in the camp, the dignitary began to hesitate as to the wisdom of proceeding further. Oñate, upon learning the dilemma, fearing that further friendly intercourse might be interrupted, conceived a scheme to quietly send a body of chosen men by a detour that would preclude the envoy discovering the movement. Handing the leader some gyves, he instructed them to proceed leisurely along the stream till they were beyond the view of the embassy, then cross the river, and close rapidly into the rear of the envoy, seize him, place the gyves upon him and bring him at once across the river into the camp upon their shoulders. The charge was of course undertaken, and in due season the captive envoy was placed before the governor.

So far the adroit device well answered its purpose. The Indians were now entitled to their opportunity. Shortly after, the surprise having somewhat abated, one by one a few Indians straggled demurely into the camp; unarmed, with a child-like absence of guile, they were complaisantly prepared to evince surprise or admiration at every turn. This role was quietly maintained till even the astute Spaniards were apparently satisfied that no further thought need be bestowed upon such guileless children of the wild prairies. In due time, however, at an hour when their entertainers were busily occupied in burnishing their arms and armor preparatory, as they anticipated, to making an imposing entry into the Quiviran village, a rumor hurriedly spread that the captured ambassador was nowhere to be found. Hasty investigation developed that the report was correct. His rustic friends had meantime quietly gained access to his place of confinement and

spirited him from the camp, gyves and all, no Spaniard taking note thereof. Oñate was wise enough to waive all attempt to name a committee of investigation. There was, therefore, no breathless hurrying to and fro. The quiet in the camp was impressive. Evidently the adroit maneuver had proven to be of a nature that suggested silence as wisdom. The Spaniard had been squarely met upon his own ground, after his own example, and had borne off no honors.

Certain expressions in the surviving fragmentary record of Oñate's tour of exploration seem to indicate that his intention was to explore more generally and carefully the entire region of Quivira, including what is at present central and eastern Kansas, as well as a considerable portion of Nebraska. The manifest indications are to the effect that he had been especially pleased with the country so far as yet seen, as well as with its inhabitants, the Quivirans. That they were to such an extent already pioneers in the amiable art of agriculture, and were also evidently desirous to live in entire amity with adjacent tribes, seems to have pleasantly awakened an interest in them. But unfortunately all his further plans were abruptly suspended by the reception of unexpected intelligence from New Mexico, to the effect that his immediate presence was necessary there. During his absence it seems that a certain element among the colonists there, quite probably the very ones whom he had brought thither and established as farmers upon lands suitable for such enterprises, and thus far perhaps supported at his own expense, had during his absence ventured to foment dissatisfaction among their fellow settlers, with the natural result that a considerable number, abandoning everything, had abruptly set about returning to Mexico. Upon his hurried arrival in New Mexico the governor found too soon that his fond expectations were sadly marred.

Just where the real fault rested it is difficult to state exactly; nor does the discussion of the actual conditions as Oñate found them relate directly to the subject that concerns us here. The consideration most pertinent in this connection is that the abrupt, unexpected departure of Oñate for New Mexico dispelled for all time a scheme that had already apparently been developed in his mind while engaged in his Quiviran explorations. The descriptive terms applied to the country, so far as visited, summed up in the concise epithet, *a veritable land of promise*, suggest that, in comparison with the general aridity prevalent in New Mexico, the governor may have been quietly considering whether his further generous efforts in colonizing might not with advantage be transferred to the more remote but far more promising province of Quivira. Such a transfer once on foot and successful might to our future disadvantage have restricted our final development to limits far short of our present western frontier. The fortunate result was manifestly controlled by a power higher than ourselves.

BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN BROWN DUNBAR.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by Miss ZU ADAMS, Assistant Secretary.

THIS author, JOHN BROWN DUNBAR, is well qualified to speak on the subjects of the accompanying articles. Reared by parents striving for the mastery of the Pawnee and kindred tongues and for insight into the Indian character, he naturally acquired the knack of languages and a never-failing interest in the history of our native tribes and of the southwestern United States. His father, Rev. John Dunbar, was a native of Palmer, Mass., born March 7, 1804, graduated from Williams College in 1832, and later from the Auburn Theological Seminary. While at the seminary he received his appointment to missionary work among the western Indians. May 1, 1834, he was ordained at Ithaca, N. Y., as a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by the Cayuga Presbytery, the sermon being preached by Rev. Nathaniel E. Johnson, of Cortlandville.¹ Mr. Samuel Allis, jr., a native of Conway, Mass., who accompanied Mr. Dunbar in his missionary work, says, in the history of the mission published by the Nebraska Historical Society in its second volume of Transactions: "In the winter of 1834, the [Reformed Dutch] Church of Ithaca was desirous of raising funds to support a mission among the Indians, and consequently made known their object to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The board approved and accepted their proposition, and found a Rev. John Dunbar who was willing to go. He came to Ithaca, and, with Rev. Samuel Parker and myself as assistants, was fitted out by the church under the patronage of the above-named board of missions. We left in the spring of 1834 [May 5], with instructions to cross the Rocky Mountains and penetrate to the 'Flatheads or Nez Perces.'"

The party arrived at St. Louis May 23, and found that the traders to the mountains, whom they had intended to accompany, had already gone. Ascertaining from Maj. John Dougherty, agent to the Pawnees, that missionaries were needed among that tribe, Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Allis, as their instructions provided, decided to visit the Pawnees, and if advisable enter into missionary work there. In June they proceeded up the Missouri river to Cantonment Leavenworth, where they were treated with much hospitality by Majors Thompson and Morgan and their ladies. Being necessarily detained by the absence of Major Dougherty, the missionaries occupied themselves in acquiring a knowledge of the Indian character and habits by mingling with the missionaries among the Delawares, Shawnees and Kickapoos. Mr. Berryman, stationed with the latter tribe, very kindly furnished them with a home for some weeks. They also visited Independence, Mo., then the scene of Mormon disturbances. On the 22d of September the missionaries left Cantonment Leavenworth, and proceeded to Council Bluffs,² attended the distribution of annuities, and were presented to the Pawnee chiefs. October 19 the Pawnees started on their winter's tour by the way of their villages on the Platte. Mr. Dunbar accompanied the second chief

NOTE 1.—Am. Bd. of Comm'rs for For. Miss. *Missionary Herald*, 1834, p. 237.

NOTE 2.—Council Bluffs, a trading-post frequented by the Otoes, Omahas, Iowas, and somewhat by the Pawnees, was situated about twenty-seven miles above the mouth of the Platte river, upon the western bank of the Missouri. As early as 1832 it had, however, fallen into decay, and was soon after abandoned.—J. B. D.

of the Grand Pawnees,³ and Mr. Allis the Pawnee Loups, being separated from each other until the following spring, when the Indians returned to their permanent villages in time to plant their corn. The village of the Grand Pawnees was situated on the south side of the Platte, about 120 miles from its mouth. The Indians treated the missionaries with great kindness throughout the long journey, which terminated in March, 1835.

During the summer and winter of 1835 Messrs. Dunbar and Allis again accompanied the Indians, receiving the same kind treatment, and directing their attention principally to the acquisition of the language. In this Mr. Dunbar made such proficiency as to be able to understand nearly all the Indians said and to express his thoughts with little difficulty on common topics, but could as yet make himself but very imperfectly understood on religious subjects.⁴

Dr. Benedict Satterlee, of Elmira, N. Y., joined the Pawnee mission at the agency at Bellevue,⁵ about 130 miles from the Pawnee country, May 27, 1836, his wife, Miss Martha A. Mather, of Fairfield, N. Y., having died at Liberty, Mo.,⁶ while on her way to the new field. Miss Emeline Palmer, of

NOTE 3.—This chief, Sarecherish, Angry Chief, spite of his ominous name, was a very companionable and interesting personage; to his fellow tribesmen he was ever a kindly adviser and helpful friend. Though a subordinate in rank, a second chief, he was one of the most respected and influential dignitaries of the tribe in time of peace or war. To Mr. Dunbar, his long-time guest and associate, he was to the day of his death a wise counsellor and steadfast, generous friend. His tragic death was characteristic and noteworthy. Ever since the coming of Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Allis the Dakotas had viewed with hostile intent the efforts making for the establishment of a mission among the Pawnees. Repeated forays were accordingly made nearly every year, during the absence of the tribe upon the annual summer hunt, with a view to cutting down the growing corn-fields and burning the permanent lodges in the vacant villages. These recurring depredations were so serious that in 1843 it was decided that about sixty braves, together with a considerable number of the aged and feeble, who could ill-endure the fatigue of the hunt, as well as a number of children, should be allowed to continue at the village to be protected by the sixty guards who, under the control of Sarecherish, were to keep a vigilant eye upon any further attempted devastation of the corn-fields. As time passed occasional signs of a few wandering Dakotas were noted in the vicinity, but no overt annoyance or injury was received. Herein his first and only error was made. Sarecherish had allowed himself to imagine that the few roaming Dakotas seen were a matter of indifference. On the contrary they were cautiously spying out existing conditions. The Dakota scouts had made report to their band, nearly 200 strong, that matters in the village were favorable for an onslaught. That night a force of nearly 200 warriors quietly crossed the Loup Fork, and secreted themselves in the dense bushes and vines that covered the low ground lying between the village and the river for a distance of a quarter of a mile.

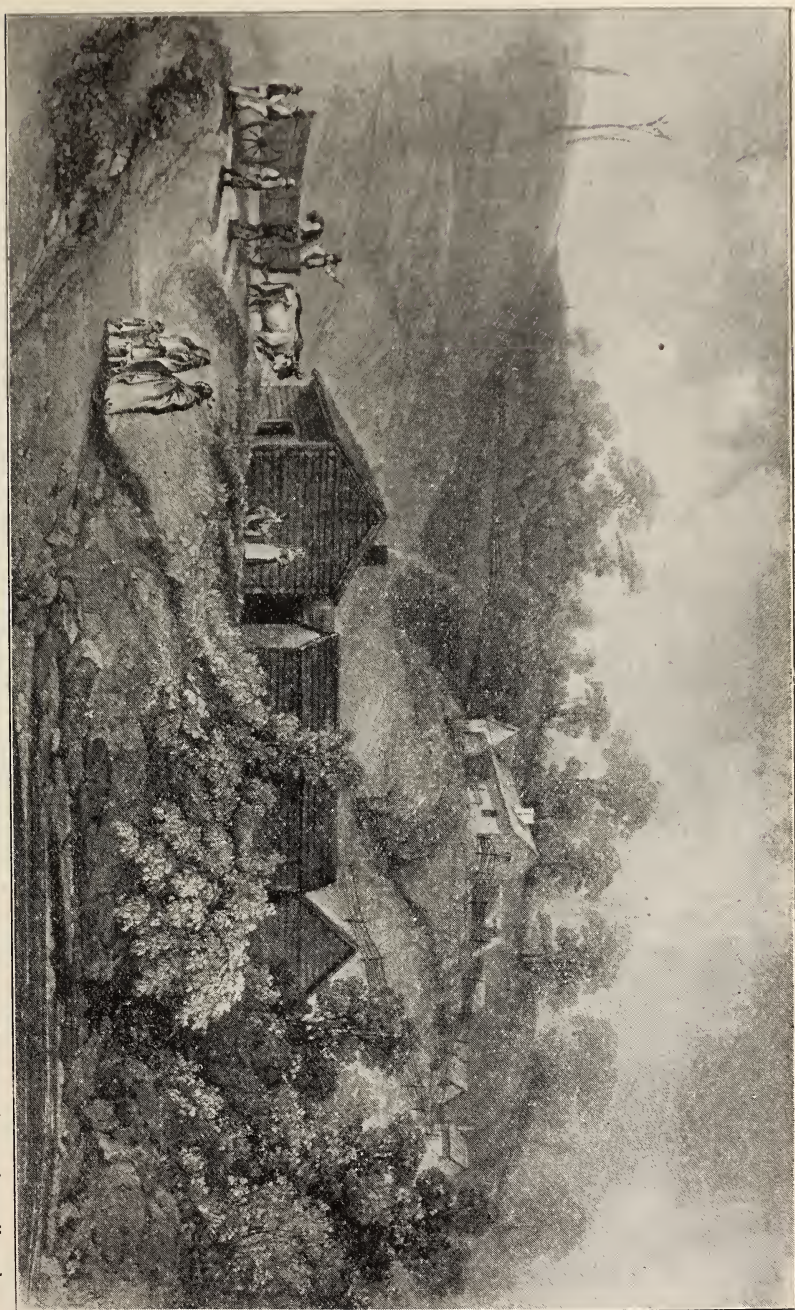
As usual, at the earliest indication of approaching dawn, June 27, 1843, Sarecherish mounted one of his ponies, and, the rest following, rode down into the bushes and by a narrow pathway directed his course toward the river. A short distance only was made ere an enemy concealed beside the path sprang toward the chief, who was entirely unarmed, and with a heavy knife inflicted a ghastly wound across his abdomen. The pony at the same instant made a demivolte and galloped toward the village. The dying chief made an effort to retain his protruding bowels in their place, but in vain. They fell to the ground and were trodden on by the terror-stricken pony. Upon reaching the village the chief was able to sound the alarm cry and instantly fell to the ground dead. This statement to an outsider may savor much of an appeal to an amiable credulity; yet the entire account is the simple truth, unadorned and plain.

Meantime nearly 200 Dakotas, fully armed for the fray, were pressing eagerly toward the village. The Pawnees had scarcely time to take refuge in their earthen lodges ere the enemy had mounted the lodges and were discharging their arrows at the inmates through the open smoke holes. The Pawnees within were equally busy in discharging their arrows and firearms through holes made in the lodge walls at their enemies, as opportunity offered. The desultory fighting continued at intervals till midday and after. Finally the enemy gradually began to retire, taking with them their wounded and dead. Their actual loss was never ascertained; probably not more than forty braves were killed, and a large number wounded more or less seriously.—J. B. D.

NOTE 4.—Am. Bd. Comm'rs For, Miss. Report, 1836, pp. 97, 98.

NOTE 5.—Bellevue was a trading-post nine miles above the mouth of the Platte, upon the same side of the Missouri. Its name to this day, an unfaded reminiscence, is still fondly cherished. One of the large photos of Maximilian Prinz Zu Wied's narrative of his travels in this country, during the years 1832-'33-'34 presents an admirable view of the place at that date. In the trading-house, as there seen, I was born; when the mission with the Pawnees was abandoned, a sojourn of nearly two months was passed in that building. The recollections of those days are vivid still, though not an object about which they cluster so ardently now survives. The mighty river alone remains ever the same.—J. B. D.

NOTE 6.—The sudden death of Mrs. Satterlee was regarded by all members of the mission as a grievous loss. For some years she had hopefully anticipated engaging in that work. For a



First station of Rev. JOHN DUNBAR and SAMUEL ALLEN, JR., missionaries to the Pawnees, Bellevue, on the Missouri river, nine miles above the mouth of the Platte. 1834-1841.

Ithaca, N. Y., had accompanied the Satterlees, and was united in marriage with Mr. Allis, at Liberty, April 23, 1836. They concluded to remain at Bellevue, where they could continue their work among the Pawnees who visited the agency, and with the nearer tribes of Omahas and Otoes. Doctor Satterlee accompanied Mr. Dunbar on the summer hunt among the Pawnees till their return to the village, early in September.

It was during the year 1835 that Mr. Dunbar was able to give valuable assistance to C. A. Murray, the English traveler, who published an account of his experiences in a volume entitled "Travels in North America, Including a Summer Residence among the Pawnee Tribe of Indians," London, 1841.⁷

In September, 1836, Mr. Dunbar returned to Massachusetts, to confer with the authorities concerning the interests of the Pawnee mission, and there married, January 12, 1837, Miss Esther Smith, born at Hadley, August 17, 1805. During this visit, which detained him until February, 1837, he superintended the printing of a small elementary book of seventy-four pages,⁸ which he had prepared in the Pawnee language. The edition numbered 500 copies. They arrived at Bellevue on May 6, 1837, where they began house-keeping in an old trading-house.⁹

In September, 1839, Messrs. Dunbar and Allis visited the Pawnee villages, and, after a conference with the chiefs, selected a site for the mission and

time her decision was delayed because of symptoms of consumption. These indications with due care soon disappeared, and at the solicitation of Doctor Satterlee she decided to join the Pawnee mission. During the journey westward in midwinter she unhappily contracted a severe cold. While delaying a few days at St. Louis, the indications of the dread disease developed. She was advised, however, by a physician, that the drier air upon the Upper Missouri would be beneficial to her. Upon the way she rapidly became weak, and after landing from the boat at Liberty, Mo., she rapidly declined till, during the last week in April, 1836, death ended her hopeless suffering. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."—J. B. D.

NOTE 7.—The "valuable assistance" tendered to Mr. Murray is conspicuous by its absence in the published volumes. His opinion of Mr. Dunbar as therein expressed is by no means favorable, and for reason. His habitual attitude toward the Indians was not complaisant, candid, nor grateful, though with them as their guest. More than once he sought advice from Mr. Dunbar, as to his manner toward the Indians, and uniformly rejected it as soon as uttered. Finally, after two schemes had been mooted by some of the Indians to relieve themselves of his presence, each of which, at the solicitation of Mr. Dunbar, was thwarted by Sarcherish, he was told plainly that his only safe course was to withdraw quietly, if possible unbeknown, and endeavor to make his way rapidly to Fort Leavenworth, nearly 200 miles distant. For once, the only instance of the kind on record, he accepted the salutary advice.—J. B. D.

NOTE 8.—The booklet in the Pawnee tongue, prepared for use by Mr. Dunbar in the contemplated school for the Indian children, was soon after in actual use. So general was the interest manifested in the school as conducted by Mr. Allis that some of the adults asked to be allowed to learn to read. The call for the books was constant, but of course only children were allowed to use them. When the mission was suspended very few of the booklets remained. I have one, and know of only four or five others.—J. B. D.

NOTE 9.—September, 1836, Mr. Dunbar returned to Massachusetts to confer with the authorities concerning the interests of the Pawnee mission. Meantime Doctor Satterlee, in the fall of 1836, accompanied the Grand or Chaui Pawnees upon their winter hunt. The winter proved unusually severe and they therefore extended their hunt further than usual toward the remote Southwest, to a distance of more than 300 miles. Some of their scouts one day brought in word that they had met a small party of Cheyennes, who intimated that their tribe was desirous of establishing peaceable relations with the Pawnees. An interview was accordingly arranged, largely through the efforts of Doctor Satterlee, about the 10th of April, 1837, and a pacific understanding was reached, subject to the approval of the chiefs of the two tribes in a general council. Nearly a month later word was had from two trappers that while descending the southern branch of the Platte, distant nearly 200 miles, they had met the doctor with two Pawnee guides moving eastward. A few days later word was brought that, during a severe snowstorm of two or three days, the doctor and his guides had disagreed as to the proper course to be followed in order to reach the Pawnee villages. Unable to agree, they were allowed to choose their own route, while the doctor, as soon as his horse was sufficiently recruited, would proceed alone, guided by his pocket compass. May 17 the Pawnees came to Bellevue to receive their annuities. They reported that they had not seen or heard of him since his guides left him. One of the chiefs expressed fear that he might have met with foul treatment by the way. The only hope expressed was that he might have turned westward and reached one of the trappers' forts upon the upper Platte.

Mr. Dunbar, returning from the East, anxiously inquired of every trader's boat, as it descended the Platte, but day by day no word was received from any source concerning his absent

farms, on Council and Plumb creeks,¹⁰ on the north side of the Loup Fork of the Platte, about thirty miles from their junction, and from 100 to 125 miles from Bellevue, and about eight to fifteen miles from the principal villages of the Pawnees. In 1840 the Pawnees had bad luck in the chase, and were inclined to see the advantages of better methods of farming. In May, 1842, a number from each of the four Pawnee bands moved to the vicinity of the farm and mission. Mr. Allis received an appointment as government teacher to the Pawnees in 1841, and Mr. George B. Gaston as farmer. The mission families removed to the new station in May, 1841, and were kindly met by the chiefs with an abundance of buffalo meat and corn. At first Mr. Allis's family was separated some miles from Mr. Dunbar's, but in January, 1844, for safety, they were removed to within three miles of Mr. Dunbar at the upper station. For some years back the Pawnees had been sadly annoyed by the Sioux, who would come singly or in small parties, driving off horses, or killing such stragglers as they might encounter about the Pawnee villages.

In 1843 the force at the new settlement was increased by a teacher, three farmers, two blacksmiths and two helpers; but the settlement of government employees among the Pawnees seemed to incite more persistent hostilities on the part of the Sioux. They seemed to be offended because of the interest shown toward promoting the welfare of the Pawnees, and so redoubled their attacks upon them. On the 27th day of June, 1843, "early in the morning, a strong party of Sioux came upon one of the Pawnee villages by surprise, when a course of fighting and plunder ensued which lasted till midday, and resulted in the killing of 67 Pawnees, wounding 20 others, seizing about 200 horses, and burning 20 out of 41 lodges of which the village was composed. Some children were taken captive. Some of the most important chiefs and braves, and those most favorable to the improvement of their people, were killed. The battle was a mile from the mission house and in plain view.¹¹ The Sioux attack resulted in the destruction of many of the Indian corn-fields. While the Pawnees had been assembling at their new residence, they had required much of Mr. Dunbar's time and attention, so that he had not been able to give stated religious instruction, but

brother. At last, however, among a number of trappers who were descending the Platte in care of their boats, laden with furs taken during the winter and early spring, a young man was met who had been with Mr. Dunbar and Doctor Satterlee during the buffalo hunt of the previous summer. He reported that while descending the river about 150 miles west of the Grand Pawnee village, near the river bank they had found a blanket marked *B. Satterlee*, a gun upright with its muzzle fixed in the ground, shreds and fragments of clothing, a silver pocket pencil, leaves of a small memorandum book, two letters entrusted to him at the fort to be forwarded to the East, essentially uninjured, and gnawed human bones. While the doctor was at these forts he had exchanged some of his clothing for heavier garments. Several of the garments thus obtained by him were easily recognized. The exact cause of his death was never ascertained. Evidently he had not been killed by Indians. He had probably become bewildered, and wandered for some time, not knowing what course to take; quite possibly also he had been unable to secure any sustenance after the small supply obtained at the forts was exhausted, and at last, too weak to proceed further, he set up his gun as a signal of distress, and resigned himself to his fate. Thus within a year after the pathetic demise of his consort Providence called him to join her in a better country.

During his brief ministry with the tribe he had by his medical services rendered himself extremely useful. His kindness to them in times of distress and suffering was unceasing, and more than a generation after his death his name and traits were still remembered.—J. B. D.

NOTE 10.—I am much mortified that I may not at this distance give any exact topographical information as to Plumb or Council creek, nor as to the exact location of the buildings erected by the mission. In 1877 I made a sketch of the grounds and of streams in or near them. The following winter I loaned them to a Nebraska gentleman. Some time after they were lost or stolen from him. I have had no opportunity since to replace them.—J. B. D.

NOTE 11.—Am. Bd. Comm'rs for For. Miss. Report, 1843, p. 168. See also note 3, page 100.

during the winter of 1843-'44 he translated portions of the scripture into the Pawnee language.

Rev. Timothy E. Ranney and wife joined the mission work in August, 1844. "Never before have the Pawnees manifested so strong a desire to have their children reside with the missionaries and be instructed by them. Enough have been offered to constitute a large boarding school. . . . The missionaries have translated the Gospel of Mark into the Pawnee language."¹² In consequence of another attack upon the villages by the Sioux, in which Mrs. Allis was shot at, the missionaries resolved, after holding a council with the government employees, that it was not safe for them to remain any longer, as in doing so they imperilled themselves and families. They therefore cached such goods as they were unable to take, and in August, 1846, departed for Bellevue with their families, having spent four years and four months with the tribe. Mr. L. W. Platt took with him sixteen Indian children for their protection.

I quote again from Mr. Allis: "We were in the country eight years, doing what we could to prepare the way, before we could move among them with our families. During that time Brother Dunbar and myself traveled with them some eighteen months for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of their language, manners, and customs. The remainder of the time we were with our families at Bellevue, living in suspense, hoping that the way might be opened that we could go among them. During that time we had but little access to them, but more with the Otoes and Omahas, who were living most of the time near Bellevue. I could understand considerable of their language, especially that of the Otoes, whose language is pretty and easily acquired."

Mr. Dunbar, soon after leaving the Pawnee villages, removed to Holt county, Missouri, and engaged in home missionary work. He purchased a farm near Oregon, the county seat, taught school, preached, and attended to his farm. Preferring to rear his family in a free state, he sold his farm in 1856 and removed to Kansas, and settled upon Wolf river, two miles west of the town of Robinson, in Brown county, where, March 16, 1857, he was appointed treasurer of the county board of commissioners. Mrs. Dunbar died there November 4, 1856, and Mr. Dunbar survived the loss only one year, till November 3, 1857. There were born to Mr. and Mrs. Dunbar seven children:

JACOB SMITH DUNBAR, b. October 27, 1837, at Bellevue, Neb.; mar. Dec. 15, 1875, at Evans, Colo., to Mattie Hodgen. Present residence, Evans, Colo. *Children*, b. Evans, Colo.: Frank B., Sep. 26, 1876. Nellie J., Sep. 22, 1877.

BENEDICT SATTERLEE DUNBAR, b. Mar. 6, 1839, at Bellevue, Neb.; mar. (first) Oct. 18, 1877, at Wabaunsee, Kan., to Ella A. Dibble, b. Jan. 6, 1849, at Guildford, Conn., d. without issue Nov. 28, 1891, at Topeka, Kan.; mar. (second) Apr. 20, 1898, at Manhattan, Kan., to Nellie S. Griswold, b. Oct. 7, 1861, at Wabaunsee, Kan.; no issue. Present residence, Manhattan, Kan.

JOHN BROWN DUNBAR, b. April 3, 1841, at Bellevue, Neb.; mar. Aug. 22, 1876, at Topeka, Kan., to Alida Stella Cook. Present residence, Bloomfield, N. J. *Children*: Paul John, b. Oct. 27, 1879, at —; in business at Fort Worth, Tex. Willis Cook, b. Sep. 7, 1881, at —; a chartered accountant at Dallas, Tex. Louis Smith, b. July 3, 1888, at Bloomfield, N. J.; a student of architecture at University of Pennsylvania.

MARY DUNBAR, b. Dec. 13, 1842, at Pawnee Mission, Neb.; mar. June 30, 1880, at Clifton Springs, N. Y., to H. S. Adams. Present residence, Clifton Springs, N. Y. *Children*: Hawley Foster, who resides in Chicago.

NOTE 12.—Am. Bd. Comm'rs for For. Miss. Report, 1846, p. 197.

SARAH DUNBAR, b. Mar. 14, 1845, at Pawnee Mission, Neb.; d. Jun. 1, 1906, at De Smet, S. Dak.; mar. Jan. 5, 1870, at Topeka, Kan., to Barnett C. Benedict, b. in state of Connecticut. Present residence, De Smet, S. Dak. *Children*: Esther Fannie, b. Oct. 8, 1870, at Wabaunsee, Kan.; Mary Charlotte, b. Feb. 28, 1872, at Wabaunsee, Kan.; Blanche, b. May 5, 1874, at Wabaunsee, Kan.; Clifton, b. July 15, 1877, at Rochester, Minn.; Sarah Jewell, b. Nov. 28, 1881, at De Smet, S. Dak.; mar. July 21, 1902, at De Smet, S. Dak., to Gilbert A. Benson. Their children: Dorothy, b. Jun. 14, 1903; Orrin, b. Nov. 29, 1905. Present residence, De Smet, S. Dak.

CHARLOTTE RANNEY DUNBAR, b. Jan. 5, 1848, at Oregon, Holt county, Mo.; mar. Nov. 21, 1877, at Manhattan, Kan., to Geo. W. Hollenback. He was a member of the Kansas House of Representatives, from Comanche county, legislature of 1891. Present residence, Lenexa, Kan. *Children*: Martha Zelma, b. Nov. 8, 1878, at Fort Scott, Kan.; Lottie Ruth, b. Jan. 31, 1881, at Fort Scott, Kan.; Benedict Dunbar, b. Jun. 28, 1883, at Coldwater, Kan.; George Massa, b. Sep. 27, 1886, at Coldwater, Kan.

MARTHA ANN DUNBAR, b. Feb. 25, 1850, at Oregon, Holt county, Mo.; mar. (first) Feb. 10, 1882, at Wabaunsee, Kan., to Sherman J. Castle, who d. Nov. 3, 1893, at Jordan Valley, Ore. They had one son, Raymond S. Castle, b. Oct. 3, 1886, at Jordan Valley, Ore. She married (second), at Jordan Valley, F. C. Barton; no children. Present residence, Vail, Ore.

John B. Dunbar received his primary education from his father, was one year at Hopkins Academy, Hadley, Mass., and graduated from Amherst College in 1864. He served in the civil war in the capacity of private, sergeant, and lieutenant in an independent light artillery company, one year in Louisiana and nearly two and a half years in Virginia. From 1869 to 1878 Mr. Dunbar held the chair in Latin and Greek in Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. While here he married Miss Alida Stella Cook, whose parents, Mr. and Mrs. Caspar Cook, late of Rochester, N. Y., were for the time connected with the College. They have three sons, Paul John, born October 27, 1879, in business in Fort Worth, Tex.; Willis Cook, born September 7, 1881, a chartered accountant, now at Dallas, Tex.; Louis Smith, born July 3, 1888, a student of architecture in the University of Pennsylvania. After leaving Topeka, Professor Dunbar became for three years superintendent of the public schools of Deposit, N. Y. Later he filled the same position for sixteen years in Bloomfield, N. J., and in 1897 became connected with the Boy's High School in Brooklyn, N. Y., where he still remains, while retaining his residence in Bloomfield, N. J.

Professor Dunbar is a philologist and deeply interested in the early history and explorations of the Spanish and French in the southwestern United States. His library is especially rich in publications on this region and the languages of the native tribes of Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri. In 1872-'73 he assisted Father Gailland, of St. Mary's Mission, in the preparation of a Pottawatomie grammar and dictionary, which, however, have not yet been published. He has also compiled, but not published, a brief grammar and partial vocabulary of the Pawnee language. In January, 1885, Professor Dunbar was elected a corresponding member of the Kansas State Historical Society. He has been a valuable member, assisting the Society in the purchase of many books, has prepared for it a bibliography of early Spanish and French authorities on the region, has always answered cheerfully queries relating to local names of Indian derivation, and in the accompanying papers is generously sharing his wide knowledge with other students of Kansas history. He copied and presented to the Society, about ten years ago, the French text in manuscript of Bourgmont's journey in 1724, from Fort Orleans, Mo., to the Paducas in western Kansas.

Among other works, Mr. Dunbar has published the following:

The Decrease of the North American Indians. (In *Kansas City Review of Science and Industry*, September, 1880.)

The Pawnee Indians: Their History and Ethnology (92 pp., ill. 8 vo.). (Reprinted from the *Magazine of American History*, April, November, 1880; November, 1882.)

An article on the Indian craze of a few years ago.

The Pawnee Language; an appendix to George B. Grinnell's Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, as well as frequent material for use in other parts of the volume.

The Life of an Indian (Pawnee) Boy.

Indian Games.

A Study of the Lipan Indians.

A Comparison of the Usages of the Greeks of Homer's Day and the Pawnees of 1850 and After.

The Migrations of the Pawnee Clans or Subtribes.

Professor Dunbar has aided various persons interested in Indian matters with information for publication by them, as Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, of Philadelphia; Maj. Frank North, of Columbus, Neb.; also several writers connected with the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington. Most of his investigations are, however, still in manuscript. To Doctor Brinton, now deceased, Professor Dunbar furnished a collection of Indian songs—Pawnee, Arikara, Caddo and Wichita; also a paper on religious beliefs and usages, and a paper on medical practices as observed by the Pawnees. To Dr. John G. Shea, of Elizabeth, N. J., he furnished frequent assistance as to Indian matters, for use by him in his edition of Charlevoix's *Travels in the United States*, six volumes; in volume 1 of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, as to various tribes.

THE PAWNEES AS I KNEW THEM.

Address by JAMES R. MEAD, of Wichita, President of the State Historical Society, read by M. C. Polley, member of the Legislature from Republic county, at Pike's Pawnee village, September 27, 1906.

THE writer's acquaintance and experience with the Pawnee Indians extended from 1859 to 1867, and that acquaintance was confined to one phase of their tribal character—that of relieving distant tribes and people of their surplus horses. They were expert horsemen and had long been noted as inveterate marauders, especially given to horse stealing.

Next to their semiannual buffalo hunts—on which, with some agriculture, they relied to obtain their supply of food, clothing, and camp equipage—the quest of horses was their chief and most important industry. It was possible for a young man with nothing to secure horses enough on one expedition to set up housekeeping and become a man of consequence. The successful return of a raiding party was the occasion of feasting, dancing and joy in the camp of the returning party, similar to the return of a victorious war party; in fact, the danger and honor were about as great in one as the other.

Then, again, there was mourning, when the remnants of a party, after weeks or months of absence, returned afoot, hungry, almost naked, to tell a tale of surprise, slaughter and woe.

These raiding parties of Pawnees were the especial objects of hatred of all the tribes of the plains, both north and south, who fought, and if possible, killed them, wherever found, and faithfully aided each other in their crusade of extermination against the Pawnees, designated by them as "prowling cowards"; but they often found to their sorrow that there were no more skilful or brave warriors on the plains than the hated Pawnees.

Periodically the Cheyenne warriors spread out like a net and swept over the rolling country of hills, streams and valleys between the Solomon and Saline, in eager search of these detested raiding parties; and sometimes their quest was not in vain, as the skeletons of Indians found by the writer, stuck full of iron arrow-points, bore evidence.

Intertribal Indian wars were like most warfare, up to a late date—war for plunder. Prehistorically, there was little in the Indian life worth stealing, except women, dressed robes of buffalo and meager camp equipment; and with no adequate means of transportation, plunder could not be conveyed any great distance.

Later, after the Spanish invasion, there were horses as well;¹ an animal of inestimable value to the Indians, and, making marauding warfare far more worth while, furnished means of speedy retreat as well as transportation, and enabled them to traverse the boundless plains with ease, speed, and without fatigue. The discouraging part of this sort of war was that quite often the marauding party would fail to return to their homes, and in the camp of the enemy there would be a most merry scalp dance, with scalp-locks on their coup-sticks, and corresponding grief on the part of the raiders.

The first knowledge the Pawnees had of horses was on the occasion of Coronado's visit to northeastern Kansas in 1541, for it is reasonable to assume that the Pawnees were one of the tribes occupying Quivira, perhaps the principal tribe; and as they had knowledge of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico it is natural that they should follow the Spaniards on their return, and that on the settlement of that country and the increase of horses the Pawnees should make excursions there, round up a bunch of horses by night and vamoise into the arid, boundless, untrackable plains.

Then the Comanches and other tribes bordering on the Spanish settlements, in the course of a few decades, became possessed of considerable herds of horses, which rapidly increased; and as their eastern range joined that of the Pawnees, it was easier to raid their herds than to travel to far-off Pecos or Rio Grande. Later, the Dacotas to the north and the Osages to the east, desiring horses, likewise preyed upon the Pawnee herds.

And so it came about that the introduction of horses plunged the aboriginal tribes of the West into unending internecine war.

The Pawnee invariably went on these expeditions afoot, in parties, as I observed them, of two to thirty-five, composed mostly of young men. With a large party there would be an experienced, middle-aged chief in command, whose orders were implicitly obeyed. They went lightly armed, each had a very serviceable bow and quiver of arrows and a knife; a few carried

NOTE 1.—In 1719, DuTisne visited two villages of the Pawnees situated on a small stream some six leagues west of the Arkansas, probably in what is now Oklahoma. In these villages he found 300 horses "which they value very highly, and could not do without." He procured from them two horses and a mule marked with a Spanish brand. Five years later Bourgmont endeavored to secure by trade with the Kansas a sufficient number of horses for his journey to the Paducas in western Kansas. They were unable to supply him with more than seven, and one of these was stolen by an Iowa Indian, who eloped thereon with a Kansas maiden to his own people. The Paducas, who seemed to be on good terms with the Spaniards, said they obtained their horses from them by barter, and that they had not yet been able to raise any colts.

a light gun. Each Indian carried, tucked under his belt, from four to six extra pairs of new moccasins, and one or more lariats; a pack weighing twenty pounds or more, containing dried meat, both fat and lean; some pieces and straps of tanned skins to repair their moccasins and clothing, and useful for bridles. A strip of tanned hide looped around the lower jaw of a horse was bridle enough on the plains. The above-mentioned articles, with a pipe and tobacco, an occasional light squaw-axe, and a few trifles, comprised all that was necessary for a thousand-mile journey.

These excursions combined the pleasure of a picnic with the excitement and joy of a hunting or war party. The country traversed, from the Solomon to the Smoky Hill, inclusive, was the most beautiful and interesting of all the plains; rolling hills, timbered streams, pure water, sandstone cliffs, and all the country covered with a coat of soft buffalo-grass, over which ranged unnumbered buffalo, elk, antelope and deer, while turkeys and all small game were everywhere in evidence, so that it was an easy matter through all of Kansas and the territory south to kill an abundance of game for each day's needs, be the party large or small; and a fire to cook it could be easily made from the friction of two cedar sticks, by those who knew how. The air was so clear and pure that at night the planet Venus cast a distinct shadow. This country was indeed the paradise terrestrial for the roving Indian, and the hunter and adventurer such as I.

It was the greatest ambition of an Indian to be the owner of a band of horses; his chance of success was *nil* without them; his wealth and social standing was determined by the number he possessed; so the bold Pawnee hiked off to the Arkansas and its tributaries to the south, where the wild Indians often congregated with their numerous herds, and where the great Santa Fe trail also gave them opportunities. They carefully refrained from molesting government mules or trains, as they depended on the government to protect them on their reservation.

They also extended their forays to great distances, traveling on foot. Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and northern Texas acknowledged their presence and work. Tradition states that they penetrated as far as the frontiers of Old Mexico. It was the usual custom of these parties to return home mounted, and frequently with quite a bunch of loose horses besides.

The usual objective point of the Pawnee raiding parties south from their villages in Nebraska was to the Big Bend of the Arkansas, and from there wherever opportunities seemed most favorable. This route passed through the center of Lincoln county, crossing Spillman's creek about five or six miles above its mouth. They had no defined path; all seemed to follow a general course, about fifteen degrees west of south and east of north, within a strip of country a mile or more in width. The Otoe tribe, coming south to Spillman's creek for their summer's hunt, in 1861, followed this route, and from reading Pike's journal I think he traveled over about the same course in going from the Pawnee village to the Big Bend of the Arkansas. It would not be difficult to locate Pike's camp on the Saline. His description was: "We were here very eligibly situated; had a fresh spring, issuing from a bank near us; plenty of the necessities of life all around, viz., buffalo; a beautiful little sugar-loaf hill, for a look-out post; fine grass for our horses; and a Saline in front of us."

The writer camped many times in the same locality, fifty-four to fifty-

eight years later, and can confirm all that Pike said of the beauty and abundance of the country. It is evident that in going from the Saline to the Arkansas Pike traversed the Cheyenne bottoms. No other locality fits his description: "As you approach the Arkansas [on this route] within fifteen or twenty miles the country appears to be low and swampy; or the land is covered with ponds extending out from the river for some distance."

During the writer's experience on the Saline, from 1859 to 1863, Spillman's creek was one of our principal camping and hunting-grounds, on account of the great abundance of game and its convenient location. We soon discovered that we were directly in the route of the Pawnee and other Indians, as well as of their pursuing enemies. Frequently the writer and his men, who had gone on the plains for the love of sport, adventure and danger, found considerably more of each than was agreeable, from contact with the Pawnee, Cheyenne and Sioux, as well as wild animals. At the risk of being monotonous, I will relate a few minor experiences:

On our first trip to Spillman's creek we arrived in the night and drove into a grove of timber to camp. A flock of turkeys happened to be roosting overhead, and one of the men fired a number of shots at them in quick succession. In the morning we found that a camp of Pawnees with horses, in a thicket within 200 yards, had left in such haste in the night as to leave some of their camp equipage.

As to the next little adventure, I had gone up the creek with a team and two men; Joseph Thompson, of Auburn, Kan., was one of them. Going ahead a short distance afoot, I shot several buffalo from a herd. On starting back to the wagon I found it surrounded by Indians, thirty-three in the party, Pawnees going south, who had stripped my men of guns, knives and everything except clothes. The men, young and inexperienced, were so badly scared that they were incapable of doing anything. Some lively things happened in the next few minutes, as I proceeded with more energy than judgment to recover my property, and succeeded, until one young fellow refused to return a knife. I attempted to take it from him by force, when they all flung down their packs, sprang into line and strung their bows. I jumped back, covered the chief, a tall, elderly man, with my double-barreled rifle, and watched for the next motion. Then, for the first time, the chief spoke. He said in substance to his men: "Give that young fellow his knife. He is going to shoot, and some of us will be killed in about a minute. We are going after horses, not to get in fights with white men; pick up your packs and be going." The young man returned the knife; said he did not want to hurt white men; only wanted to scare us.

Next, I left a young man to attend to camp and kill wolves, while I, with the team and the other man, went west ten miles to Wolf creek to hunt. It was in winter. In a few days I returned afoot, carrying my rifle, revolver, etc., and a red blanket, which for a joke I wrapped around myself as I came near my camp through the timber. To my surprise I found my camp in confusion. A lot of wolf skins I had left out to dry in the sun were gone, and my young man was gone. I threw off my blanket to investigate. Pretty soon he came out of the brush, nearly naked, and so badly scared his teeth chattered. He said that two Pawnees going north with five horses came to camp, saw he was scared, and compelled him to cook all they could eat; then stripped him of his clothes, took what provisions and skins they wanted, leisurely packed their ponies and went their way—and there were

two loaded guns in the skin-covered camp, under some hides. Some people were so uncharitable as to suggest that if the writer had been present there would have been other game than wolves to skin.

One of our favorite camping-places was on the east branch of Spillman's creek, upon, as we supposed, a very secluded spot. Here we were twice visited by raiding parties of Pawnees on their way home. The place can be easily located, as a petrified log, two feet in diameter and fifteen feet long, was exposed on the side of a bank within 100 yards of camp.

The first party came straggling in on foot; gaunt, lean, almost naked; no weapons but two bows for a party of a dozen. They were a very dejected looking party; said they had found a camp of wild Indians; were about to make a round-up of horses, when they were discovered, pursued, and some of them killed. They had thrown away arms, blankets, everything, to escape. One of them was shot through the thigh with an arrow but he hobbled along with the rest. We had the quarters of several buffalo lying on the grass at camp, which we gave to the Indians. They cut the meat from the bones; cut it in little squares. Borrowing some large kettles from us they first filled them with meat, then with water, and set on the fire. When the kettles came to a boil, foamed and ran over, their contents was considered done and they were emptied on the buffalo grass, the Indians sitting around in a circle until all was devoured, when the process was repeated. When they could not possibly eat any more, they lay down on the grass and slept for a couple of hours, then resumed their journey to the northeast.

The next spring, May, 1861, we were camped in the same place, when a party of fourteen Pawnees, with thirty-four head of horses and mules, came along. They asked permission to camp with us for a day, to rest and fix for their home-coming. They were feeling fine; said they had left their reservation on foot in the fall, when the leaves were on the trees; had been in Mexico, absent seven or eight months. All of their horses and mules bore strange Mexican brands. Several of their horses were loaded with rock salt from the Cimarron. They made a map of countries and rivers far beyond the Cimarron, of which I knew nothing. They were a jolly, good-natured crowd.

Several buffalo I had killed a day or two before lay untouched on the hill-side, and were a little too ripe for use. The Indians asked for them and had a regular feast. Some of the details would hardly do for publication. They claimed the country as theirs, taking a handful of earth, a piece of wood and a bunch of grass, and with a circular sweep of the arm, exclaimed "All Pawnee." They pointed out the north star, gave their names for various others, and seemed well versed in the movements and direction of the heavenly bodies.

The Indians spent the day eating, mending their clothes and saddles, both of which seemed to be of their own manufacture, and in making some drums, by drawing a skin over a hoop, and drying them in the sun, with some improvised head-dresses to be used in grand entree when they arrived at their village, about a week's travel distant, which to them was almost home. With us of the plains, a hundred miles more or less was a trifling matter. I could add to these personal experiences, by much more interesting adventures with war parties of Sioux and Cheyennes on this same stream.

From Mr. A. C. Spilman,² who was on the Saline in 1858, and for whom I named Spillman's creek, I recently received the following note:

"McPHERSON, KAN., 9-1-'06.

"I do not recall that our Salina people ever had any experience with the Pawnees. The Kaws seemed to claim that territory as their own, and they, or some of their friends of the reservation Indians, were there or passing through on hunting trips at all times of the year when the buffalo were to be found. The Pawnees were at enmity with the Kaws³ and all their allies.

"I am inclined to think that their trips through the country were by small parties in a stealthy manner and for purposes of theft. On these occasions they sought to avoid the Kaws and other Indians, who were generally there in considerable force.

"On one occasion the Kaws came in, displaying several scalps, also human fingers which they had cut off, and said with great appearance of triumph that they had had a fight with the Pawnees, and that these were trophies of the engagement.

"Doubtless they had met a party of Pawnees on a horse-stealing excursion, and taking them at a disadvantage had scalped them. The Kaws stood very much in awe of the superior prowess of the Pawnees."

Speaking of this meeting Mr. Spilman says: "The occasion will be one of very great historical importance, and the record of the proceedings at the site of the old Pawnee village, on September 28, will be awaited with unusual interest."

CHARACTERS AND INCIDENTS OF THE PLAINS.

Address by WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, read at Pike's Pawnee village by Mrs. Elma B. Dalton, of Winfield, September 27, 1906.

THERE are hundreds of very important incidents which belong to Kansas history which should be claimed, preempted, homesteaded, or in some way filed upon and taken possession of, marked, labeled and set out for display upon the shelves of the Kansas State Historical Society as Kansas products and Kansas property. This paper is a caveat upon the hunters and trappers who roamed the plains and mountains in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is not the intention to make here any exclusive claims; those of other states must be duly respected. But there is much in this particular field which of right belongs to Kansas. We seek that, and only

NOTE 2.—This Mr. A. C. Spilman spells his name with one "l." The creek named for him is spelled on the map with two "ll's" as it is also in Gannett's Gazetteer of Kansas, 1898, published by the government.

NOTE 3.—In the winter of 1905-'06, a lawyer of northern Kansas made inquiry as to whether the Historical Society had any evidence showing that the Pawnee Indians were in the habit of raiding early Kansas settlers for horses, etc. He said he had a client who claimed to have had stolen from him in the later '50's some wagon-loads of corn. He had just got the corn home the night before, and it was still in the wagons. The Pawnees came in the night, hitched his horses to the wagons and hauled off the corn. He had never recovered the loss, and was now in his old age presenting his claim to the government. On his visit to the Historical Society, in May, 1906, Mr. T. S. Huffaker of Council Grove, was asked as to the probable truthfulness of the story of this claimant. He replied that he knew of several such raids. In 1856 or 1857 he had charge of a herd of ponies belonging to Northrup & Chick of Westport, and kept them on his ranch southeast of Council Grove. A band of Pawnees who had come down for the purpose of stealing horses from the Kaws also drove off forty or fifty ponies from his herd, and some belonging to other white citizens of the neighborhood. The Pawnees had come direct from their reservation in Nebraska and made the raid at night. They were pursued by the Kaws and his neighbors, but were not overtaken. Shortly after this a party of Pottawatomies who had been out upon the plains, were intercepted on their return by a party of Pawnees, on the Pawnee road. A battle ensued in which all the Pawnees were killed. The Pottawatomies then recovered a lot of the ponies that had been stolen at Council Grove. Hearing about the affair Mr. Huffaker went up to the Pottawatomie reservation and got some of his ponies back. This was about 1859. He had previously presented a claim to the government for the value of his ponies, and was paid the appraised value of those lost. Jim Munkers, the agent sent by him to the Pawnee village, found the ponies there, but they would not give them up, and threatened the man's life. They invited him into a lodge, where he found the braves seated inside about the wall, with their guns pointed towards him.

that. No record of them will be found in any history of the state. We have neglected our claims until the statutes of limitations are about to run against them. The adventures and achievements of General Ashley, the Sublettes, the Bents, Leroux, McLellan Fitzpatrick, Old Bill Williams, Kit Carson, Colonel Doniphan, Dr. Josiah Gregg, Beckwourth, Bridger, Fremont, Gilpin, and many others, belong in part to Kansas. Not a few of them had their first pioneer experiences of the West on Kansas soil. Many of them carried on their business in and over Kansas for years. Records of many of these transactions remain, but Kansas has been slothful in gathering them. Sister states with fewer facilities have gone far in advance of us in this particular matter. I herewith file the first paper, leaving it to those who may come after me to perfect the title.

In this brief effort no biographical accounts will be attempted. However, some information along that line will be given, not always that which is wholly new. Before we come to that we must establish our right to regard these heroes as Kansas characters and assign them definite places in our annals. No chronological order is observed in this paper.

THE SUBLETTES.

The Sublettes were often in Kansas. Many a Kansas buffalo, elk, deer, and wild turkey fell before their rifles. They fought the Kansas tribes of Indians. The skins and furs of Kansas game animals entered into their trade and commerce. That they operated largely in other states does not bar the Kansas claim.

Like most of the hunters and trappers, the Sublettes were Kentuckians. Their mother was the daughter of Col. William Whitley, one of the most celebrated pioneers of Kentucky, and the slayer of the great Shawnee chief, Tecumseh. He was born in Augusta county, Virginia, August 14, 1749. He married there Miss Esther Fuller. Having heard of the beauty and fertility of Kentucky he told his wife that he believed it a country where a living could be made without so much hard work. She is said to have made the following reply to him: "Then, Billy, if I was you I would go and see." Within two days he and his wife, accompanied by his brother-in-law, George Clark, were on their way to Kentucky. They founded Whitley's Station, near the Crab Orchard, in what is now Lincoln county. Colonel Whitley was actively engaged in all the Indian wars of Kentucky. He was on many expeditions into the country north of the Ohio river to fight the Indians, and he was the leader of the Nickajack expedition against the Indians on the Tennessee river. He was killed in the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813, after having first slain Tecumseh. No braver or more patriotic man ever lived, and this notice of him is to show that the Sublettes came naturally by their love of adventure and hatred of the Indian.

William Sublette was the first of the brothers to engage in the business of hunting, trapping and trading in the country west of the Missouri river. He possessed the fearless spirit, daring and reckless courage of his grandfather. He went out with General Ashley in 1823; was in the battle with the Arikara; was in the expedition which discovered the Great Salt Lake; was on the Columbia; and was the first man to take a wagon across the Rocky Mountains.¹ He was a good business man, and accumulated a fortune

NOTE 1.—"To Captain Bonneville belongs the credit of being the first to take wagons through South Pass and to Green river [1832]. Ashley had taken a wheeled cannon through to Utah Lake in 1826. Smith, Jackson and Sublette had taken wagons to Wind River in 1830."—Chittenden's *Am. Fur Trade*, p. 431.

by his transactions in the wilderness. His brothers were engaged in all his enterprises. They were as brave and hardy as himself. Milton Sublette received a wound which shattered his ankle, making amputation necessary. He whetted a scalping-knife to a razor edge, hacked another into a saw, and with these and some iron plates which he took from steel traps and placed in the fire until at white heat, he successfully amputated his own leg. I know of but one other instance of this kind. The Sublettes had hundreds of adventures with the Indians of the plains, and those which occurred on Kansas soil should be collected and preserved.

THE BENTS.

The Bents were descended from a Massachusetts family. Silas Bent, a native of that state, is said to have been one of the party which threw the British tea into Boston harbor. He married Mary Carter, by whom he had seven children. Of these, Silas, the eldest, was born in 1768. He studied law, and in 1788 migrated to Ohio, where he married a Virginia lady named Martha Kerr. He was there a postmaster, judge, and surveyor. In 1806 he was made deputy surveyor of Upper Louisiana by Albert Gallatin, and moved to St. Louis. There he held many places of trust, among them judge of the United States superior court. He died in 1827. He had eleven children—Charles, Julia Ann, John, Lucy, Dorcas, William, Mary, George, Robert, Edward, and Silas.

No attempt will be made here to enumerate the various enterprises of the Bents. William and Charles engaged in the Indian trade on a large scale. They were Kansas pioneers, mighty hunters and great Indian fighters. They spent their lives on the plains and in the mountains, and were often detained long in Kansas. The history of Bent's Fort is largely the history of the intercourse of the white man with Kansas Indian tribes. This fort was in the bounds of Kansas territory. No adequate history of its influence on the times of our occupation of this region has been written, although material for such a work is abundant and is easily accessible.

WILLIAM GILPIN.

It is quite probable that the verdict of posterity will be that the West owes more to William Gilpin than to any other American. To him more than to any other man do we owe the building of railroads from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean. Benton's famous bill was introduced in the United States senate in 1850. Years before that Gilpin had made observations in the country, from the mouth of the Kansas river to the mouth of the Columbia, to determine the resources which might be counted on to sustain a railroad and the natural obstacles it might have to overcome. In 1849 he delivered an address to 5000 emigrants bound for California, much of which was devoted to a description of the West and the ease with which railroads might be constructed across it. This address was delivered where the town of Lawrence now stands. Its subject was "The Pacific Railroad." Gilpin called the attention of the country to the matter, and the railroad was afterwards built along the lines marked out by him. It was not until Senator Benton had made the acquaintance of Gilpin that he became enthusiastic over the whole West. Gilpin knew that the development of that vast area of our country depended upon the solution of the problem of transportation. He was the John the Baptist of the West. And in addition to

gallant service in Colonel Doniphan's regiment as major, he put in a year campaigning along the Arkansas against the Kansas Indian tribes of that region. His headquarters were at Fort Mann, situated about six miles west of the present Dodge City. Not even in the great archives of our State Historical Society will you find the account of this year's work of William Gilpin. At the risk of being considered tedious, I shall here insert a short extract from the official records of the War Department showing something of the nature of this service.

MR. GILPIN'S SANTA FE TRACE BATTALION.²

Gilpin's Santa Fe Trace Battalion, Missouri Mounted Volunteers, Mexican war.

This battalion was also known as "Gilpin's Battalion, Missouri Mounted Volunteers," "Indian Battalion, Missouri Volunteers," and "Battalion Missouri Volunteers for the Plains."

The battalion consisted of companies A, B, C, D, E. Company C was Capt. William Pelzer's artillery company.

Mounted companies, A and B; artillery, C; not mounted, D and E.

Roster of company C shows 20 officers and 84 privates; roster of company D shows 17 officers and 63 privates; roster of company E shows 17 officers and 69 privates; rosters of companies A and B not found.

FIELD AND STAFF.

Field and staff, Santa Fe Trace Battalion, Missouri Mounted Volunteers, Mexican war.

Muster-roll for September 18, 1847, to April 30, 1848, shows station at Fort Mann, middle Arkansas [river—in what is now the state of Kansas]. This roll bears date June 25 for April 30—"nunc pro tunc." Reason, "absence of myself and three companies in the Comanche country."—W. GILPIN, Lt.-Col. *Commanding*.

Roll signed: W. GILPIN, Lt.-Col.

Muster-roll, April 30 to October 3, 1848, shows company at Independence, Mo. Roll signed: W. GILPIN, Lt.-Col.

Field and staff mustered for discharge at Independence, Mo., October 3, 1848, and honorably discharged by E. A. Hitchcock, Brevet Colonel, U. S. A., mustering officer.

Roster of field and staff, Colonel Gilpin's Battalion of Missouri Volunteers, Mexican war.

ROSTER.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. William Gilpin..... | Lieutenant-colonel. |
| 1. Henry L. Routt..... | Adjutant. |
| 1. Ephraim P. January..... | Assistant surgeon. |
| 1. Ashley G. Gully..... | Second lieutenant. |
| 2. Edward Colston..... | Second lieutenant. |
| 1. Jacob T. Tindall..... | Sergeant-major. |
| 1. Adam Kraft..... | Chief bugler. |
| 1. Benjamin S. Long..... | Assistant surgeon. |
| 1. William Kuhlman..... | Quartermaster-sergeant. |

COMPANY A.—Capt. John C. Griffith's company A, Mounted Santa Fe Trace Battalion, Missouri Mounted Volunteers, Mexican war.

Muster-in roll, dated September 3, 1847, shows station of company at Fort Leavenworth.

Company arrived at Fort Leavenworth, Mo., place of general rendezvous, September 1, 1847.

Company accepted into the service of the United States for the term of "during the war with Mexico," from September 3, 1847, by C. Wharton, lieutenant-colonel First Dragoons, mustering officer.

Muster-roll, September 3, 1847, to April 30, 1848, shows station of company at Fort Mann, Middle Arkansas.

The company has been encamped and on the march in the Indian country since the middle of September, 1847, and during March, April and May in the center of the Comanche country. This muster-roll is therefore made at this date—"nunc pro tunc." Roll dated June 24, 1848.

Roll signed: JOHN C. GRIFFITH, *Captain*.

Muster-roll, April 30 to September 28, 1848, shows station of company Independence, Mo.

Roll signed: JOHN C. GRIFFITH, *Captain*.

Company mustered for discharge at Independence, Mo., September 28, 1848, and honorably discharged by E. A. Hitchcock, brevet colonel, U. S. A., mustering officer.

NOTE 2.—Mr. Connelley copied these records himself from the original manuscripts in Washington, and has also printed them in his Doniphan Expedition, 1907, pp. 148-151.

COMPANY B.—Capt. Thomas Jones's company B, Mounted Santa Fe Trace Battalion, Missouri Volunteers, war with Mexico.

Muster-in roll, dated September 11, 1847, shows station of company at Fort Leavenworth.

Company arrived at Fort Leavenworth September 8, 1847.

(Other entries similar to those made on the rolls of company A.)

COMPANY C.—Capt. William Pelzer's company C, artillery, Santa Fe Trace Battalion, Missouri Volunteers, Mexican war.

Muster-in roll dated September 10, 1847.

Company arrived at Fort Leavenworth September 8, 1847.

Term of service, same as companies A and B.

Report from Fort Mann, Middle Arkansas, "*nunc pro tunc*," owing to continued separation, difficulty of communication between the detached portions of battalion, and absence of paymaster.

Company discharged at Independence, Mo., October 2, 1848.

COMPANY D.—Capt. Paul Holzscheiter's company D, Santa Fe Trace Battalion, Missouri Volunteers, Mexican war.

Muster-in roll dated September 18, 1847.

Company at Fort Mann, Middle Arkansas, same dates and same reasons for "*nunc pro tunc*," reports as given by companies A and B.

Company discharged at Independence, Mo., October 1, 1848.

COMPANY E.—Capt. Napoleon Koscialowski's company E, Santa Fe Trace Battalion, Missouri Volunteers, Mexican war.

Muster-in roll, September 18, 1847, to April 30, 1848, shows company at Fort Mann, Middle Arkansas. The above company being on the march through the center of the Comanche country during March, April and May, this roll bears date June—"nunc pro tunc."—W. GILPIN, *Col. Commanding*.

Roll signed: NAPOLEON KOSCIALOWSKI, *Captain*.

Company muster-roll, April 30, to September 30, 1848, shows company at Independence, Mo.

The company left Fort Leavenworth on the 4th day of October, 1847, and ascended the Arkansas to the foot of the Rocky Mountains at Bent's Fort. From thence, with the cavalry companies under the lieutenant-colonel, crossed the Raton mountains on the 10th of March, 1848, and descended the Canadian through the country of the Apache and Comanche Indians during March, April and May, to the Antelope buttes, being engaged in skirmishing warfare with the Comanche and Pawnee Indians on the Middle Arkansas and Kansas until the expiration of the term of service by the peace with Mexico.

The marches have exceeded 3000 miles in the aggregate, mostly being in the depth of winter.

Roll signed: CALEB S. TUTTLE, *Captain*.

Company mustered for discharge at Independence, Mo., September 30, 1848, and honorably discharged (except Lieutenant Colston) by E. A. Hitchcock, brevet colonel, U. S. A., mustering officer.

JAMES BRIDGER.

It is my intention to but briefly call attention to this hero of the plains. He was the pioneer hunter and trapper in much of the country of the Rocky Mountains. He has been referred to as the "human barometer," for the reason that he had determined the relative height of most of the peaks and passes in the mountains long before any scientist came with instruments to measure them. It was generally supposed that South Pass was the lowest gap in the mountain chain, but Bridger told the engineer of the Union Pacific railroad that it was much higher than Cheyenne Pass. While the engineer could scarcely credit the statement, he thought best to determine for himself. To his surprise, he found that Bridger was right, the height proving some 1400 feet less, and the grade being much more suitable for the construction of a railroad. Instances of this kind could be indefinitely extended here.³

NOTE 3.—James Bridger, the pioneer plainsman, mountaineer, scout and Indian fighter, died in Westport, Mo., July 17, 1881, and was buried on a farm near Dallas, Jackson county. December 5, 1904, his bones were exhumed and taken to Mount Washington cemetery, near Kansas City. They now lie under a massive boulder-like monument. This monument was unveiled December 11, 1904. Bridger explored in 1824-'25 the Great Salt Lake in Utah, and built Fort Bridger in 1843.

During much of his life Bridger was regarded as an unmitigated liar. When he described any part of the great mountain region, telling of the wonders it contained, he was heard with doubt by even the most credulous. By the historians of the time he was shunned and avoided. Historians are, upon the whole, not courageous. Many of them find pleasure (and profit) in quibbling about petty details, exploiting theories, attempting to destroy historical characters, and elevating shysters into historical standing, and in writing one faction up and another faction down, regardless of the question of merit. They will say nothing unless it has been said over and over and again and again. Original research is distasteful to them, and they seek to discredit original statements. They forget (perhaps never knew and would not believe) that among the greatest authorities on early American history are statements of such men as Bridger, collected and published under the title of "*Hakluyt's Voyages*." It is only in recent years, long after everybody knew that most that the old trappers and hunters told was absolutely true, that historians have tolerated and credited their statements. Such stories as that told by Bridger about the big snow were considered good ground for rejecting all they said. The character of the man counted for nothing. That he was faithful to every trust, that he would hazard his life to save that of a companion, that he would ride into the very jaws of death in the discharge of a duty—all these things were discredited because he boastfully told an exaggerated story of an occurrence or locality, with no intention or expectation that it would be believed.

An instance of this may be found in Bridger's account of the big snow, mentioned above. He told of such snow one winter that when he measured its depth by marks cut at its crust on trees he found it amounted to seventy feet; that the buffalo in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake starved or froze to death; that he rolled their frozen carcasses into the lake where the brine preserved them; that for years afterward when he was in want of meat he had only to fish from the waters of the Great Salt Lake a pickled buffalo of the hard winter, etc. These were fictions, exaggerations such as those relating to Southern life as told by Sut Luvngood. The people of every age and country in the world have made and told such stories. I find them in Indian folk-lore, but they do not discredit the beautiful and valuable things I find seriously told alongside of them. The stories of this nature told by the old trappers and hunters were more largely exaggerated than ever told before, because the environment of the narrators was constructed on great lines. They were familiar with sublimity and grandeur, with illimitable prospects and gorgeous scenes, and their stories told for amusement were made to correspond with these things.

We are now learning from these skeptical historians that what Bridger told of the Rocky Mountains is invaluable. Of course it is. I had arranged with my friend, John K. Wright,⁴ of Junction City, to make a record of much of it that Wright knew; his death prevented this collection. But much of it remains, and it should be gathered and preserved. Bridger was much in Kansas, and claim to him as a Kansas explorer and pioneer is hereby made and filed, and our State Historical Society must perfect the title. We have been very busy preserving the record of historical events which occurred after the commencement of the civil war. The important part of that work is well under way and will soon arrive at a stage where we can turn our

NOTE 4.—For sketch of John K. Wright see "*Legislature of 1868*," elsewhere in this volume.

attention to perfecting our claims to many characters and incidents now regarded as belonging to other states than Kansas. If we allow the matter to go by default we are not entitled to that which is ours even beyond contention.

JAMES P. BECKWOURTH.

We come now to consider a character who has had more abuse from writers of history than any other of the old hunters and trappers. This arises from the fact that Beckwourth got into print more extensively and much earlier than any of the others. His autobiography was published in 1855, and from the time of its publication he had to suffer what Bridger and others suffered only from the close of the civil war, when the settlement of the West was commenced in earnest, and knowledge of these old pioneers and their narratives began to be extensively known. Beckwourth drew the fire of the shocked historians, and the other men of his age and kind suffered less. And the old pioneers suffered in this respect because they possessed their full share of human nature and, to secure a remunerative piece of work in competition with their fellows, did not hesitate to speak in disparaging terms of the ability and reliability of those who might be preferred over them. Every one of them had the reputation of being a liar, given largely, as I have said, by people who were ignorant of the facts and conditions, and when competing against one another they did not hesitate to make these reputations serve them to the fullest extent.

An instance or two will be given to show the manner in which Beckwourth was considered. He lived in California during the days of the Argonauts, and he had much influence there. It was there that his book was written. The miners knew him and gave him the reputation they gave Jo Meek and all other pioneers in the Rocky Mountains. They were anxious to see his book. When it was published the miners of a certain camp enjoined it on their agent, who went to San Francisco to secure supplies for the winter, to bring back a copy of the book without fail. The agent made an effort to obey the desires of his companions, but not being much on books, and perhaps not looking at the volume they substituted, came back to camp with a copy of the Bible, believing it the autobiography of Beckwourth. After supper all gathered about the fire and demanded that the agent, one of their number, read from the book. He opened at random, and chanced upon that passage wherein Samson tied together the tails of the foxes to destroy the Philistine wheat-fields, whereupon some bearded gold digger shouted, "That will do! I would know that story anywhere in the world for one of Jim Beckwourth's lies!"

One Frank Triplett, who published a number of historical works of meager value, but with flaring titles and dime-novel characteristics, has this to say of Beckwourth:

"I have often heard old Jim Beckwith talk by the hour of the exploits of Bridger, whom he greatly admired. Years ago Jim Beckwith published an alleged biography of himself, in which he claimed to have been head chief of the Crow nation for thirty years. The adventures recorded in it are romantic, lurid, and startling, and, taking it all together, it is as vivid a piece of lying as any of the blood-and-thunder novelists of to-day ever produced. On that account I have hesitated to record his narrative of the adventure of Jim Bridger, in which he always credited himself with rather the lion's share of fighting and generalship.

"Amongst others was an account of a trip, when he and Bridger were piloting a small outfit across the plains. They had one day reached the

grounds over which both the Sioux and Pawnees roamed and hunted, and in the morning he and Bridger had beat off a force of some fifty Pawnees, and afterward continued their journey along the Republican river for some hours without molestation.

"Late that afternoon, however, they had run into a band of about fifty Sioux. Although they succeeded in defeating this band also, yet he now saw that they were in for trouble. 'I seen,' said he, 'that the Pawnees would get together a big lot of their warriors and follow after us, and the d-d Sioux, I knowed, would do the same thing, so I soon saw that we'd have about a thousand Injuns after us, and we wouldn't be a taste for 'em. I seen this wouldn't do, so I says to Jim Bridger, says I, 'Jim, what we goin' ter do?' " "Damfino," said Jim; says he, "fight till the reds down us. I reckon, and then go under like men." All this time, bless your soul, them pilgrims what we was guiding, they was in the wagons cryin'; d-n me, if they was n't!

"Well, sir, I jest made up my mind that I didn't intend to give up my har to no d-d Injun jest then, so I calculates about whar the two parties of red devils would meet, and when we got thar we drove over a rise in the plain, and jest waited. It was n't more'n two hours till I seen the dust raisin' to the east. "Them's Pawnees, by G—," says I, and then I looked to the west, and thar the dust was a raisin', too. "Them's Sioux," says I, "and he d-d to 'em.!" Well, after waitin' some time, the Injuns they seen each other, and of all the d-d yelling you ever heard, it was thar. I jest laid back and laughed, and Bridger, he done some tall chucklin', too, when them two bands come together. It was lively times, you bet!

"The Injuns didn't have many guns them days, but you kin jest rest sure they used their arrows for what was out. Thar they went circlin' around each other, bendin' under their horses' necks and lettin' the arrows fly. At one time the air was filled so full of arrows that they shut out the sunlight and made a cloud. Their dogs was full of 'em, their ponies was full of 'em, and every Injun in the gang had a lot of 'em stickin' inter him. I seen one of 'em, a big fat feller, a ridin' off on his stomach with two long arrows stickin' inter the seat of his buckskins, and it put me so much in mind of a big Dutch pin-cushion, that I like ter die a laughin'!"

In describing this unique combat, the old liar waxed lurid in his profanity, and wound up with the information that he "believed them Injuns was a runnin' from each other yit."

Let us examine this story. Triplett's book was copyrighted in 1883 and published in 1889. The story is illustrated by a full-page cut entitled "Jim Beckwith's Description of an Indian Battle." That picture looked familiar to me, and I made a search for it. I found it on page 271 of Doctor Webb's *Buffalo Land*. Doctor Webb's book was copyrighted in 1872 and published in 1873. In *Buffalo Land* the illustration is entitled "Battle between Cheyennes and Pawnees." It would seem that the author, Triplett, who makes great claims to accuracy, had drawn on his imagination for a story to fit a picture. Of such stuff is much of the criticism of the veracity of the old hunters and trappers. Doctor Webb describes the battle in his book; his whole party witnessed it; and the drawing was made for his book from the description therein published. In Doctor Webb's book it is a truthful picture to accompany a truthful statement. What it is in Triplett's book we will let the reader decide, and he may also settle for himself the historical accuracy of the story there attributed to Beckwourth.

We quote another Beckwourth story from Triplett:

"I once heard old Jim Beckwith tell a pilgrim how his right leg came to be afflicted with varicose veins. 'I was out on foot one day, about thirty miles from camp (the Crow village), and on the other side of the mountain, when a hundred Blackfeet jumped me. Well, sir, they was armed only

with bows and arrows (arrers, Jim called them), and I had my rifle with me. I shot down their chief, and then I seen I had to make a race for camp. Every d—d one of them Injuns was mounted, and so I took up the mountains, but when I got half way up I found they was a gainin' on me.'

"“Look here, Jim,” says I to myself, “this here won't never do;” so I jest thought that I'd try runnin' around a hill, as I had an idea that it would strain their horses some. It was a success. As soon as I began streakin' it around the mountain I began to gain on 'em, and I jest kept up my lick until I got inter camp. Yer see, the mountain jest circled around to our village, and when I got thar I jest mounted a lot of my warriors, and that night one hundred Blackfeet scalps was a drying in the village. Yer see, their horses was wore out chasin' me around the mountain, and when they got down inter the plain to escape, I'll be blamed if them horses had n't stretched all their legs on the right side so that they could n't run at all on level ground, and we jest picked 'em all up. But I tell you what it is, stretchin' this here leg of mine in that thirty-mile race strained it so I've had them big veins ever since.’”

This is the old story of how the man escaped from the bear in the Blue Ridge. It has been told on every hunter and trapper from Virginia to the Golden Gate. It is a chestnut so hoary that we wonder that even a sensational and inaccurate writer would attempt to make it a lie told by Beckwourth. Nine-tenths of the humorous stories are attributed to Abraham Lincoln. We know that the old hunters and trappers told exaggerated stories, as I have set out above, but they never told a tenth part of those attributed to them by unscrupulous and sensational writers seeking something with which to startle tenderfeet.

Beckwourth was often in Kansas. He carried dispatches for General Kearny in the Mexican war, riding alone from Bent's Fort to Fort Leavenworth, his life a forfeit to the Comanche and Cheyenne every mile of the way as far as Council Grove. He hunted, trapped and traded on the Kansas and the Arkansas. He built the fort that became the city of Pueblo, Colo.

For achievement few men equaled James P. Beckwourth, and he lived in the age of great men. The West owes him a debt it would be hard to pay for leaving us such a record of his adventures on the plains and mountains. That work will come to be one of our great authorities; not that all it contains can be relied upon, but that it is mainly true, and that it is the record of a life spent in the Great West, the record being made by the man himself. We see the transaction as it really was; our information is from first hands. No other kind of record can compare with it in value. So far as I know, this is the first appeal for justice to the memory of James P. Beckwourth. I make it because I believe in the worth of the man and recognize in his autobiography a great historical work. In his deeds Kansas has a part and lot. I lay claim to them in the name of Kansas. I have collected much that is new to this generation regarding him, and this I shall publish at some future time.

So comes Kansas at this late day to claim an interest in the old hunters and trappers of the great plains and the Rocky Mountains, those hardy and fearless forerunners of a great nation. Hail to their memory! Kansas will aid in giving them justice—will help to carve their names high on the scroll of honor and glory.

THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF KANSAS.

Address by GEORGE W. MARTIN, Secretary of the State Historical Society, delivered at Pike's Pawnee village September 27, 1906.

[This is a lost or forgotten chapter of Kansas history, and I dig it up and put it on record in justice to the state and her first settlers. We have put in our time abusing James H. Lane, Charles Robinson and John Brown, until this generation has lost the beginning, while over the line they have published histories, biographies and novels, and painted great pictures, with vaudevilles on the road, lauding to the skies the Quantrills, the Youngers and the Jameses. I will now tell you who sowed to the wind—all of us know all about the whirlwind.]

A RECENT dispatch (June 14, 1906,) from Washington, concerning the passage of the bill creating the state of Oklahoma, says it closed a contest for statehood not equaled since the days of the Missouri compromise.

There can be no comparison between the peaceful, reasonable, clever contest for Oklahoma and the wild and vicious fight growing out of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, covering as it did years of passionate talk and murderous action, culminating in the birth of Kansas and the awful civil war. How many of our people have any conception of the terror and outrage which welcomed the pioneers of fifty-two years ago to the happy and peaceful prairies of this most delightful commonwealth? A few may have a vague notion that in the early days there was some trouble here about the slavery question; and more may know, because of the persistent and exclusive talk about it, that John Brown killed some pro-slavery people on Pottawatomie creek—an incident in a great conflict, which has been magnified until a myriad of outrages have been overshadowed and history to a great extent absolutely perverted.

Kansas has been indulging in semicentennials now for three years. And from now on events worthy of such memory will multiply. A half a century ago incidents of momentous interest were happening almost weekly. From the spring of 1854 until the spring of 1865—eleven years—violence covered the eastern two or three tiers of counties in Kansas, and heroism and self-sacrifice among the actors did much to impress succeeding generations. Then came peace and a period of reconstruction which will call for semicentennial observances fully as interesting as those suggested by the strife to establish our institutions.

We have already celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the territory, and of the founding of Lawrence, Topeka, and Emporia. In 1906 we celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the battle at Osawatimie and her defender, John Brown. And above all, we celebrate to-day the one-hundredth anniversary of the first appearance in Kansas of the banner which has brought us through so many troubles.

To give you a proper and vivid view of the first two years of Kansas, I must go to that place of first historical resort—the newspapers. The newspaper may not always tell the truth, but it is a dead-sure reflex of the passions and motives of men and of communities. No adequate account of those days could be given without using some of the spoken and written words of the actors; and while such language may seem dreadful to-day, we must consider the surroundings and the institutions which provoked it, and the years of agitation leading up to the events which occurred in the counties on both sides of the Missouri-Kansas state line. There was nothing the matter with Kansas, and Missouri, as a whole, was not to blame for her share

in the trouble, the issue having divided the people of the entire country since the days of Jefferson.¹

In 1820 the slavery question had been arbitrarily settled by the establishment of a line north of which human slavery could not exist. But there was a growing conscience in the North on the subject, and the restlessness of the South had been increased by the admission of California as a free state at the close of the Mexican war. At that time a schism had occurred among the Northern Democrats concerning the extension of slavery into the territory acquired from Mexico, which took form in a proposition advanced by David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, known as the "Wilmot proviso." This measure largely augmented the anti-slavery feeling already existing, as it provided that slavery should not be extended into this new territory, Mexico having abolished slavery some twenty years before. Upon the principles of this proviso ten years later the Republican party was formed, and fourteen years later Abraham Lincoln was elected President. The outcome of the Missouri compromise, adopted in 1820, had in the interval made Kansas free soil.

In the regular order of things, that part of the Indian Territory west of Iowa and Missouri came up for statehood. The trouble was already here. The slavery question disrupted the Methodist church in 1845, and the Wyandotte Indians, who came west in 1843, and who were all Methodists, pre-

NOTE 1.—Calvin Smith, for twenty years a resident of Valley Falls, Kan., now residing in Kansas City, Mo., was born on the 23d day of December, 1813, in Erie county, New York. His father, Humphrey Smith, brought the family to Howard county, Missouri, in July, 1816. The family remained in Howard county until 1819, when they moved to Carroll county. In 1822 he made another move, and established the town of Smithville, in Clay county. These moves were caused by the fact that he desired that Missouri should be a free state. For awhile he was also compelled to keep his family over in Iowa, where his wife died in 1853. Humphrey Smith was born in New Jersey, in 1774. He was a soldier in the war of 1812. He died at Smithville, Mo., May 5, 1857, in the eighty-third year of his age, after a life of trouble and turmoil because of his free-soil principles. Calvin Smith, now in his ninety-fourth year, has published his autobiography, a book of about ninety pages, full of incidents showing the nature of human slavery. It also appears that events happened in the controversy over the admission of Missouri, when the compromise was established, similar to those which happened forty years later concerning the admission of Kansas. On page 21 we are told that "the territory elected delegates to form a state government [probably in 1820]. There were two pronounced parties—pro-slavery and free-state. A war of extermination was waged by the pro-slavery party." Page 22 tells us of a political argument between Humphrey Smith and a pro-slavery man named Buckheart. The pro-slavery candidates for Congress met the free-state candidate on the road and shot him off his horse. No attention was paid to the murder. As a result of the argument with Buckheart the following night raid occurred. This happened, remember, from thirty-five to forty-five years before a Kansas red-leg, a Kansas Jayhawker or Order No. 11 was heard of. Certainly the people of Missouri were not responsible for such acts, and surely not the Kansas red-leg—it was the spirit of the institution. On page 23 Calvin Smith says:

"Ten or fifteen days after the Buckheart visit about fifteen or twenty men came about ten o'clock one night to Humphrey Smith's house and hid behind the back part of the log cabin. One of them came to the door, and, after knocking, said that he wished to stay over for the night with a horse. Father got up but protested that he had no room. The man said he would stop, stable or not, even if he had to tie his horse to a tree. Father was standing just outside the door on a high step, and he said, 'Well, I will go and get you a rope.' As he turned to go after the rope, the stranger caught him by the wrist and jerked him, heels over head, out and down on the ground. As they both fell, the mob behind the house rushed out and commenced with young hickory sprouts, two or three years old, flagellating Smith. Fifteen or twenty of them made welts and made the blood fly. Dragging Smith down to the yard fence, about forty yards, they still laid on the cudgels. One man was holding Smith by the arm keeping his head down so that the others could strike him. Smith's faithful wife, hearing the shrieks and oaths, ran down to the fence, where the mob had gotten over and were trying to pull Smith over. Mrs. Smith grabbed up a long swinging-block and threw it over the fence, hitting the man who was holding Smith and knocking him down. Smith finding himself loose, ran, and the fellow jumped the fence and ran after Smith. Mrs. Smith jumped in his way. The man then grabbed Smith's shirt, but as it tore off, Smith escaped. The ruffian was so angry that he struck Mrs. Smith over the head with such force that the cudgel was bent. He knocked out Mrs. Smith's eye and mashed a large brass comb she wore. I well recollect the night, though it is many years ago. Mother Smith had a sore eye as long as she lived. It would heal and break, and at times she could see a little, and then it would close entirely and run matter. For thirty-four years she suffered from this, until her death. These Jubolas, Jubolums and Jubolems' fight over, the men retired to an elevated piece of ground, about 250 yards away, and then, with demoniac oaths, ordered Smith to leave the territory in three days or he should die. Tom Arnold, of Franklin, was the leader of the mob."

precipitated the strife into Kansas in 1846. 'As early as 1852 David R. Atchison on the stump argued in favor of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the purpose being to remove the restrictions from the then Indian Territory. The South, long dissatisfied with the measure, welcomed this proposition.²

December 13, 1852, Willard P. Hall, of Missouri, introduced in Congress a bill to create the Territory of Platte, embracing Kansas and Nebraska. February 2, 1853, William A. Richardson, of Illinois, reported another bill to create the Territory of Nebraska, including all this region. This bill failed, and on the 4th of December Senator Augustus C. Dodge, of Iowa, introduced the measure again. January 23, 1854, Senator Douglas, from the committee on territories, reported a substitute creating the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, repealing the Missouri compromise, and suggesting the principle of squatter sovereignty. This bill passed, and was signed by the President May 30, 1854. It legalized human slavery north of latitude 36° 30', opening to that institution 500,000 square miles east of the Rocky Mountains, which had been shielded forever by the bargain forced on the North in the compromise of 1820. Fourteen senators and forty-four representatives from the North voted for the repeal.

And so Kansas was opened to slavery, subject to "squatter sovereignty," that is, that the squatters had a right to pass on the subject—could have slavery if they wanted it. The purpose was clearly to force Kansas into the Union as a slave state.³ And while this palpable purpose was working out in Congress, the sentiment in the North expressed in the Wilmot proviso was vigorously gathering for battle on the plains of Kansas. And so on the 26th of April, 1854, the Emigrant Aid Company was incorporated by the Massachusetts legislature, with a capital stock of \$5,000,000, "to assist emigrants to settle in the West." The Glasgow (Missouri) *Times*, of June 22, 1854, said: "A determined effort is to be made to introduce slavery into

NOTE 2.—A Jackson, Miss., paper said, June 13, 1855: "The appointment of a governor of Kansas is an act of vast importance to the South. It suggests to us at once the restoration of the equilibrium between the North and the South, lost in the admission of California—the extension of Southern area, and Southern institutions—a return to the constitution and to its faithful administration."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 206.

"Kansas was the keystone of the arch of the Union. It was of vital importance not only to Missouri, but to each of the slave-holding states that it should come into the Union as a slave state. The admission of California had deprived us (the South) of the balance of power in the senate. Now was the time and this the occasion to restore it."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 6, p. 194.

[NOTE.—DR. THOMAS HOPKINS WEBB, of Boston, was secretary of the Emigrant Aid Company from 1854 to 1860. During this time he made a scrap-book compilation of newspaper clippings, said to include everything printed about Kansas from Maine to New Orleans during the years mentioned. They embrace seventeen volumes, three columns to the page, on both sides of the sheet, 10 x 12 inches in size, and about 250 pages, neatly bound. They constitute a wonderful historical mine, representing all shades of opinion. In all, they number over 3000 pages of closely printed matter. The legislature of 1877 appropriated \$1000 for the purpose of obtaining them, but the Historical Society succeeded, in July, 1878, in getting them for \$400. Doctor Webb was born at Providence, September 21, 1801. In 1833 he was married to Lydia Athearn, of Nantucket. He died August 2, 1866, leaving no children. In the struggle to repel slavery from the soil of Kansas, Doctor Webb was a hearty participant as secretary of the Emigrant Aid Company. He visited the territory and organized many companies of settlers. His little guide-book for emigrants was a modest but efficient factor in repelling aggressions which sought to nationalize the Southern institution. He published two different pamphlets concerning Kansas, each of which went through six editions.—SECRETARY.]

NOTE 3.—The Lawrence *Republican*, edited by Timothy Dwight Thacher, December 17, 1857, on the Lecompton constitution: "Squatter sovereignty was always a humbug and always meant to be. It was a dust kicked up and thrown in the eyes of confiding . . . Northern Democrats to reconcile them to that act of treachery and fraud—the repeal of the Missouri compromise. The men who originated the Nebraska bill and forced it through Congress never meant that the people of Kansas should exclude slavery. On the contrary, those men meant to force slavery into Kansas. . . . They used the humbug of popular sovereignty as long as they needed it, but now they throw off the guise and Buchanan and his cabinet determine to force a pro-slavery constitution upon us at all hazards. For the sake of a few Southern nigger breeders and traders, the people of Kansas must be made slaves."

Kansas, while there is a general disposition to let Nebraska be free."⁴ The *Platte Argus* said: "The abolitionists will probably not be interrupted if they settle north of the fortieth parallel of north latitude, but south of that line, and within Kansas territory, they need not set foot. It is decreed by the people who live adjacent that their institutions are to be established; and candor compels us to advise accordingly." And a meeting at Independence resolved: "That we, the South, be permitted peaceably to possess Kansas, while the North, on the same privilege, be permitted to possess Nebraska territory."⁵ And so it is evident that Kansas, pledged to free soil in 1820, was to be given away in the '50's through the very funny misnomer of "squatter sovereignty."

Now, before we see how the sovereign squats acted, or how the principle was applied, I desire to say again we must keep in mind the conditions, the surroundings, the life and teachings, and the passions of the hour. David R. Atchison and Benjamin F. Stringfellow were the responsible leaders of the Southern element. David R. Atchison was a Kentuckian who settled in Clay county, Missouri, in 1830. He was a man of inflexible will and of great force of character, big-hearted, benevolent, and of convivial habits. Almost from the date of his settlement until his defeat for the United States senate in 1855, he was leader in Missouri, and held many public positions. He was president of the senate on the opening of Kansas to settlement, and in this position, his friends now say, he was President of the United States for one day. He said he was so fatigued from several days and nights of continuous work that he slept during his entire term as President. The 4th of March, 1849, occurred on Sunday, and General Taylor was not sworn in until Monday noon. Atchison was undoubtedly the originator of the idea of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and not Stephen A. Douglas.⁶ At the beginning of the civil war he entered the Confederate army, but soon retired because of dissatisfaction with the management. After the war he lived in retirement, a public-spirited and patriotic citizen. He died January 26, 1886. Stringfellow early became a citizen of Kansas, and when the end

NOTE 4.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 41.

NOTE 5.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 43.

NOTE 6.—Cincinnati *Democrat*, May 30, 1855: "During the summer of 1852 our informant listened to speeches from General Atchison in which he repeatedly declared upon the stump, as he went from place to place, that he would work continuously to repeal the Missouri compromise line and that he would leave no stone unturned to that end; that he would rather see Kansas sunk to the bottom of hell than that it should be a free state. With impassioned language, amounting to absolute rage, he stirred up the people around him—nearly all of whom held slaves, few or many—to resist the settlement of Kansas to the knife, as a measure and event in which their ruin and the utter loss of their property was involved."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 111.

Reverend Mr. Starr, a Presbyterian minister, who was driven away from Weston in the spring of 1855 because of his anti-slavery sentiments, addressed a public meeting in Rochester, N. Y., June 1, 1855, in which he said: "The repeal of the Missouri compromise was agitated by Senator Atchison in Missouri three years before it was broached in Congress, and he had heard that senator denounce it and the North in stump speeches in Weston with the most unsparing invective."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, pp. 135, 136.

At a sale of lots in Atchison, David R. Atchison made a speech, in which he said: "Gentlemen, you make a damned fuss about Douglas—Douglas—but Douglas don't deserve the credit of this Nebraska bill. I told Douglas to introduce it, I originated it, I got Pierce committed to it, and all the glory belongs to me. All the South went for it—all to a man but Bell and Houston, and who are they? Mere nobodies; nobody cares for them." This was published in the *Parkville Luminary*, but denied by the *Platte Argus* and Atchison's friends. The young man who reported it maintained that it was a true report. Atchison was called to account by a nephew of John Bell, and he excused himself on the ground that he was in liquor at the time.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 147.

The Missouri compromise was first violated in 1837 by Thomas H. Benton, who had a bill passed that year changing the western boundary of Missouri northward from the mouth of the Kansas from the meridian line to the Missouri river. The counties of Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Nodaway, Atchison and Holt were originally free-soil, but became the hotbed of pro-slaveryism.

came, squarely and honorably acknowledged defeat. I met him frequently as late as the '80's. He was a kindly gentleman of the old school, earnest and efficient in all things looking to the development of the state, an interested participant in the first Kansas railroad convention, held in 1860, and author of the appeal to Congress for railroad aid.⁷ He was a director in the Santa Fe Railroad Company from November 24, 1863, to July 27, 1865, and from May 16, 1878, to August 5, 1884. When slavery lost out, he became a Republican. The talk and actions of these men are to-day incredible, and can only be accounted for by the general charge all free-soilers made—the barbarism of slavery. Stringfellow died April 26, 1891.

And yet, amid all the bitterness in the volumes before me, I find the following from a writer in the *St. Louis Democrat* of September 12, 1855: "I asked General Stringfellow if he had any children. I shall never forget the sudden and almost terrible shadow in the expression of his face that this question produced. The conversation had begun about politics, and had been carried on very freely up to this point. My careless question, however, suddenly changed his expression. Never in my life did I see a broken heart so vividly pictured on human face. His breast heaved; the tears started in his eyes; he could hardly articulate. He answered by monosyllables and single words at a time. He told me he had lost four children last spring, within a few days of each other. As he described the death of his young son, at whose bedside he sat ten days without rest, he was often forced to stop to suppress his rising tears and sobs. To see a strong man so moved is the most terrible and affecting sight beneath the sun. It affected me greatly—even to tears—not as I saw it, for its intense expression of despair and grief paralyzed my own feelings, but as I recalled it in the solitude of my own chamber. 'That's what makes me desperate so often,' was the last remark he made in describing his domestic misfortunes. And as he said so I thought if the leaders of political parties knew each other's sorrows, the hidden causes of political hate and revolutions would soon cease to be a mystery."⁸

In these pages I give the language used by my authorities in quotation marks, because it is history, and for it I humbly apologize. This language was used in public addresses and public prints, and so is a matter of record, and an attempt to soften it would interfere with the main purpose of this paper, and that is to show the spirit of the times, a condition which will account for the Quantrills, the Bill Andersons, the James boys, the Youngers, George Todd, Dick Yeager, and the Daltons, heroes of the border, whose worshipers are surely disappearing under the light of better days. This generation is entitled to know what the founders of Kansas were up against. And the world is entitled to know where, when and how the Missouri bushwhacker, the Missouri train and bank robber, and those who stole themselves rich in the name of liberty,⁹ were sired and reared. Without desiring to

NOTE 7.—See *Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 9, p. 476.

NOTE 8.—Webb's *Scrap-book*, vol. 5, p. 159.

NOTE 9.—This expression was made famous in a speech by Thomas Ewing, jr., at Olathe, Kan., June 26, 1863. June 9, 1863, General Ewing was placed in command of the district of the Border, with headquarters at Kansas City. The difference between conservatism and radicalism made a breach of exceeding bitterness, and to quote anything from those days is of use only in showing the bitterness. In the Olathe speech, Ewing said: "There are many men in Kansas who are stealing themselves rich in the name of liberty. . . . They arrogate to themselves and their sympathizers all the radical anti-slaveryism and genuine loyalty in Kansas. Under their ægis many of the worst men that ever vexed a civilized community have flocked

exaggerate what follows in this paper, I will say there was no yellow journalism in those days.

Now for the workings of squatter sovereignty. June 10, 1854, ten days after the opening of the territory, a number of Missourians met on the Kansas side, in Salt Creek valley, three miles from Fort Leavenworth, and organized the Squatters' Claim Association. They adopted rules to govern the settlement of the territory.¹⁰ Here are three :

"(8) That we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this territory, and recommend slaveholders to introduce their property as early as possible.

"(9) That we will afford no protection to abolitionists as settlers of Kansas territory.

"(10) That a vigilance committee of thirteen be appointed to decide upon all disputes."

And what was the definition of an abolitionist at that time? July 31, 1855, at Westport, Benjamin F. Stringfellow said : "The idea of a National Democratic party in Kansas is ridiculous. Every National Democrat is an abolitionist in disguise ; such a one might not steal a nigger himself, but would pat on the back those who do. Nine out of ten men in the world are abolitionists.¹¹ We want no more importations from Pennsylvania ; we have enough of the Pennsylvania popular sovereignty men if this is the way they practice the doctrine."¹² August 30, 1855, the first Kansas territorial legislature, elected by Missouri votes, referring to a proposition to form a National Democratic party in Kansas, declared, on motion of Dr. J. H. Stringfellow, "Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Council concurring therein, that it is the duty of the Pro-slavery party, the Union-loving men of Kansas territory, to know but one issue, slavery ; and that

and been protected." He said these men would not enlist because the administration was not radical enough to suit them, and he was determined they should enlist and come under military control. The Leavenworth *Conservative* accused Ewing of preferring to be a police officer instead of a great department commander determined on protecting Kansas from the raids of bushwhackers. Ewing was denounced for inefficiency, and the Wyandotte *Gazette* called attention to numerous raids, murders and robberies preceding the Lawrence massacre. August 16, 1863, the Leavenworth *Conservative* said : "The old free-state fight which we had in 1855-'56-'57 has been transferred to Missouri, and it is raging there with a bitterness as terrible and glorious as when it reddened these new-born prairies with blood. The epithet 'bleeding' is no longer prefixed to Kansas. We have done with phlebotomy and benevolently yield the word to Missouri." August 21 the Lawrence raid came, and on August 25 Ewing issued the famous Order No. 11, depopulating the counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates, and part of Vernon. Ewing was on a visit at Leavenworth when Quantrill was in Lawrence. "Stealing themselves rich in the name of liberty" was rung on Ewing with great sarcasm and bitterness. It was charged that Quantrill said to Robert S. Stevens : "Ewing is in command of the district, but I run the machine." James H. Lane made a speech in Leavenworth in which he expressed the hope that the counties named in Ewing's Order No. 11 would be burned over so that there could be no place where a bushwhacker could be harbored. Ewing was a noble man — a victim of the bitterness and cussedness of war. General Order No. 11 was a righteous move ; it stopped the raids into Kansas, started in 1855. A biographer says : "He found the Missouri border full of guerillas and the state full of robbers," a legitimate result of squatter sovereignty. In consequence of the very fierce assault made upon him by his political enemies in Kansas and by rebel sympathizers in Missouri, General Ewing asked a court of inquiry to investigate and report as to the efficiency and justice of his administration, but the President refused to order the court, and at the same time enlarged his command by the addition of all of Kansas north of the thirty-eighth parallel. At the time of his last visit westward, about 1890, at a reception given him at the Coates House, in Kansas City, he justified General Order No. 11, and said that under similar circumstances he would do it again. He was first chief justice of the supreme court of the state of Kansas. He died in New York, January 21, 1896, from injuries received in a street-car accident.

NOTE 10. — Moore's History of Leavenworth County, p. 19.

NOTE 11. — John Calhoun, before the law-and-order meeting at Leavenworth, November 15, 1855 : "You yield and you have the most infernal government that ever cursed a land. I would rather be a painted slave over in Missouri, or a serf to the Czar of Russia, than have the abolitionists in power." The meeting groaned and hissed Marcus J. Parrott, a Northern Democrat, out of the meeting because he was a free-soil man.

NOTE 12. — Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 49.

any party making or attempting to make any other is and should be held as an ally of abolitionism and disunionism."¹³

Was this sentiment political buncombe, or was there any backing to it? The *Democratic Platform*, a Missouri newspaper, in 1854 said: "We are in favor of making Kansas a slave state, if it should require half the citizens of Missouri, musket in hand, to emigrate there, and even sacrificing their lives in accomplishing so desirable an end." And the *Western Champion* responds: "Them's our sentiments."¹⁴ July 11, 1854, the *Jackson Mississippian* said: "Kansas is now a slave territory, and will be a slave state. There are already enough slave-owners interested in Kansas to whip out all the abolitionists who may dare to pollute the soil with their incendiary feet."¹⁵ The Platte County Self-defense Association, an organization of some very live Missouri citizens, held a meeting at Westport, Mo., July 20, 1854, and resolved, "First, That this association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas territory, hold itself in readiness to go there to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigration Aid Societies."¹⁶

If this is not sufficiently clear as to the meaning of squatter sovereignty, perhaps the following speech by Benjamin F. Stringfellow, at St. Joseph, March 26, 1855, as quoted by a correspondent of the *New York Tribune*,¹⁷ may aid in clearing any obtuseness:

"I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you that is in the least tainted with free-soilism or abolitionism and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the damned rascals. I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion, so you may crush them out. To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, state or national, the crisis has arrived when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger, and I advise one and all to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and the revolver. Neither give or take quarter, as our cause demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal. What right has Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be prohibited.¹⁸ It is to your interest to do so. Mind that slavery is established where it is not prohibited."

NOTE 13.—House Journal, 1855, p. 380.

NOTE 14.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 44.

NOTE 15.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 70.

NOTE 16.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 112.

NOTE 17.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 113.

NOTE 18.—Andrew H. Reeder, the first territorial governor, in his sworn testimony before the congressional committee, 1856, says: "At the election of the 30th of March more than one-third of the election officers were, as I believe, pro-slavery men. Anticipating, however, an invasion of illegal voters from the state of Missouri, I was careful to appoint in most of the districts, especially in those contiguous to Missouri, two men of the free-state party and one of the pro-slavery party. Notwithstanding all my efforts, however, at fair and impartial action, my person and my life were continuously threatened from the month of November, 1854. The election was held on the 30th of March, as ordered, and an invading force from Missouri entered the territory for the purpose of voting, which, although it had been openly threatened, far exceeded my anticipations. About the time fixed as the return-day for that election a majority of the persons returned as elected assembled at Shawnee Mission and Westport, and remained several days, holding private caucuses at both places. I had frequent conversations with them, and they strenuously denied my right to go behind the returns made by the judges of the election, or investigate in any way the legality of the election. A committee called upon me and presented a paper, signed by twenty-three or twenty-four of them, to the same effect. Threats of violence against my person and life were freely aloft in the community, and the same threats were reported to me as having been made by members elect in their private caucuses. In consequence of its being reported to me that a number of the members in their caucuses in their speeches had declared that they would take my life if I persisted in taking cognizance of the

David R. Atchison, United States senator and acting Vice-president of the United States, said, in Platte City: "If we cannot get Kansas by peaceful means, we must take it at the point of the bayonet, if necessary."¹⁹

That everybody seemed to be onto the idea of squatter sovereignty except the free-soilers, read this advertisement in the *Western Argus*, March 10, 1855, and signed "Nimrod Farley and J. M. G. Brown": "Election in Kansas—The Ferry that Never Stops. A report having got out that one of our boats had been carried off by the ice, we take the liberty of contradicting it. Ours is the only ferry that never stops. We keep two good boats, and when one can't run the other can. All who wish to be in Kansas in time to vote, go to Iatan, and you will not be disappointed, for old Nim is always ready."²⁰

Now if we are in doubt as to whether there may have been some fraud in this, the *St. Louis Democrat*, a Benton paper, assures us: "The upshot of the business is that the fraud by which the Missouri compromise was repealed required to be consummated by another fraud, and a man (Atchison) who made a tool of Douglas for the perpetration of the first fraud, telling him that if he didn't introduce a bill for that purpose that he would resign his position as president of the senate and introduce it himself, has at last found it necessary to resign as president of the senate in order to superintend the perpetration of the second fraud."²¹

While all this was going on, so far at least, there were not enough free-soilers in the territory to show any symptoms of fright. The possibilities though grew more appalling with the days. The *Kansas Pioneer*, published at Kickapoo, April, 1855, said: "The Southern character is not made of material that can stand every insult offered by this God-forsaken class of men, and if the virgin soil of Kansas must be enriched and purified by American blood, we say, 'war to the knife, and knife to the hilt, and damned be he who first cries 'Hold, enough!''"²² The *St. Louis Democrat* thinks the people of Weston, Mo., "possessed of the same devils that drove the swine over the precipice into the sea. How reasonable beings can be guilty of such reckless lawlessness, we cannot divine."²³ The editor of the *Richfield, Mo., Enterprise* missed an issue of his paper, and apologized by saying that he was over in the territory of Kansas working for the advancement of the pro-slavery cause. In his zeal he said: "We do not intend to make a threat, but will say to the Eastern and Northern abolitionists and free-soilers, that we have in Missouri one hemp factory employed to make suitable ropes for hanging negro slaves, and by hell we will use them."²⁴

Under such generous, mild-mannered and patriotic impulses, what were other people doing, and what sort of history followed? Free-soilers during

complaints made against the legality of the elections, I made arrangements to assemble a small number of friends for defense, and on the morning of the 6th of April I proceeded to announce my decision upon the returns. Upon the one side of the room were arrayed the members elect, nearly if not quite all armed, and on the other side about fourteen of my friends, who, with myself, were also well armed."—Report of the Committee on Kansas Affairs, 1856, pp. 935, 936.

NOTE 19.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 6, p. 87.

NOTE 20.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 95.

NOTE 21.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 2, p. 174.

NOTE 22.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 194.

NOTE 23.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 256.

NOTE 24.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 60.

the second year came in slowly, pro-slavery men more slowly. There were some people at work industriously in a material way, both free-soil and pro-slavery, but the nation, whose trouble it was, both North and South, lashed itself into a fury over the outcome in Kansas. Both sections engaged in the raising of money and men to carry on the battle, and their leaders wrote and spoke as vigorously as did the vanguard of slavery in Missouri, but with less brutality and profanity.²⁵ The free-soil leaders in Kansas devoted their energy to resisting the pro-slavery government, and were not conspicuous for any violence. One writer said that amid all the brawling "You will find a Yankee, a Tennesseean, and a Missourian all cozily sheltered in the same cabin, and living together as harmoniously as a prairie-dog, a rattlesnake and an owl. They all seek to better their condition in life and to secure, if it be so they can, the little lordship of 160 acres of Mother Earth, whereon to propagate no matter what, but opinion least of all things. The Yankee (shame on his education) has never heard of the famous Boston propaganda; the Tennesseean has barely 'hearn tell' of Mr. Calhoun and the rights of the South; and the Missourian thinks the rights of the West will be amply vindicated if he can get his favorite quarter-section."²⁶ This, however, need not be taken to indicate stupidity; because it is evident that all were aware of the significance of the fight that was on, but all were not violent or lawless, and there were free-state emigrants from the South and Missouri who were guileless enough to understand squatter sovereignty to mean the vote of the *bona fide* settler.

But let us pursue chronologically, to some degree, the application of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty from the pro-slavery standpoint. As Eli Thayer had organized a \$5,000,000 company to assist in settling Kansas with freemen, the first thing deemed proper by his enemies was to offer a reward of \$200 for his capture and delivery to the squatters of Kansas, and so the *Western Reporter* published such an advertisement, with the view probably of nipping all the trouble in the bud. But they failed to catch him, and in November Atchison and Stringfellow got busy organizing secret societies in western Missouri to foray into Kansas to carry the banner of "slavery or banishment."²⁷ This was at least seven years before a Kansas raider, a Kansas red-leg, or a Kansas jayhawker was heard of. November 6, 1854, Mr. Atchison made a speech in Platte county, of which the *Platte Argus* reports: "When you reside in one day's journey of the territory, and when your peace, your quiet and your property depend upon your action, you can, without an exertion, send 500 of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the state of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably at the ballot-box."²⁸

The first election was held November 30, 1854, when Whitfield was chosen

NOTE 25.—Here are a few sentences from Gerritt Smith: "Political action is just now our greatest evil. We are looking after ballots, when our eyes should be fixed on bayonets. We are counting votes when we should be mustering armed men. We are looking after the interests of civil rulers when we should be searching after military rulers. I only hope, sir, to hear that there has been a collision at Topeka. I only hope to hear of a collision between the free-state men and the federal troops, and that Northern men have fallen; and then will soon follow the gratifying news that the Northern states have arrayed themselves against the federal government in Kansas. And will that be the end? No. Missouri will be the battle-field in her time, and then slavery will be driven to the wall."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 92.

NOTE 26.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 162.

NOTE 27.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 2, p. 22.

NOTE 28.—Wilder's Annals of Kansas, 2d ed., p. 52.

by a vote of 2258 to 574 scattering. The census taken in February, 1855, showed 2905 voters. Historical accuracy probably demands that I say that the first murder in Kansas was caused by whisky, and not squatter sovereignty. Returning from the polls at Lawrence on this day, Henry Davis, a Kentuckian, was killed by Lucius Kibbey, from Iowa. According to the testimony of two of the crowd, some one fired a small house by the roadside. Kibbey, who was in a wagon, denounced the act and said he would report the perpetrator to the proper authority. Davis, who was on the road, full of whisky, made several attempts to reach Kibbey with a knife, when the latter picked up a gun and killed him. And yet the spirit of squatter sovereignty was there, for Davis said to Kibbey, as he made a lunge for him with his knife: "I will report you to hell."²⁹ Dr. S. E. Martin, still living in Topeka, says that he witnessed this murder while traveling along the road a hundred feet or more behind the crowd.³⁰

The day after the election one writer, I find, sounded this warning: "One thing is probable, viz., if slaveholders in Missouri insist upon interfering in our affairs; they must blame no one but themselves if the underground railroad should be in operation from that state to Canada via Kansas Territory. . . . If the conduct of yesterday is repeated at our next election, they must take the trouble to watch their own property and institutions themselves, lest they take legs and run away when they least desire it."³¹ This was four years before John Brown went over into Vernon county, Missouri, and brought out eleven negro slaves.

December 25, 1854, a meeting of the citizens of Lafayette county, Missouri, resolved as follows: "That we, the shippers, merchants, planters, and citizens generally of Lafayette county, deem it an act of injustice that steamboats on the Missouri river should give their aid or countenance to the base attempt to abolitionize the territory of Kansas by aiding or forwarding any persons who may be sent by any abolition society thereto, or in giving aid or assistance to any such object, and that in our trading, shipping and traveling we will give preference to such boats as will refuse their aid and

NOTE 29.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 2, pp. 59, 155.

NOTE 30.—Gen. John A. Halderman writes from Washington, under date of November 21, 1907, as follows concerning the first murder in Kansas: "You refer to the Kibbey-Davis homicide occurring near Lawrence away back in the early days of the territory. In that preliminary examination before Judge Rush Elmore, of the supreme court, Samuel N. Wood and I represented Kibbey. Col. A. J. Isaacs, the United States attorney, was for the prosecution. Before undertaking Kibbey's defense I satisfied myself by inquiry and investigation that he was in the right. I made the best fight I could, and confidently believed the defendant would be set at liberty, since the testimony clearly showed that he had shot Davis in self-defense. But the judge held otherwise, and bound him over to the grand jury, committing him meanwhile to the custody of the United States marshal. At the hearing there was a large and demonstrative crowd present, clamoring for the prisoner's punishment. Friends advised me not to defend Kibbey, but I was in the right and had gone too far to turn back. Nothing daunted, I yielded not, and journeyed from the Shawnee Mission, where the examination had been held, to Fort Leavenworth, when I applied to Chief Justice Leconte for a writ of *habeas corpus*, alleging that the prisoner was illegally held on a defective commitment in contravention of law and evidence. The chief justice issued the writ and made it returnable to himself in chambers a few days later at the Shawnee Manual Labor School, where a hearing was had and my view sustained by the court, which ordered the prisoner discharged. I had told Kibbey that if he was set at liberty, as I firmly believed he would be, to 'vamose the ranch' at once. It seems he was slow about going, and later was rearrested on a new information. The feverish excitement abated, and within a few weeks thereafter Kibbey made his escape, and never appeared for trial or for the action of the grand jury. In the then condition of affairs he had little hope of obtaining justice or an impartial hearing. I was then a youngster in the profession—just out of the law school, and from this remote standpoint, look back to my defense of Kibbey with honest pride and genuine pleasure."

NOTE 31.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 2, p. 98.

comfort to such emigration as may be forwarded by any abolition society for such purpose.³²

At this point the weather evidently cooled all parties off, for there was a lull during January. In the months of March and April, 1855, a significant addition to the population was made, and John Brown, jr., Jason, Owen, Frederick, and Salmon, sons of John Brown, settled on Pottawatomie creek, eight miles from Osawatomie. They brought with them eleven head of cattle, three horses, tents, plows, and other farming tools, and a lot of fruit-trees and grape-vines, and their first job was to break twelve acres of prairie.

March 30, 1855, one thousand Missourians arrived in Lawrence to vote. Mrs. Robinson says: "They talk loudly of 'fighting and driving out the free-state men.' They go armed and provisioned."³³ Doctor Stringfellow, as editor of the *Squatter Sovereign*, complained because Governor Reeder gave a certificate of election to Martin F. Conway, instead of Mr. Donaldson, in the Pawnee district, claiming that the latter had a majority of 250 votes, and said: "We can't stand that, certainly. Damned if we do. If the legislature don't reconsider the action of the governor and give Mr. Donaldson a seat, the squatter sovereigns will take the matter in hand."³⁴ Conway received 538 votes and Donaldson 396, but the legislature heeded Stringfellow, and Conway was let out.

April 14, 1855, the Parkville *Luminary*, George S. Parks's paper, was destroyed and the material thrown into the river. This was because of editorials criticising Missourians for going over into Kansas and voting. The crowd that did the job held a meeting and adopted eight resolutions, one of them being as follows: "(3) That we meet here again on this day three weeks, and if we find G. S. Parks³⁵ or W. J. Patterson in this town then, or at any subsequent time, we will throw them into the Missouri river, and if they go to Kansas to reside, we pledge our honor as men to follow and hang them whenever we can take them."³⁶

The following papers in Missouri opposed mob-law and denounced the invasion of Kansas: The Boonville *Observer*, Independence *Messenger*, Jefferson City *Inquirer*, Missouri *Democrat*, St. Louis *Intelligencer*, Columbia *Statesman*, Glasgow *Times*, Fulton *Telegraph*, Paris *Mercury*, and Hannibal *Messenger*. But the *Squatter Sovereign*, published at Atchison, approved of the destruction of the Parkville *Luminary*, and made threats toward Jefferson City and Lawrence.³⁷ A public meeting at Webster, Mo., ratified the action of the mob at Parkville in destroying the *Luminary*, asserting "that they have no arguments against abolition papers but Missouri river, bonfire and hemp rope," and "they pledge themselves to go to Kansas and help expel those corrupting the slaves."³⁸

NOTE 32.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 2, p. 181.

NOTE 33.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 27.

NOTE 34.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 207.

NOTE 35.—George S. Parks, the founder of Parkville and Park College, said: "All Northern men are proscribed and ruined in their business and character who do not subscribe to their most ultra doctrines. In this manner whole communities are overawed. One man said to me in Parkville: 'Times are worse here now than they were in France in the days of Robespierre;' others said it was the first time they were afraid to avow their real sentiments. No one knew when his business would be destroyed or he be ordered out of the country. In this way citizens are paralyzed and subdued."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 94.

NOTE 36.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 158.

NOTE 37.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 13.

NOTE 38.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 3, p. 213.

April 30, 1855, a meeting at Leavenworth adopted several resolutions recognizing slavery in Kansas, and closing with this: "Resolved, That a vigilance committee, consisting of thirty members, shall now be appointed who shall observe and report all such persons as shall openly act in violation of law and order and by the expression of abolition sentiments produce disturbance to the quiet of the citizens or danger to their domestic relations, and all such persons so offending shall be notified and made to leave the territory."³⁹

April 30, 1855, Cole McCrea, free-state, killed Malcolm Clark at Leavenworth. The quarrel occurred at a squatters' meeting, over the right of McCrea to participate and vote, and about claims on certain trust lands. The grand jury in September failed to find a bill against McCrea. Mrs. Robinson says that at an adjourned term of court, in November, the grand jury, with seven new members added, indicted McCrea for murder in the first degree. Four of the counsel within the bar, including the clerk of the court, were connected with the tarring and feathering of Phillips on the 17th day of May.⁴⁰ The congressional committee⁴¹ said that in no case of crime had an indictment been found, except in the homicide of Clark by McCrea—McCrea being a free-state man. Concerning this trouble, Stringfellow said: "Let us begin to purge ourselves of all abolition emissaries who occupy our dominion, and give distinct notice that all who do not leave immediately for the East will leave for eternity."⁴² And the Leavenworth *Herald*, a few days later, remarked: "Suffer not an armed abolitionist to remain within your borders."

The vigilance committee appointed at Leavenworth on April 30, 1855, gave notice to William Phillips, an active free-state lawyer in that city, to leave the territory. He refused, and was seized, taken to Weston, one side of his head shaved, stripped of his clothes, tarred and feathered, ridden for a mile and a half on a rail, and a negro auctioneer went through the mockery of selling him for one dollar. May 20, 1855, the Leavenworth *Herald* says of the tarring and feathering: "Our action in the whole affair is emphatically indorsed by the pro-slavery party in this district. The joy, exultation and glorification produced by it in our community are unparalleled." A public meeting in Leavenworth, May 25, resolved, "That we heartily indorse the action of the citizens who shaved, tarred and feathered, rode on a rail and had sold by a negro, William Phillips, the moral perjurer." Phillips had protested against a fraudulent election, and he was accused of befriending McCrea at the squatters' meeting, April 30. Phillips was killed in his home September 1, 1856, by squatter sovereigns, led by Fred Emery.⁴³

In the mad career of the sovereign squats a Missouri newspaper sounds an alarm, but to no purpose. The St. Louis *Intelligencer* says: "If they (the ruffians of the border) succeed Missouri will soon be aflame. It will spread to the South, and the Union itself will perish like a burnt scroll."⁴⁴

NOTE 39.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 59.

NOTE 40.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life, pp. 112, 113.

NOTE 41.—Report, 1856, p. 64.

NOTE 42.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 76.

NOTE 43.—Moore's History of Leavenworth, p. 262.

NOTE 44.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 12.

The St. Louis *News*, of May 12, 1855, said: "We understand and believe that David R. Atchison is at the bottom of all the troubles that have afflicted Kansas, and is the chief instigator of the meetings, mobs and cabals, threats and excitements which threaten to plunge the border into a wild fratricidal strife."⁴⁵

These St. Louis editors possibly had a vision of General Order No. 11, when General Ewing of Kansas endeavored to put a lid on.⁴⁶

About this time they also got a couple of tips from another quarter. June 25, 1855, a free-state convention, participated in by J. A. Wakefield, J. L. Speer, R. G. Elliott, S. N. Wood, John Brown, jr., and others, resolved: "That in reply to the threats of war so frequently made in our neighbor state, our answer is, we are ready." And a few days later, June 27, a convention of National Democrats, participated in by James H. Lane, C. W. Babcock, James S. Emery and Hugh Cameron, met in Lawrence to "kindly request the citizens of Northern and Southern districts and adjoining states to let us alone;" and that we "will not if in our power to prevent . . . permit the ballot-box to be polluted by outsiders, or illegal voting from any quarter."⁴⁷

July 2, 1855, the pro-slavery legislature met at Pawnee, and made itself solidly pro-slavery by unseating several free-state members. It met according to adjournment, at Shawnee Mission, July 16. It passed laws which General Stringfellow said "were more efficient to protect slave property than those of any state in the Union," and that they "will be enforced to the very letter."⁴⁸ By those laws only pro-slavery men could hold office. All

NOTE 45.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 4, p. 27.

NOTE 46.—The idea embraced in General Order No. 11 was not original with General Ewing. It was a southern Missouri invention, thoroughly squatter sovereign. The State Historical Society has recently received a publication entitled, "A History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas," by William Monks. William Monks is a resident of West Plains, Mo. He was born in Alabama. His people were Virginians or North Carolinians, and were of revolutionary stock. He settled with his father's family in Fulton county, Arkansas, in 1844, and in 1858 he became a resident of West Plains, in Missouri. At the beginning of the civil war he announced himself as an uncompromising Union man, but to all the rebel entreaties and threats he disclaimed all desire to fight. He was finally taken prisoner by the rebels and dragged over the country, subjected to all sorts of outrages and constantly threatened with death. He made his escape and enlisted in the federal army. He did remarkable service as a captain in the Sixteenth Missouri, and at the close of the war was placed in command of militia to exterminate the Klu Klux in his neighborhood. On page 86 and subsequent pages of his book we read: "After they (the confederates) had hung, shot, captured and driven from the country all the Union men, they called a public meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration what should be done with the families of the Union men. . . . They at once appointed men, among whom were several preachers, to go to each one of the Union families and notify them that they would not be allowed to remain, because if they let them stay their men would be trying to come back. . . . Also, as they had taken up arms against the confederate states, all of the property they had, both real and personal, was subject to confiscation. . . . They said they might have a reasonable time to make preparations to leave the country, and if they did n't leave they would be forced to do so, if they had to arrest them and carry them out. . . . The suffering that followed the women and children is indescribable. They had to drive their own teams, take care of the little ones, and travel through storms, exposed to all, without a man to help them. On reaching the federal lines all vacant houses and places of shelter were soon filled, and they were known and styled refugees." This was early in 1861. Colonel Monk's description of those days in southern Missouri shows that Ewing's Order No. 11, in comparison, was a very tame and trifling affair. Page 158: "The writer wants to say that there was not a Union man nor a single Union family left at home from Batesville, Ark., to Rolla, Mo., a distance of 200 miles." Ewing's General Order No. 11 was a necessity caused by the most infamous butchery in the history of warfare, while in southern Missouri a similar order was enforced, with a fiendishness characteristic of the cause which prompted No. 11, on people guilty only of loyalty to their government. Colonel Monk's book is full of outrages perpetrated on Union people in southern Missouri, before a Kansas raider was heard of.

NOTE 47.—Kansas *Free State*, July 2, 1855, p. 2.

NOTE 48.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, 2d ed., p. 82.

officials were compelled to take oath to support the fugitive-slave law.⁴⁹ According to a concurrent resolution offered by Speaker Stringfellow and adopted by both houses on the adjournment, pro-slavery Whigs and pro-slavery Democrats would be tolerated in Kansas; all others were enemies, disunionists and abolitionists.⁵⁰ H. Miles Moore, a free-soiler and a Democrat from Missouri, in his *History of Leavenworth County*,* says that to a man from Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, or elsewhere, claiming to be a National Democrat, the noble sons of Missouri generally responded: "That won't do. We have but two parties here, either pro-slavery law-and-order men, or free-state abolitionists; and you make your choice and that damned soon, or go down the river back to where you came from."⁵¹ The attempt to organize a Democratic party was thus squeezed out, and a few weeks later we find C. W. Babcock, Marcus J. Parrott, James H. Lane, James S. Emery, H. Miles Moore, and others of like belief, participating in the Big Springs convention, September 5, 1855, which organized the Free-state party.

August 16, 1855, the Rev. Pardee Butler was placed on a raft at Atchison and shipped down the Missouri river. Several citizens followed throwing stones at him. He had the letter R legibly painted on his forehead. Mr. Butler had avowed himself a free-soiler on the streets of Atchison, and a committee had been appointed to wait on him, requesting his signature to certain resolutions adopted by a recent pro-slavery meeting. After reading them he declined to sign, and was instantly arrested. Various plans were considered for his disposal, with the foregoing result. The *Squatter Sovereign* closed its editorial on the affair with the words: "Such treatment may be expected by all scoundrels visiting our town for the purpose of interfering with our time-honored institutions, and the same punishment we will be happy to award to all free-soilers, abolitionists, and their emissaries." A flag was placed on the raft bearing the mottoes: "Eastern Aid Express"; "Greeley to the rescue, I have a nigger"; "'Rev.' Mr. Butler, agent to the Underground Railroad."⁵²

The doctrine of squatter sovereignty seems to have been closely allied with the moral and spiritual condition of the people. July 25, 1855, the Randolph county, Missouri, people resolved "(10) That we consider any person holding and avowing free-soil and abolition views unfit to teach in Sunday or any other school; that we are opposed to such person being employed for that purpose."⁵³ And a few days later a public meeting of the citizens of Jackson county, Missouri, adopted a resolution warning a conference of the Methodist Church North not to meet at Independence, Mo., because of the "supposed anti-slavery sentiments and opinions of the ministers and others who will constitute said conference."⁵⁴

The *Squatter Sovereign*, Stringfellow's paper, at Atchison, August 28, 1855, also sounds a warning: "We can tell the impertinent scoundrels of

NOTE 49.—Kansas Statutes 1855, ch. 117. [William W. Boyce, a member of Congress from South Carolina from 1853 to 1860, said, about June 1, 1856: "We cannot defend them (the laws of Kansas), we ought not to do it, and I have no respect for the man who makes the attempt."]—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 13, p. 52.

NOTE 50.—House Journal, 1855, p. 380.

NOTE 51.—Moore's History of Leavenworth County, pp. 102, 103.

NOTE 52.—Personal Recollections of Pardee Butler, chapter 7.

NOTE 53.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 69.

NOTE 54.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 140.

the [New York] *Tribune* that they may exhaust an ocean of ink, their Emigrant Aid Societies spend their millions and billions, their representatives in Congress spout their heretical theories till doomsday, and his excellency Franklin Pierce appoint abolitionist after free-soiler as governor, yet we will continue to tar and feather, drown, lynch and hang every white-livered abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil."⁵⁵

But all their petitions and threats counted for naught, and old John Brown joined his sons on the Pottawatomie during the first week of October, 1855. He remained in Kansas until about February 1, 1859. His became the most conspicuous world-wide Kansas name, and, singularly enough, with that of Atchison a close second—John Brown because he gave his life and Atchison because the stock of our greatest railroad is listed in all the money markets of the world as the "Atchison."

Under all circumstances, it seems, there must be some humor in life. On the 13th of October, 1855, the Leavenworth *Herald*, pro-slavery, rebuked Missourians for coming over and voting on a purely local issue. They held an election for county seat. The election resulted in 929 votes for Delaware, 881 for Kickapoo, and 727 for Leavenworth. Delaware and Kickapoo advertised free ferry, free excursion and barbecue and other inducements for Missourians. "Has it come to this," says the *Herald*, "that Missourians must come in at our local elections and control our county affairs? . . . Can we as citizens of the territory and the county of Leavenworth, who have borne the burden of settling a new country and undergone all the privations and difficulties of a frontier life, sit still and permit our rights to be trampled upon? No, we cannot and will not. The polls at Kickapoo and Delaware must be purged of all Missouri votes."⁵⁶ And so squatter sovereignty meant one thing as applied to slavery and something else on another issue.⁵⁷

It was declared to be treason by a pro-slavery law-and-order convention at Leavenworth, November 14, 1855, to oppose the pro-slavery laws.⁵⁸ Phillip C. Schuyler, the founder of Burlingame, met several delegates to this convention at Lawrence. One of them told him they would kill him if he did not obey the pro-slavery laws; another said he would be regarded as a traitor

NOTE 55.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 157.

NOTE 56.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 6, p. 97.

NOTE 57.—H. Miles Moore, one of the six survivors of the first free-state territorial legislature, which met at Leecompton December 7, 1857, in his sworn testimony before the special committee on the troubles in Kansas says: "I had believed that the Missourians had had some justification for endeavoring to come and control the territorial legislation, in order to afford more security to their slave property in Missouri, and for that reason I had come with them; but their course with regard to the mere local election for county seat was so high-handed an outrage upon the rights of the people of the territory, of whom I had then become one, that I came to the resolution that I would not longer act with a party so regardless of the rights of others that they would interfere in a matter in which they could have no personal or political interest; I determined to act with the free-state party so long as they were actuated by what I considered proper motives, though I would have continued to act with the pro-slavery party had they not acted as they did. I therefore concluded to act with the free-state party so long as they were willing to act consistently with the principles of the organic act and submit to the territorial laws while in force. At the election for county seat Delaware county [precinct], with a population of not more than fifty voters, polled nearly a thousand votes. A large majority of the votes polled at Kickapoo were by Missourians. The people of Leavenworth polled between 500 and 600 votes, all given by actual residents, so far as I was able to find out. In consequence of my determination at this time to act thereafter with the free-state party I became obnoxious to the pro-slavery men, both in Missouri and in the territory. My person and property has been frequently threatened with violence and destruction by them for six months or more past." Moore was arrested and ordered to leave the territory for taking a part in the free-state movement.—Report of Congressional Committee, 1856, p. 422.

NOTE 58.—September 7, 1855, the *Herald of Freedom* was refused circulation through the Atchison post-office.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 5, p. 178.

to his country and the constitution; while a third said: "We will kill you and light your souls to hell with the flames of your dwellings." Schuyler protested that this was very uncivil language, and in response he was denounced as a liar, a scoundrel, and a traitor.⁵⁹

Samuel Collins, free-state, was killed by Patrick McLaughlin at Doniphan, October 25, 1855. No punishment for McLaughlin.⁶⁰

Chas. W. Dow, free-state, killed by Franklin N. Coleman, pro-slavery, in Douglas county, November 21, 1855.⁶¹

November 26, 1855, the free-state men held a meeting at the spot where Dow was killed. Jacob Branson, with whom Dow lived, was arrested the same night for attending the meeting. Fifteen free-state men, led by S. N. Wood, J. B. Abbott, and S. F. Tappan, rescued Branson.⁶²

November 29, 1855.—A mob from Missouri is gathering at Franklin, a few miles from Lawrence.⁶³

December 6, 1855.—Lawrence nearly surrounded by about 1500 Missourians. Treaty of peace signed by Governor Shannon, Chas. Robinson and James H. Lane, and December 8 army of invasion ordered to disband by Governor Shannon. John Brown and four sons, all armed, are in Lawrence at this time. They were the best armed of the defenders. Brown was given a captain's commission by Robinson.⁶⁴

Here is the first reference to the Lane-Robinson feud we have found, an editorial in the *St. Louis Evening News* of December 28, 1855: "On the other hand, the abolitionists since the peace do not appear to be getting along as harmoniously and affectionately as they might. General Lane and Doctor Robinson, the leaders, differed about the terms of the treaty, Lane being in favor of resisting the territorial laws by actual force, while Robinson was content to abide by with a protest against them until their validity can be decided by the federal court. While the Missourians were encamped before Lawrence, Lane wanted to attack them, while Robinson insisted on waiting to be attacked by them. Lane was for offensive operations, and Robinson for defensive, and, as both undoubtedly had personal aspirations to gratify, a bitter feud sprang up between them which has seriously marred the symmetry of their cause."⁶⁵

December 6, 1855.—Thos. W. Barber, free-state, was shot and killed on the road four miles southwest of Lawrence. Report on Kansas Claims, 1861-'62, signed by Edward Hoogland, Henry J. Adams, and Samuel A. Kingman, page 62, says: "Either George W. Clark or Mr. [James N.] Burnes [afterwards a member of Congress] murdered Thos. Barber. . . . Both fired at him, and it is impossible from the proof to tell whose shot was fatal. He, Samuel J. Jones, said Major Clark and Burnes both claimed the credit of killing that damned abolitionist, and he did n't know which ought to have it. If Shannon had n't been a damned old fool, peace would never

NOTE 59.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 7, p. 126.

NOTE 60.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 144.

NOTE 61.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 153.

NOTE 62.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, ch. 11.

NOTE 63.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 176.

NOTE 64.—Sanborn's John Brown Letters, p. 217. Dec. 16, 1855.

NOTE 65.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 7, p. 233.

have been declared. He would have wiped Lawrence out. He had men and means enough to do it."⁶⁶

December 22, 1855.—Pro-slavery men destroy Mark W. Delahay's *Territorial Register*, a free-state paper, at Leavenworth.⁶⁷ The free-state election on the Topeka constitution was broken up by pro-slavery men in Leavenworth.⁶⁸

December 26, 1855.—The Kickapoo *Pioneer* says: "It is this class of men that have congregated at Lawrence, and it is this class of men Kansas must get rid of. And we know of no better method than for every man who loves his country and the laws by which he is governed to meet in Kansas and kill off this God-forsaken class of humanity as soon as they place their feet upon our soil."

January 17, 1856.—Murder of Capt. R. P. Brown, free-state, at Easton, Kan., by a pro-slavery mob. The Leavenworth free-state election had been adjourned to Easton at this date, and the killing of Brown closed the day. The Leavenworth *Herald* justifies the murder. Brown had three cracks in his skull from a hatchet, and they spit tobacco juice in his wounds, because "anything would make a damned abolitionist feel better."⁶⁹

The squatter sovereigns had warmed up considerably by the end of the year, and we find no let-up on account of the weather in January, 1856. The Kickapoo *Pioneer*, on the 18th, issued an extra, from which we quote: "Forbearance has now indeed ceased to be a virtue, therefore we call on every pro-slavery man in the land to rally to the rescue—Kansas must be immediately rescued from these tyrannical dogs. The Kickapoo Rangers are at this moment beating to arms. . . . Sound the bugle of war over the length and breadth of the land, and leave not an abolitionist in the territory to relate their treacherous and contaminating deeds—strike your piercing rifle-balls and your glittering steel to their black and poisonous hearts."⁷⁰

And so we had the savages who butchered at Lawrence.

January 23, 1856, Horace Greeley was twice assaulted in Washington by Albert Rust, a member of Congress from Arkansas.⁷¹

February 20, 1856.—The *Squatter Sovereign* says: "In our opinion the only effectual way to correct the evils that now exist is to hang up to the nearest tree the very last traitor who was instrumental in getting up or participating in the celebrated Topeka (free-state) convention." About this time also the *Squatter Sovereign* suggests Lexington, Mo., as a suitable place for a political quarantine, "where all steamboats may be searched and the infectious political paupers be prevented from tainting the air of Kansas Territory with their presence." And immediately after all boats coming up the Missouri river were overhauled and searched for goods pronounced contraband. At Brunswick, Mo., an armed party came on a boat and took a stranger whom they were confident was Governor Robinson. They were making arrangements to tie him to a log and start him down the river, but

NOTE 66.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, p. 211.

NOTE 67.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 8, p. 16.

NOTE 68.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 8, p. 9.

NOTE 69.—Phillips's Conquest of Kansas, ch. 18.

NOTE 70.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 8, p. 19.

NOTE 71.—Greeley's Record of a Busy Life, p. 348.

letters in his trunk satisfied them that they had a friend instead of the governor. He said he would never travel the river again without a passport from Pierce or Douglas, indorsed by Atchison and Stringfellow.⁷²

And so we had the overland travel into the territory through Iowa and Nebraska and the historic "Lane road." The story of Kansas will never be complete without a political history of the Missouri river.

The *Squatter Sovereign* was still not happy, for in April, 1856, it said: "If Kansas is not made a slave state, it requires no sage to tell that without some very extraordinary revolution there will never be another slave state; and if this is not enough, then we say, without fear of successful contradiction, that Kansas must be a slave state or the Union will be dissolved."⁷³

April 30, 1856.—Pardee Butler returns from Illinois to Atchison, and is stripped, tarred, and, for want of feathers, covered with cotton. August 17, 1855, Butler had been shipped down the river on a log and told not to come back. On this day, April 30, 1856, R. S. Kelley, Stringfellow's partner, wrote to a friend: "As the steamer Aubrey leaves we have just finished 'tar and feathering' the Rev. Pardee Butler, who was shipped on a raft from this place in August last. He escaped hanging by only one vote. Butler, you know, is a rank abolitionist, and was promised this treatment should he visit our town. In the event of his return, he will be hung."⁷⁴

The scene shifts, and there is constant trouble on the Marais des Cygnes after the arrival of Buford's men in April, 1856. A Vermonter named Baker was taken from his cabin, whipped, hanged to a tree, but cut down before death, and released upon his promise to leave Kansas. John Brown, with his sons, Owen, Frederick, Salmon, and Oliver, with surveyor's compass and instruments, ran a line through Buford's camp. Assuming that they were government surveyors, and therefore "sound on the goose," the Georgians informed them "that they would make no war on them as minds

NOTE 72.—This is further confirmed by the following from the *Squatter Sovereign*: "More Abolitionists Turned Back. The steamer Sultan, having on board contraband articles, was recently stopped at Leavenworth city (July 5, 1856), and lightened of forty-four rifles and a large quantity of pistols and bowie-knives, taken from a crowd of cowardly Yankees, shipped out here by Massachusetts. The boat was permitted to go up the river as far as Weston, Mo., where guard was placed over the prisoners, and none of them permitted to land. They were shipped back from Weston on the same boat, without even being insured by the shippers. We do not approve fully of sending these criminals back to the East, to be reshipped to Kansas—if not through Missouri, through Iowa and Nebraska. We think they should meet a traitor's death, and the world could not censure us if we, in self-protection, have to resort to such ultra measures. We are of the opinion if the citizens of Leavenworth city or Weston would hang one or two boat-loads of abolitionists it would do more toward establishing peace in Kansas than all the speeches that have been delivered in Congress during the present session. Let the experiment be tried."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 73.

NOTE 73.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 11, p. 149.

NOTE 74.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 12, p. 163.

The wording of this letter, as well as its tone, leads to the suspicion that Robert S. Kelley and not Doctor Stringfellow was the author of the virulent editorials which graced the pages of the *Squatter Sovereign*. Here is another of Mr. Kelley's letters, addressed to the gentlemen who bought out the paper, and who had joined hands in 1857 with the Stringfellows in booming the town of Atchison:

"Messrs. Pomeroy & McBratney:

"GENTS (?)—I am authorized by all of the subscribers to the *Squatter Sovereign* in Charleston, S. C., to have their papers discontinued. When they subscribed to the journal, they done so to advance the pro-slavery interest in the territory. When traitors, for gold, sell themselves and their country, they do not consider themselves bound by the bargain. They are unwilling to support, either directly or indirectly, traitors, abolitionists and negro stealers. Do not further insult them by continuing the paper. You also may balance the accounts of all the Doniphan subscribers to the *Squatter*.

"May sickness, disease, and, finally, death, be the result of your connection with the *Squatter Sovereign*, is the sincere wish of

ROBERT S. KELLEY."

Dr. John H. Stringfellow was a brother to Benjamin F. Stringfellow. The former was speaker of the territorial legislature of 1855.

"DONIPHAN, K. T., June 21, 1857.

their own business, but all the abolitionists, such as them damned Browns over there, we're going to whip, drive out, or kill."⁷⁵

Events had been coming so rapidly in the unfolding of the great squatter sovereignty scheme that I am able now to touch only the high places. I have not produced a picture of these sovereign squats. Dr. J. V. C. Smith, of Boston, a traveler through the country, describes the Missouri bandits as follows: "Those I saw at Westport, whose camp was in the woods only a few rods out of the territory, were young men, rough, coarse, sneering, swaggering, dare-devil looking rascals as ever swung upon a gallows. The marauders were mounted upon horses and mules, armed to the teeth with pistols, long knives and carbines."⁷⁶ They rob travelers, surprise the humble residents of prairie cabins, whom they strip of their valuables, and in repeated instances murder the owner. They drive off cattle, the property most in request, and steal horses. They oblige a man to dismount, and take his horse, and should he remonstrate or resist, blow his brains out without apology."⁷⁷

Henry Ward Beecher said he believed that "the Sharp's rifle was truly a moral agency, and there was more moral power in one of those instruments, so far as the slaveholders of Kansas were concerned, than in a hundred Bibles." "You might just as well," said he, "read the Bible to buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Stringfellow; but they have a supreme respect for the logic that is embodied in Sharp's rifles."⁷⁸ But let me emphasize again, they were but a fraction of the people of western Missouri. No greater, more useful or patriotic people ever lived than the generation of Missourians who followed Doniphan, and who cut the trackless waste west of them by trails of commerce.

May 5, 1856.—The grand jury of Douglas county recommends that the *Herald of Freedom* and *Kansas Free State*, newspapers, and the Eldridge House be abated as nuisances, and indicts Charles Robinson, Andrew H. Reeder and others for high treason in organizing a free-state government.⁷⁹

May 7 and 9, 1856.—Attempt made to arrest Andrew H. Reeder. He escapes and, aided by Kersey Coates and the Eldridges, gets through Kansas City in disguise, and hires out as an Irish deck-hand on a steamboat.⁸⁰

A man from Massachusetts by the name of Mace gave testimony that Sam Jones led a party that destroyed a ballot-box at Bloomington, and for this he was waylaid and shot near the front door of his cabin. The ruffians

NOTE 75.—Sanborn's John Brown, p. 260.

NOTE 76.—This is a very gentle reference to those called "border ruffians" when compared with the statement made by Thomas H. Gladstone, a cousin of William E. Gladstone, the premier of England, in a book entitled "Kansas; Squatter Life and Border Warfare in the Far West." Gladstone was a correspondent of the *London Times*, and was induced by the debates in Congress and general excitement about Kansas to make a tour of the territory in 1856, and an investigation for his own satisfaction. His book abounds in awful description. "I had just arrived in Kansas City," he says on page 38, "and shall never forget the appearance of the lawless mob that poured into the place (it was after the sacking of Lawrence, May 21, 1856), inflamed with drink, glutted with the indulgence of the vilest passions, displaying with loud boasts the 'plunder' they had taken from the inhabitants, and thirsting for the opportunity of repeating the sack of Lawrence in some other offending place." On the same page is a sentence which has been a standing sermon ever since: "Having once been taught that robbery and outrage, if committed in the service of the South, were to be regarded as deeds of loyalty and obedience, these ministers of a self-styled 'law and order' were slow to unlearn a doctrine so acceptable."

NOTE 77.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 14, p. 35.

NOTE 78.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 9, p. 67.

NOTE 79.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, 1st ed., p. 97.

NOTE 80.—*Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 3, p. 205.

left him for dead, but he was alive, and after their departure crawled into his cabin, comforted by the assurance from his assailants that "there is some more damned good abolition wolf-bait."⁸¹

May 5, 1856.—The grand jury in session at Lecompton is charged by Judge Lecompte to indict for high treason or constructive treason certain parties "dubbed governor, lieutenant-governor, etc.—or individuals of influence and notoriety"—meaning free-state leaders.⁸²

May 10, 1856.—Charles Robinson, on his way east, is arrested at Lexington, Mo., for treason, and brought back to Lecompton.⁸³

May 11, 1856.—J. B. Donaldson, United States marshal for Kansas Territory, calls upon "law abiding citizens" to assist him in executing writs against citizens of Lawrence.

May 13, 1856.—Citizens of Lawrence make a protest to the governor and the United States marshal.

May 14, 1856.—Gaius Jenkins, Geo. W. Brown, Chas. Robinson, Geo. W. Smith, Geo. W. Deitzler, John Brown, jr., and H. H. Williams were arrested this day or soon after, were denied bail, and, charged with high treason, were confined in camp at Lecompton.

May 17, 1856.—C. W. Babcock, Lyman Allen, and J. A. Perry, appointed by the people of Lawrence, ask the United States marshal to put a stop to the depredations committed by a large force of armed men in the vicinity.⁸⁴

May 21, 1856.—Arrests of certain free-state men having been made in Lawrence during the forenoon, Sheriff Jones appeared in the afternoon with a body of armed men. The Eldridge House, the offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State* were destroyed, stores were broken open and pillaged, and the dwelling of Chas. Robinson burned. A grand jury, referring to the newspapers, recommended their abatement as a nuisance, and as to the hotel they recommended "that steps be taken whereby this nuisance may be removed."⁸⁵ During the destruction Jones remarked: "Gentlemen, this is the happiest day of my life, I assure you."⁸⁶ I determined to make the fanatics bow before me in the dust and kiss the territorial laws." He looked at the hotel as another round was fired, and added, "I've done it, by God, I've done it!"⁸⁷

May 22, 1856.—Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, commits an assault on Charles Sumner in the United States senate, because of his speech entitled, "The Crime Against Kansas." The *Squatter Sovereign* said: "The

NOTE 81.—Spring's History of Kansas, p. 120.

NOTE 82.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 218.

NOTE 83.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 267.

NOTE 84.—Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson's Kansas—its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 237.

NOTE 85.—Wilder's Annals of Kansas, p. 121.

NOTE 86.—"Men of the South and of Missouri, I am proud of this day. I have received office and honor before. I have occupied the vice-president's place in the greatest republic the light of God's sun ever shown upon, but, ruffian brothers (yells), that glory, that honor was nothing; it was an empty bubble compared with the solid grandeur and magnificent glory of this momentous occasion. Here on this beautiful prairie bluff, with naught but the canopy of heaven for my covering, with my splendid Arabian charger for my shield, whose well-trying fleetness I may yet have to depend upon for my life, unless this day's work shall drive from our Western world those hellish emigrants and paupers, whose bellies are filled with beggars' food, and whose houses are stored with Beecher Bibles."—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 83. This is but a small portion of a speech made by Atchison in camp, two miles from Lawrence, the day before the assault on that place. It is a half a newspaper column of the roughest stuff ever printed, and is vouched for by Dr. J. P. Root, who was a prisoner in the pro-slavery camp at the time.

NOTE 87.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 12, p. 232.

assault on Sumner by Brooks is generally approved and applauded by the citizens of Kansas. We think it one of the best acts ever done in the senate chamber."⁸⁸

The 28th of June was the anniversary of the Palmetto (South Carolina) Rifles, and at the celebration in Atchison a fine assortment of toasts were given. Here is one: "The Hon. Preston S. Brooks—by whipping crazy Sumner he has furnished a second edition of what the abolitionists call 'border ruffianism'—that is the determination of honorable minds to resent injury and insult from a mouthpiece of fanaticism, coming from what quarter it may."⁸⁹ On the 4th of July following South Carolina did better, thus: "May South Carolina always afford Brooks enough to cleanse such wild, dastardly lepers as Sumner, Wilson & Co."

Up to this time, the spring of 1856, all the outrages committed by the free-state men were purely political; that is, resistance to the pro-slavery territorial organization, and an attempt to organize under the provisional Topeka movement. But now a man arose who thought it time to strike a blow—that turning the other cheek had been worked long enough.

May 23, 1856.—John Brown, with a company of free-state men, while on their way to the defense of Lawrence, were overtaken by a messenger from home, telling of outrages perpetrated the previous day on their families and neighbors by pro-slavery settlers on Pottawatomie creek. John Brown and his four sons Owen, Fred, Watson and Oliver, his son-in-law Henry Thompson, James Townsley, and Theodore Weiner, returned to Pottawatomie creek on the 23d. On the night of the 24th they took from their homes James P. Doyle and his sons William and Drury, Allen Wilkinson, and William Sherman, and killed them. John Brown admitted his responsibility for the killing.⁹⁰

In a manuscript filed with the Kansas State Historical Society by August Bondi, of Salina, a Kansan of the highest repute since 1855, giving a sketch of his life as a revolutionist in Austria, a partisan with John Brown in Kansas, and a soldier in the Fifth Kansas cavalry, is the following:

"In the evening of May 23 (1856), about nine P. M., came John Grant, jr., from Dutch Henry's crossing to the camp; he was a member of the Pottawatomie company, but at the urgent solicitation of mother and sister he had remained at home. He informed us that in the morning of the day Bill Sherman (Dutch Bill) had come to their cabin, only his mother and sister Mary at home, he and his father in the field, with his usual swaggering tone had denounced the abolitionists, and then had attempted to criminally assault the girl. (Mary Grant was twenty-three years old and one of the best-looking and best-educated girls on the creek; the family were from New York.) The outcries of the women brought father and son from the field, and Dutch Bill left, cursing and swearing utter extinction of all free-state men. Old John Brown heard the account and John Grant, jr.'s, appeal for protection some way or other. About the time, also, came in a runner from Lawrence with Colonel Sumner's proclamation, ordering all armed bodies to disperse, and thereupon the two companies agreed to break camp at dawn and return home. Old John Brown called his boys and myself and Weiner and Townsley to one side and made a short speech, telling us that for the protection of our friends and families a blow had to be struck

NOTE 88.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 14, p. 72.

NOTE 89.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 73.

NOTE 90.—Connelley's John Brown, p. 200.

on Pottawatomie creek, to strike terror into the pro-slavery miscreants who intended pillage and murder, and asked James Townsley, who had a team of grays, whether he would haul them. Townsley assented at once. Then he asked his boys, Fred, Owen, Salmon, and Oliver, and his son-in-law, Thompson, and Theodore Weiner, each separately, if willing to accompany him. They all assented. To me he said: 'I do not want you along; you have been away all winter; you are not so well known; we need some one to keep up communication with our families, so you will attend to bringing news to us and carrying news to our families. You may remain behind for the present, anyway; you may meet us, however, on my brother-in-law's (Day) claim to-morrow night.' He gave a few more immaterial instructions. Townsley had his team hitched up, the men of the expedition were on the wagon, old John Brown shook hands with me, and off they started."⁹¹

From this time on conditions changed in Kansas. It was "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." The storm started by the Salt Creek Squatters' Claim Association in May, 1854, culminated in northeastern Kansas in the fall of 1856, when the free-state men, following John Brown's example, organized in armed bands to defend their communities. Before the order of Governor Geary dispersing all armed bodies had come into effect, they had cleared up the slate by wiping out the pro-slavery rendez-

NOTE 91.—August Bondi fell dead on a street in St. Louis, September 30, and was buried at Salina, Kan., October 3, 1907. He told the writer frequently, in the past twenty years, that the political troubles in the territory had nothing to do with John Brown's action on the Pottawatomie. He was asked why he never said anything about the cause he assigned, and he responded that he did tell the Reverend Utter, when he had his controversy with ex-Senator Ingalls, but that Utter would not consider it. Probably there was no politics in the Mary Grant story, while practically all men would approve of killing in case of an assault upon a woman. Bondi was a splendid citizen, a Hebrew, and of late years an earnest and active member of the Democratic party.

Mr. M. V. Jackson, the father of Hon. Fred S. Jackson, the present attorney-general of Kansas, still living at Eureka, has a statement on file with the Kansas State Historical Society, in which he says:

"We arrived in Kansas November 20, 1855, and made settlement on a claim on Pottawatomie creek, four miles west of Osawatimie, and about the same distance from what is known as Dutch Henry's Crossing. Early in the spring of 1856 the pro-slavery people became quite aggressive and annoying to the few free-state settlers in that vicinity. The Shermans—three of them, Dutch Henry, Bill and Pete—lived near this ford, or crossing, known as Dutch Henry's Crossing. This was the headquarters of all the pro-slavery men in that vicinity, and the Shermans appeared to be the most aggressive and took the most active part in ordering free-state settlers to leave the neighborhood. Some week or ten days prior to the Pottawatomie massacre, as it has been called, Dutch Pete did insult and abuse Mary Grant, and about the same time ordered Benjamin and Bondi, the parties who had charge of the little store on Mosquito branch, to leave. The day before the massacre most of the free-state settlers had started to Lawrence to aid the people there to repel an invasion of the border ruffians, who had congregated in considerable force near the town. They had gotten as far as Ottawa Jones's, and had gone into camp on Ottawa creek. Myself and a young man by the name of Glenn arrived at this camp about noon, and word had just been received from Lawrence to disband, as the trouble there had been settled for the present time. John Brown and his sons and Benjamin and Bondi, and a man by the name of Weiner, who was said to own the little store on the Mosquito branch, was at the camp. There appeared to be quite a lot of talk among the men in squads of two and three, and I made some inquiry as to what it was about, and if anything new had happened. I did not learn anything until I met this man Weiner, and he told me that they had just heard that since they had left home Bill Sherman, with two or three other parties, had been to the store, and that Dutch Bill was drunk and very abusive, and that he had abused Mrs. Benjamin and told her that they must leave within the next few days or they would be killed and the store burned. Mr. Weiner then stated that something had to be done, and that something was going to be done to stop this abuse of free-state men and their families. I went back home that afternoon, and learned of the killing of five men about eight o'clock next morning."

S. J. Shively, an attorney at Paola, a Missourian by birth, who spent his boyhood on Mosquito creek, made an address before the State Historical Society December 1, 1903 (vol. 8, pp. 177-187), in which he says:

"Between the Pottawatomie and Mosquito creeks was a pro-slavery settlement. Just north of this, between the Mosquito and the Marais des Cygnes, was a free-state settlement, and just south of the Pottawatomie was a mixed complexion of politics. The Browns lived right in the hotbed of the pro-slavery nest. Some free-state men have thought that Wilkinson, Sherman and Doyle were unoffending, peaceable and harmless men. Wilkinson, elected by fraud and violence, seated by force and usurpation in a legislature the most infamous ever known, and who in that legislature voted for the black code, could hardly be regarded as unoffending. Sherman, who fed and entertained gangs of drunken, lawless invaders, could hardly be said to be peaceable. Doyle, whose boys drove back old men, actual citizens, from the polls, could hardly be said to be harmless. Civil war had been declared by the pro-slavery papers of Missouri and Kansas, and the right kind of characters were picked out to be sent to carry out their declarations. A great many of the free-state settlers on the Pottawatomie were from Missouri

vous at Washington creek, Franklin, and Hickory Point. By the spring of 1857 marauding, except in southeastern Kansas, had practically ceased, though the official machinery set in motion by the bogus laws and supported by the territorial judiciary was a source of continual insult. But there were no raids from Kansas into Missouri during the two years of which I speak. The western Missouri practice of squatter sovereignty was popular and continuous, its dire effects lasting with the people of that state until Governor Crittenden offered a reward of \$10,000 each for Frank and Jesse James, and the assassination of the latter April 3, 1882, by Robert Ford. And there was enough of the spirit of squatter sovereignty left then in Missouri to drive the governor into political exile, while Kansas recovered her sanity by the close of the war. And that Missouri is rapidly getting there is evidenced by the fact that about four years ago Frank James was a candidate for doorkeeper in the Missouri legislature, and while some still believed him to be a "bigger man than old Grant," there were conservatives enough to prevent his election, because, as they said, "it would never do."

The first raid of any consequence from Kansas into Missouri was on the 20th of December, 1858, when John Brown went over into Vernon county, Missouri, and brought out eleven slaves. The governor of Missouri offered

and other slave states, and well knew the men and methods they had to deal with. . . . During the summer and fall of 1855, Wilkinson, who kept the post-office, would often misplace the mail and destroy the newspapers belonging to free-state men. His post-office, called Sherman-ville, was the concentrating point where pro-slavery men would meet and curse and abuse abolitionists, and the ruffian conduct was sanctioned by the postmaster. . . . One day in 1855 Poindexter Manace, after leaving the post-office, was seen with a copy of the *New York Tribune*. He was told to throw away the damned incendiary sheet; he replied that it was the best paper published, and the crowd jumped on him and nearly beat him to death. . . . Early in the spring of 1856 the pro-slavery men on the Pottawatomie organized to drive out free-state men, and they invited Buford's men, fresh from the South, then stopping at Fort Scott, to come and help them break up the free-state settlements. . . . About the same time, while Mr. Day, from over on the Marias des Cygnes, was at Weiner's store, a man rode up and handed him this note: 'This is to notify you that all free-state men now living on the Marais des Cygnes and Pottawatomie must leave the territory within thirty days or their throats will be cut.—Law and Order.' . . . James Hanway, who lived in the settlement at the time, said of the massacre afterwards: 'I am satisfied it saved the lives of many free-state men. We looked up to it as a sort of deliverance. Prior to this happening a base conspiracy had been formed to drive out, to burn, to kill. In a word, the Pottawatomie creek from its fountainhead was to be cleared of free-state men.' . . . There was no intention to harm the peaceable pro-slavery men on the Pottawatomie, only the obnoxious ones—the ones that gave aid and comfort to the Missouri invaders, the Buford cut-throats, and Pate's gang. The Pottawatomie policy enabled the free-state men to stay, and by staying save Kansas to freedom. It gave notice to Missourians that no more ballot-box stuffing would be tolerated. Had the Pottawatomie policy been adopted sooner, at Leavenworth, perhaps the shocking cruelties inflicted on R. P. Brown and William Phillips, might have been avoided. In the latter part of May, 1856, the free-state men of Kansas saw their leaders in prison, their newspapers thrown into the river, a reign of terror in Atchison, blood running down the streets of Leavenworth; Lawrence, their principal town destroyed; armed hordes from every Southern state marching to Kansas; free-state families in Linn and Bourbon counties leaving by the hundreds for their far eastern homes; men all over the territory going to prison for speaking their sentiments; their champion at the national capital, Charles Sumner, weltering in blood from slavery's blows for even speaking out against these crimes in Kansas."

Richard J. Hinton, in his book entitled "John Brown and His Men," page 87, says: "Henry Sherman, or 'Dutch Henry,' as he was called, lived on Pottawatomie creek, and kept a store or saloon. It had become the rendezvous for the Doyles and others, who were known as border ruffians, spies, thieves and murderers. It was through them the Missourians gained all information concerning the condition of the free-state men. At this particular time the country was full of such ruffians, who had come up here to murder our people and burn our homes. These men were most active and bold. They ordered free-state men to leave, under pain of death if they failed to comply. While our men were under arms in camp, these marauders went to the homes of the settlers, where there was no one but women and children; they were abusive and indecent. On one occasion they so frightened one woman who was quick with child that she gave premature birth to it and came near dying. These conditions were reported, and a council was called, the whole matter discussed, and after a full investigation it was decided that 'Dutch Henry' and his whole gang should be put to death, as an example and warning to the many murderers who infested the territory at that time. It was believed their crimes merited it, and the safety of the free-state community demanded it. I do not say that John Brown's party was chosen; probably the decision was anticipated. I do say we decided that it must be done. . . . Pro-slavery men who were not border ruffians, and there were a goodly number, were soon ready to aid in the protection of free-state men. They asked and were never denied protection by the latter. It was the great beginning of the glorious ending in Kansas. I justified it then, so did Robinson and everybody else. I have had no reason to change my mind upon that subject since."

\$3000 reward and President Buchanan added \$250 for Brown. With this bunch of negroes Brown departed from Kansas through Iowa. The History of Vernon County, Missouri, 1887, pages 221, 222, says: "There were comparatively few slaves in Vernon county during the Kansas troubles; but their owners were always uneasy, and it came to pass that the pro-slavery men the county over were nervous and seldom retired at night without seeing that their revolvers and shotguns were fit for service. The abolitionists were no longer despised; they were feared and dreaded. The Jayhawkers were fond of good horses and would as soon shoot a pro-slavery owner as to take his horse. They began along about 1858 to raid and harrow the border counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates and Vernon, but only one of the raids into this county was important—the John Brown raid of December, 1858."

In the senate of the United States, James H. Lane, June 20, 1862, said: "When my heart ceases to beat, and not until then, will I permit any gentleman, here or elsewhere, to state that Kansas is to be compared to Missouri in the outrages she has committed. In 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, the outrages were all upon one side; Kansas acted exclusively upon the defensive, and I defy that gentleman or any other gentleman to point to any body of Kansans who ever invaded the territory of Missouri or stuffed her ballot-boxes, or attempted to do so.⁹² We have, in the discharge of our duty to the flag and the country, marched into Missouri by orders of the government to crush out rebellion, since the commencement of this struggle. Never before did Kansas invade Missouri. . . . I do hope that the difficulties between Missouri and Kansas may sometime be settled, and kind feeling established, and I avail myself of this opportunity to say that I traversed the borders of Kansas and Missouri from north to south, before these troubles commenced, appealing to the citizens of Missouri and the citizens of Kansas to remain at home and at peace with each other. I made

NOTE 92.—Hon. Frederick P. Stanton, a Tennessean, fifth territorial (acting) governor, in an address at the old settlers' meeting, Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, September 2, 1884:

"The astounding frauds perpetrated at Oxford, in Johnson county, October 5, 1857, and several precincts in McGee, soon became known. They were intended, and, indeed, would have been effectual, to give the control of the new territorial legislature to the Pro-slavery party, which was also supreme in the Lecompton constitutional convention. It would be fatal, these men perceived, to let the territorial legislature, even in its expiring days, pass into the hands of the people, especially since the result would serve to show too plainly the insignificance of the support which they actually had in the popular vote.

"The returns in the case of these election precincts were nothing less than flagrant forgeries. They contained thousands of names of persons not present at the election. They were not returns of votes illegally offered and received, but they were immense lists of fictitious names, fraudulently entered and falsely returned as those of actual voters. . . ."

[The poll-list of Oxford precinct, above referred to, is now in the archives department of the State Historical Society. There are 1628 names on it, all cast for the pro-slavery legislative and congressional ticket, except that of one person who had the nerve to vote for Marcus J. Parrott for Congress. The list is dated October 5, 1857, and is signed by James H. Nounnun, C. C. Catron, and Batt Jones, judges, and S. D. Barnett and G. O. Hand, clerks. By throwing out these returns, Robert J. Walker, governor, and Frederick P. Stanton, secretary, gave control of the territorial legislature to the Free-state party.—SECRETARY.]

"General Cass assumed in his letter to me that the Lecompton constitution fairly submitted the slavery question to the people, and gave them an opportunity 'to determine whether Kansas shall be a slave state or a free state, in the very manner contemplated by its organic law.' You know how far this was from the facts of the case; but evidently General Cass expected me to employ the army for the purpose of maintaining order and fair play at Calhoun pro-slavery elections. How utterly inadequate would this have been to the demands of the occasion! Imagine a battery of artillery pursuing Jack Henderson to Delaware Crossing to prevent the forgery committed there, or a company of dragoons fighting the notorious frauds at Oxford, Kickapoo, and elsewhere. . . ."

"The army of the nation was wholly incompetent to deal with these transactions, or in any way to prevent them, as I have already shown. The idea of meeting the perpetrators of these famous frauds with military force is supremely ludicrous. John Calhoun (president of the Lecompton constitutional convention) had a company of dragoons to protect him as he carried these forged returns, or their fraudulent results, out of this territory. With my own eyes I saw him escorted in this way from Lecompton. I do not mean to charge that General Cass or Presi-

speeches to that effect along the entire border; but that counsel Missouri disregarded, and if Kansas is even with Missouri it is because she has been true to her flag and true to her country."⁹³

James H. Lane, in command of the United States troops, on the 22d day of September, 1861, destroyed the town of Osceola, St. Clair county, Missouri. This is generally stated as the excuse for the Lawrence massacre of August 21, 1863. Lane went to Osceola on a legitimate errand of warfare—to destroy certain supplies of the enemy—Sterling Price at this time having captured Colonel Mulligan at Lexington. Lane was fired on from ambush, and in returning the fire he killed one man. Lane's men helped women get their personal effects from their houses. Lane took the records from the court-house before applying the torch, and returned them at the close of the war. Lawrence had been destroyed or besieged three times—in December, 1855, May 21, 1856, and September 15, 1856. This third time Governor Geary arrived with United States troops and succeeded with argument to turn back to Missouri the 2700 invaders. Osawatomie was raided and robbed by 150 Missourians June 6, and destroyed by 500 Missourians August 30, 1856. The Marais des Cygnes massacre, May 18, 1858, was planned at Papinsville, Bates county, Missouri, and put into awful execution on the 19th.⁹⁴ Thus there were six raids from Missouri into Kansas before John Brown made the first raid from Kansas into Missouri, December,

dent Buchanan intended this use of the army, but I do say that such was the perversion of its functions, in spite of the better purposes proclaimed in the instructions."—Hist. Coll., vol. 3, pp. 345, 348, 350.

This statement of Secretary Stanton concerning the misuse of the army recalls the fact that six months or more before John Calhoun left John W. Geary, the third territorial governor, departed in the middle of the night because he was without protection. On the 9th of February, 1857, Governor Geary made application to Gen. Percifer F. Smith, commanding the department at Fort Leavenworth, as follows:

"There are certain persons present in Lecompton who are determined, if within the bounds of possibility, to bring about a breach of the peace. During the last few days a number of persons have been grossly insulted; and to-day an insult has been offered to myself. A person named Sherrard, who some days ago had been appointed a sheriff of Douglas county, which appointment was strongly protested against by a respectable number of the citizens of the county, and I had deferred commissioning him. This, it appears, gave mortal offense to Sherrard, and he has made up his mind to assassinate me. This may lead to trouble. It must be prevented, and that by immediate action. I require, therefore, two additional companies of dragoons, to report to me with the least possible delay. *I think this is absolutely necessary, and I trust you will immediately comply with my request.*"—(Executive minutes of Governor Geary, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 4, p. 710.)

On the 11th, General Smith responded:

"Insults or probable breaches of the peace do not authorize the employment of the troops.

"Besides, all the forces here have just been designated by the secretary of war, and are under orders, for other service more distant; and even the companies near you will have to be recalled. They are sufficient to repress any breach of the peace, and I cannot move them until the weather improves.

"But even they are to be employed to aid the civil authorities only in the contingencies mentioned in the laws above referred to. The garrisons to be left in the territory will be available if the President directs their employment."—(Gihon's "Geary and Kansas," page 231.)

Governor Geary had refused to commission William J. Sherrard as sheriff of Douglas county. The pro-slavery legislature demanded a reason, and the governor responded that Sherrard had been engaged in several drunken brawls. Geary ignored an attempted assault by Sherrard, when the latter spit upon the governor. At another time he slapped the governor's private secretary. Several attempts were made to provoke a quarrel and assassinate Geary. On the afternoon of the 14th of February, according to a call, the citizens of Lecompton held a meeting to express their views concerning the insult to Governor Geary. Sherrard interrupted the meeting and began shooting. In the riot Sherrard was killed. Geary, resigned on the 4th of March, to take effect on the 20th. His letter was deposited in the office very late at night, just as the mail closed, but its contents were discussed in the grog-shops of Lecompton the next morning before the governor was out of bed. He left Lecompton on the 10th of March, 1857.—(Executive minutes of Governor Geary, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 4, pp. 707-708.)

NOTE 93.—Congressional Globe, 2d sess. 37th Congress, p. 2838.

NOTE 94.—On the 18th of May, 1858, a mass meeting was called at Papinsville to incite an invasion of the territory and wipe out the free-state settlers of Linn county. At midnight, when they reached the state line, either some conscience or a fear of James Montgomery seized the party, and all backed out but about thirty. This number followed Capt. Charles A. Hamilton over the

1858, when he brought out eleven negroes.⁹⁵ The second raid from Kansas into Missouri was by James B. Abbott and party, July 23, 1859, who rescued John Doy from jail in St. Joseph. Lane's march upon Osceola was five months after the assault upon Fort Sumter, and prior to it there was the seizure of Camp Jackson, the Platte Bridge massacre, the battle of Wilson Creek, the siege of Lexington, and the battle of Morristown.

There might have been a slight attempt by the settlers in the first two years at "seed time and harvest," but a few sentences only would be required to tell it; and as for the building of homes, education, religion, and any attempt at well-ordered society, all were held in abeyance, while the sovereign squats of Missouri were using every means to force slavery upon the territory. August 28, 1856, a party of which R. J. Hinton was a member reached Topeka, coming overland through Iowa. In a diary of the trip kept by Hinton, now in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, is this sentence: "Topeka contains about 100 houses, but presents the appearance that the territory everywhere shows, of industry idle, enterprise blocked, and capital lying wasted."

It is not my purpose in this paper to justify John Brown or the sovereign squats of Missouri in anything that was done. What I repeat to you appeared in public print hundreds of times in all parts of the United States, and while some of it sounds unreasonable, so much of it actually happened as to render the most absurd of it very plausible. At this late day, under the political and material wonders we enjoy, we are all charitable enough to

line on the morning of the 19th. They gathered up eleven citizens in Kansas, each without arms, the greater number, if not all of them, having never taken part in the differences between the free-state and pro-slavery parties. The prisoners were stood in line. Five were killed, and all the others but one desperately wounded. See Ed R. Smith's account, in volume 6 of the Kansas Historical Collections, pages 365-370. Mr. Smith says, page 369: "Hamilton without further comment ordered his men to form in front of their victims on the side of the ravine and a little above them. Old man Hairgrove, seeing the preparations for their murder, without a tremor in his voice, said, 'Men, if you are going to shoot us, take good aim.' Hamilton at this gave the order to 'Make ready, take aim, fire!' " Fort Scott' [W. B.] Brockett, at this, wheeled his horse out of the line and with an oath declared he 'would shoot them in a fight, but, by God! I'll have nothing to do with such an act as this.' It was with difficulty that Hamilton brought his gang again into line, then gave the order to fire, firing the first shot himself. The entire eleven men in that line went down before the deadly fire of their murderers." [See, also, Tomlinson's "Kansas in 1858," chap. 5, p. 61.]

NOTE 95.—Since this paper was printed in pamphlet form, October, 1907, a letter has been discovered in cataloguing a number presented to the Society by Thos. Wentworth Higginson, which calls for a restatement. Richard J. Hinton, under date of "Lawrence, Kan., November 6, 1856," writing about the condition of the free-state cause, says:

"Governor Geary's conduct in the south of Kansas you will have probably learnt before this letter reaches you. It proves only more distinctly that he is nothing but a *tool*. He arrested all the free-soil men he could find, which were but few, seven in all, they having got out of the way. He commissioned Martin White, the man who murdered Fred Brown, as justice, and left six dragoons to aid in making arrests. He promised protection to notorious scoundrels, who but a few weeks before were burning and murdering on Sugar creek. A guerrilla party of seven free-state men, commanded by Captain Homes, [James H. Holmes, who died at Red Bank, N. J., November 21, 1907,] a brave fellow from New York, who has taken up arms against our enemies and sworn never to lay them down until Kansas is free, finding the governor did not give them justice, determined to administer it themselves. Two hours after the governor left it, they entered the house of a Capt. E. Brown, a pro-slavery bandit, took him prisoner and stripped the dwelling. When Geary heard of it, his *dignity* was wonderfully wounded at Homes daring to prove that there was no peace after he had proclaimed it. The dragoons chased Homes and his brave band of seven to the borders of Missouri, into which Homes penetrated fifteen miles. Meeting a man who had been engaged in the burning of Osawatimie, they plundered him of everything. This is the first foray into Missouri, and having led the way it will not probably be the last. The bands are not generally beneficial to our cause, but men at and around Osawatimie who had suffered so much are filled with a determination never to rest till their foes or themselves are crushed out. It was bad for our cause for Homes to have plundered in Missouri at the present moment, but it is not to be wondered at when we consider what provocation they have endured."

Geary assumed the duties of governor September 11, 1856. Martin White offered his services to Geary October 7, 1856. So this raid by Holmes into Missouri must have been made sometime after October 7, and antedates the Marais des Cygnes massacre of May, 1858, leaving five raids made from Missouri into Kansas before a raid was made from Kansas into Missouri.

excuse the individuals and cover all with the mantle so often asserted by the free-soiler, "the barbarism of slavery," which then infected all things.

Charles Robinson, the great free-soil leader, said in a letter to James Hanway, February 5, 1878: "I never had much doubt that Captain Brown was the author of the blow at Pottawatomie, for the reason that he was the only man who comprehended the situation and saw the absolute necessity of some such blow, and had the nerve to strike it." Verily, there had to be a blow struck.

But let me go a few days over the limit of the two years to further illustrate the spirit which then prevailed. Upon the anniversary of the Palmetto Rifles, June 28, 1856, celebrated at Atchison with a parade and banquet, were other toasts. "At the head of the table," says one account, "hung the blood-red flag, with the lone star and the motto of 'Southern Rights' on the one side and 'South Carolina' on the other. The same flag that first floated on the rifle-pits of the abolitionists at Lawrence, and on the hotel of the same place, in triumph now hung over the heads of the noble soldiers who bore it so bravely through that exciting war." (This flag, captured by the free-state men at Slough creek, in September, 1856, is now among the relics of the Kansas State Historical Society.) Among the toasts were the following applying to Kansas: "Kansas—our chosen home—stand by her. Yes! sons of the South, make her a slave state, or die in the attempt!" "Missouri—our ally—nobly has she stood by her younger sister. All hail to the gallant 'border ruffians.' We owe them one." "The city of Atchison—may she before the close of the year '57 be the capital of a Southern republic." "The Palmetto flag—we brought it here in honor, let us return it the same." "The distribution of the public lands—one hundred and sixty acres to every pro-slavery settler, and to every abolitionist six feet by two."⁹⁶

But July 4 following they went one better in Grahamville, S. C.: "Kansas—already stained with the blood of Southern martyrs in the cause of justice and our most sacred rights. May her streams become rivers of blood and her forests charnel-houses before her soil shall be contaminated and her atmosphere polluted by the free-soil partisans of the North."⁹⁷

Is it any wonder pandemonium was established on the border?

The Missouri idea of squatter sovereignty seems to have been generally accepted. Listen to the *Charleston Courier* about June, 1856: "Let the names therefore be published daily, that we may see who are lukewarm in this vital issue—then we may see who are the people in this community who require to be watched. To secure this end we will add, as a suggestion, that the finance committee of the Kansas Association be also a committee of assessment, and that each individual be informed of this amount before his subscription be taken. We also suggest that the Kansas Association appoint a large vigilance committee, whose consultations shall be secret, and who shall take in charge the conduct of delinquents and adopt such measures in reference to them as the interests of the community demand."⁹⁸

It has been charged that John Brown was crazy. I have two extracts made from speeches of David R. Atchison, and also two extracts from a speech by Stringfellow, in defense of slavery, that I had intended placing

NOTE 96.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 15, p. 73.

NOTE 97.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 14, p. 228.

NOTE 98.—Webb's Scrap-book, vol. 14, p. 220.

alongside of some of John Brown's talk about the same time, to illustrate the question as to who was the craziest; but the quotations throughout this paper are sufficient to show that there was something radically wrong, mentally or morally, with the Atchisons and the Stringfellows. In the light of to-day, there was then a great deal of lunacy spread over western Missouri. And under the teachings of the fathers, as I have quoted them to you, inspired by a United States senator and acting Vice-president of the United States, and an ex-attorney general of Missouri, how could it be otherwise than that western Missouri would be stocked with such citizens and patriots as Bill Anderson, Up Hayes, Arch Clements, the James boys, the Youngers, George Todd, Dick Yeager, and the later crop of train and bank robbers, such as Dick Liddil, Jim Cummings, Wood Hite, Bill McDaniels, and the scores of others who terrorized the entire West from 1866 until 1882. Surely it was insanity to remove all restraint from such fellows, while at the same time urging them to shoot, hang, drown and tar-and-feather their fellow men. Thank God such civilization did not prevail.

I will say, however, that by the spring of 1856 the people were warming up in the fight for statehood. Five years later—in 1861—when the inventors of squatter sovereignty abandoned the United States senate for commissions in the Confederate army, Kansas managed to squeeze in. During the five years following the end of my story the seat of war was transferred from the Missouri river to central Kansas, and then to southeastern Kansas. Many people have held that it was the emigration of 1857 that saved Kansas to freedom, but after the recital I have made it looks as though the bracing up following the blows struck at Pottawatomie, at Black Jack, Washington creek, Fort Titus, Osawatomie and Hickory Point, Bull creek, and the two skirmishes at Franklin turned the tide. It is further apparent that the term "sovereign squat," as used to-day, will not apply to the *bona fide* free-soil settlers of Kansas, but solely to a band of non-resident slavery propagandists who were determined to force their institutions upon the new state.

After seven years of bloody conflict Kansas became a state by default—that is, those opposed to her seceded, thus placing her friends in the majority in the United States senate. She had 107,206 people, and in the Pike's Peak country there were 34,342. Five years of raiding and counter-raiding followed, when there was no growth or improvement. The only method of transportation was the stage and the ox or mule trains—not a mile of railroad for six years after statehood—while Oklahoma becomes a state with 5143 miles of railroad, just about half of what Kansas has to-day, and Pullmans running everywhere. In 1900 Oklahoma and Indian Territory had a population of 790,291, estimated to-day at 1,500,000.⁹⁹ In the state of Oklahoma there are twenty-four towns of over 3000 population, eight of them running over 10,000, with water-works, electric lights, street-railways, and modern buildings; now recall the straggling dugouts and board and log shanties composing the original towns of Kansas. In Kansas, in her first two years, the Massachusetts abolitionist and the Pennsylvania Democrat were

NOTE 99.—September 15, 1907, the federal census bureau made a count of Oklahoma and Indian Territory. With four districts unreported, the population has reached a total of 1,408,732, an increase of seventy-eight per cent. over 1900. The figures show that Oklahoma, with two districts lacking, has a population of 718,765, and Indian Territory, with two districts missing, has 689,967. This report shows that the twin territories are growing with nearly equal pace, making a well-balanced population in the new commonwealth of Oklahoma. The aggregate population is larger than any territory had at the time of its admission to the Union.

proscribed, a person's pronunciation sometimes being a test of citizenship, while in Oklahoma the Texan, the Kansan, and the Arkansan, the negro and the Indian, will enjoy squatter sovereignty in its real sense and vote unquestioned in the organization of the state. Only recently it was stated in the daily telegraphic dispatches that in the new state of Oklahoma the Pawnee Indians had entertained their old enemies, the Sioux, for several weeks with a green-corn dance and feasting. Buffalo and pony races were also indulged in, and many ponies and blankets were given the Sioux visitors by the Pawnees; and to add humor to the progress made, it was also stated that the agent of the Pawnees made a trip to the scene of the festivities and warned the Indians that it would be a crime to give away ponies and blankets that had been mortgaged.

How much the world owes to Kansas can never be computed. Since the days of Abraham, the first great pioneer, no people ever met more serious responsibilities or made a more startling and lasting impression in the world's progress than the pioneers of Kansas. And, verily, Kansas is an heir to the blessings promised Abraham: "I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing."

In conclusion permit me to say that I verily believe that the Squatters' Claim Association, the Platte City Regulators and the Platte County Defensive Association were the sole progenitors—there were no ancestors behind them—of the Missouri bushwhacker, the Kansas raider, and those who stole in the name of liberty, the Missouri train and bank robbers, and a host of reckless and lawless men incited hither, for whom no principle or element could be held responsible, and that the Quantrill reunions are the last wriggings of the dying snake's tail. In was better for Kansas to be the victim than the persecutor—she recovered that much sooner. Her leading raider was pursued and shot like a mad dog on the banks of the Marais des Cygnes by Kansas troops, the second most conspicuous was dishonorably discharged from the federal service, and after the close of the war a few straggling horse-thieves were hung, and a well-ordered community established.

I once asked a man who was notorious on the border during the war, and prominent afterward as a business man and a good citizen, to write a story of his experiences for the Kansas State Historical Society, and his response was, "I have two as good boys as man ever had in this world, and I do not want them to know any more about their father than is necessary." Ninety per cent. of the population of Kansas to-day have never heard of a Kansas raider—those so known were ashamed of it and repudiated it upon the coming of peace—and there never was a minute when a body of raiders could find a quarter-section in Kansas on which they would be permitted to hold a reunion. No descendant of a raider has ever posed in vaudeville on his father's reputation for infamy.¹⁰⁰ And, thank God, there are no Kansas raider contributions to literature selling on the railroad-trains. And when the last Quantrill reunion is held the obliteration will be complete—there will be no more reminders of the barbarism of slavery, and Missouri and Kansas, united, will be the choicest piece of God's green earth in sentiment and right living, as it has always been in all that nature gives to the comfort and profit of mankind.

NOTE 100.—The writer was at Kinsley, September 3, 1907, where he made an address upon the occasion of the unveiling of a Santa Fe trail-marker. It was in the afternoon, and he had a delightful audience. The business men closed their stores, and about 150 school children participated. Jesse James was there also with a tent show, and the night before presented on the stage the deeds of his father, which had induced a reward of \$10,000 for him dead or alive. One demonstration honored all that was splendid in manhood, and the other all that was infamous.

ATTAINMENTS OF THE G. A. R.

Speech of the Department Commander, P. H. CONEY,¹ at Pawnee village, September 28, 1906, being the centennial of the raising of the American flag on Kansas soil.

IT was highly appropriate for the management of these exercises to give one day to the survivors of that matchless organization, that flag-defending and flag-saving organization, "The Grand Army of the Republic," that had its initial formation when our peerless martyred President, the immortal Abraham Lincoln, on April 12, 1861, called for 75,000 volunteers to defend our national Union against organized treason by revolting officials of our national and seceding state governments, who, violative of their oaths and obligations as officials and citizens of this republic, sought to sever it and establish a slave oligarchy based upon the right of owning slaves and thriving upon human slavery.

The contests against slavery, that came to us as a relic of Britain's dominion over her American colonies, preceding the election of our divine Lincoln, so enraged the slave-holding states that they resolved to resist the inauguration and administration of President Lincoln, by as foul and traitorous a conspiracy as was ever conceived and put into destructive execution. This called forth the heroic patriotism of men and women who worshiped freedom and the republic, as founded by our revered, chivalrous and noble sires, whose sacrificial devotion and admonition were still exaltingly cherished by their sons, who responded to the repeated calls of Father Abraham to the number of 2,850,000, the mightiest army of boys ever martialled for death's battle. And the more than 2000 battles they fought were unprecedented in human annals in fierceness and destruction. It became the mightiest war of all history, costing nearly 400,000 lives and making over 500,000 widows and orphans; and wounding, maiming and crippling over 500,000 valiant sons, whose lives were shortened and blighted by pain and disease. That cruel war cost, in addition to the loss of life and property, over five billion dollars.

To impress you with the fact that they were heroic boys from the loins of patriots, I read to you a report from the adjutant-general of the United States, giving the ages and number of each age enlisted in that Grand Army of the Republic.

Those 10 years old and under.....	25
“ 11 “ “	38
“ 12 “ “	225
“ 13 “ “	300
“ 14 “ “	1,523
“ 15 “ “	104,987
“ 16 “ “	231,051
“ 17 “ “	844,891
“ 18 “ “	1,151,436
“ 21 “ “	2,159,796
“ 23 “ and over	618,514
“ 25 “ “	46,626
“ 44 “ “	15,971

NOTE 1.—CAPTAIN PATRICK H. CONEY was born at Newberry, Vt., March 10, 1848. At the age of fourteen, without the knowledge of his parents, he left home and enlisted in the Twenty-second New York cavalry. His parents objected and had his enlistment canceled. In the spring of 1863 he again enlisted, in company A, One Hundred and Eleventh regiment. He was camp orderly for awhile, and then assigned as regimental musician. At Peach Orchard, in front of Petersburg, June 16, 1864, he was seriously wounded. He was discharged October 5, 1865. Upon his

It is amazing, when their heroic accomplishments and power of enduring hardships and suffering are comprehensively considered. The Grand Army of the Republic is the culmination of the surviving members of that victorious army. It came into formation in August, 1866, in Indiana and Illinois, through the encouragement of the gallant Gov. Oliver P. Morton, Gen. O. M. Wilson, Gen. R. S. Foster, and Gen. B. F. Stephenson, but it was subsequently reformed into its present organization. It brought compactly together, in the battle-welded ties of army life, the comradeship that knit their souls together as men, for the preservation of the integrity of the republic and the establishment of its perpetual supremacy. Their rally and assembly song portrays the spirit that animated the organization of our Grand Army of the Republic, and is as follows:

- "Their ranks are filled with heroes, who fought in deadly strife
To shield the constitution and save the nation's life
From the maddened rebel's fury and the base assassin's knife,
As they went marching on.
- "From the gory fields of battle, from the mountain and the plain,
Where the wood and rocks are blushing with the blood of kindred slain,
They come with arms victorious to battle once again,
As they go marching on.
- "They have sworn upon the altar of their country and their God,
By the spirits of the gallant dead, who sleep beneath the sod,
Their neck shall never bow again beneath the oppressor's rod,
As they go marching on.
- "They have sworn with hand uplifted, upon the bended knee,
They ne'er will ground their arms again, till all mankind are free
And every tongue once manacled shall shout for liberty,
As they go marching on.
- "The glorious hour is coming, the day is drawing nigh,
When slavery and oppression shall lay them down and die,
And universal freedom shall be echoed through the sky,
As they go marching on."

The Grand Army of the Republic stood for all that the noble fathers of the republic stood for. It stood for all that the brave heroes of the war of 1812 to 1814 stood for. It stood for all that the gallant victors and dying heroes of the war with Mexico stood for. It stood for all advancing humanity. It stood for hope and liberty to the forlorn and oppressed everywhere. It stood for peace, prosperity, plenty and progress, one country and one flag.

It has attained all, as greater liberty and more progressive liberty prevails throughout this earth to-day than ever before, and our flag unchallenged floats in beloved honor and supreme respect over more extensive territory to-day than ever before.

At the close of that gigantic civil war we had less than thirty-nine million people in the states and territories of our republic. We have to-day from eighty-nine to ninety millions of free men and women. Our wealth has increased over ten times the magnitude of our population. There are more

return home he entered Walworth Academy, from which he graduated March, 1867. That year he came west and settled in Leavenworth. In 1880 he removed to Topeka. He read law and was admitted to the bar July, 1886. At this time he married Emma S. Hitchcock, of Boone, Iowa. In 1888 he filled twenty-eight appointments in the state of New York for the Republican National Committee. He served as department commander of the Grand Army for Kansas two terms, 1894 and 1895. His mother was killed in a railroad wreck at Palmyra, N. Y., in November, 1864, while on her return from the hospital at Rochester, where she had been nursing soldiers. The father, Luke Coney, died at the son's home in Topeka, December 16, 1905, in his ninety-fourth year. He emigrated to America in 1839 and settled in Boston.

miles of railroad west of the Missouri river to-day than there were in all the world before the civil war. There are more farm products, more mineral, gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc and other precious metals produced west of the Missouri river to-day than there were in all the world before the close of that awful war.

There is a higher standard of civilization west of the Mississippi river now than prevailed throughout the whole world before the close of that devastating civil conflict.

All this, and more, was due to and attained by the victory of the Grand Army of the Republic, in war and in peace. This mighty army has been mightier in the victories of peace. Its warriors set the pace of industrial, educational and moral progress, and have guarded it with patriotic vigilance. What has made all that we are, or hope to be, possible? Had we failed, all would have failed. This country would have been blighted with slave oligarchy, and few if any of these developments could or would have been made. The strides west of the Mississippi would have been by slaves, mules and blood-hounds, to gratify the slave owner and driver's passions for more territory without development or research. There would be no flag-raising remembrance here—no flag floating here now. It would still be an Indian camping-ground and maize fields. Mrs. Johnson would never have seen this stretch of romantic prairie. All that you now delight to honor, and flauntingly pride yourselves in enjoying, would never have been occultly dreamed of by any medium, were it not for "The Grand Army of the Republic," to whom all credit, honor and glory is due. These are but faint presentations of the accomplishments and the attaining possibilities due to their victory.

"The Grand Army is our order,
By friendship's ties we are bound;
And every man who wore the blue
Should in its ranks be found.

"Our bond is cemented by the blood
Of many a comrade slain
On a thousand bloody battle-fields
On mountain, hill, and plain.

"The members of our order
Are the men who years ago
Went forth to save the stars and stripes
From a determined foe.

"They made their breasts a bulwark
To stay the rebel lead;
And nobly did they hold the fort,
Till every foe had fled.

"And should a foe insult our flag,
Those same Grand Army men
Would buckle on their cartridge-box,
And tackle them again.

"Then always give a word of cheer
To the old Grand Army boy
Who saved the stars and stripes for you,
And all you now enjoy.

"Not long can they be with you,
Soon they all must be
Tented beneath the blossoms
Of the land they helped to free."

KANSAS.

Address delivered at Colorado Springs, September 27, 1906, by CHESTER I. LONG,¹
United States Senator.

THE occurrences of a hundred years ago, which you celebrate this week, took place in Kansas, and not in Colorado.

Kansas at that time, it is true, was unknown; but the soil was there, and upon it certain things were done. You were part of Kansas then, and remained so for many years thereafter. I believe that some of you are sorry that you are not now part of Kansas, and I know that a few of you, if a certain suit is decided a certain way by the supreme court of the United States, will regret that you were ever separated from that state.

The history of Kansas for the past one hundred years is appropriately divided into two fifty-year periods. During the first fifty years hardly anything happened in Kansas; during the second fifty years nearly everything happened.

At the beginning of the first fifty-year period, Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike came to Kansas, as many other men have done since that time, and, like some of his successors, went on to Colorado. Like many another man since his time who has taken that course he probably regretted that he left Kansas, for shortly after he arrived here he was captured and deprived of his liberty; and many other men have had similar experiences in Colorado since that time.

Lieutenant Pike came to Kansas for a definite purpose, accomplished it, and then did some other things while he was there. This also has been the habit of many other people who have come to our state since that time. He did not start for Colorado; he simply wandered about and finally found his peak. Of course, we all know now that he could not help finding it. It stands out so prominently that only a blind man could fail to see it.

He came to Kansas for the purpose of returning some Osage Indians who had been redeemed from captivity; and then he visited Pawnee village, near the northern boundary of Kansas. While there he discovered a Spanish flag flying in front of the tent of the chief. He demanded that it be hauled down, and that the flag of the United States be run up in its place. His urgent request was complied with, and the flag then flung to the breezes of Kansas has been dear to the hearts of her citizens ever since, and the flag of Spain that was then hauled down in Kansas has since, through the instrumentality of Kansas and Colorado soldiers, with slight assistance from the rest of the country, been hauled down in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. The flag that Pike raised in Kansas a hundred years ago on the 29th of this month has since been run up in those possessions, never again to be displaced by the flag of Spain. After this chief purpose of his

NOTE 1.—CHESTER I. LONG, United States senator from Kansas, was born near Newport, Perry county, Pennsylvania, October 12, 1860. He is the youngest son of Abraham G. and Mary Long. When five years old the family moved to Daviess county, Missouri. He worked on his father's farm until 1879, when he moved to Paola, Kan., and worked his way through the normal school. He taught school until 1883, when he entered a law office in Topeka as a law student. In March, 1885, he was admitted to the bar, and began the practice of his profession at Medicine Lodge in October of that year. In 1889 he was elected state senator from the thirty-eighth district. In 1892 he was nominated for Congress in the seventh district against Jerry Simpson, and was defeated, but changing a populist majority of 8000 to about 2000, and leading the national ticket 663 votes. In 1894 he was elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress, and in 1896 was defeated by Jerry Simpson. In 1898 he defeated Mr. Simpson a second time. In 1900 and 1902 he was again elected to the house of representatives. In January, 1903, he was elected United States senator. February 14, 1895, Mr. Long was united in marriage with Miss Anna Bache, of Paola.

journey, Lieutenant Pike proceeded to wander over the face of Kansas, as many of you people of Colorado have done since that time. He left the Pawnee village on the 7th of October, and finally reached the great bend of the Arkansas. He there divided his party, some of them going down the stream in a boat, and learning for the first time that navigation on the Arkansas is somewhat uncertain. There was plenty of water when they started, but it seems to have disappeared further down the river—a habit which the water in that river has had even until this day. Lieutenant Pike, with the rest of his company, followed up the Arkansas into Colorado, and in due time he did what he could not help doing—discovered this peak, on the 16th of November.

If you wanted a centennial of your own you should have had it on the 16th of November; but you were once part of Kansas, were part of it at the time Pike discovered you, and remained so for over half a century; and your selecting this date for your centennial shows that the old Kansas spirit is still alive in your hearts, though you have been separated from us for forty-five years.

As I said, there did not much happen in Kansas during the first fifty years after Pike raised the flag there and proceeded to advertise our country to the people of the Eastern states. Pike's description of Kansas did not tend to bring immigration into the country. He was doubtless a good soldier, but if all real estate agents in Kansas and Colorado had followed his example, a good many of you would never have come here. Here is what he said about Kansas:

"From these immense prairies may arise one great advantage to the United States, viz.: The restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the Union. Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent on the west to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country."

Things after this remained very quiet for a few years, until the admission of Missouri into the Union gave us an eastern boundary. That was all we had.

The admission of Missouri as a state, and the existence of Santa Fe, gave Kansas her first line of industry, the Santa Fe trail, which extended 700 miles in length, 400 of it being in Kansas. The state thus early became interested in the transportation question, and has maintained such interest even until this day; but many people used the Santa Fe trail, as many of you have used our railroads since—simply to pass through Kansas.

There is no record of many white people coming to Kansas, for Pike's description seems to have struck the people of the country as a true statement of the conditions. Congress seemed to have taken that view also, for in 1830 it formally defined Kansas as part of the Indian Territory. This shows what Congress thought of the country; for, as a rule, from the beginning, when a tract of country has been considered fit for nothing else, it has been dedicated to the Indians as their perpetual home, in language as affectionate and endearing as Congress is capable of placing upon the statute-books. The Indians were assured that these lands would be theirs forever, and they would have remained so if they had been as worthless and valueless as Pike thought them to be. A number of Indian tribes were removed from

their homes and located in Kansas. Nothing much, in addition to this, happened for a great many years.

The peaceful serenity of the first fifty years of Kansas appears strange in comparison with the last fifty years of its history. About forty-three years after Pike visited Kansas gold was discovered in California, which resulted a year later in the admission of that state into the Union as a free state. This destroyed the equilibrium in the senate which had existed there between the free and slave states for nearly a half century, and gave the free states a majority in that body. The South knew that there must be another slave state or slavery was doomed. There was no opportunity of securing one except by the division of Texas, which was impossible of consummation, although the act creating the state gave it the privilege of dividing into five states.

And so the eyes of the South were turned to the prairies of Kansas. Kansas and Nebraska were marked for slavery by the act organizing them into territories, which provided that the people of these territories should determine for themselves whether or not slavery should be permitted. It repealed the Missouri compromise, which had dedicated to freedom all that vast territory west and north of the southern boundary of Missouri extended. You were included in the territory of Kansas, and the intention was to make a slave state here. In order to have a slave state it was necessary that there should be slavery in the territory. As the country was but sparsely settled, it became a contest between the East, which was for freedom, and the South, which was for slavery, as to which could send the greater number of people into the territory. Congress by that act confessed its inability to settle the slavery question, and, after sixty years of failure, the contest was transferred to Kansas. For two years the contest in immigration went on, and this closed the first fifty-year period from the day that Pike first raised the stars and stripes in Kansas.

If things were quiet and peaceful during the first fifty years in Kansas, no one has had cause to complain that there was nothing going on during the next fifty years. A number of things happened in rapid succession in 1856,² the beginning of this period. Every vote that was taken in the territory indicated that the East had won the fight in the contest of immigration and that the South had failed. Then it was that there was a resort to fraud in order to win success for slavery. Missourians came over in great numbers, remaining but a day, voted and returned to their homes. They even brought with them their friends from the South, who also participated in the elections. In 1856 force began to be used on both sides. Lawrence was attacked and partially destroyed. Missourians came over to Kansas with their guns, and Kansans returned the visits in like fashion. Kansas would have always been free if her own citizens could have determined the question. When Congress abdicated its functions and said to Kansas, "Decide for yourself as to whether you shall be slave or free," it made an armed conflict inevitable.

The battle of Osawatimie was fought fifty years ago, on the 30th of August of that year. It was an insignificant skirmish, but it helped to show the country the impossibility of settling the slavery question by compromise.

NOTE 2.—For the sake of round numbers the writer has overlooked the date of the two invasions of Missouri electors, who outvoted our Kansas citizens at their own polls on November 29, 1854, and March 30, 1855.

It was an incident in border warfare, but it pointed the way in which the people of the nation had to walk. Fraud in elections was not tamely submitted to by the early settlers of Kansas. Originally they were peaceful and law-abiding, but the scenes which they witnessed along the border made it impossible for them to obey laws or abide by election results which followed the grossest frauds.

Some of you early settlers of Kansas territory may remember how near to success came the efforts to make Kansas a slave state. It failed, however, when the supporters of the Lecompton constitution were compelled to submit it to the people of Kansas for their approval or rejection. Every one knew what the result would be. There was a fair vote that time, and the constitution was overwhelmingly defeated. This was the last determined effort to make Kansas a slave state.

No one can fully measure the value of these early conflicts in Kansas. If the people of Kansas had meekly submitted to the outrages that were perpetrated the conscience of the nation might not have been quickened. These early encounters in this state impressed the whole nation with the gravity of the conflict and finally resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln, the preservation of the Union, and the destruction of human slavery.

You were part of Kansas until the admission of the state under the Wyandotte constitution. When Kansas was admitted as a state Colorado was organized as a territory. You had a part in the early struggles and history of Kansas; and when the separation came it was with the mutual consent of all. Kansas as a state has maintained its reputation for activity and energy which it acquired as a territory; and you have never ceased to act as though you were still Kansans.

The state line between Kansas and Colorado has generally been disregarded by the citizens of both states. The people of Kansas come here in the summer to rest and cool off and you go to Kansas at all times of the year. We feed you on Kansas flour and beef, for which we charge you good prices, and you use our water without money and without price. It is very fortunate for you that the gold and silver in your hills were not as visible to the naked eye as were your mountain peaks. If the Spaniards had known about your silver and gold they would have been slow to give you up, and if Kansas had known how rich you were in these minerals, the chances are that Arapahoe county would still be in Kansas. However, there was territory sufficient for two states, and it is very fortunate that they were made, for Kansas and Colorado have always dwelt together in unity and one state has been the complement of the other. When you produced so much silver and but little gold, the people of Kansas endeavored to help you out by favoring free silver in the early days of "16 to 1." Later, when you began to produce gold in such great quantities and became the greatest gold state of the Union, our people were gratified at your success and proceeded to trade their products for your precious metals.

The prairies of Kansas that received such a dark description from the pen of Lieutenant Pike have within a hundred years produced corn, wheat and other products in abundance. Kansas as a state is but 45 years old. It is essentially an agricultural state, and to the east and north of us are other states engaged in the same industry. Missouri is 85 years old; Iowa is 60; Minnesota 48; and Nebraska 39. The principal products of all these states are corn, wheat, hogs, cattle, horses and mules. Taking these five states,

Kansas last year was fourth in corn, first in wheat, fourth in hogs, second in cattle, third in horses and mules, and second in the total of all these products. Kansas is not generally considered a manufacturing state, but it exceeds thirty-four other states and territories in the value of its manufactured products, and is exceeded by only fifteen states.

The magnificent exhibits of all branches of your industries show how inaccurate and mistaken are predictions for one hundred years in the future. If Lieutenant Pike could appear on earth to-day, and would go with me to-morrow night, we would in twelve hours be at the place where he raised the first flag in Kansas. It took him six weeks to come from that point to this a hundred years ago; and the difference in time it requires to make these two journeys would not be greater than the difference in the appearance of the country now and then.

The great American desert has been reclaimed; the Santa Fe trail has come and gone; great transcontinental lines of railroads now traverse the road over which he marched; and the products of the mines nestling around the peak that bears his name are only excelled by the richness of the harvests that are now gathered from the then barren prairies which he described. A hundred years has done much for Colorado and Kansas, and the next one hundred years will do more. The celebration in these two states this week will make it known to the rest of the country that the raising of the flag of the United States on the soil of Kansas and the discovery of the great peak in Colorado were two events of far-reaching importance to the two great states, and of inestimable benefit and value to the people of the nation.

AT THE BEGINNING.

[Address by GOMER T. DAVIES,¹ of Concordia, at Pike's Pawnee village, September 29, 1906.

IT is a marvelous thing you have wrought here, an achievement worthy the admiration of every American who loves his country and honors the flag which floats above us. I shall not concern myself nor worry your patience with an effort on my part at a recital of the broader historic value of the incident which we commemorate to-day with this splendid centenary celebration. That task has already been performed by greater minds, by men more worthy to meet it.

I shall not assume that my remarks may be "printed at length in the records," but will be content if I may be so fortunate as to please for a moment the active participants in the formation of the "Pawnee Republic Historical Society" by a retrospective glance, or interest those who may hear for the first time of the "aims, objects and early struggles" of the society.

At any rate, so far as I am personally concerned, I prefer to have a few minutes in a reminiscent mood with my old friends and neighbors of this vicinity than to have greater note on the pages of history.

I have no doubt you have heard many times during this week commendatory words regarding the work done in behalf of the aims of this society by

NOTE 1.—GOMER T. DAVIES, was born in Pout-y-pridd, Wales, January 25, 1855, and came to this country in 1863, settling in the mining regions of Pennsylvania. He came to Kansas in 1882, and the following year purchased the *Republic City News*. He represented Republic county in two sessions of the state legislature, 1887 and 1889. In November, 1896, he removed to Concordia, and became connected with the *Kansan*. For the year 1894 he was grand master of the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows. He resides at Concordia.

Mrs. George Johnson. Orators have eulogized and historians have commended her work, and their auditors have added their plaudits to the lecturer's praise.

Yet all they know about it is through the words of others, years after the first struggle was fought and won—there are some of us here who were in at the beginning and know what is due that estimable woman, and also know what we suffered at her hands—and tongue—until we enlisted in her army of conquest to make this historical fact worthy of note in the state and nation.

My first experience came through being inveigled to accept an invitation to a Sunday dinner at her handsome and hospitable home on the White Rock—the Woodlawn.

An invitation to dinner will always lead a country editor into any sort of trap.

With my wife and a lot of assorted sizes of the offspring of "the house of Gomer," I enjoyed the hospitality of Woodlawn for a day, and for days after there was not much of anything else on my mind but topographical maps of the plains of Kansas—sinuous lines drawn through imaginary marshes, midst sand-dunes, across trackless prairies, through myriads of buffalo, across the Solomon and Buffalo creek, to where Omio was and now has ceased to be, to the seat of the republic of the Pawnees. This was the trail of Pike, which was to me a vision by day and a dream at night—and one more crank was enlisted in Mrs. Johnson's aggregation of Pawnee republic curios.

It was no trouble at all for us who first filed a claim on the discovery of this historical fact in the nation's life, to work ourselves up to a fervor of fancy that we had, somehow, a part in aiding Lieutenant Pike in asserting the sovereignty of the United States and trailing in the dust the emblem of the dominion of Spain.

Mrs. Johnson had us all worked up to a terrible pitch of excitement and of duty. It is safe to say that the first formal meeting held for the purpose of establishing the incident we commemorate firmly as an authentic fact in history was held at the Pawnee schoolhouse, December 31, 1895. The meeting was called to order by Mrs. George Johnson. Col. Thos. Shuler was elected chairman and J. M. Lacey was chosen secretary. At this meeting, which was not largely attended, books, maps and papers, which had been procured from the State Historical Society, were read and scanned, and those present were convinced of the correctness of the claim made that this was the site of the Pawnee republic.

The record of the meeting, as found in the bound files of the *Republic City News*, says "it was further agreed to meet again on the old village site January 4, 1896, at ten o'clock A. M."

It was strongly impressed on me that it was my duty as chronicler of the facts and fancies of the community, as editor of the *Republic City News*, to attend that meeting, which I did.

We met in the woods at the foot of the hill, not more than eight or ten in number at best. Though the weather was quite crisp and sharp it was pleasant enough for us to eat heartily of a fine lunch provided by the good ladies of the party. After looking the field over we were joined by others in an interesting meeting at the Pawnee schoolhouse. Colonel Shuler presided at this meeting and J. M. Lacey was the secretary. We had a very

good friend in J. C. Price there. He had been county surveyor for years, and his knowledge of how lines were run and angles made enabled him to give us assurance that the sinuous line on the imaginary maps could not possibly lead to any other conclusion than that this was the spot where Pike made the Indian shin the pole and pull down the Spanish flag. Should any of us express a doubt about it, we were promptly called to account by Mrs. Johnson and made to shut up as tight as clams.

At this same meeting Doctor McIntosh had before him a skeleton of an Indian woman which had been exhumed on the site of the Pawnee village, and his professional and expert knowledge of human anatomy enabled him to descant learnedly on the female skeleton before him. He assured us that it was a female skeleton, that its condition of preservation indicated that it must have lived, moved and had its being exactly ninety years previous to the date of the meeting.

I think, too, that the doctor gave us assurance, based on well-known laws of medical science, that the squaw's husband was a Republican, hence was a factor in the Pawnee republic—another clincher that this was the right place to locate Lieutenant Pike on the occasion of the floating of "Old Glory" over the Pawnee capital.

The record says, as I wrote myself in the *News*, that "it was deemed advisable to effect a permanent organization." At that meeting the name of the society was adopted, and has not since been changed. The following officers were elected: Hon. Thos. Shuler, president; Mrs. Geo. Johnson, vice-president; Gomer T. Davies, secretary; Mrs. W. R. Charles, assistant secretary; George Johnson, treasurer. In the early days of the society Mr. Johnson was always made treasurer, not that we expected him to hold any of our money, but that he might have the first chance to pay the bills out of his own pocket—which he usually did.

At this meeting there was a committee appointed, consisting of Mrs. George Johnson, E. D. Haney, J. C. Price, Doctor McIntosh, and Maj. C. W. Gulick, to go up into Nebraska to investigate a rumor of a claim that the site of the Pawnee republic capital was up in the neighborhood of Bloomington. They made the investigation and removed that cloud on our title. I think we stayed at that meeting until the fire went out, and then we went home.

A good, strong "story," as newspaper men would say, was written about the meeting in the columns of the *Republic City News*, and soon thereafter men prominent in such affairs began to sit up and take notice of things.

On July 15, 1896, Hon. Franklin G. Adams, the secretary of the State Historical Society, and Prof. E. B. Cowgill, a learned and most estimable gentleman, visited the site of the village as an authorized committee appointed by Governor Morrill, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, on the solicitation of Mrs. Johnson. They made a report of their findings through their personal visit and a careful study of the works of Prof. Elliott Coues, of Washington, and declared it to be the site without a doubt.

This was the first substantial victory for the society. Then things began to come our way, if I may be permitted to indulge in that much slang. Then came the preparations for the first pole and flag raising, which took place just ten years ago to-day—and that flag, if my memory serves me

righ, floated in the Kansas breeze and was whipped by Kansas winds until it was completely worn out.

Since then the work of the society has been so prominent that it is known of all men hereabouts.

Others more capable have told you of how Lieutenant Pike raised the flag one hundred years ago, and of the meaning of that incident in history. I have tried to tell you of the early struggles of our society and its first celebration of raising the flag.

And, pray, what is it all about?

Was it a money-making scheme? Certainly not.

Was it the work of a commercial club to boom a town? Certainly not.

Was it done for the glorification and exaltation of individuals. Most assuredly not.

It was simply a patriotic devotion to sentiment—a trait of human character most worthy and certainly worth while.

If there is any one spot palpably weak in American citizenship, it is that we are too strenuous in our commercial life and not sufficiently devoted to matters of sentiment. Our gaze is too steadfast on the star on the dollar and not sufficiently fixed on the stars in the field of blue on the flag of our country.

Magnificent tribute this society and the splendid people of this community have paid to this sentiment of patriotism.

Beautiful indeed has been the example you have fixed in the minds of the young generation growing up within sight of the magnificent shaft you have raised here, and which means nothing more than honor to an American soldier and citizen who honored his flag.

You have done a noble part in fixing this sentiment of patriotism on the minds of our people.

So long as such seed is sown and takes root in the hearts of our countrymen, so long shall our government last, and its beneficent influence continue to bless the lives of men in every land and under every sky.

III.

STATECRAFT.

THE MEASURE OF A STATE.

Address by MARGARET HILL MCCARTER, before the thirty-second annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, and the fiftieth anniversary of the First Free-state Territorial Legislature of 1857, December 6, 1907.

WHEN the suns of half a hundred summers and winters have risen and set on a political division of land or a man's life they have each attained a certain dignity in time that, combined with dignity of character, entitles them to a peculiar consideration. It gives, moreover, a certain distinction to those who come in touch with the setting up of the fiftieth milestone to mark the way of their history. So I, who have not yet a half century to my credit on Time's ledger, feel myself honored to be chosen to fill a place on this program. And since I cannot claim a pioneer's right among you, it is left to me to look with unprejudiced eyes upon the record you have helped to make, and to find in this record something of the beauty and power and inspiration that reveal themselves in the measure of a state like our own; a state whose story reads like a romance, whose limits I am here to discover.

Saint John, the poet dreamer, in his beautiful, weird book of Revelations, wrote:

"He that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

"And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth:

"And the building of the wall of it was of jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass.

"And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

"The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst.

"And the twelve gates were twelve pearls: every several gate was of one pearl:

"And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it."

In all human literature there is no other such measurement as is given in this picture of the new Jerusalem, with its geometric outline, its jeweled foundations, its jasper battlements, its streets of transparent gold, its great white gates of pearl, its light the glory of God. I have not given it here to call out any bombastic and sacrilegious comparison to the state whose measure I am making, but for a nobler purpose, as I go along. I feel a cold shiver

every time I hear the reputed funny story of the man who was dissatisfied in heaven and wanted to get back to Kansas. It never had any humor for me. It is mere cheapness combined with irreverence. But in this story of the new Jerusalem there are exact dimensions, firm foundations, the wall of hardest stone, gates and streets of inexpressible beauty, and its light is the Light of the world. These elements in themselves may give me line and angle, color and power by which to draw my measure, not of a city nor a political division, but of a state as made by men and women, day by day, through fifty doughty summers and fifty nippy winters, with the verdure of a blossom-blessed spring-time, and an autumn of exquisite coloring like to the tinting of the foundations of the New Jerusalem. He who would measure such a state has need for—

“The pen of a ready writer,
With an artist’s hand to guide the pen
And a poet’s soul to fill the measure,
’Twill be but an echo even then.”

When I overlay the Kansas [map of 1907 with] the [map of 1857 I find nearly two-thirds of to-day’s map is blotted out and the whole Arkansas valley is, so to speak, swept clean from geography. It would be easier for me if I could have taken my bearings then instead of now, for here I must, like Cæsar’s lieutenant, Cossinius, in the Helvetian war, “report as seen those things I have not seen.”

December in the Kansas territories. A very sparse rural population and a few small towns. The Indian frontier, on the hither side of where are now Clay Center, Abilene, Marion and Winfield. A fertile land with every natural facility, and an utter lack of means to utilize nature’s heritage to the settler. The mere beginnings of school and church. A territory colonized by the brain and brawn of the East-picked men and women who came hither to build homes and to fight a winning warfare for human freedom. A land overrun by ruffianism, controlled by cowardly rulers, and held in the grip of the intrigue, injustice and greed of the national government at Washington. A people on the verge of a volcanic outbreak, where right had never a voice and lies and fraud laughed to scorn the puny struggles of truth.

How shall I measure up these fifty years between the day of the first free-state territorial legislature at Leecompton, and this half-century celebration of it held in these peaceful halls in Topeka? How shall I set up the metes and bounds from the raw beginnings of the statehood of Stanton to the twentieth-century Kansas of Hoch? To-day, according to the keepers of records and seals, certain thousands of fertile square miles make up the area, with walls of corn and billowy seas of wheat, with rich acres of alfalfa and wide, breeze-swept pastures. A state that grows thoroughbred horses and cattle and sheep and hogs; educated ears of corn and breadstuffs for a hungry continent; golden butter for all the bread, and eggs for every piece of toast. And, more than all these, a state that grows men and women who, in the harvest of fifty years, have withstood drought and flood, locust and famine, opulence and financial flurries.

Its population hovers about the one and one-half million mark. Its wealth is reckoned at two billion dollars. Its lines have fallen in the last half of the nineteenth century and the seven fat years of the twentieth. Its birth was marked by the travail agony of war. It has seen our nation

rise up from the destruction of civil strife to relight the fires on its blackened hearthstones, to retill the fields scarred by the ruts of cannon-wheels, to rebuild dismantled factories of trade and commerce tumbling to dissolution, and by and by to reunite an estranged and belligerent brotherhood. It has seen the wonderful progress of the age of steel and steam and the whole unfolding era of electricity. And since it belongs neither to the North nor to the South, to the East nor to the West, all these sections have sent something of their best influences into the making of a state whose measure I am finding out. The provincialism of the East and the wildness of the West combine into a broad, reasonable freedom in "the short-grass country." The rigor of the North and the softness of the South are tempered into a gentle firmness on the banks of the Kaw, the Smoky Hill, the Neosho, and the Cimarron.

Time and area and population and wealth, however, mark but do not make a state. Its measure, like the Kingdom of Heaven, is within you. The old French autocrat who said of his kingdom, "The state of France—I am that," spoke not unwisely. No less was he the rich, proud sovereignty than you and I are in our day and generation the state of Kansas. By the physical health, the literate mind, the industrious habits, the firm courage, the spiritual life of those whose names are on every page of these fifty years shall we know the length and breadth, the foundation-stones, the walls and gates and streets of Kansas, and the light that illumined all its spaces.

In Jack London's *People of the Abyss*, he cites that the vigorous, brawny men who come up from Somersetshire and Warwickshire and drift into the abyss of the East End, in a generation or two are so degenerate physically that only stunted men fill up the streets and stand in line about the work-house doors, and sleep homeless in the city parks. Each generation dies younger by a few years than its ancestors. In a word, the measure of the greatest city in the world shows a decadent physical condition.

How has it been in Kansas? Two years ago, at the Osage county old settlers' meeting, a good old Swede pioneer declared in his quaint, broken English that the list of living pioneers is so large because they have lived wholesomely. "We ban a temperate people these many years, an' that's why prohibition was possible. We lived it till it became the law of the state," he said; and I, earnest believer in temperance and one-time worker for law enforcement on election day, bowed my head reverently before him. This temperate living through these fifty years has not sent out a degenerate body to inherit the land. Watch the young men and women who fill up the halls of Washburn and Emporia and Manhattan and the Kansas University. Note the muscular football boys, the vigorous basket-ball girls. Do they suggest decadence? Should we put up a frame five feet and four inches high in front of this capitol and demand every Kansan who is no taller than that to pass under it in token of submission, as the Gauls once made the Roman army pass under the yoke, how many men, think you, would glower down upon the thing? How many strong, wholesome mothers and blooming daughters would look scornfully over it? We are not yet a race of physical degenerates. Not yet, not yet. The children and the grandchildren of the pioneers of '57 are a rugged people still, although they may ride in automobiles instead of ox-carts, and wear broadcloth instead of clothes branded "W. F. M. Army, Agent."

The second standard is the literacy of our people. It is their health

barometer, their business barometer, their crime barometer. Kansas has built up her high schools at the expense of her jails; her colleges to the reduction of her penitentiaries. We have a regiment of criminals at Lansing, but we have ten regiments of students in the colleges and universities of our state. These ten regiments did not instil into the minds of their parents their need for higher education; it was taught to them and made possible for them by these fire-tried men of '57 and the pioneer mothers who ruled the early homes.

Built into the foundations of statehood are the habits of busy thrift and honest industry. Without them the foundations crumble. This is the cornerstone on which those two billion dollars rest. When we measure a state's per capita we take at the same time its dimensions for producing per capita in all legitimate avenues of business.

Health, literacy, and industry, strong bases for any state, are not alone the foundations and wall of defense in the building of Kansas. Every page of its history holds the story of a hero. In the flight of years, many times on Kansas sod, by the old Santa Fe trail, in the wooded ravines of the Marais des Cygnes, on the far western plains, has there been —

“A blush as of roses
Where rose never grew!
Great drops on the bunch-grass,
But not of the dew!
A taint in the sweet air
For wild bees to shun!
A stain that shall never
Bleach out in the sun!”

A martyr-like heroism was a part of the daily life of the men and women whose story is our history—hunger and cold, loneliness and danger, injustice and defeat, the battle for principle against strong, insolent foes.

“Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne”—these things called for sinews of steel and hearts of triple brass. It is a far cry from the day of the struggle against the powers to the day when we “glean up the scattered ashes into history's golden urn”; and all along the way the courage to follow duty, the bravery to meet defeat and overcome it, the patience to wait, and the strength to endure—these are the precious stones that garnish the foundations of a state and make its gateways opalescent with real beauty, and all its wide streets avenues of light where freedom walks unshackled.

But with all and all, back of the gracious gift of nature, back of the fortunate central place between the four cardinal points, back of broad acres and large per capita and physical health, and literacy and industry and courage, there shines out the one Supreme Power by which, at the last analysis, we must all be measured. Righteousness that exalteth a nation is also the glory of a state. This is the light of the city that with it has no need of the sun, neither of the moon.

In the years to come there will be no such honor in the records of the day when our Sunday theaters multiplied and we put up protest on protest, when we quibbled over technicalities and besought legislators of the pocket-size variety for a statute against Sabbath desecration—there will be no such honor and no such strong history as in the day when these good fathers and mothers of '57 built a schoolhouse and set up an altar in it; when, like the Israelites of old, Jehovah-jireh (the Lord will provide) was their pillar

of cloud by day and of fire by night. Take out of the state's record all missionary effort, all Methodism, and Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism; take away the holy Catholic cross, whose shadow falls in blessing alike on red man and white man—do this, and the beauty and honor of Kansas are cut down as the grass and wither as the green herb.

With all our proud position to-day, our mines and factories, our crops and cattle, our gold and silver, our schools and social distinction, we may well remember the *Recessional*:

“Far called our navies melt away—
On dune and headland sinks the fire—
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!”

“The tumult and the shouting dies—
The captains and the kings depart—
Still stands Thine ancient Sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.”

The measure of our state, as the measure of a man's life, is in the earthly mold fashioned after the plan of the New Jerusalem. Its dimensions are in its area, population, wealth, length of years, and place in history. Its foundation walls and gates and streets are the physical health, literacy, industry and courage of its people. And the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world is its radiance.

Measured by this reed the study of the state you have builded, I need not add “far better than you knew,” carries with it beauty, force and inspiration to every student. In the hands of every teacher in our public schools it puts a power for character building second only to the decalogue and the golden rule. It is fine to reflect that in every schoolhouse in Kansas a story may be told that shall outrank the story of the Greek myths, the regal sovereignty of Rome's golden eagles, the tremendous rugged rule of the old Norse vikings—the story of plain Kansas men and women at the grass-roots of plain, hard, every-day living—doing sincerely the duty that lay next, believing always that—

“Behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping
Watch above his own.”

To-day there are hundreds of Kansas club women who are making state history a part of their year's work. Why? Because of the stern, terse strength and living inspiration that lies within it.

Along the pathway of the old Santa Fe trail we may set up our stone markers. Here and there we may rear monuments. In our fiftieth anniversaries we may celebrate memories. But there is only one dedication in it all. The highest tribute lies not in brilliant speech and pillar of stone, but in the consecration of ourselves to like building in our own day and generation.

On a November day, now forty-four years ago, Abraham Lincoln stood on the battle-field of Gettysburg and made that memorable speech that “not six times since history began has had an equal.” It was, as you know, the occasion of the dedication of that battle-ground for a national cemetery. “It is rather for us,” said Lincoln, “to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion.

That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain ; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

There were listening thousands in that audience on whom his words fell like a bugle-call to duty.

In every historic celebration of our own state may we not, moved by the labor and sacrifice of our own pioneers, say also, "that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion. That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain"; and these who are with us shall not have lived in vain?

To this end our statesmen should legislate; to this end our children should be inspiringly taught the story of Kansas, which is also their family record. To this end club women, who, in the length and breadth of things, represent the strongest movement for human progress the twentieth century has yet produced—to this end, I say, the club women should study the measure of a state—your state, the living and the dead of '57 and the years that follow it—whom we would here fitly honor.

A mere handful of men are gathered here to-night, survivors of the first free-state territorial legislature of fifty years ago. It is one of the many golden-wedding days in Kansas. You remember what Whittier wrote:

"And lo! from all the countryside come neighbors, kith and kin;
From city, hamlet, farmhouse old, the wedding guests come in.

"And they who, without scrip or purse, mob-hunted, travel-worn,
In Freedom's age of martyrs came, as victors now return.

"Older and slower, yet the same, files in the long array,
And hearts are light and eyes are glad, though heads are badger gray.

"And haply with them, all unseen, old comrades gone before,
Pass, silently as shadows pass, within your open door,—

"Ah me! beyond all power to name, the worthies tried and true,
Grave men, fair women, youth and maid pass by in hushed review.

"Of varying faiths, a common cause fused all their hearts in one,
God give them now, whate'er their names, the peace of duty done!

"We thank you for the lessons your fifty years are teaching,
For honest lives that louder speak than half the noisy preaching;

"For your steady faith and courage in that dark and evil time,
When the Golden Rule was treason, and to feed the hungry, crime;

"For the poor slave's house of refuge when the hounds were on your track,
And saint and sinner, church and state, joined hands to send him back.

"Blessings upon you!—What you did for each sad, suffering one,
So homeless, faint, and naked, unto our Lord was done!

"May many more of quiet years be added to your sum,
And, late at last, in tenderest love, the beckoning angel come."

You know how the rainbow is built. Every falling drop gives out its prismatic ray of glory and then descends, and another drop takes its place.

And the beautiful scimitar—God's promise in the clouds, keeps still its splendor.

State building is like the rainbow, and every citizen in its making has his chance to shed his light and go his way, and his place is filled by another. Down through these fifty years strong men and women have left for us the inspiring light of their noble lives; sometimes from peaceful firesides, but oftener from the stress and storm of daring action.

“Life may be given in many ways,
And loyalty to truth be sealed
As bravely in the closet as the field,
So bountiful is fate;
But then to stand beside her,
When craven churls deride her,
To front a lie in arms and not to yield,
This shows, methinks, God's plan
And measure of a stalwart man,
Limbed like the old heroic breeds,
Who stand self-poised on manhood's solid earth,
Not forced to frame excuses for his birth,
Fed from within with all the strength he needs.”

Such were the men of Kansas who, with faithful women, true wives, and Madonna mothers, wear, living or dead, the laurel wreath of victory.

In holy reverence, then, may not a state, in a figurative way, fashioned after the New Jerusalem, lie foursquare with jeweled foundations and jasper battlements, with gates and streets of rarest loveliness, illumined all by the spiritual radiance which also cometh down among the good and perfect gifts from the Father of Light?

Of this Kansas, with such line and angle and color and power, our own poet, Amanda T. Jones, has written:

“Oh, thou in the heart of the nation at rest,
With the sun on thy brow and his flowers on thy breast,
Cast abroad thy good seed, reap thy harvests in mirth;—
They shall gladden the uttermost parts of the earth.
Proclaims the archangel: ‘They live who were dead!
By the river of water there stands a green tree;
Thy sons with twelve manner of fruits shall be fed,
Thy daughters shall dwell by the crystalline sea!’
Oh, the voice of God stilling the sea!
“In that beautiful house I have builded for thee,
In holiness worship thou Me.’”

AS A TALE THAT IS TOLD.

Poem by Mrs. MARGARET HILL McCARTER.

This is the tale of Kansas,
 And this way her legends run,
 From the dawn of the day on her eastward rim
 To the going down of the sun;
 Whatever is done in thy valleys,
 Whatever is said on thy heights,
 Thy losses and crosses and sorrows,
 Thy triumphs, thy joys and delights;
 Though the deed be done in the shadow.
 And only a murmur the word,
 The eyes of the nation behold it,
 The ear of the world has heard.
 As the Kaw runs to the Missouri,
 The Missouri runs on to the sea,
 And their waters in misty beauty
 Fall back from the clouds on thee,
 So the winds from the corners of heaven
 Bring back thy message to thee.

Out on the desolate highway
 That led to the Spaniards' land,
 Went the unknown trader and trapper
 O'er the cactus-trimmed path of sand.
 Where these wardens of commerce went
 building
 The trail down to old Santa Fe,
 With unmarked graves for its milestones,
 Over stretches of wilderness gray;
 Where the Pawnee Rock stood a fortress,
 Grim "citadel of the plains,"
 Where the blood of Comanches' victims
 The Cimarron desert stains—
 The Kaw has told the Missouri,
 The Missouri has told the sea,
 And the iron-shod engines of commerce
 To-day bring their treasures to thee,
 From the lakes to where the Sierras
 Dip down to the sunset sea.

Fertile and fair lay thy prairies,
 Awaiting the pioneers' hands,
 Sheltered by cottonwood branches
 The brave little cabin home stands,
 Where the stanch-hearted lover of freedom
 In an unequal terrible fight
 With the ruffians from over the border
 Has made his last stand for the right,
 And defenseless, he falls like a hero
 In the wrath of the torch's red glare;
 Is there no voice to tell of this struggle?
 No ear that will list to a prayer?
 Yes. The Kaw has told the Missouri,
 The Missouri has told the sea,
 And the roar of a thousand cannon
 On the battle-fields thunder their plea:
 From that deed by the darkness enshrouded
 Comes the sunburst of liberty.

Here in the "short grass country,"
 With distances dreary and wide,
 The sturdy young claimholder builded
 A sod-covered house for his bride.
 Though the Cheyenne put on his war bonnet
 And went forth by bands to destroy,
 Though the drought and the locust and cyclone
 Joined hands in a force to annoy,
 He planted his grain by all waters,
 His patience can never be told,
 And even the seed by the wayside
 Have brought forth an hundredfold.
 For the Kaw has told the Missouri,
 The Missouri has told the sea,
 And life to hungry millions
 Thy broad-acred bounty shall be.
 The toil that began at the grass roots
 Brings honor and riches to thee.

Broad are thy skies over-arching,
 And fair is thy land to behold,
 Thy schools are the pride of thy people,
 Thy churches are manifold.
 In the veins of thy sons strong and noble
 Is the blood of a pioneer line,
 And the demon they fight from thy borders
 Is the demon that hides in red wine.
 And patiently still wait thy daughters
 Their God-given rights to possess,
 When a citizenship universal
 Thy brows with new laurels shall dress.
 The Kaw will tell the Missouri,
 The Missouri will tell the sea,
 And the spirit that uplifts a nation,
 The haven of history,
 Though a whispered word on the prairie
 Will shout from the skies to thee.

The prophet Ezekiel has written
 That, fronting to eastward, stands
 A house from under whose threshold
 The waters pour, healing all lands.
 The fishermen of Engedhi
 Spread their nets and rejoice day by day,
 The trees by this stream never wither,
 And the deserts with blossoms are gay.
 And so may we write of this Kansas,
 A house fronting still to the sun,
 So long as its sons and its daughters
 Shall do as their fathers have done.
 While the Kaw runs to the Missouri,
 The Missouri runs on to the sea,
 The throb of the blossom-starred prairies
 The pulse of the world shall be,
 And the limits no man shall measure,
 For the end is eternity.

FIRST FREE-STATE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE OF 1857-'58.

THE election of October 5, 1857, the rejection of the Oxford returns, and the special session of the territorial legislature thus chosen, December 7-17, 1857, constitute one of the most significant incidents in American history. It overthrew the effort of the South, backed by all the power of the general government, to recover the equilibrium lost in the admission of California as a free state, and settled the character of the state of Kansas, which was the beginning of the end of human slavery.

The legislature of January, 1858, which held a special session at Lecompton December 7-17, 1857, was the third regular session of the territorial legislature. The first session met at Pawnee, and adjourned to Shawnee Mission, in July and August, 1855. The second session met at Lecompton in January, 1857. These bodies were of questionable origin, to say the least, and were not recognized by the free-state people, who organized in antagonism thereto the Topeka state movement. They were, however, the *de facto* legislatures recognized by the general government, the territorial governor, and all the courts. The Free-state and the Pro-slavery parties each held its own elections, organizing dual state governments, giving to the history of those days an appearance of inextricable confusion. The Free-state party, in the fall of 1857, waived its point and voted at the pro-slavery election of October, 1857, and thereby secured control of the pro-slavery territorial organization.

The pro-slavery session of January, 1857, authorized the Lecompton constitutional convention. Delegates were elected June 15, the free-state people not voting. The convention met in September and adjourned November 3. The slavery clause only was submitted to a vote of the people on December 21, 1857.

In the meantime, Frederick P. Stanton, secretary of the territory, issued a call for a special session of the free-soil legislature, just elected, and now the *de facto* body, to meet December 7, to submit the Lecompton constitution in its entirety to a vote of the people. This was done on the 4th of January, 1858, resulting in a vote of 10,226 against the constitution, 138 for the constitution with slavery, and 22 for the constitution without slavery.¹ The vote of December 21, 1857, was returnable to John Calhoun, president of the Lecompton convention, and the returns of January 4, 1858, were received and handled by John W. Denver, the governor of the territory.

The legislature met at noon, Monday. Ten members of the council and seventeen members of the house were present at organization. There was no quorum until Tuesday afternoon, the 8th, when they organized as follows:

Council: Carmi W. Babcock, president; Joel K. Goodin, secretary; Gustavus A. Colton, assistant secretary; Abram Cutler, sergeant-at-arms; Wm. R. Frost, doorkeeper; D. H. Weir, engrossing clerk; B. T. Hutchins, enrolling clerk, and Rev. S. Y. Lum, chaplain.

House: Geo. W. Deitzler, speaker; C. F. Currier, chief clerk; W. B.

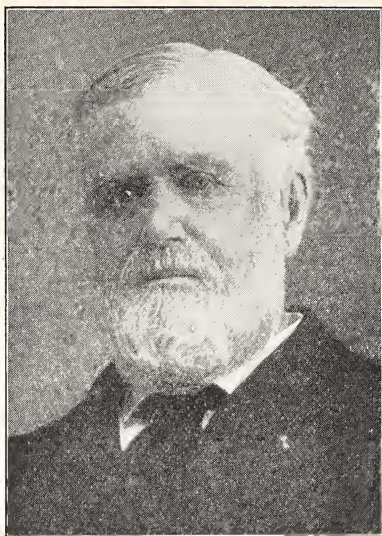
NOTE 1.—From Quindaro *Chindowan*, January 23, 1858.

Parsons, assistant clerk; G. F. Warren, sergeant-at-arms; T. A. Blake, doorkeeper; Henry C. Sargent, enrolling clerk; Guilford Dudley, engrossing clerk; Robert Speer, messenger, and Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy, chaplain.

At an evening session, Friday, December 11, by a vote of eight to one, the council unseated John A. Halderman, A. C. Davis, and J. W. Martin, from Leavenworth county, and seated Robert Crozier, John Wright, and J. P. Root, the three last named being free-soilers.

In the house, Hugh M. Moore, A. B. Hazzard, Hampton B. Denman, B. F. Johnson, W. G. Sharp, Silas Armstrong, T. B. Whiteside, and A. B. Bartlett, all from Leavenworth, were unseated, and H. Miles Moore, William Pennock, George H. Keller, J. P. Hatterscheidt, R. G. Elliott, Patrick R. Orr, and Wm. M. McClure, all free-state, were admitted.²

The legislature passed an act for the prevention of election frauds; an act submitting the Lecompton constitution to a vote of the people, and to take a census; an act reorganizing the militia over the governor's veto, and a concurrent resolution reaffirming the Topeka constitution. An act was also passed, repealing an act to punish rebellion, over the governor's veto.



COL. O. E. LEARNARD,
Sole survivor of the Territorial
Council, 1857.

NOTE 2.—The political complexion of this session of the legislature was due to the throwing out of fraudulent votes. January 13, 1858, an act was passed providing for an investigation of election frauds, but it applied only to the election of December 21, 1857, a pro-slavery election ordered on the adoption of the Lecompton constitution, and the election of January 4, 1858, for electing state officers, members of Congress and members of the legislature under said constitution. As Robert J. Walker, governor, and Frederick P. Stanton, secretary, both Southern men, assumed to go behind the returns of October 5, 1857, and give certificates to their political opponents, it is probable that an investigation of that election was deemed unnecessary. On the face of the returns the Pro-slavery party had a majority of both branches of the legislature. The report of the commissioners appointed to make an investigation of the two elections above referred to makes a little book of 142 pages. But, according to Walker and Stanton, the same practice of voting prevailing in December and January also prevailed in October. They made a personal inspection of things at Oxford at the first election, after which they threw out the returns and gave the majority in both houses to the free-soilers. In their proclamation of October 19, 1857, the governor and secretary say:

"3d. As the vote of each elector was to be recorded for each one of twenty-one candidates, and in more than a hundred cases for twenty-five, and that by a *viva voce* vote, it was a physical impossibility that the number of votes pretended to have been taken on the second day, being more than fifteen hundred, with the name of the voter written, and each of twenty-two candidates properly designated, could have been taken and recorded within the time prescribed by law.

"4th. It is an extraordinary fact, tending to throw distrust upon the whole proceeding, that of the sixteen hundred and twenty-eight votes only one is given to the delegate elect to Congress, and only one hundred and twenty-four are recorded as having been cast for the local candidates of the township."

Walker and Stanton denounced the returns as "fictitious and simulated," and said: "The disposition to be made of this supposed vote is rendered all-important by the fact that the political character of the legislative assembly will be controlled by the addition of three councilmen and eight representatives to the strength of one party or the other, according to the adoption or rejection of the returns in question. . . . The consideration that our own party by this decision will lose the majority in the legislative assembly does not make our duty in the premises less solemn and imperative. The elective franchise would be utterly valueless, and free government itself would receive a deadly blow, if so great an outrage as this should be shielded under the cover of mere forms and technicalities. We cannot consent in any manner to give the sanc-

A joint convention was held to elect officers of the militia as reorganized, and James H. Lane was made major-general by a unanimous vote.

The special session adjourned at 5:15 o'clock, December 17, 1857.

The regular session met Monday, January 4, 1858, at Lecompton; and in the evening, after receiving the message of Gov. James W. Denver, voted to adjourn to Lawrence. They resumed their session at Lawrence Friday, January 8. They remained in session until Friday, February 12, 1858. February 9 they passed an act abolishing the act of 1855, "To punish offenses against slave property," over the veto of the governor, practically putting an end to slavery in the territory. They made a volume of 471 pages of general laws, and 399 pages of private laws, authorizing companies and corporations for all sorts of business.

The fiftieth anniversary of this meeting of the first free-state territorial legislature, December 7, 1907, happening in the same week with the thirty-second annual meeting of the State Historical Society, the executive committee of the latter concluded to unite the two, and so changed the meeting of the Society to Friday, December 6, 1907. Two anniversary meetings were agreed upon, the second to follow at Lawrence on Saturday, the 7th. The proposition was discussed of holding a meeting at Lecompton Saturday afternoon in the same building in which they met fifty years before, now elegantly fitted up as an Odd Fellows' hall, but the train service not being convenient between points and the risk of severe weather for an overland drive prevented such a meeting, although six survivors, ranging from seventy-three to eighty-one years of age, insisted they were all young and sprightly.

The following program was observed at Topeka Friday evening, interspersed with vocal music by the University of Kansas glee club, in the hall of the house of representatives, in the presence of a large audience:

tion of our respective official positions to such a transaction. . . . We have under the circumstances no alternative but to reject the whole return from the Oxford precinct, and to give the certificates to those who appear to have been elected by virtue of the other regular returns." (35 Cong. 1st Sess., Sen. ex. doc. 8, p. 101.)

Thus the members from Douglas and Johnson are accounted for. In unseating those from Leavenworth and seating free-soilers, the committee of the council, composed of Lyman Allen, C. K. Holliday, A. G. Patrick, O. E. Learnard, and H. B. Standiford, thus spoke of the returns from Kickapoo:

"4th. Said returns consist of fourteen pages of large form of election returns, containing the names of upwards of nine hundred persons.

"5th. That of the said fourteen pages of returns, only the first five pages have attached together the certificate of the judges holding said election, and attested by the clerks thereof, as required by law; that the remaining nine pages have no certificate thereon, or attached thereto, by which the same are or can be authenticated as the returns, or any part thereof, from the said precincts; that, from an examination of said last nine pages of said returns, we find, upon nearly all of them, clear and unmistakable evidences that they were not written or prepared by either of the clerks of said election, they being in a different handwriting from that of either of the said clerks, and are in the handwriting of several different persons, neither of whom were clerks of said election as appears by said returns." (Council Journal, December 11, 1857, p. 35.)

In the house, the committee, composed of John Speer, Harris Stratton, Henry Owens, Charles Jenkins and John Curtis, say, in part:

" . . . The contestants resorted to the only possible proof within their reach, by taking the affidavits of reputable citizens (which affidavits are herewith submitted), conclusively proving that extensive frauds and gross acts of dishonesty were practiced at the polls in the precinct of Kickapoo, in said Leavenworth county, satisfying your committee that more than five hundred fraudulent votes were added to the real vote of said precinct, and given almost exclusively to the certified members of this house from said county. . . . And, moreover, that portion of the returns following the sixth page is, in the opinion of the committee, more glaringly fraudulent, being evidently simulated and fictitious. . . . It was also in evidence that about two hundred soldiers and teamsters, connected with the troops at Fort Leavenworth, voted against the memorialists, in violation of the organic act, which declares 'that no officer, soldier, seaman or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, attached to troops in the service

Invocation, Rev. Charles M. Sheldon.

President's address, "The Little Arkansas," by James R. Mead, Wichita.

"The First State Legislature," Hon. David E. Ballard, Washington county.

"The Measure of a State," Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, Topeka.

Anniversary ceremonies, opening with a short address by Gov. E. W. Hoch, who then introduced the surviving members of the legislature, who replied in five-minute responses: Col. O. E. Learnard, Lawrence; Hon. H. Miles Moore, Leavenworth; Hon. R. G. Elliott, Lawrence; Gov. E. N. Morrill, Hiawatha; Dr. A. T. Still, Kirksville, Mo.; Hon. Samuel J. Stewart, Humboldt.

A social half hour, assisted by the ladies of the Woman's Kansas Day Club.

The following program was observed at Lawrence Saturday, December 7, 1907:

Joint meeting of the two houses, 10:30 A. M.

Reports from members.

Reports in relation to deceased members.

Adjournment.

Luncheon, 12:30 P. M.

Drive to State University, Haskell Institute, and other points of interest, two P. M.

Dinner, 6:30 P. M., followed by social reunion.

The joint convention of the survivors, one member of the council and five members of the house, lasted two hours and a half. Gov. E. N. Morrill presided, and Geo. W. Martin, in behalf of the Historical Society, was made secretary. The roll of 1857-'58 was called, and some one of those present responded for each absentee. The reports were of absorbing interest, and oftentimes very pathetic. The room was crowded with Lawrence friends. No tongue or pen can describe the contrast between fifty years ago and this anniversary, extending from a \$3,000,000 capitol building to a university of fifteen buildings worth \$2,000,000, and an enrolment of 2000 students; an Indian school, worth \$1,000,000, with 1000 students; with about thirty

of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold office in the territory by reason of being on service therein.' By the rejection of these votes as fraudulent, your memorialists would be entitled to seats in this house, as having received a majority of all the legal votes cast in the first district." (Ho. Jour. Dec. 10, 1857, p. 23.)

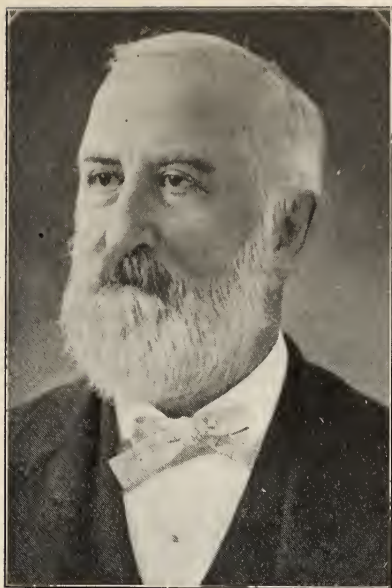
In the official report of the board of commissioners (Henry J. Adams, Thomas Ewing, Jr., James B. Abbott, H. T. Green, E. L. Taylor and Dillon Pickering), to examine the elections of December 21, 1857, and January 4, 1858, both pro-slavery, it is shown that the manner of voting was about the same. Here are some of the conclusions of the board, page 5:

"From all the evidence relative to the election at this precinct (Kickapoo) on the 21st of December, 1857, the board report that of the ten hundred and twenty-nine votes returned, about seven hundred were illegal and fraudulent."

January 4, 1858, at Kickapoo, page 6: "The evidence shows that the legal vote was about three hundred and fifty to four hundred, and that fully six hundred votes were illegally cast, or were fraudulently recorded by officers of the election."

Delaware Crossing, in Leavenworth county, was a famous point in those days, and "Jack" Henderson a notorious character. Concerning the vote at Delaware Crossing, the commissioners say, page 21: "From the evidence taken before them the board state that the returns from Delaware Agency [Crossing] precinct were honestly made out by the officers of the election, and subsequently three hundred and thirty-six names were forged upon them by, or with the knowledge of, John D. Henderson; and that John Calhoun was *particeps criminis* after the fact."

The board of commissioners conclude that in a total of 6226 for the Lecompton constitution with slavery in the whole territory, there were in the precincts of Kickapoo, Delaware, Oxford and Shawnee, December 21, 1857, 2720 illegal votes, and at the election January 4, 1858, out of a total for the whole territory of 10,386 votes, there were in the precincts of Kickapoo, Delaware City, Delaware Crossing, Oxford and Shawnee 2458 illegal votes.



E. N. MORRILL,
House of Representatives, 1857.

passenger-trains in and out daily, and the buffalo-grass landscape of 1857 now in richly developed farms. How the six survivors must have felt! The dinner in the evening was presided over by Chancellor Frank Strong of the State University. Many of the members are unknown by us of to-day, but this joint session not only renewed interest in them, but it started an investigation which has resulted in preserving biographical sketches of practically all of them, presenting the fact that in after life, besides many minor services of a public nature, its membership furnished one United States senator, one governor, two members of Congress, one consul-general to Bangkok, one minister to Siam, one minister to Chili, one governor of New Mexico, two brigadier-generals, one chief justice, the president of the convention that organized the Republican party in the state, one

member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, two members of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, three U. S. district attorneys, one state attorney-general, three district judges, eight state senators, six members of the house of representatives, three colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, one major in the civil war, the founder of the American School of Osteopathy, originator of the Santa Fe railroad, the originator and promoter of the Central Branch and of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad, one lieutenant-governor, one regent of the State University, one United States collector, one Indian agent, one surveyor-general, two adjutant-generals of the state, one county clerk, and two presidents of the State Historical Society.

The business of the Historical Society was concluded in the afternoon by the election of the following officers: Geo. W. Veale, of Topeka, president; Geo. W. Glick, of Atchison, first vice-president; A. B. Whiting, of Topeka, second vice-president.

At this time the following letters of regret were read:

“ATCHISON, KAN., December 2, 1907.

“It will be impossible for me to be present at the meeting of the State Historical Society on the 6th inst. The commemoration of such historical events is wise, and I regret that I cannot be with you. Thanking you most sincerely for the invitation, I am,
Yours truly, W. J. BAILEY.”

“HIAWATHA, KAN., November 30, 1907.

“I thank you very much for your cordial invitation. It is the greatest attraction on earth to me. The weather keeps this cold old man at home, between the radiator and stove. My wife is very anxious to go, and I hope

she can. You have told me the necessity of holding the meeting in December. I shall go to all the meetings as soon as I pass away. Adams and Kingman, skeptical on earth, are with you now.

Very truly,

D. W. WILDER."

"CAMBRIDGE, MASS., November 24, 1907.

"Let me thank you heartily for the invitation of the Kansas State Historical Society, although I cannot accept it by reason of age and infirmity. I regard it as the proper commemoration of one of the great turning-points in the history of American civilization. Cordially yours,

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, aged 83."

"FORT SCOTT, November 22, 1907.

"The invitation to attend the meeting of the survivors of the first free-state territorial legislature of Kansas at Topeka and Lawrence is at hand. It annoys me much that my business appointments forbid my coming. It would give me extreme pleasure to meet with the people who established the first really decent, law-respecting government on this soil. Give my kind regards to those old fellows, who, through dangers which we younger men can know nothing about, started Kansas on her glorious career. Those men deserve our homage—they have it.

Respectfully,

C. E. CORY."

"HIGHLAND STATION, November 27, 1907.

"I regret I shall be unable to attend the meeting of the State Historical society in Topeka on the 6th of December, 1907. Some of the events this meeting is intended to commemorate occurred in the days of the sod house and log cabin of the pioneer settlers who laid the foundation of the splendid farms and comfortable homes we see all around us to-day, which made Kansas one of the great states of a great nation."

PRYOR PLANK."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., December 3, 1907.

"The kind invitation received. It would give me great pleasure to attend the meeting and meet the surviving members of the first free-state territorial legislature; especially as Kansas is my native state, and one of the surviving members of that historic body, Samuel J. Stewart, is my uncle. But this pleasure I must forego.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH STEWART."

"AMERICAN HOTEL,

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., November 3, 1907.

"I am in receipt of notice of a meeting of directors of the State Historical Society to meet the survivors of the first free-state territorial legislature of Kansas, and regret exceedingly that I shall not be able to attend. I hope everything good for both meetings, and that you may all have a 'good time'—not as they used to, at some barroom, but as things are done now, in this age of common sense. Please convey my good will greeting to all. I am down here for the winter, and do not expect to return before May, unless I do so involuntarily.³ Very sincerely yours,

P. G. LOWE."

NOTE 3.—PERCIVAL GREEN LOWE was born at Randolph, Coos county, New Hampshire, September 29, 1828, the son of Clovis and Alpha Abigail Green Lowe. His ancestors were active participants in the Revolution and the War of 1812. He was married in June, 1861, to Margaret E. Gartin, of Clay county, Missouri. Mrs. Lowe twice made the journey across the plains with her husband in 1861. Mrs. Lowe died March 5, 1905, and Percival G. Lowe died at San Antonio, Tex., at five A. M., March 5, 1908. They are buried in the military cemetery at Fort Leavenworth. They left three sons and one daughter. "I thank my God upon every remembrance of you," was his tribute to his wife. He began life at the age of fourteen as a newsboy in Lowell, Mass., clerked in a dry goods store, and was three years a sailor, visiting the West Indies and many South American countries. In 1849 he enlisted as a private soldier in the regular army, coming immediately to Fort Leavenworth. At the end of his service, in 1854, he was appointed superintendent of transportation for Maj. E. A. Ogden, and was engaged in the building of Fort Riley. In 1857 he was master of transportation for General Sumner's expedition against the Cheyennes, and in 1858 for General Johnson's army against the Mormons. He quit the military in 1859, and was engaged in business in Denver, and later at Leavenworth, making the latter place his home. In 1868, 1869 and 1875 he was a member of the Leavenworth city council, and from 1876 to 1881 served as sheriff of Leavenworth county. He was a member of the state senate from 1885 to 1889. He was always interested in the State Historical Society, as a life member, serving as president in 1898, and enriching its publications with frequent contributions. His book, *Five Years a Dragoon*, is one of the best of western books.

"1729 RIGGS PLACE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 3, 1907.

"I am in receipt of an invitation to meet the survivors of the first free-state territorial legislature of Kansas at Topeka on the 6th day of the present month. It would afford me much pleasure to meet these old Romans and tender congratulations in person. Kansas history is unique as well as romantic. There is no parallel in the world's shifting records. She lay on the skirmish-line of the great struggle which was destined to take the slave question out of politics and write liberty in the law. To have taken part in that heroic work was to earn undying honor. May the good Father's blessings attend these good men to the end of their days.

Respectfully, W. A. PEFFER."

"NESS CITY, KAN., December 5, 1907.

"I had desired to meet with you at the reunion on the 6th and 7th, but got headed off, which I regret very much. It appears to me, if my memory serves me right, that I participated in helping to guard the elections that made it possible for those old Kansas veterans to sit in that legislature.

Kindly yours, L. B. WOLF.

"P. S.—R. M. Peck was my bunkey on that guard duty."

"ST. LOUIS, MO., December 4, 1907.

"I am very much obliged to you for the kind invitation to meet with the surviving members of the first free-state territorial legislature on the fiftieth anniversary, and to attend the annual meeting of the Historical Society. It was good of you to remember me, and I regret exceedingly that lack of time will prevent me from being present.

"It was just fifty years ago last month that my father came to Kansas from Massachusetts, and therefore I feel that I have more than a passing interest in the reunion of the 'old timers' who were making history the year he cast his fortune in the state where he spent the rest of his days and where I was born and raised.

"I sincerely hope that the meetings may be productive of much good, a great pleasure to those so fortunate as to be able to attend, and that all those present may be on hand at many more reunions to come. With all good wishes to the Society, which interests me more and more as the years go by, I remain,

Sincerely yours, HORACE E. MCFARLAND."

"ARGENTINE, KAN., December 6, 1907.

"This communication is for the purpose of expressing to you my most sincere thanks and through you my high appreciation of the favor conferred upon me by the Kansas State Historical Society in extending to me an invitation to meet the surviving members of the first free-state territorial legislature of 1857. I regret most deeply my inability to be present on this happy occasion on account of very serious sickness in my family. I assure you, gentlemen, that nothing would please me more than to be permitted to grasp the hands and look into the sturdy old faces of fifty years ago. With many of the survivors I have the honor of a personal acquaintance, as I was a resident of the territory of Kansas during those early and eventful years. Looking back to my first introduction to Kansas, it might truly be termed a wilderness; speaking in a general way, there was nothing but earth and sky. When I think of the members of this body having fifty years ago planted the seed of civilization on Kansas soil it stirs me to deep feeling. Through your efforts and those associated with you in those early days a state equal to a kingdom has been builded. I am very thankful to Providence that I have been spared to witness the crowning of your labors with such magnificent results. With a deep feeling of loyalty to my state and with a heart full of love to the chieftains of early days, I remain,

Most devotedly, G. W. TOOTHAKER."

"WICHITA, December 5, 1907.

"I am in receipt of your invitation to attend the meeting of the State Historical Society given in honor of the surviving members of the first free-state territorial legislature of 1857.

"Owing to business engagements, I will not be able to be present upon

that occasion. I had hoped that, in company with Colonel Woolard, I would be able to attend this meeting. I would consider it a great honor to meet the men who were pioneers of our great state and who helped to keep the fair name of Kansas from being stained with slavery.

"It would give me great pleasure to listen to the paper prepared by Hon. Jas. R. Mead. He was one of the great influences, if not the greatest, in making it possible to build a city at this place. The incidents and stories which he relates in connection with his early life read like romance, but they are every word true, and, in fact, being extremely modest, he does not give himself the credit that he deserves.

"Trusting that you will have a very interesting and successful meeting, I am,
Very truly,
C. L. DAVIDSON."

"99 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK, November 25, 1907.

"I beg to acknowledge the invitation to meet the surviving members of the first free-state territorial legislature of 1857. I expect to visit Kansas and my old home, near Wamego, at Christmas time, but I doubt if it will be possible for me to be there as early as December 7. This I regret very much.

"My father, John H. Gould, went to Kansas in '56, was superintendent for Dickinson county, also second lieutenant in the territorial militia; settled on a farm in Wabaunsee county; had considerable to do with vigilance committees, border ruffians, malaria, grasshoppers, schools, churches and other things germane to that day. All three of his surviving sons live outside the state, but all of them still call and think of Kansas as 'home.' Two of my father's grandchildren are now students at the State University at Lawrence—John S. and George N. Heil. I attended Washburn College, Topeka, for five years. My oldest brother, John S. Gould, attended the Kansas State Agricultural College, at Manhattan, for three years, and my next older brother, Byron C. Gould, attended the same institution for one year. My sister, Mrs. John F. Heil, still resides on the old homestead near Wamego.

"The Congregational church at Wabaunsee, Kan., has just celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, and has published a report of the proceedings. A copy of that report will be interesting reading for you, and should be on file in the Historical Society. Probably Mr. S. H. Fairfield, of Alma, Kan., will send you a copy, and when I get hold of a copy I also will forward one to you, so that you will be sure to get it. With kindest regards, I beg to remain,
Yours very truly,
M. P. GOULD."

"GALENA, KAN., December 4, 1907.

"I am in receipt of the invitation to attend the fiftieth anniversary of the first free-state legislature on December 6, at Topeka, and regret very much my inability to respond in person; but I shall certainly be present in spirit. and am sure that it will be a very interesting meeting.

"I arrived in Kansas about September 1, 1857, coming across Missouri with six wagon-loads of dry goods, which included also three dozen Sharp's rifles, or as many as we could get where we started from—central Illinois. Twice on the way across Missouri people got under our wagons at night, with long augers, boring up through to see if they could discover any metallic substances, but happened to miss them, and we were permitted to come across, striking Kansas at the east edge of Linn county, making our first station at the east end of Blue Mound, as it was called then, two or three miles from where Mound City is now. I remember there was no organization and we were not permitted to participate in the election, but I feel that I have a deep interest in what was done then and am proud of the results of our efforts at that time to make Kansas a free state; and am much pleased to have taken some part in the preservation of the history of the commonwealth since that time.

"It was also my pleasure to serve my country for more than four years as a member of a Kansas regiment during the war—of which the struggles of 1855-'56-'57 were the precursor, and I hope I may yet be permitted to perform some service or take some part in whatever may be undertaken for the upbuilding of our great state and its institutions. I am always glad to

receive reports and documents from you and shall read the proceedings of this gathering with more than usual interest.

"With best wishes for the success of the meeting and of the future of our Society, I am,
Very truly yours,
W. B. STONE."

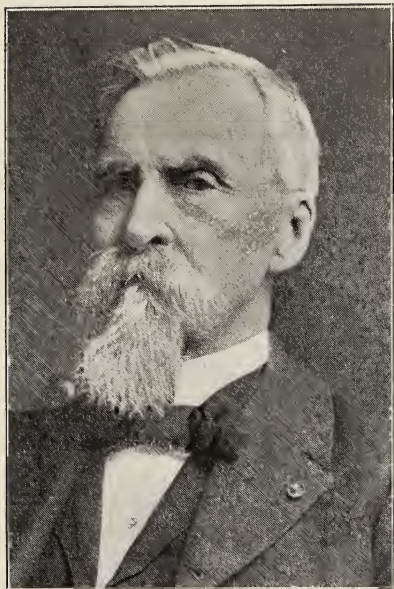
"WASHINGTON, D. C., November 30, 1907.

"I regret exceedingly that I cannot be with you at the time you refer to in yours of the 27th inst.

"About the first thing that legislature did was to pass an act prohibiting slavery in Kansas. I was here at the time, and in the senate when the event was announced. Green, of Missouri, in great excitement, came in with a telegram from Kansas and read it to the astonished senators. Then there was a row. The fire-eaters, led by Davis and Brown, of Mississippi, and Mason and Hunter, of Virginia, made a fierce and furious attack upon Douglas, who stood his ground beautifully all day, maintaining that it was in full accord with all they had previously said upon the wonderful beauty of "squatter

sovereignty." All Mason could say was, he, if not they, had been woefully deceived. Pugh, of Ohio, occasionally supported Douglas. The Northern men enjoyed it to the uttermost, keeping silent and letting the Southern men fight it out. The Southerners wanted a resolution or act passed declaring the action in Kansas void, but Douglas told them they could not do it; under the act only the supreme court had that power, of which Congress had deprived itself, and was consequently utterly helpless. That was gall and wormwood to the rampant Southerners. Really the giant among them was Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. He kept his head and was disposed to make the best of it. He rather intimated that Kansas people had a legal right to do as they had, and now they must depend upon the court. This was a bitter pill for the others.

"This reminds me that Davis, as secretary of war in 1856, censured General Sumner for dispersing our free-state legislature at Topeka, on the 4th of July of that year. He now announced himself as opposed to the Calhoun doctrine of nullifica-



H. MILES MOORE,
House of Representatives, 1857.

tion and in favor of secession—that Massachusetts had a right to secede, or any other state, but no one could nullify an act of Congress. I think I sent an account of his position to your Society, did I not? I was acting speaker of that house when dispersed, and twenty days afterward was here in conference with our friends, and upon their suggestion went to New York to talk the matter over with General Fremont, then our candidate for the presidency, and in September I returned to Kansas through Iowa with the first military command with supplies, including 'Old Lazarus,' meeting Lane with escort at Nebraska City on his way east. Governor Geary arrived in Kansas about that time. I met him frequently in Washington that summer. Arriving in Topeka, I, with Redpath, Higginson, Governor Robinson and S. W. Smith, were arrested by a United States deputy marshal and taken to Leocompton to meet Governor Geary. After a stormy

interview, to satisfy the other side, he sent us to Lawrence. Please remember me to friends, not forgetting Miles Moore, who will be with you to celebrate.

Yours truly,

S. F. TAPPAN.

"P. S.—After adjournment, some half a dozen Kansas men called upon Mr. Douglas and thanked him for his debate for Kansas."

The address of Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, which was in a general way a tribute to the labors and accomplishments of the guests of the evening and their colleagues of fifty years ago, closed the program of the Historical Society, and Prest. James R. Mead turned the meeting over to Gov. E. W. Hoch, who presided during the anniversary exercises. The governor made a patriotic and stirring address appropriate to the occasion, reviewing the results of the contest of fifty years ago. The survivors of the first free-state territorial legislature were all present, and the governor very happily presented each to the audience.

Col. Oscar E. Learnard, the sole survivor of the territorial council, responded in a most happy, social and personal manner, reviewing briefly some of the difficulties then encountered and congratulating his colleagues and himself on what they had lived to see. He said, "I did not know of the call for that session of the legislature until December 5, 1857, when I arrived in Westport, having been east. I had been to Boston and was resplendent with new and gay clothes." He jocularly referred to the advantage he now had over the others in the fact that he could control the council, whereas the five members of the house might have some trouble agreeing. He could not very well hold a joint convention alone. He disliked the remarks that had been made intimating that he and his colleagues were getting old. He said that a man is old only when he thinks he is old, and that he had not yet reached that stage. "The event which we meet at Lawrence to-morrow to commemorate was of itself an important event, but it was of special importance because it was the beginning of a series of events which brought this old state up to what she is now. This gathering revives memories the surging of which through my mind are simply bewildering. It calls to mind the fact that a majority of those who were associated with us in those days have passed away. So my closing sentiment will be pleasant greeting to the living and kind memories to the dead. In looking over the results some time ago, I find that four-fifths of the statutes we made were for charters for town sites and ferry-boats, and one-half of the remainder were for divorces. You understand there were a lot of fellows in the early years who had come west leaving their wives, and who wanted to be divorced, while scores of others were asking for exemption from creditors back east. Since then I have not shown much taste for politics and my constituents have apparently shared my views."

Col. H. Miles Moore still had some of the old fire in him. He was a Missourian and a slaveholder, and because of his preference for a free-state he was in those days more severely up against trouble than some of the others. He said that the question of slavery was a very different thing in Topeka and Lawrence from what it was in Leavenworth. Leavenworth was a hot-bed of slavery. It was easy to be a free-state man in Topeka or Lawrence, but it was suicide in Leavenworth. He bore on his person some marks of that contest, and he thanked God they are in the front of his body. "I was

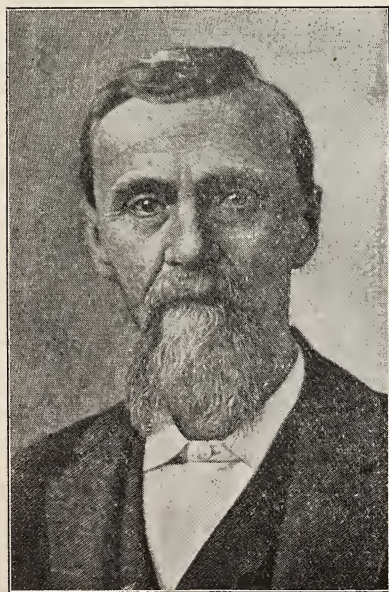
a candidate for the legislature in my district and thought I had a good chance of winning. There never was a more vain hope. I carried the free-state vote, but two precincts along the river swamped me. They were pro-slavery, and most of their votes came from Missouri. But I contested and took my seat in the legislature of 1857, of which I am proud." He spoke strongly of the anti-slavery feeling in western Missouri. He expressed a strong desire to stop at Lecompton and see the old hall again.

Gbv. E. N. Morrill said it was all right for the other fellows to talk about being young, but as for himself he was willing to admit he was growing old. He told of his trip in the forenoon from Hiawatha to Topeka in a couple of hours in a handsome railway-coach. "Fifty years ago this morning I started from Brown county on horseback to go to the territorial capital. I made it in a night and day. There were no north and south wagon roads then, either. Could I do that now? Well, I guess not. I can tell I am growing old by the lack of desire to do things. My friends tell me to keep going, not to give up; when they talk that way I feel like the old Dutch bugler. His captain told him to 'Blow harder! Blow harder!' The bugler stood it as long as he could, then burst out: 'Its all right to stand there and say blow harder; but where in the devil is the wind to come from?' That's the way I feel about it. Speaking of riding to Lecompton on horseback reminds me that when I arrived there was n't a quorum for two days. To my surprise the first thing voted upon was a resolution to unseat eight members of the house and to seat eight others—apparently for no other reason than that the second

eight and their friends wanted it. I did not have a thorough understanding of the matter and did not know that the anti-slavery fellows who were asking to be seated had been beaten out of their seats by Missouri slaveholders. I talked against the resolution and voted against it, and I have gone down in history as having voted with the pro-slavery faction."

Governor Morrill stated that the legislature of 1858 was the first legislative body in the world to give women equal rights in property matters, and in case of death of husband without heir to give her all the property.⁴

Dr. Andrew T. Still, the founder of the osteopathic school at Kirksville, Mo., began his remarks with the statement that he came to Kansas in 1853. "You must have lived with the Indians; there were no white people here then," said Governor Morrill in a doubtful tone.



DR. ANDREW T. STILL,
Founder of Osteopathy, Kirksville, Mo.
House of Representatives, 1857.

NOTE 4.—Chapter 50, page 327, Laws of Kansas Territory, 1858, entitled "An act to protect the rights of married women, and in relation to the liabilities incident to the marriage relation."

"I did," shouted Still, waving his cane, "and I can speak Indian, too." He said something that did not sound like English, and Governor Morrill remarked that he would take his word for it. Still told of the early history of the state, complimented the other surviving members of 1857, complimented Governor Hoch, complimented the chairman and the secretary, and closed his remarks with a discourse upon the merits of osteopathy. He spoke earnestly, especially when he referred to slavery. He said he was with John Brown and Jim Lane.

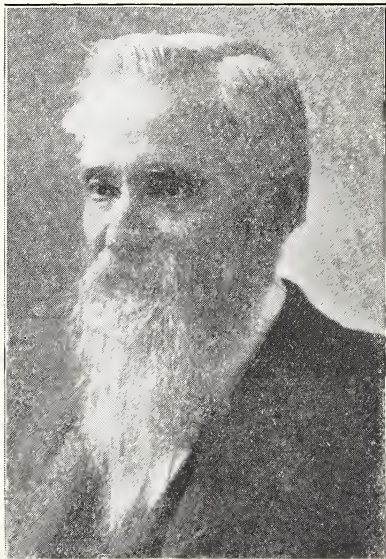
Hon. Samuel J. Stewart filed a paper, as follows:

HIS BRIGHTEST DREAMS REALIZED.

SOME weeks ago I received a letter from the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, asking me to be present on this occasion and take part in the ceremonies in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the first free-state territorial legislature.

After reading that letter, sitting in my comfortable home, before an open fire, watching the blue blazes of natural gas curling around what to the eye looks very much like the hard maple or beechwood of the fires in my boyhood's Ohio home more than three-score and ten years ago, I recalled that more than fifty of those three-score and ten years have been spent in Kansas, although looking back it does not seem a great while; viewing the changes that have taken place, however, it would seem a century.

I came to Kansas in April of 1856, entering the territory near Fort Scott. I was with a small colony traveling with teams, our objective point being the Neosho valley. On arriving at Fort Scott we learned that it was over fifty miles further to our selected location, with but one house on the road. Following the example of some ancient emigrants that we have been reading about this year in our Sunday-school lessons, we went into camp and selected six men to go forward, spy out the land, and see if it really was the kind of land we were seeking, and whether we might be able to go over and possess it. I was one of the six. I had just risen from a bed of sickness a month before to start for Kansas, and being not yet very strong I rode a pony and the rest walked. Going west from Fort Scott, we passed over what seemed to be the most beautiful country we had ever seen. It was the 7th of April; the prairies were richly covered with their bright green spring coat; in every ravine we crossed cold,



SAMUEL J. STEWART,
House of Representatives, 1857.

clear water was running in abundance over limestone rocks. Surely, with such grass and such water, it should be the greatest stock country on earth! We had not traversed many miles before I felt that I might never reach the goal. My sickness before starting for Kansas had been pneumonia; my lungs would get sore suddenly without warning and blood would gush from my mouth. I stopped at the first branch, and by using plenty of clear, cool water on my throat and breast succeeded in checking the flow of blood.

We stopped at the one house on the way, sixteen miles out from Fort Scott, and stayed over night. The next morning I was ready to continue the journey. I mention this incident to show the wonderful effect of the pure water and air of Kansas. We reached our intended location the next night. Returning to camp in a few days, we made a unanimous report. We learned there would be obstacles, but we felt we could overcome them. We moved over. Soon the obstacles were met in abundance. My brother, Matson Stewart, and his family, came out the next month, sending before him a good team of horses to Kansas with supplies. The border ruffians took possession of the team at Westport and sent the driver home on foot. There was an overflow of the Neosho river in May; then the rains ceased to fall, and by the 4th of July all the little branches we had believed "flowed on forever" were entirely dry. By August all the springs that had reminded us of the springs in Ohio were no more, and we suffered for lack of water. Sickness came and a few died; others turned their faces to the east, and when November came of all that colony my brother and myself were the only men remaining in Kansas.

I cannot avoid a feeling of sadness to this day when I recall the pains and disappointments that came to those early settlers. I am persuaded that there is no disease that so fully destroys all a man's energy and ambition as ague. We all had it, but only a small per cent. fought it out and remained—and it was something of a fight. Fort Scott was our post-office; our nearest railroad station was Jefferson City, Mo. All our supplies had to be hauled from Kansas City, for the most part with mule teams. It required ten days to make the trip.

There were no churches, no schoolhouses. We were cut off from our friends by an enemy ready to drive us from our homes. Some of us remained. We came to Kansas in our young manhood to build homes and to help build up a free state.

More than half a century has now passed, and what changes it has brought! I can now eat breakfast at home, make a trip to either Kansas City or Topeka, have four hours to transact business, and return home in time for supper the same day, and in making the round trip never be out of sight of a country not blessed with church or schoolhouse. Has there been an Aladdin with his lamp here? Has one generation of men lived to see all these changes take place? all these things happen? No, no; they never did happen—no part of them happened. The same wisdom and power that planned the Garden of Eden, that created and put in motion our planetary system—the living God himself—planned the things that have come to pass in Kansas. I believe as fully as I believe that I exist that Jehovah never spoke more clearly to the children of Israel in directing them to go up and possess the promised land than he did to the loyal, liberty-loving people of this nation to possess Kansas, and start the fight that should result in freeing this great nation of human slavery. It was a great work, and it re-

quired a chosen people. Looking back upon the sifting-out process that took place in 1855, 1856 and 1857, we are forcibly reminded of Gideon's army as it was prepared to win the great victory for their people.

I am glad that our people have been faithful and that such rich rewards have come to us. Only those who have been a part of the wonderful history of Kansas can realize and appreciate the magnificent position our people occupy to-day. Speaking for myself, as one of the six survivors of the first free-state territorial legislature of Kansas, I assure you the fondest hopes and the brightest dreams I ever entertained for my adopted state have been more than realized; and while I note with pleasure the constantly increasing blessings coming to our people, I sometimes wonder if in times of our abundant prosperity we may not forget from whence come these good things. Believing, as I do, in an overruling providence, and that God is the same yesterday, to-day and forever, and looking back over the history of his chosen people—noting the terrible disaster that came upon them when they forgot God—feeling thus, and finding, as I sometimes think I do, a disposition on the part of some to get away from our earliest theories of politics and government affairs, when men were selected for office because of their supposed fitness for the place, and not for personal, friendly or money influences, it seems to me to be a fact that men are seeking office to-day, not that they may do good, but that they may make money. They commercialize the whole political fabric, and rely so much on money for success that the man of moderate means can hardly hope to secure an office.

Is there not a tendency to get away from the common people, and let a few leaders look after all governmental affairs? If this be true it is a mistake. The people will become restless—I am not sure but they are a little restless now—and ask a little choice in the selection of office-holders by demanding a primary election for the nomination of candidates. I have regretted very much to know that many of the men we have honored with high office object to this demand, basing their objections on the cost and the integrity of the voters. I say they doubt the integrity of the voters, because you will find great stress is laid upon *safeguarding* the plan. Don't worry about fraud—trust the people. For just once, perhaps the great majority are honest. They need not let the cost trouble them, but give the people the chance and they will take care of that. When elected to the office we are commemorating to-day my entire expenses for nomination and election did not exceed five dollars. The voters had charge of it all.

THE GRASSHOPPER FALLS CONVENTION AND THE LEGISLATURE OF 1857.

A paper prepared for the Kansas Historical Society by R. G. ELLIOTT, of Lawrence, and submitted at the reception of the surviving members of that legislature, at Topeka, December 6, 1907.

THE territorial legislature of 1857 was the offspring of the dual convention assembled at Grasshopper Falls on the 26th of August, 1857, and was the resultant of two antagonistic political forces. In its corporate existence it was the third in succession of a body that had won its title by brutal usurpation, and sought to maintain its authority by infamous frauds. Its living soul was breathed into it by an outraged people in a determining struggle with the malign forces that controlled the federal administration—the American idea—the aspiration for free autonomous government. The

Grasshopper Falls convention was the ascending note in the orbit of a nascent state emerging from the inertia of repudiation and agony of patient suffering. Harassed by punitive invasions and plundering brigands, her situation had been deplorable, relieved only by instances of heroic resistance and defensive aggression; and, soothed by the exuberant sympathy of the North, she was now about to rise to her rightful place, to shine in her own light, the brightest star in the political firmament.

The determination of the convention was not a change of policy but of methods, a trimming of sails to catch propitious winds that had risen with the advent of spring, and an adjustment of the rudder to the compelling tide of northern immigration that was flowing with increasing volume and force.

"The ship that holds the straightest course still sails the convex sea."

The tide of immigration in 1857 had brought on its crest a multitude of solid business men, attracted by the opening land sales and prospect of titles, who demanded for the security of property and the stability of business an affirmative rather than a visionary government, or a negation.

The suppression of the invading forces of 1856 by Governor Geary had left the slave party in hopeless decrepitude and compelled a change of the Kansas issue.

The contest was no longer over economic conditions or social organization, but over an idea, the most effective force in the elevation of the human race, mild in its action when given free course, but volcanic in its expression when harshly curbed; an idea enrobed in a sentiment made sacred by sacrifice and suffering, fierce conflict and the blood of martyrdom, and by patient endurance.

Slavery as an institution in Kansas was dead, crushed by the misdirected, maniac blows of its own defenders; entombed under a stone that only an angel could roll away; its resurrection guarded against by jealous legions more faithful than Roman soldiery. The implacable hostility of the victors, aggravated by the outrages perpetrated in its behalf, made its material restoration impossible, even by the combined forces of statute, constitution and supreme court judgment. Only a fetid odor remained as a reminder of its fitful and precarious existence, and its uneasy ghost flitting over the battle-field disquieted the timid with the portent of a great disaster. Governor Walker, in a plaintive agony of patriotic grief expressed to Secretary Marcy, deplored the admission of "an abolition state into the Union" as an act that would be taken as an unpardonable offense by the recalcitrant fire-eaters of the South, and would drive them to a dissolution of the Union—a prediction based upon his intimate knowledge of their maturing purposes and verified three years later by the great rebellion.

While as a legal proposition slavery could be abolished only by a constitutional provision, effective on admission into the Union (and the election of a free-state legislature was a guarantee of such a provision), the real bond that held the slaves in Kansas was dissolved unwittingly by the proclamations of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan for the sales of Indian trust lands, that began in October, 1856, and were completed in the summer of 1857,¹ bringing an influx of gold that, over and above the price of land paid to the

NOTE 1.—First public sale of Delaware trust lands in the territory of Kansas, to begin at Fort Leavenworth October 20, 1856. Proclamation of Franklin Pierce, August 14, 1856. (*Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, September 13, 1856.) Delaware land sales in progress at Osawkee, Jefferson county, July 22, 1857. (*Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 5, pp. 367, 369.)

government, exceeded the value of all the negroes in the territory. It was this influx of gold, with its promise of increasing flow, that tipped the scales in favor of freedom; that settled the conflict waged in blood; that reconciled the slave propagandists to the policy of their antagonists; that provided the funeral baked meats that comforted the mourners of a venerated institution, not fallen on the field of honor but stricken in the lull of a strenuous conflict; and that joined them in friendly partnership with their adversaries in a revelry of speculation. Pomeroy and Stringfellow at Atchison; Lane at Doniphan, in friendly rivalry with General Richardson; "Jeff" Thompson pushing a railroad from Elwood out into the plains; Lawrence fusing with Delaware, her political antipode, in an attempt to build up a rival to Leavenworth, and hobnobbing over a railroad scheme with Platte City that a year before had sent the battery that destroyed the pride of her city—all a ferment of speculation that lined the western bank of the Missouri with an array of platted cities, rivals in expectancy for the commerce of the plains.

That slavery was in deadly atrophy at his time is attested by the census reports. That of February, 1855, shows 192 slaves—2.2 per cent. of the total population, 8501—and 151 free negroes. That of June, 1860, taken eight months before the clause of the constitution forbidding slavery took effect, shows 106,579 whites, 625 free negroes, and but 2 slaves, evidently free by the will of their masters and never held as chattels, but by bonds of family attachment and mutual dependence.²

The scheme that had now been devised by the administration to preserve the equilibrium of the states, was a formation of a state in harmony with the federal administration, encumbering it with a ten years' mortgage to the South, a constitution written upon its cerements, guaranteeing the corpse for ten years a Barmecide lease of life,³ designed to crown its admission as a state into the Union.

The initial step in this movement had been taken by the last session of the usurping legislature by providing for a convention to frame a constitution, a step taken, as subsequently shown, by direction from Washington. The safe conduct of the movement was assured by a fourfold device: a grossly unfair apportionment which extended the boundaries of controlling districts to the Missouri border and providing for fraudulent voting, exacting forbidding conditions for the voting of opponents, and preserving to the pro-slavery officials the control of election machinery.

It was for vetoing this unfair bill that Governor Geary, denied military protection which he demanded, and abandoned to the tender mercies of unscrupulous enemies, was driven to clandestine flight from the territory and resignation of his office.⁴

NOTE 2.—It has ever been my opinion, formed on a personal knowledge of a representative class of the Southern people, that most of those holding slaves in Kansas came, not for the purpose of perpetuating their relations, but willing, if not intending, to shift the responsibility of caring for an undesirable class upon a state. In many of the slave states manumission was forbidden by law, and in the others bonds for their maintenance were exacted, and in the contiguous states of the North the freedmen were consigned to a condition of debasement or forbidden entrance. Only Kansas offered kindly conditions. Notable examples of this class are Judge Elmore, Mr. Bain, who settled on the half-breed Kaw land, H. P. Johnston, and H. Miles Moore, of Leavenworth.—R. G. E.

NOTE 3.—See schedule of Lecompton constitution, section 14, a provision for amending the constitution after 1864.

NOTE 4.—See index to official papers of Governor Geary, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 4, pp. 766-708.

Governor Walker, a statesman of commanding ability, the most astute politician of his party, was pressed into the service of the administration to carry the Lecompton scheme to completion.

These changed conditions—the merging of economical interests by the pro-slavery and free-state citizens of the territory and the prosperity occasioned by the influx of moneyed settlers at the land sales—made imperative a change in tactics. Repudiation and contemptuous neglect of the rights of the free-state men by the administration had reacted by paralyzing, in a measure, the local pro-slavery authorities, involving them in a net whose cords were held by the supreme executive of the federal government.

Governor Walker in assuming office, though in bodily presence fashioned after the pattern of the great apostle of the Gentiles, magnified his mission by a proclamation glowing with affirmatives. With a veiled portent of military coercion he entered upon a strenuous campaign of the territory, to the exhaustion of his physical energies, but with compelling arguments for submitting to the territorial laws and participating in the elections. His abundant labors were not unproductive. The organization of the Democratic party on lines that embraced the remnant of the slave party, the aberration of the most widely circulated of the free-state papers, the large unclassified vote of the recent immigration, rendered the political situation uncertain. The Topeka constitution added to the complication. By a remnant it was regarded as legitimate and binding, which it would be treason to the cause of freedom to abandon. By the majority it was held as the emblem of a great cause, a bond of party organization, with machinery for executing the purposes of the party, and to be maintained for a critical emergency. Although denounced by Governor Walker as insurrectionary, it was permitted to convene in June and enact laws to continue its existence, a law for taking a census, and for the election of state officers.

A convention⁵ that met in Topeka on July 15 and 16, declared its fealty to the state government, asked for the resubmission of the constitution, and nominated candidates for state officers and congressman, to be voted for on August 9th—an implied refusal to participate in the regular territorial election. But at an informal conference of prominent members, where Lane dominated and the writer was present, it was the sense of all that the existence of the Free-state party demanded the control of the territorial legislature, and that it could be secured with certainty only by political strategy, by exacting of Walker and Stanton the strongest obligations for a fair vote and honest count and playing the state government against the territorial—Topeka against Lecompton—thus taking the enemy by surprise. As to the manner of organizing for the election, some of the members of the conference who had witnessed the sudden and unlooked for overturning of the Democratic party in 1854 by the Know-nothings proposed the adoption of their methods, but Lane, himself a victim of that policy, would have none of it, but proposed a military organization, with the result that the convention on the 16th of July "*Resolved*, That Gen. James H. Lane be appointed by this convention, and authorized to organize the people in the several districts, to protect the ballot-boxes at the approaching elections in Kansas."

The complement of this resolution was one calling for a mass convention to meet at Grasshopper Falls on the 26th of August, "to take such action as

NOTE 5.—Proceedings in Quindaro *Chindowan*, of July 18, 1857.

may be necessary with regard to that [October] election." Another resolution provided for a delegate convention to be held at the same time and place, "to carry out the decisions of the mass convention," showing that the two elements so often represented as antagonistic were harmonious, with the exception of a remnant represented by Conway, Phillips, Foster and Redpath assuming to represent the "people of the Great Neosho."

The purpose of this anomaly of two conventions to meet on the same day, called seemingly to reverse the decision of the parent convention, was to conform to the complicated political conditions of the time, and to bring into harmony two diverse elements whose united action was essential to the success of the party, which though overwhelming in numbers on the direct issue of slavery was of doubtful strength, confronted with the proposition so strenuously urged by Governor Walker and promoted by all the forces of the administration.

To the "old guard," who had accepted the Topeka constitution as their political confession of faith and supported the shadow of a state government under it, adhering to it through the ordeal of a bloody persecution and official condemnation as traitors and insurgents, the Topeka constitution was a solemn league and covenant which it would be treason to discard. It was to provide the opportunity for these indomitable adherents to a noble ideal to fuse with the new element without losing their identity or sacrificing their ideal—an informatory vindication of their whole course.

The selection of Grasshopper Falls was a tender to the new element, which predominated on the north side of the river; the main strength of the "old guard" was on the south side.

That the approachment of the two elements which was here ratified was mutual is shown by the returns of the elections immediately preceding and following. That held fifteen days before, August 9, designated as the mobilization of the free-state forces for determining contest, was for Parrott and the adoption of the constitution, 7267. That on the 5th of October gave Parrott, for delegate to Congress, 7597—330 more; just about the estimated number of the irreconcilables.

It was the preliminary vote of August 9, tallying with General Lane's muster-roll, that gave the Free-state party the exultant assurance with which it now entered upon its final campaign.

In the Grasshopper Falls convention the measured oratory and urgent insistence of the stately Ewing and the classic eloquence of Parrott aroused the intending voters to enthusiasm; the passionate pleading of Conway, the Patrick Henry of Kansas, for an ideal, strengthened the irreconcilables; the dramatic presentation of the subject by Lane, as prisoners gaining liberty by crawling through a sewer, encouraged the hesitating; but it was the objective demonstration of the August election that fixed the determination of the convention to vote at the ensuing general election.

But to return to the military organization of the people authorized by the July convention. With headquarters at Lawrence, Conway as adjutant, Whitman as quartermaster-general, and Phillips as commissary-general, orders were issued with all the seriousness of impending war, from under the battery planted for the suppression of the insurrectionary charter of Lawrence, establishing divisions and brigades, and appointing officers for an imposing army.

So diligently had the work of mustering been done that at the convention

a month later Lane was able to report an army of over 7000 organized, drilled, and ready for duty; and, compared with the census returns of similar date, there would be a large majority of free-state voters. It was the logic of the muster-roll, and not specious pleadings nor outside pressure, that decided the convention to take part in the election. The October vote conformed closely to the muster-roll and elected the body charged with the defeating of the Lecompton conspiracy.

The Lecompton constitution was the offensive embodiment of this deceptive scheme, doubly noisome from the mephitic odors of its Lecompton embalment, that Buchanan, with the haughty arrogance of a Coriolanus, in an advance congressional message,⁶ transmitted by special courier, flung before the people of Kansas for their enforced acceptance of statehood.

A working majority in the United States house of representatives, a superfluous majority in the senate, with an imperious power in control, left little hope for the defeat of the machination. Gloom pervaded. But the proposition was met by the free-state men of Kansas with a shout of defiant indignation that sent a thrill throughout the land.

On the reconvening of the Lecompton convention to complete its machinations, safe only under the guns of Major Sherman's battery, a storm of indignation swept over the land, overawing the convention with tumultuous multitudes and paralyzing the members with a three days' terror. On the consummation of the plot the indignation became a frenzy. There were boisterous demonstrations on every hand, tumultuous gatherings on street corners, while graver assemblages were harangued by flaming orators who sprang like fire-flies out of the gloom. Fierce imprecations and muttered threats flashed up, even by friendly friction, at every chance meeting of citizens. Among the more sober countrymen excited meetings were held at every schoolhouse. All this fury of indignation presaged alarming results, if not controlled.

Through all demonstrations glared a determined purpose of resistance by the boisterous and irresponsible element expressed in threats of a Danite organization, with a hint of destroying angels hovering around Lecompton conspirators. The combative impulse, flashing up from the smoldering embers of '56, burst into threats of armed resistance, with a movement for the reformation of the military force that under General Lane had organized the late victory at the polls. This movement was later given the sanction of law at the called session of the legislature, supplanting the unpliant governor as commander-in-chief by a sympathetic military board, and becoming effective by passage over his veto. Though invalid from conflict with the organic act, it served its purpose, accomplishing more by its grim visage striking terror than by arms.

Beneath all these convulsive movements grave seniors in counsel, leaders in action and representatives of high character and commanding influence met in secret conference and banded together under the most solemn obligations to defeat the Lecompton conspiracy, and even, in the last resort, to "unman" it. In close communication and under their control was John Brown, with his trusted lieutenants, keeping vigil upon the conspirators. This supreme obligation they were relieved from before maturity by the sudden flight of the head conspirator, Calhoun, and his lieutenant, McLean.

NOTE 6.— Messages of President Buchanan on the Lecompton constitution, December 8, 1857, February 2, 1858, in Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 5, pp. 449, 471.

Jack Henderson, chief actuary, captured after a day's wild chase and saved from summary expiation by the gallantry of Col. Samuel Walker, made atonement by auricular confession and a full exposure of the conspiracy.

But the most significant and compelling demonstration which marked the determined purpose of the people was by Col. S. W. Eldridge, who had been appointed quartermaster-general at the called session of the legislature. With sixty picked horsemen he made a raid on Lecompton, and concealing his company in the adjoining bush entered the town with a squad of four as body-guard, and, approaching the governor's office, dismounted, and leaving his guard within call entered and demanded as private property the arms that had been taken without law from his company of Iowa emigrants in the fall of 1856. Governor Denver, himself a soldier of experience and commanding martial presence, asserted his authority over them as commander-in-chief and bluntly refused. The squad, impatient of delay, bolted into the office and, grounding their arms with a startling thud, added the closing and compelling argument in the case, and Secretary Walsh, on order, with nervous mutterings and imprecations, counted out the guns, which were hastily taken to Lawrence and distributed to the militia.

Among the diversity of expedients proposed and most urgently pressed was the convening of the newly elected legislature to devise some legal method of defeating the constitution.

The final act of the conspiracy, its fallacious submission to a popular vote, had been set for a day in advance of the regular meeting of the legislature, to avoid hostile action by that body. The decrees of the convention were final and could not be annulled. For imperative action in the case the legislature was incompetent. It could only supervise, petition and expose.

An unwilling governor stood in the way. The odious constitution was the embodiment of the very purpose for which Walker had accepted, with condescension and sacrifice, his mission to Kansas, and was shaped in its essential features by the powers above him. He had labored incessantly for its adoption. Only in the matter of its submission to a fair vote of the people had his pledge been juggled with, a pledge in which he had been supported by Buchanan, made in the confident expectation that with his great political abilities he would build up a party in Kansas that would adopt it. But his hesitating rejection, under ominous pressure, of fraudulent elections, left his party in abject decrepitude, invigorated only by the power that emanated from Washington—a wounded serpent with only its poisonous fangs and power to strike.

Now, from a sense of political consistency and fealty to his great purpose, and fearing the insufficiency of the legislature, he withstood the urgent pressure of the free-state petitioners. Finally, stung by reproof for his rejection of the fraudulent election returns and the perfidy of Buchanan in violating his pledge for the submission of the constitution to a fair vote, he hastened to Washington to bring his personality to bear upon the President, as the only source from which relief could come. But in vain. He found him bound and in the hands of the chief conspirators. Humbled and in despair, ashamed to meet the people of Kansas, whom he felt he had unwittingly betrayed, he threw up his commission.

Stanton, under like conditions, plied with every influence that could be brought to bear, after weeks of hesitation, with the doom of dismissal hanging over him, offered himself as a sacrifice and convened the legislature.

Now came the more intricate moves in the game. The special session of the legislature enacted a drastic law for the prevention and punishment of election frauds, with the jurisdiction of the probate court—illegal in this feature but effective; a militia law adapted to the peculiar exigencies of the situation; a law submitting the constitution to a fair vote; a commission with compulsory powers to investigate election frauds and correct the returns.

It was the swift, vigorous and relentless execution of these enactments, in a race with Buchanan, who was striving to jam the Lecompton constitution through Congress, that won the victory. The result was a bomb. The findings of the committee charged with the investigation of the election frauds of December 21, 1857, and January 4, 1858, which were dispatched to Washington by General Ewing and exploded in the capitol, defeated the conspiracy, disrupted the Democratic party and drove into retirement and ultimately to destruction the malignant power that had fastened itself on the vitals of the nation.

Interspersed on the calendar had been two meetings of the Topeka state legislature, two conventions at Topeka, a two-ply one at Grasshopper Falls, two sessions of the territorial legislature, six elections, two grand demonstrations at Lecompton—one of indignation against the convention, the other of exultation on the convening of the legislature. Notable also among them were two December conventions at Lawrence, live volcanoes of indignation and defiance. After twelve months' exercise of practical politics, a year of material prosperity, of buoyant hopes alternating with harassing fears and intense political activity, the citizens of Kansas were supremely happy in the accomplished results, with liberty enthroned in her richest robes and crowned with her brightest jewel.

This grand transformation, with its beneficent results, was but the perfect development of the American idea of orderly self-government, an idea nurtured by the generations till it had become an instinct, now vitalized by the conditions of its new environment and forced into maturity in the hot-bed of conflict.

It was the unfolding of a state, that later stepped into the Union in her supreme crisis with the bounding energy of youth, the practical wisdom of maturity; a commanding presence, with an illuminating glow of exulting patriotism, that gave cheer to the whole nation in the depth of her perplexity.

Kansas—the Hebrew shepherd with a stone in his sling destined to pierce the helmet of the giant of rebellion.

It was Kansas that cast the first stone at slavery, an act later made general by presidential proclamation. Wherever Kansas troops marched, from the first raid of Col. D. R. Anthony, the shackles fell from the slaves.

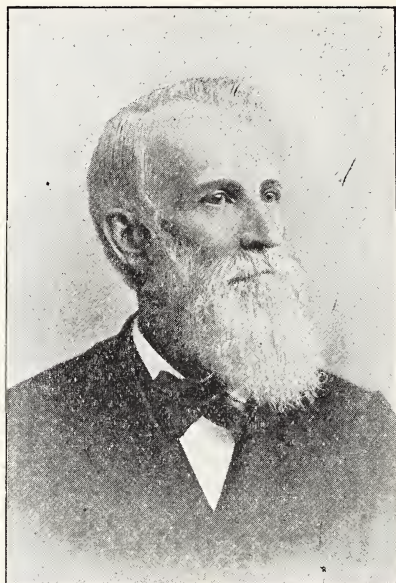
The extraneous assistance of "money and brains furnished by Massachusetts," so widely but erroneously credited with all these accomplished results, served only as a counter-irritant, provoking the enemy to that species of madness which in the divine order leads to merited destruction.

The philanthropic East, tremulous with sympathy for the threatened cause of freedom in Kansas, was the benignant angel that troubled the waters from whose swirling depths arose the nascent state regenerated, enlightened and invigorated, yet pliant to the guidance of the Divine Immence that is ever impelling thinking humanity, often by ways tortuous and reverse and that they know not, towards a higher and nobler plane of being.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT G. ELLIOTT.

ROBERT GASTON ELLIOTT was born in Union county, Indiana, July 23, 1828, of South Carolina parentage, of that migration from the South that, moved by a religious antipathy to slavery, set into the free Northwest in the early years of the last century. His lineage by his mother's side traced back through the Knox family, related by tradition to the great Scotch reformer, and brought with it down through a direct succession of generations unimpaired a reverence for the solemn league and covenant of Scotland as the concrete expression of the vital essence of religious and of civil government, both of divine ordination and of mutual relationship—the church as monitor, the civil magistrate as protector; an idea that, having become an instinct with the Scottish race, was transferred to the culture of a new continent, and here, materialized and expanded in harmonious proportions, became the model, in its essential features, of the American government.

His higher education was obtained at Miami University and at the State University of Indiana, graduating at the latter in 1850, in a class with a son and three nephews of Henry A. Wise, governor of Virginia. Four years were then spent in teaching, first in the county academy at Princeton, Ind., the last two in Stone's



R. G. ELLIOTT,
House of Representatives, 1857.

River Academy, near Murphreesboro, Tenn. It was here that he gained an intimate knowledge of the "Kansas question" from the *Congressional Globe*, which on advice he had substituted for the *New York Tribune* and *National Era*, to avoid offense to the prevailing Southern sentiment. He thus followed its course from the introduction of the Nebraska bill, through its voluminous discussion to its final passage as the Kansas-Nebraska bill, deeply impressed with its political significance, but more from an interest born of a desire to gain entrance into this paradise of the plains—a desire awakened by glowing descriptions of many who had come under the spell of its enchantment, halting gold seekers of '49, to wait wistfully on the border patient years for its opening. It was with peculiar gratification that he finally accepted an offer from a former college mate, with whom he had kept up correspondence, to join him in the publication of a paper in the new territory.

Josiah Miller, a native of South Carolina, his family for a generation cramped under the ban of the slave propaganda, had sought a freer life and higher education in the North, at the University of Indiana, and he had

started in active life as publisher of a paper in Illinois. Burning with indignation at the slave power that had made life in his native state insufferable, opposition to it suicidal, and in the free North discussion of it academic, he welcomed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which he had watched expectantly from its introduction. Without approving the motive, he had accepted the enunciation of the doctrine of popular sovereignty as clearing the arena for the determining conflict between two antagonistic and irrepressible elements of the government—a conflict in which his life experience made him eager to enlist. He therefore immediately disposed of his press, and set out on horseback to determine a location in Kansas.

The outcome of the partnership was the buying of a press in Cincinnati, type and paper in St. Louis, and the establishing of the *Kansas Free State*, and the issuing of the first paper published in Lawrence, which in its initial number defined the lines upon which was organized and advocated the policy pursued by the party that won the victory for freedom in Kansas.

But it was with hesitation and delay that either plan or policy was adopted. In the states, national politics was disrupted and in a state of fermentation. The proud Whig party had been struck with paralysis and was in a state of rapid disintegration. The American party, by its concealed methods and subterranean heavings, had strewn the great West with political wreckage. Only the National Democracy, having exfoliated its conscientious element, had crystallized around slavery as the conservator of the Union. The Free-soil party, though of noble impulses, was of youthful immaturity and on a constricted platform. The Republican party was yet in embryo, but showing the beginnings of its dynamic life in simultaneous uprisings in the prolific West. But none of these had yet the strength in Congress to give aid to a people in a contest with the malignant forces of the slave power. Nor could the diverse and heterogeneous elements opposed to slavery be organized in affiliation with any of them.

The monumental fraud of the 30th of March, 1855, perpetrated by armed invasion from over the border, sanctioned by the federal government and followed by open threats of punitive legislation to suppress opposition to slavery, aroused the combative impulse of the people of Kansas to a point of determined repudiation of the body thus fraudulently elected.

Out of this condition sprang a secret organization, formed for mutual defense against the enforcement of the threatened legislation, with its constitution open and its methods indicated by the military titles of its graded officials. But it fell under the control of a fatuous leadership that armed two companies with Sharps' rifles and ultimately led it into armed conflict with an officer and posse executing a writ—a rash act, that was resented by the ravaging horde bent upon the destruction of Lawrence, and that set in motion the train of outrages, assassinations, reprisals, burnings and brigandage that afflicted the territory with more than a year's desolation.

That this is not a misinterpretation of the policy first inaugurated is attested by the author of it, when in his mature years, claiming its authorship and vindicating it with sardonic complacency, he records in the "*Kansas Conflict*," "It was thus immaterial how many printing-presses, hotels and bridges were indicted and destroyed, or how many men should be killed in the operation, so that the responsibility could be placed on the federal authority," and "the more outrages the people could get the government to perpetrate upon them the more victories they would gain."

It was on the 4th of July that this policy was dramatically foreshadowed by its author in the first celebration of that day in Lawrence. In a declamatory address charged with a convicting indictment of the invaders, flaming with righteous indignation and bitter with invective, illuminated with a portrayal of victims clanking with chains, and invoking the "spirit of '76," he charged the military companies who had paraded and been presented with a flag to "do their duty"; advice accepted by all who heard it as a sinister euphemism for armed resistance to the threatened legislative enactments.

This significant demonstration provoked indignant dissent, with tremors of anxiety among the stable and conservative element opposed to slavery, threatening disintegration by the building up of a national administration party and desertion to the supporters of the fraudulent legislature. The slave party accepted exultingly the proposition as a vindication, and transformed an invading mob into a *posse comitatus* for the enforcement of law.

It was this revulsion that brought to birth the party that sprang into life at Big Springs, with the vigor of youth, a note of defiance, the wisdom of maturity, and an exulting confidence in victory—strong in the combination of its diverse elements and passionate in its devotion to a noble purpose.

The initial movement was made by the editors of the *Kansas Free State*, who called a conference, termed in derision the "Sand Bank convention," that issued the call for the Big Springs convention. The call was drawn on the lines laid down in the first number of that paper by the subject of this sketch, who was secretary of the conference, and afterwards of the Big Springs convention.

The proposition, simple as it may seem, was not original with them, but was the conception and advice of Abraham Lincoln, not as yet of national fame, only an ex-congressman, recognized as the foremost lawyer of his state, and was the germ from which sprang his great sacrificial service to the nation.

Mr. Miller, living within his professional circuit and affiliated with the Free-soil party, on determining to move to Kansas, sought a conference with him as to the political policy best adapted to conditions of the newly organized territory. Realizing the advantage Missouri would have by its proximity and largest contingent of earliest settlers, assisted by the federal administration playing a strenuous game of politics in shaping the policy of the territory, he emphasized the necessity of discarding party affiliations and uniting upon the one issue of making Kansas a free state, and the cultivation of friendly relations with our jealous neighbor over the border.

The acceptance of this advice was expressed in the name of the paper, and the revulsion produced by the portentous demonstration on the 4th of July offered the first opportunity for its successful application.

The *Free State* was indicted by the federal grand jury, and the press destroyed, with the library and personal effects of the editor, on the 21st of May, 1856. The last issue, but half printed, with a six months' supply of paper, was scattered to the winds and driven miles over the prairie. It contained the name of John C. Fremont for president, set in display on the first page, with a letter written by him to Governor Robinson, and indorsed by Speaker Banks as "worthy of publication," which formed his certificate of qualification as candidate for the newly formed Republican party for President. As no distinct pronouncement in his favor had yet been made, the receipt of the letter was esteemed a signal honor. As Kansas was to be the

paramount issue of the campaign, it was evident that Lawrence was to be the point of vantage from which his boom was to be projected. But it failed. In the indiscriminate wreckage nothing at the time seemed worth preserving. Only a copy taken east as a souvenir was saved. But the publication was not without its compensation, as it brought, unsought, the honor of an appointment as delegate to the Philadelphia convention that established the precedent of admitting the territories to equal representation with the states. In the convention the Kansas delegation were treated with most cordial consideration, their entrance and their votes were marked with rounds of applause. The editor was appointed one of the honorary secretaries.¹

The trip east to attend the convention was also to buy a new press, but the closing of Missouri to Northern travel and the reign of brigandage prevented the reestablishment of the paper till the spring of 1857. This hindrance, however, was compensated for by the opening of a wider field and far more productive service. In the West, where the name of the "Pathfinder" touched the most responsive chords of the masses, with Kansas the paramount issue, a live Kansan fresh from the arena of conflict, though of faltering speech, was a mascot. The Fremont campaign opened all along the line with exultant expectation, the Republican committees pressed into service every resource at their command. The editor of the *Free State* was assigned to duty by the state committee of Indiana, and under the political tutelage and the companionship of ex-Commissioner of Patents and Indian Agent Henry L. Ellsworth, future Senators Henry S. Lane and Oliver P. Morton and John P. Usher, he took part in many of the great rallies of the state. He also responded to many calls from acquaintances in southern Ohio and western Pennsylvania, being employed till the eve of the election, and receiving the disappointing news in Pittsburg.

The bright sunshine of freedom that broke through the storm-clouds of '56 brought with it an avalanche of free presses. Brown had revived at Lawrence his *Herald of Freedom*, destroyed in '56; Delahay his *Territorial Register* at Wyandotte, destroyed at Leavenworth, the first paper to be thus honored; Crozier with the *Leavenworth Times* had supplanted General Easton and his *Herald*; Franklin G. Adams, who a year before had been compelled to flee from his "claim" near Leavenworth and seek refuge in Lawrence, had converted, by purchase from Stringfellow, the *Squatter Sovereign* into the *Champion of Freedom* at Atchison; Redpath, with his *Crusader*, had hoisted the red flag at Doniphan; Sol Miller, his plumed *Chief* at White Cloud; Elwood had its *Advertiser* a year in advance of its *Free Press*; Palermo, Geary City and Sumner had their presses; Quindaro its *Chindowan*, edited by a future bishop. Indeed, the western bank of the Missouri, from the Nebraska line to the mouth of the Kansas, was outlined with intellectual luminaries, individually as advertising mediums and beacons of commerce, collectively as a triumphant illumination of a decisive victory. In the interior only the *Lecompton Union*, the sole organ of the federal administration, shone with a subdued light, a consecrated candle casting its mournful rays over the bier of slavery.

Before reaching Lawrence it was learned that the "claim" of the *Free State* had been jumped by T. Dwight Thacher with the *Lawrence Republican*,

NOTE 1.—The delegates from Kansas to the Philadelphia convention in 1856 were Samuel C. Pomeroy, Martin F. Conway, Shaler W. Eldridge, Robert G. Elliott, Samuel N. Wood, and Asaph Allen.

and that the only unoccupied situation of note was Delaware, on the Missouri, below Leavenworth. It was then the county seat, having won its title by greater diligence in the approved method of conducting border elections, though Leavenworth vainly protested that the unwritten law of filling the quota of voters by requisition on Missouri applied only to political issues. A company of Lawrence citizens, flushed with the prevailing epidemic of speculation, attracted by its superior natural landing, topography, shorter distance, ease of access, convenience of ferriage, and most available route for a railroad east through Platte City, had joined with the town company, greatly enlarged the plat, and were spending some \$30,000 in the investment and in grading its levee. An offer of a substantial interest in the town and a generous list of subscribers, that in the exhilaration of changed conditions seemed an endowment, determined the location of the *Free State* in the town that the year before had quartered the predatory band enlisted and brought to Kansas by Col. Warren D. Wilkes, of South Carolina, only two of whom remained and became citizens.

For a season the prospects of the town were bright, as it monopolized the forwarding business, then the most important industry on the border, radiating from Lawrence to Topeka, Burlington, Emporia and the Southwest. One of the largest boats on the river spent from sunrise to three o'clock discharging freight on the levee, proceeded to Leavenworth, discharged the remainder of its cargo, and returning passed Delaware before sunset. But the bright promise of the beginning was soon overclouded.

The scheme of the town company was entirely speculative, trusting to the magnetism of the situation, artificially produced, to attract the two essentials in town building, fixed industries and population, and to the newspaper as the voice of the auctioneer crying sales on a commission. Faith without works. The one industry of the town, forwarding goods to the interior, was intermittent and spasmodic, ebbing and flowing with the navigation of the river, and was badly provided for, inviting disaster. Some 600 stoves consigned to a Lawrence firm were landed on the levee when a torrent from a cloudburst in the night rushing down a ravine covered all with slime and carried forty into the river. This broke the charm of the situation, foretold the loss of business, and enabled Leavenworth to win back in the following season the business that had been taken from her. These converging prospects affected the press most sensibly, making a desert for business, a barren field for local matter, a hermitage for social affairs, an echo for news; for the editor, an observatory, with its field limited to one phenomenon of the political commotion.

The overshadowing issue of slavery was fire-fanged, decomposing from the self-generated heat of its fermentation, and submerged by the influx of gold that set in with the Indian land sales; and the people, relieved of its noisome presence, were awaiting in joyous anticipation its final obsequies. The instinctive policy of the self-centered Free-state party under the changed conditions was plainly indicated, and it early announced a vindication of its past course by maintaining the state organization till assured of complete victory, with a coy and diplomatic acceptance of the vital issue of the present participation in the territorial election.

Only the quixotic eccentricities of Governor Walker in his effort to "dis-sociate Democrats from the Free-state party" and to propitiate the South by organizing a state in harmony with the federal administration furnished

combatale issues; and scenes of comedy relieved the gloom of a tragic drama.

But this lonely situation of the editor was not without a certain compensation. It made him, without solicitation or opposition, the choice for delegate to all the multiplied conventions that bubbled up in the effervescent period of Kansas history, and gave him the election, uncontested, as a member of the state legislature, also of the territorial, with a worthy member, the residuum of the South Carolina colony, as an opponent—now after fifty years one of the six survivors of that body.

Inconspicuous in that body of high-grade ability, patriotic devotion, singleness of purpose and harmony of action, his chief service was in framing the first law passed at that session, "An act for the prevention and punishment of election frauds," which, with its complement, devised by Doctor Danford, creating a commission for its enforcement, made the official and convicting exposure of the Lecompton election frauds, that defeated the conspiracy in Congress and branded the perpetrators with ineffaceable ignominy.

On his election to the legislature he sold his press to the town company and thereafter made his home in Lawrence. The company failed to continue the publication of the paper. Only two numbers of the Delaware issue of the *Free State* are known to exist.

The legislature conferred upon him the office of superintendent of public printing, but it proved an empty honor. After spending some three weeks in copying the journals, the secretary of the territory declined to recognize his authority, claiming the job for himself. And as the federal government was the paymaster, the business was relinquished without a contest.

The next five years were spent as assessor and city and county treasurer, followed by a session as state senator, elected to fill out the term of Prof. Samuel M. Thorpe, who perished in the Quantrill massacre. This closed his political service.

Three years as president of the State Agricultural Society, with Gen. H. J. Strickler as secretary and Alfred Gray, C. B. Lines, Doctor Scott, and others of equal prominence, as directors; and three years as regent of the University, associated with Bishop Thomas H. Vail, C. B. Lines, Dr. Peter McVicar, Gov. Charles Robinson, and Dr. William C. Tenny, with Rev. Wm. A. Starrett as secretary, the board that under the direction of Gen. John Fraser, the chancellor, raised the University from the plane of a high school to the broad and expanding foundation on which it now rests, and effected a loan of \$100,000 from the city of Lawrence to the state, with which they built Fraser Hall, were terms of honorary service. His highest complimentary position of honor, however, was as commissioner named by a statute of 1865, with Gov. James McGrew and Daniel Howell of Atchison, to adjust by equity the claim of the contractor of the Penitentiary building, who had already lost and was confronted with ruin and the impossibility of fulfilling his contract by the sudden and momentary depreciation of greenbacks. The judgment of the commission was satisfactory to both contractor and state, and sums up his honorary services to the commonwealth.

But the administration at Washington, controlled by the South, was determined to restore the equilibrium, and so paid no attention to the changed condition of things in the territory. On the 2d of February, after all that

had passed from October 1, 1857, up to said date, President Buchanan sent the Lecompton constitution to the senate, asking its acceptance. Facing the expose of fraudulent voting, Congress continued to discuss the Lecompton constitution, and on April 30 agreed upon a compromise known as the English bill, and ordered another vote August 2, 1858, which resulted as follows: Against the English bill or the Lecompton constitution, 11,300; for, 1788; majority against, 9512. This persistence against the will of the people of the territory makes the following account, entitled "The Candle-box under the Wood-pile," essential in telling the story of the first free-state legislature.

THE CANDLE-BOX UNDER THE WOOD-PILE.

Read before the Kansas Historical Society,¹ in Topeka, by GEORGE A. CRAWFORD,
February 3, 1868.

THE Lecompton constitution was the climax of all the efforts of the pro-slavery party, through years of struggle, to enslave Kansas. That last desperate attempt to fix slavery here failed only because of the violence and fraud of the few who led. They were "hoisted by their own petard." The finding of the candle-box with the fraudulent election returns under the wood-pile was the explosion of a magazine under them and their plottings. Briefly we tell the story of the "Calhoun candle-box," premising that not all who were Lecomptonites were fraudites.

Gov. Robert J. Walker came to give fair play to the squatters. He begged them to abandon their own unauthorized state-government movement of Topeka, and accept that of Congress. He besought them to vote in the election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention; offered military protection at the polls, and pledged himself to oppose the constitution if it were not submitted to the people. He drove Surveyor-general John Calhoun and his colleagues, candidates for delegates in Douglas county, to pledge themselves that the constitution should be referred back to the people for ratification or rejection. But, unfortunately, the free-state men, too late, would only believe in Walker when he had been rejected by the pro-slavery element, and had gone to Washington to redeem his pledge and be beheaded for their sake.

From the moment that Governor Walker pledged himself to urge the rejection of the constitution, if it were not submitted to the people, the surveyor-general's clique began to plot his overthrow. If they could not remove him they would secure the defeat of his confirmation. A submission to the people would lose Kansas to slavery. It would defeat Calhoun's chances for the United States senate. It would end their long reign of terror here. All

NOTE 1.—To our Missouri invaders of 1855 is due the credit of the first motion towards a historical society in Kansas. In giving us a revised edition of the Missouri laws, they included a provision for the establishment of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Kansas Territory, with the following Kansans named as incorporators: William Walker, D. A. N. Grover, David Lykins, John Donaldson, James Kuykendall, Thomas Johnson, William A. M. Vaughan, Lucian J. Eastin, and A. J. Isaacs. No record has been preserved of any action under this law. Later, in February, 1860, after the close of the pro-slavery regime, the Scientific and Historical Society of Kansas was organized at Lawrence, with Judge S. A. Kingman as president. William Hutchinson, a member of the executive committee, was a moving spirit. This organization was prosperous for a time, but its library and collections were destroyed in the Quantrell raid, August 21, 1863. Still another attempt that did not prove permanent was made in the formation of the Kansas Historical Society, at Topeka, in March, 1867. Chief Justice Kingman was also president of this society. Editors were made exempt from the five dollars membership fee. But even with this provision the society did not prosper, and with its last meeting, in February, 1868, when this address was made, it ceased to exist. For sketch of Mr. Crawford, see vol. 6, Kansas Historical Collections, p. 237.

depended, first, on the overthrow of Walker, and second, as a consequence, the easy triumph of "the Lecompton" and slavery.

They sounded the alarm, South against Walker. They worked at first in the secrecy of pretended friendship. Democratic state conventions South began to resolve against Walker. It became necessary to defend. Gov. William Bigler, senator from Mr. Buchanan's own state, visited Kansas in June, 1857, and wrote a long letter to the President, giving his own observations in vindication of Walker. In that letter the writer hereof was pleased to join. The fall elections came. By fraud and violence and a free use of the Cincinnati directory, the Lecomptonites carried. Walker, honest ruler that he was, went behind the returns, probed the frauds, and gave the certificates to the free-state men who were opposing him. This made him, to the fraudites, an abolitionist and traitor to the party. When they made their Lecompton constitution they not only refused to submit it as a whole, but they made the president of the convention, John Calhoun—and not the territorial governor, Walker, the fraud exposé—the recipient and judge of the returns, with power to issue certificates of election.

A fraction of the free-state men, seeing they had stood apart with folded hands long enough to let the governor lose the battle, thought there was yet time to retrieve it. If they could elect free-state officers under that constitution, its adoption would not be insisted on by the South, and, if adopted, the people would be safe in the hands of their own officers. They nominated a free-state ticket, Judge G. W. Smith at the head, for governor.² The old frauds and the Cincinnati directory were repeated, and Calhoun held the returns. He was determined to issue certificates to his own adherents, and make himself a United States senator of the slave state of Kansas.

When the non-submission of the constitution became apparent, Governor Walker and friends made every effort to secure its rejection by Congress. Indian Agent Maxwell McCaslin, Buchanan's old friend, dared to raise a voice against these frauds upon the people, and his head went off.

NOTE 2.—A call was issued for the free-state men to meet in convention at Lawrence December 23, 1857, to consider the question as to whether the party would participate in the election of January 4, 1858, on the Lecompton constitution, and for state officers under that instrument. The convention met and by a vote of 62 ayes and 75 nays declared against participating. From this action the minority bolted, and in a mass-meeting held on the 24th of December the following free-state ticket was placed in the field: George W. Smith, governor; W. Y. Roberts, lieutenant-governor; P. C. Schuyler, secretary of state; Joel K. Goodin, auditor; A. J. Mead, treasurer; for congressman, M. J. Parrott. The vote cast January 4, 1858, was 6875 for Smith, and 6545 for F. J. Marshall, pro-slavery. The free-state men did not vote for or against the Lecompton constitution. The vote for the constitution was about the same that Marshall received. Nine voters in Leavenworth expressed themselves in this inscription on their ballots: "To hell with the Lecompton constitution."

Referring to this convention and the bolting mass-meeting to nominate, Thomas Ewing, jr., writes to Hugh Boyle Ewing, under date of January 2, 1858:

"The resolution to go into the election was lost, after three days of fighting, by a close vote. . . . Conciliatory speeches were made by all the leaders exhorting union, and denunciatory speeches against possible bolters, and the result was that all our friends who had been swearing they would get up a ticket, convention or no convention, grew mute and acquiescent—as Doctor Davis, Pomeroy, W. Y. Roberts, etc. I was boiling over with suppressed rage, and after a scuffle got the floor, and walked into the war men and non-voters as near as I could after the style of old Weller into Elder Shepherd. I was hissed, groaned and cheered by the respective factions while pitching into the war men and exhorting the disaffected to bolt. The convention broke up in a row after I got through, and the bolters met at another place and nominated a ticket. I organized the executive committee at Lawrence, and came over here on the 27th, where there had been a fierce strife between the bolters and regulars. The bolters carried the day here by a unanimous vote of a mass convention of the people. I was appointed chairman of the executive committee, and have had the management of the campaign. There is yet disaffection in our ranks in different parts of the territory, except in Leavenworth; but I think we shall carry the day. I take a company of select men to Kickapoo, and am bound to have fair play there, and have arranged to secure it at all the precincts in this and Johnson county. Denver has sent troops wherever I have asked for them. I went to Lecompton to see him, and brought over his requisitions to General Harney. The true Democracy here are all with us, except Purkins, Halderman, and Young, who will not vote at all."

The writer hereof appealed to his old friend, Gov. Wm. F. Packer, the Democratic governor of Mr. Buchanan's own state, and the governor protested in his message against the Lecompton. Col. John W. Forney, who made Buchanan president, was chairman of the Democratic state central committee, and editor of the Democratic organ of the state. He also heard the appeals of justice, and made war on the Lecompton and the President. The writer hereof also visited his friend Judge Douglas, before he went to Washington, and urged him to make that fight which ended so gloriously in the defeat of the Lecompton. It may be well to say, parenthetically, that such audacity incurred the ill will of Clarke, Brockett, Hamilton & Co. They attempted assassination, and finally gave me a polite note of invitation to leave the territory, with something added about being a "dead man by 12 o'clock."

The contest opened up in Congress. Douglas, giant that he was, made himself immortal in that championship of Kansas and the right. But the pro-slavery element had the power in Congress to bind Kansas in the thrall of that constitution. Frauds were charged but denied. The battle wavered. Nothing but the exposure of these frauds, shocking the moral sense of the nation and making the glaring wrong impossible, could give victory to the people. Such exposure could save Kansas to freedom, and prevent the immediate civil war likely to grow out of the enforcement of a constitution on a protesting people.³ The territorial legislature, free-state because of Governor Walker's rejection of the fraudulent returns, seconded our friends at Washington by instituting an investigation. They appointed a committee to inquire. Calhoun, determining they should not see the returns, fled to Missouri. His chief clerk remained to manage all. Putting on an air of conscious innocence, he ventured to a ball at the Eldridge House, in Lawrence. While on the floor, the finger of an officer touched him on the shoulder, and he followed into the presence of the committee. There he swore Calhoun had taken the returns to Missouri! The dance "went on, and joy" with him "was unconfined." The public knows that on the second morning thereafter the free-state sheriff of Douglas county, with a posse,

NOTE 3.—In a letter dated Leavenworth, Kan., January 18, 1858, Thomas Ewing, jr., wrote his father, Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio:

"Calhoun left for Washington to-day—fled. He would have been brought up for forging election returns, of which there is evidence enough, I believe, to warrant a presentment. He is the instigator of all the frauds, I have not a shadow of doubt. Henderson, one of his tools, who has recently got an appointment from Buchanan, obtained the returns at Delaware Crossing, in this county, from the judges of election there, avowedly to bring them to Calhoun, and changed the return from 43 to 543. That fraudulent return would have decided Leavenworth county with eleven members of the legislature, and would have decided the legislature. A prompt arrest of Henderson prevented Calhoun counting that return. He said he had not received it. Henderson said he gave it to him. The judges and clerks at Kickapoo, Oxford and Shawnee have fled from fright. Those at Delaware Crossing have, I think, been coaxed out of the territory to prevent the exposure of Henderson and his associates.

"Calhoun says he will not give certificates of election or declare the result officially until we are admitted as a state. There is much reason to fear that he will declare for the pro-slavery candidates, by rejecting free-state returns on account of informality, and by allowing amended and increased fraudulent returns made out by fugitive judges in Missouri. If we are admitted, and these pro-slavery men have the power, there will be civil war. The Calhoun faction do not really number more than 1000 out of 16,000 voters. They are composed of those of the ruffians who figured conspicuously in the arsons and murders of the past two years, and who have not yet died of delirium tremens. That is, honestly, the character of men who are likely to have the control of the state government, and to have the power of the general government to back them in subjugating the people. But the administration cannot succeed. Kansas cannot be forced like a bastinadoed elephant to kneel to receive the paltry riders. I believe that the ringleaders of this faction will be put to death the moment that Calhoun decides the election against us, and I would not be at all surprised to see the people unite in determined rebellion, although it is more probable that they will seize the state government by killing enough of the pro-slavery men to give them a majority. One thing is certain. If the pro-slavery men get and are suffered to keep the power for a year, it is utterly out of the question that it can be shaken off for a number of years to come."

found the returns in a candle-box under a wood-pile at Lecompton, and took them before the committee.⁴ But who put them there, and when? who saw it done, and how? who told Sheriff Samuel Walker, and gave him a diagram so true that he went straight to the spot? who took the caps from the forty muskets in the surveyor-general's office in the night, when the office was locked and in their possession, and so saved Walker and his party from bloodshed and defeat? No newspaper, no historian, no public speaker has told it.

The reasons why they have not been told nor known have passed away. The lives of men no longer depend on secrecy. Sure assassination would have followed an exposure then. But now, between the parties who laid their plots of perjury and fraud to enslave Kansas, and us who planned their exposure, the fiery tide of civil war has rolled—and between others, the still more impassable gulf of death. There are but two men in Kansas who know the facts I am about to relate. The writer, who helped plan, and the sheriff, who helped execute, the exposure of their villainies. Some are dead, and others gone far off. It is proper that before the secret is forever locked away in the coffin of the last survivor—now that no death or danger lurks in the disclosure—I should break the seal of ten years of silence. I owe it to history, and to heroic men who never were fairly understood in Kansas. I am therefore glad at last, in the presence of this historical society of the state, at this, its first meeting, to unlock the treasury of memory and make my contribution to justice and to history at the same time. With these explanations I proceed to give the story of how it was discovered.

NOTE 4.—Before the investigating committee appointed by the legislature January 14, 1858, L. A. McLean made oath, January 30, as follows:

"Some three or four precincts sent in their returns already open, but were sealed up in the presence of the persons who brought them, and the name of the bearer written upon them; do not know that the returns from Kickapoo, Oxford, Shawnee or Delaware Crossing were sent in open. Do not know whether they were sent in at all or not. When the returns were sent in, they were deposited in Governor Denver's safe until they were opened by General Calhoun. After he had counted them they were again tied up and deposited with me. I sent them afterwards, some seven or eight days, by a messenger from Platte county, Missouri, to General Calhoun. Do not remember the name of the messenger who took them; he did not bring a letter from Calhoun. It was about the 19th or 20th inst. that those returns were sent to Calhoun. The message was that Calhoun wanted all the returns which had been opened sent over to him."—Report, page 114.

On pages 116 and 117 of the report is an affidavit sworn to by Henry J. Adams, Thomas Ewing, jr., Dillon Pickering, James B. Abbott and Enoch L. Taylor, February 1, 1858, as follows: "That said board, under said acts, have the right to the possession of the election returns which have been sent by the judges of the said elections at the several precincts in this territory to John Calhoun, the president of the convention, so long as the possession of them may be necessary for the purposes of such investigation. That said John Calhoun, the custodian of said returns, is absent from the territory, and beyond the processes of the board. That L. A. McLean, a resident of Lecompton, and the chief clerk in the office of said Calhoun, has testified before the board that said Calhoun left the said returns in said McLean's possession and custody, and that subsequently, about the 18th or 19th of January, 1858, a person whose name was to him unknown called upon him, and stated that he had been sent for said returns by John Calhoun, and that he, said McLean, delivered said returns to the said messenger, and has not since had possession or custody of them. That they have been informed, and verily believe, that said returns have been stolen or embezzled, and that they are now concealed in or about the building in which is the office of the surveyor-general at Lecompton, or in or about the building adjacent thereto, and they ask that a search-warrant be issued by your honor directing the sheriff of this county to take said returns from their place of concealment, and bring them before your honor, and that said returns may be delivered to this board for examination, and then returned to such persons as may appear to have authority to receive them."

"On pages 118 and 119 is the sheriff's return, dated February 2, 1858, and signed Samuel Walker, sheriff of Douglas county, K. T.: "Executed the within warrant (not searching any of the buildings within described) by removing a pile of wood situated on the premises herein described, and adjacent to the office of the surveyor-general, and by digging from under it a box buried in the earth, about eight inches, and supposed to contain the election returns herein described—which box is herewith delivered in open court without having been opened by any person."

On pages 120 and 121 is a sworn statement by Samuel Walker, giving details of how it happened. Also on page 119 there are affidavits by John W. Denver, governor, and C. W. Babcock and George W. Dietzler, saying that the papers taken out of the candle-box are the same pa-

There were a group of Pennsylvanians constituting the family of Gen. William Brindle, receiver of the land-office at Lecompton. They were himself, Mrs. Brindle, E. W. Wynkoop, Hardman Petriken and Harry Petriken. They were old Pennsylvania friends, whose house was my home when I was about Lecompton. They occupied the log house vacated by Governor Geary—the government muskets all remaining in it. These were stored in the cellar and up-stairs—enough of them loaded and at hand for emergencies. I used to sleep up-stairs among the muskets “with the boys.” We six were the conspirators against the Calhounites—a woman in the plot, as you see. She was wiser in counsel, and as brave as Joan of Arc—and in her veins ran the best heroic blood of Pennsylvania—the blood of the Wynkoops. In those dark days and darker nights, when assassination lurked in alleys, and prowled upon the streets, and listened through the keyholes, we whispered or quietly muttered many an hour away together. Of the six, Brindle is back in Pennsylvania, impracticable in some things, as he was thought to be, perhaps, but noble, generous, brave and patriotic. “Harry” is there, too. Ned Wynkoop is the colonel of the plains agent to the Indians. “Hard” is in a Union soldier’s grave. And our heroine—all that remains of her is a memory among her friends, as pure as the Pennsylvania snows under which, this hour, she sleeps. If Kansas knew how bravely she sustained the weak and persecuted right, she would enshrine her among the heroines of her history.

The Walker policy of popular right, you see, was at war with the Calhoun policy of pro-slavery fraud. Men took sides for life or death in

pers passed upon by them on the 12th or 13th of December, 1857. This candle-box is now among the relics of the Kansas State Historical Society. It was sent to Dr. Thomas H. Webb, of Boston, and by his widow returned to this Society twenty years later. Its history is duly inscribed on the box.

In a letter dated Saginaw, E. S. Michigan, May 30, 1894, addressed to Gen. Thomas Ewing, jr., New York city, W. C. Ransom, a clerk in the surveyor-general’s office, says:

“I read with great interest your paper in the *Cosmopolitan*, ‘Early History in Kansas.’ It brought back to mind so vividly that portion of the narrative that covered events transpiring after I became a resident of Kansas, July, 1857, and with which I was familiar, as I was one of General Calhoun’s staff of clerks in the surveyor-general’s office, and although recognized as a free-state man, and as having no sympathy at all with the horde of ruffians that hung about Lecompton that year, was called in by General Calhoun when he desired to have letters copied of a confidential character. In that way I came to know very much of the real attitude of the Buchanan administration and of prominent public men towards the Lecompton plan of forcing Kansas into the Union. . . . Gen. L. A. McLean was an accomplished scoundrel, if one ever existed. There had been a growing mistrust of McLean on the part of Calhoun for a long time previous to the candle-box affair, and he, Calhoun, had given me to understand that he intended to get rid of him as soon as he could. After the election under the Lecompton constitution, General Calhoun turned the returns over to me as fast as received for the purpose of making up the official tables of the same for canvass, and instructed me not to permit McLean to have access to them. Calhoun left Lecompton for Washington before the returns were all in. His instructions to me, when leaving, were to wait until the returns were all in hand, then to complete the statements and send the latter to him at Washington, keeping the original returns with care until his return, but to give any committee from the legislature access to them that might come for that purpose, with the understanding that they were not to be taken from my custody. I religiously carried out my instructions and kept the returns locked up in a drawer in my office, after sending the copies of the canvass to Calhoun, at Washington. Coming down to the office one morning I found the drawer broken open and the returns gone. I went to McLean at once, and he told me that Calhoun had sent a special messenger for the returns during the night, and as there was no time to lose he had opened my drawer, taken them out and sent them to the general. Subsequently, at Nebraska City, McLean told me that General Calhoun had given Mr. Greene a note to me, directing me to permit him, Greene, to inspect the election returns, and that by G—d he did n’t mean he should do it, and so told him that he (McLean) had sent the documents that very afternoon by special messenger to General Calhoun. That night he, McLean and John Sherrard, took the papers from my drawer and buried them where they were found. As this shenanigan was confirmed by what Wasmund and Torrey, clerks in our office, and who had watched and seen them bury the box, had told me before, it was unquestionably true. General Calhoun had no more to do with the candle-box business than you or I. It was simply a piece of McLean’s impudence and rascality, for which he ought to have suffered. Perhaps I have worried you with this long explanation, but I wanted you, in the light of correct history, to know the exact facts in the case. With my sincerest regards,

Faithfully yours, W. C. RANSOM.”

Lecompton. Brindle was the bold leader of the Walker party there—he was intense in zeal, intense in hate, intense in denunciation. He had been a major in the Mexican war, and believed in a fight for duty. He never went on the streets without his brace of revolvers. He was a good shot and always ready for an attack. He had a singular way of advocating slavery, but of being ready to die to give the people a chance to make Kansas a free state. He has been greatly misunderstood in Kansas. But to such men as Sheriff Walker and Col. O. E. Learnard, who did understand him, it is well known that he was the belted champion and leader of the people's cause in Lecompton. The other five of the party were all free-state.

It became necessary that Governor Walker and Brindle should know what the Calhoun cabal were plotting.

And here I introduce a name unknown to you—never, indeed, known in Kansas history, but passed away now from even the memory of nearly all of those to whose ears its humbleness was once familiar. It may be that when Kansas has heard his story she will rank him as the nation ranks Paulding, Williams and Van Wirt.

There was an obscure but faithful factotum, or man of all work, in the employ of Calhoun. He made fires, did errands, had charge of the office, and slept there. He was an old Berks county, Pennsylvania, Dutchman, who looked depressed, as if the memory of better days were on him—you might see if you looked at him close. To Calhoun and his clique, he seemed to have no higher ambition nor further thought than to draw his pay, poke about the fires, and smoke his pipe. Charley Torry—"Dutch Charley" as we called him—had seen better days in "alt Berks." He had education under all his disguise of simple ignorance. He could write a good hand, knew the force and drift of events, and comprehended the situation. The sequel may show that he was master of it, too. His presence was no bar to their midnight plottings. They regarded "Old Charley" as intensely "sound on the goose," and would trust him as they would each other. Brindle won his confidence. "Pennsylvania" was perhaps the open sesame to the heart of that friendless, forlorn, shriveling, silent man. But certainly it was more than friendship; it was an overwhelming sense of duty that made him take his life in his hands for months, and bend his pride to play the part of a betrayer for even freedom's sake. If he "stooped to conquer," mind you it was in honor's service and at honor's mandate.⁵

Sometimes, when plots were deep and counsels most secret around him, he would feign sleep. As soon as the conspirators were fairly gone from the office the stealthy step of Charley would be heard at Brindle's—the soft

NOTE. 5.—On Kansas day, January 29, 1908, the Kansas Society of New York held their usual banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria. An address was made by Thomas Ewing, jr., son of Gen. Thomas Ewing, entitled "Some happenings fifty years ago." The 29th of January being also the anniversary of the burial of the candle-box under the wood-pile at Lecompton, and Mr. Ewing's father being so vitally connected with the incident, it is exceedingly fortunate historically, at this time, that the story of the forged returns and their discovery should be the main subject of his paper. The attempt of McLean to hide the forged returns of Delaware Crossing is so closely identified with the first free-state territorial legislature that an account of it seems necessary in this connection. Mr. Ewing gives copies of two letters in his possession never before known by the public, one from Gen. William Brindle, dated September 29, 1858, and one from Charles Torry, or "Dutch Charley." The following is a quotation from General Brindle: "One of the employees of the surveyor-general was a well-educated Pennsylvanian, who had been a sheriff of Chester county and a professor at the Weston school. He was known as 'Dutch Charley.' Having fallen into the alcohol habit, he left his friends and wandered to the frontiers. No one in Lecompton or Kansas but myself knew anything about his history or his real name. He was employed in the surveyor-general's office as a draftsman, messenger, etc. The surveyor-general's chief clerk, McLean, was a pro-slavery Know-nothing, who was acting with that element in Lecompton and in the territory. 'Charley' was a free-state man. He usually affected

swing of the gate—the low tap at the back door—and the quiet opening of the door to take him in. His step was stealthy as a cat's—for a grave was under him and it were not pleasure to break through. On the streets he scarcely dared to recognize any of us, nor we him. I remember once he brought the manuscript of a pamphlet they were preparing against Governor Walker for circulation South. Charley told his story in an undertone—for a broadside of bullets would follow if they knew. We sent for the governor, and had him come from his bed to read their manuscript. In the morning it was back in its place in McLean's desk, and Charley was at his chores.

When McLean gave his perjured testimony Brindle suspected the returns were yet about Lecompton. He urged Charley to renewed vigilance. McLean came back from his false swearing at Lawrence to Lecompton, to hide the evidence of his perjury. He waited until all had gone to bed the next night. Then with his comrade, quietly in the night, he displaced the pile of wood in front of the office, dug, buried the returns in the historic candle-box, smoothed the dirt and chips, replaced the wood over all, and went off to his bed or his cups, to flatter himself with safety, and to dream of senatorships.

But the sleepless eye of the faithful Charley was peering on them from the window, as they dug and hid, and they might as well have had a velvet-footed panther on their track. As soon as their footsteps passed out of hearing, he stole out with his secret, and made his way to Brindle. Brindle had been keeping up communication with Sheriff Sam Walker, a Pennsylvanian also. The sheriff lived about four miles east of Lecompton. Brindle

to be more under the influence of liquor than he really was. He was cunning, and when political questions were being discussed in the office, he appeared not to take any notice of what was being said or done. He kept me constantly advised of everything of importance which took place in the office."

Charles Torry's letter is dated Kansas City, Mo., July 1, 1863, and is addressed to Thomas Ewing, jr., brigadier-general:

"While employed as messenger, copyist, etc., in the surveyor-general's office at Lecompton, Kan., 1858, on the 27th of January, at about four o'clock P. M., I was called on by one of the clerks, namely, John Sherrard, to procure him a candle-box, which I did and handed it to him. On the evening of the same day, at about eight o'clock, he called on me again to get him a shovel or spade, and told me to put it in his room where he slept, at the head end of his bed in the corner (in the office), and then take it away in the morning. I told him that it was late in the evening to find a shovel or spade, as we had none about the premises, but I would try and procure it for him if possible. It was moonlight, the weather mild, and the ground open. I went to the yard of Doctor Wood, where I was well acquainted, and found a shovel and put it where and as he had directed me, etc.

"This last act led to suspicion, and I knew something was going on that looked rather surreptitiously. That night I went to bed as usual (in the office). So did the other clerks; and I said nothing to any one of them at the time, but kept awake. About twelve or one o'clock in the night Chief Clerk L. A. McLean and the aforesaid John Sherrard came home (who had been out on some nocturnal excursion) and soon went to work. I heard them and watched them; they came around the office, and making their way to the wood-pile—I had no occasion to go out of the house, but looked out of the window—Sherrard dug the hole, and McLean had the 'candle-box' and put it down, and then buried it. I returned to my bed—so did they. . . ."

He then tells how, on the afternoon of the 29th, McLean and Sherrard went to Lawrence to attend a ball that night; how at midnight he moved that wood, dug up the box, inspected the papers in the box, and then reported to Brindle what he had found. The box and contents were returned to the hole beneath the wood-pile. Brindle in his letter further tells how he got word to General Ewing of the committee, and to Sheriff Walker, and of the latter's appearance the next morning with the search-warrant and a diagram of the location of the box furnished by Torry. Torry closes his letter thus:

"As regards myself, in relation to which permit me to say a few words, which I will do without flattery, that so far as office business was concerned, everything was openly and candidly confided to me, and I did my full share, a little of everything, and performed my duty faithfully. But I never was admitted into their political secrets—they were not entrusted to me—and I felt no anxiety—however, I still knew how things were moving. I cannot be charged with complicity nor duplicity on either side. I acted from pure patriotic motive—I was sensible that I was hurting the feelings of the clerks—and demolishing Calhoun's cabinet. I liked the *clks* in the office (McLean excepted) but I loved my 'ountry more."

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES TORRY."

N. B.—Colonel Brindle rendered his services cheerfully, and acted with promptitude,

and Charley made out an exact diagram of the grounds so that Walker should go to the precise spot without a guide. They dare not be known in the matter. Brindle furnished a horse to Charley, and sent him at midnight to the sheriff. He called the sheriff up, narrated all, and gave the diagram. The guns in the office were discussed. Charley thought to pour water in them, or take the loads out. Walker advised to take the caps off. To unload them would cause a noise—water might not be a safe remedy. Charley went back to his bed in the surveyor-general's office. The sheriff mounted his horse post-haste for Lawrence; aroused the committee; asked for a writ for the arrest of McLean and of search for the returns, and obtained only a writ of search. He then notified eight of his trusted friends to prepare themselves for emergencies, and meet him next morning at eight o'clock in front of the land-office in Lecompton. He did not let them know his object. The sheriff was on hand at sunup. "The boys" came straggling in, one at a time, as if by accident, and were all there by nine o'clock. Among them were Samuel F. Tappan, Louis Tappan, George Earle, John Stone, and John E. Cook, who was hung for the Harper's Ferry raid. The work on hand was such that if it were done safely, or done at all, it had better be done quickly. They hurried to the office of the surveyor-general, with their guns concealed under their overcoats.

McLean was at his desk, writing. He was a splendid model of a man in all but his morals—over six feet high, well proportioned, long black hair, manly and daring in manner, a big voice as if made to command, broad Scotch accent, well educated, bold in character, strong in intellect—such were the qualities thrown away in what ought to have been a noble Scotchman, but by bad associations was only McLean, the perjured. He saluted Walker with as much assurance as if his frauds and guilt were really beyond resurrection. They shook hands. The sheriff had saved his life while making a speech near Lawrence, and they were friendly. "General, I have come after the returns," said Walker. He replied, "What in h—l have you come for them for? Don't you know I testified they were in Missouri? You must think I have sworn to a lie." The sheriff replied "I don't know, but I have a warrant for the returns." McLean told him to search. Walker said he knew where they were. McLean, keeping up a bold pretense of injured innocence asked, "Where?" "*Under the wood-pile,*" said Walker. The man whom nature made noble, but who made himself perjured, sat hesitating, dumb, and then suddenly grew pale. He hurriedly rose to get his pistol from the top of the desk—but the cocked guns of Earle and another were leveled on him, and he stopped. He returned and called his employees—about seventeen in number—to defend. They seized and cocked their guns, but put them down again, one by one, in disgust. The faithful Charley had kept his word, *and not a cap remained on any musket.* The stalwart Scotchman sank down in the silence of overwhelming shame. His perjury rose before him in full measure, and his dream of senatorships and fat surveying contracts fled away.

While this scene was passing, "Dutch Charley" was fussing about the stove and concealing a good deal of satisfaction. The free-state boys were summoned from around the building where they had stood at the windows, and were directed to pull down the pile of wood. So correct had been the diagram that, with the first attempt to dig, they struck the candle-box. The boys thought it was coin, but its lightness made them say it must be

Virginia currency. McLean tried to rally a party to rescue the box as the boys bore it off in triumph, but when the people found he had sworn falsely they would not sustain him. He went to Ben Newson, a high-toned young lawyer of the pro-slavery party, confessed all, and asked him as a friend what he should do. "Do? Do?" said Ben, "Why, d—n you, go and hang yourself." Fearing arrest, he and his comrade fled across the Kaw river, met a team of mules, pressed, unharnessed and mounted them, and thus made good their escape to Missouri. All our long, grand tragedy ended in farce. A constitution whose representative was last seen fleeing on a stolen barebacked mule before the pains of perjury and the punishment of the people, might from that hour be considered worse than dead.

Charley Torry, instead of making sure of safety by fleeing with Sheriff Walker to Lawrence as a city of refuge, took the chances of detection, preserved the appearance of surprise and ignorance, and was never suspected for a moment. When Buchanan removed the office to Nebraska City to accommodate Calhoun, who could no longer return to Kansas, old Charley went along. He stayed until after the death of Calhoun, and played the game of spy for freedom to the last. His superior, who betrayed his hereditary Scotch love of freedom, met an appropriate fate.

McLean was chief of staff for General Price in the Price raid. When they took some of our men prisoners on the Blue he sent word by Sam Fry that they were coming to desolate Douglas county, but that he would protect the property of Sheriff Samuel Walker. My recollection is that, for reasons purely military, they did not come to Lawrence! On their return to Texas a rebel officer took offense because McLean refused him leave of absence. They met when McLean was drinking. High words passed, when the officer whipped out a huge knife and tore him open until his bowels fell out. We are sad to close this, our first recorded chapter of Kansas history, with the thought that one with such noble outward bearing should remind us, in his life and death, of Judas.

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE FREE-STATE LEGISLATURE OF 1857-'58.

IT has occurred to me that it would be wonderfully interesting to learn the history of the members of this first free-state legislature and to hand it down to posterity. To this end I have had the records of the Society carefully searched for biographies, for mention of the individuals in a casual way, or of their service in state documents, county histories, newspapers, etc. After all possible had been collected in this manner, the relatives and friends have been hunted up. A copy of the material found was given them and a request made for more data. It has been an intensely interesting hunt. The result is here presented, not as full as desired, but a labor of love, a rescue of some of the names, at least, from unmerited oblivion.

COUNCIL.

LYMAN ALLEN, of Douglas county, a member of the territorial council of 1857-'58, was one of the early settlers of that county, coming to Lawrence in March, 1855. He was active in free-state affairs and served in many positions of trust; was a member of the board of trustees of "Lawrence University" in 1859; a member of the Emporia Town Company in 1857; of the railroad convention of 1860; and adjutant-general of Kansas from July 23, 1861, to March 22, 1862. He died at his home in Lawrence, November 30, 1863.

CARMI WILLIAM BABCOCK, of Douglas county, president of the council, was born in Franklin county, Vermont, April 21, 1830; received his education at Bakersfield Academy, and engaged in teaching. In 1850 he moved to St. Paul, Minn., where he read law and was admitted to the bar. He came to Kansas in 1854, arriving in Lawrence in September. Finding that the practice of law was not remunerative at that time he engaged in the real estate business. In 1857 he established a bank in connection with Mr. Johnston Lykens, but the panic of that year overwhelmed it. He was the first postmaster of Lawrence, receiving his appointment February 1, 1855, but was removed in 1857 to make place for a pro-slavery man. He was also the second mayor of Lawrence; a delegate to the convention of National Democracy, June, 1855, and was a member of the committee on resolutions; also a member of the executive committee of the free-state convention at Grasshopper Falls, August 26, 1857. In 1869 he was appointed surveyor-general of Kansas, which office he filled two terms, or until its discontinuance. With E. D. Thompson, Josiah Miller and Marcus J. Parrott he built the bridge across the Kaw river at Lawrence, completing it in December, 1863. When Silvers & Son withdrew from the contract of replacing the rotten foundation of the east wing of the state-house, at Topeka, July 24, 1867, it was awarded to Bogert & Babcock, who carried it to completion. General Babcock was a delegate to the Republican national convention in 1868. In November, 1871, he became one of the incorporators of the Kansas Magazine Company. In his later years he was connected with the Kansas Basket Manufacturing Company, being its secretary. He died in St. Louis, October 22, 1889.

JOSEPH P. CARR, of Atchison county, was a lawyer by profession, and was commissioned as paymaster, Third regiment, northern division, Kansas militia, May 13, 1856. He was elected as a Democrat, and apparently resigned without taking his seat. In his letter of resignation to Governor Denver, under date of January 23, 1858, he says: "I could be of no benefit whatever to my constituents, and it is but right, if they wish the seat occupied, to give them an opportunity of filling it." His resignation was accepted, and Governor Denver issued a proclamation calling an election for February 8, 1858, to fill such vacancy. Luther C. Challis, of Atchison, was elected. Mr. Carr was a member of the railroad convention of 1860 from Atchison county. He went south at the beginning of the civil war, and was later known to be in Buffalo, N. Y. He died at Louisville, Ky., in the early '90's.

LUTHER C. CHALLIS, of Atchison county, elected to the seat in the territorial council made vacant by the resignation of Joseph P. Carr, was born at Imlaystown, N. J., January 26, 1829. He was apprenticed to the mercantile business in Philadelphia. After remaining there some years he went to Boonville, Mo., where he lived for a time. In 1855 he moved into Kansas and was among the first permanent settlers of Atchison, joining his brother in a general merchandising trade. He afterwards became a banker; also maintained a ferry across the Missouri river until the building of the bridge, in 1875. He is generally conceded to be the father of the Central Branch Union Pacific railway enterprise, having framed the bill to authorize its construction, secured its passage, and negotiated the treaty with the Kickapoo Indians. He was also one of the incorporators of the Atchison & St. Joseph railway, the first railroad built in the state, and of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway. He died in Atchison, July 26, 1894.

ROBERT CROZIER, of Leavenworth county, was born at Cadiz, Ohio, October 15, 1823. He entered Cadiz Academy when eighteen years of age, and graduated at twenty-one; he read law and was admitted to the bar, and was elected county attorney of his county in 1848, serving four years. He arrived in Kansas in the fall of 1856, settling in Leavenworth, where he issued the first number of the *Leavenworth Times*, March 1, 1857. He was elected to the council in 1857, successfully contesting the seat of John A. Halderman. In 1861 Judge Crozier was appointed United States district attorney, but resigned that office to accept the nomination of chief justice of the supreme court, to which he was elected in November, 1863, holding the position until 1866. He then became cashier of the First National Bank of Leavenworth, where he remained until 1876. In 1874 he had been appointed United States senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Alexander Caldwell. November, 1876, he was elected judge of the First judicial district, holding that office for four successive terms, or until within three years of his death, which occurred at Leavenworth October 2, 1895. Brig.-Gen. William Crozier, chief of the ordnance department, United States army, is his son.

ALSON C. DAVIS, settled in Wyandotte county, then a part of Leavenworth county, coming there from New York about 1857; he lost his seat in the territorial council through the contest of Crozier, Root and Wright for the seats of Halderman, Davis and Martin. Mr. Davis sat in the extra session of 1857 from its convening, December 7, until December 11. In 1858 he was appointed United States district attorney for Kansas territory, holding the office until 1861. He was among the active members of the railroad convention of 1860. In October, 1861, he obtained permission from Major-general Fremont to raise a regiment of cavalry, to be known as the

Twelfth Kansas volunteer cavalry. December 26 four companies of Nugent's regiment of Missouri home guards were attached to the organization and the name changed to the Ninth Kansas volunteers. January 9, 1862, Davis was made colonel of this regiment, but resigned in February. He died in 1881, in New York.

JOHN ADAMS HALDERMAN, of Leavenworth county, was born in Kentucky in 1833. He came to Kansas in 1854, and was appointed private secretary to Governor Reeder in November of that year, serving until July 1, 1855. He was secretary of the first territorial council, 1855, and was the first probate Judge of Leavenworth county; was a member of the territorial council of 1857, and maintained his seat until December 11, when on account of the report of the committee on contests he was removed. He was one of the delegates in the Democratic convention at Leavenworth, December 24, 1858, which repudiated the Lecompton constitution. He served as major in the First Kansas volunteers and major-general of the northern division of the state militia. He was twice mayor of Leavenworth, was a regent of the State University, and in 1870 a member of the house of representatives, and elected state senator in 1874. In 1880 he was appointed consul to Bangkok and promoted to consul-general, and in 1883 was made minister to the court of Siam, where he was decorated by the king. He is passing his declining years in Washington, D. C.

BENJAMIN HARDING, of Doniphan county, was born in Exeter, Otsego county, New York, November 25, 1815. In 1840 he became a resident of Livingston county, Missouri, and in 1842 entered the Indian trade at the Great Nemaha agency. He moved to St. Joseph in 1849, but returned to Kansas in 1852, engaging once more in the Indian trade at Wathena. In 1854 Mr. Harding was judge of election, and incurred the enmity of the pro-slavery people; he was indicted for serving in this capacity and twice went to Leavenworth to answer the charge, which was finally dismissed. He was a delegate to the Big Springs convention, 1855, served in the territorial councils of 1857, '58 and '59, was a member of the railroad convention of 1860, and held the office of register of deeds of Doniphan county, 1862-'66, after which he lived a somewhat retired life. He died at his home in Wathena, January 15, 1904.

CYRUS KURTZ HOLLIDAY, of Shawnee county, was born near Carlisle, Pa., April 3, 1826, and was educated at Alleghany College. A lawyer by profession, but a man of large business undertakings, he came to Lawrence in October, 1854. In November of that year he, with others, pushed westward to the ground whereon Topeka now stands, and organized the Topeka Town Company. In 1857 he was elected a member of the council of the free-state legislature. He afterward served as adjutant-general of Kansas from May 2, 1864, to March 31, 1865. Perhaps Colonel Holliday's greatest accomplishment was the inception and building of the Santa Fe railroad, suggested to him by the great travel over the Santa Fe trail. He was one of the earliest members of the State Historical Society and always active in its interest, being president in 1890. He died at his home in Topeka, March 29, 1900.

OSCAR E. LEARNARD of Burlington, Coffey county, was born in Fairfax, Vt., November 14, 1832, was educated at Bakersfield Academy and Norwich University, and graduated from the Albany Law School. After a brief time spent in Ohio, he came to Kansas in 1855, and immediately identified himself with the free-state cause. In 1857 he was elected to the council and served three sessions. He was president of the convention at Osawatimie, May 18, 1859, at which the Republican party in Kansas was organized. He was elected judge of the Fifth judicial district, which office he held from January 29 to June 26, 1861, resigning to become lieutenant-colonel of the First Kansas infantry. He served upon the staff of Gen. David Hunter and of Gen. John W. Denver, resigning from the army in 1863. He has been twice elected to the state senate from Douglas county, and served one year as superintendent of Haskell Institute. For many years he has been tax commissioner and special attorney of the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis railway. In 1884 he bought the *Lawrence Daily Journal*, and with his sons ran this paper until a few years ago. He is still an active citizen of Lawrence.

J. W. MARTIN, of Leavenworth county, is not mentioned anywhere. He probably never appeared to take his seat. Halderman and Davis filed a protest against unseating without Martin.

ANDREW J. MEAD, a member of the free-state legislature for Riley and Pottawatomie counties, was born about 1819, and reared in New York city. He came to Kansas from Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1855, for the Cincinnati & Kansas Land Company, of which he was a member, to locate a town site. He brought with him a surveyor and located the town of Manhattan, of which he was the first mayor. He was nominated state treasurer by the free-state delegate convention, December 23, 1857, and was elected under the Lecompton constitution, January 4, 1858, by a majority of 371 votes over Thomas J. B. Cramer, pro-slavery. He signed the call for the railroad convention of 1860, and was a member of that body from Riley county. In October, 1868, Mr. Mead left Kansas for New Orleans, finally settling in New York city. He was an ardent free-state sympathizer, and did much effective work for the cause. Mr. Mead died at Yonkers, N. Y., Saturday, November 12, 1904, in his eighty-ninth year.

EDWIN S. NASH, of Johnson county, member of the territorial council, 1857-'59, was an early settler at Olathe, was in the real estate business, and was but twenty-one years of age when elected. He was journal clerk of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, and one of the signers of the call for the railroad convention of 1860. He was commissioned an adjutant in the First Kansas infantry, promoted to the captaincy of company G, June 1, 1862, and resigned March 17, 1863. He died in Chicago in the later '70's.

ALBERT G. PATRICK, of Jefferson and Calhoun counties, was born May 21, 1824, at Salem, Washington county, Indiana. He immigrated to Kansas from Greencastle, Ind., arriving at Leavenworth February 12, 1856, where he allied himself with the free-state party. He encountered the ill will of the pro-slavery men of Leavenworth through writing an account, published in an Indiana paper, of the robbing and stuffing of the ballot-box by Dick Murphy in the contest for a seat in the council between C. F. Currier, free-state, and Beck, pro-slavery. In the summer of 1856 he was taken prisoner by Fred Emory's band and delivered to Captain Miller who, it was supposed, would hang him; but instead took him to Leecompton, where he was court-martialed and ordered shot as a spy. He was taken out to the open prairie and placed before twelve picked men. Realizing his extremity he tried the virtue of the Masonic sign of distress; it was successful, and two days later he was delivered to Governor Woodson at Leecompton, where he was placed under guard with five or six other prisoners. Finally he was set at liberty and proceeded to Lawrence. He joined Captain Wright's Stranger Creek company and participated in the Hickory Point engagement, September 14, 1856; with others he was captured by United States troops and sent to Leecompton, where he was held by Governor Geary under indictment for murder, but was acquitted. In the summer of 1857, under the Topeka movement, he was elected clerk of the supreme court, and in the fall of that year was elected a member of the council of the first free-state legislature, serving two years. Although a free-state man, he was elected to the senate under the Leecompton constitution, January 4, 1858. In 1867 he was elected to the legislature from Marshall county. He moved to Jefferson county in 1868, and in 1869 was elected clerk of the county, serving two years. For some time he ran the Valley Falls *New Era*. He died February 10, 1903, at Oskaloosa.

JOSEPH POMEROY ROOT, of Wyandotte, then a part of Leavenworth county, was born at Greenwich, Mass., April 23, 1826, and died at Kansas City, Kan., July 20, 1885. He was a member of the Connecticut-Kansas colony, better known as the Beecher Bible and Rifle Company, which settled at Wabauensee. He organized free-state forces and in every way identified himself with the early history of the territory. As chairman of the free-state executive committee he located the road from Topeka to Nebraska City, thereby securing a safer route of travel for free-state immigrants. He was sent east as agent to obtain arms and other assistance and was very successful. On his return he located at Wyandotte and was there elected a member of the council. He was lieutenant-governor of the state in 1861; served in the Second Kansas as surgeon, and was medical director of the Army of the Frontier. At the close of the war he returned to Wyandotte and the practice of his profession, but was appointed minister to Chili in 1870. At the close of his term of office he returned again to Wyandotte, and continued there until his death, July 20, 1885.

DAVID SIBBET, of Miami county, was elected to fill the seat made vacant by the death of Hiram B. Standiford, and took the oath of office February 1, 1858. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and was born about 1829; was an early settler in Brooklin, Scott township, Linn county, owning, in partnership with Zebulon W. Leasure, a general store there in 1855. Mr. Sibbet was the first postmaster appointed in Linn county, and served at Brooklin from 1855 to 1870, when the office was discontinued there and moved three miles east, to the railroad station of Barnard, now Boicourt. He went with the office and continued as postmaster until removed in 1893; elected county treasurer of Linn county October 5, 1857. He was a sergeant in company F, Second Kansas infantry, three months' service, and participated in the battle of Wilson Creek.

HIRAM B. STANDIFORD, of Franklin county, a member of the council, was a native of Indiana, and had but a brief career in Kansas. Moving from Indiana to Cass county, Missouri, in 1846, he was elected sheriff of the county in 1850, holding the office four years, and in 1854 he was elected a member of the Missouri house of representatives. He moved into Kansas in 1855, and was elected to the Topeka legislature, but on account of Congress failing to confirm the Topeka constitution, he refused to take his seat. In 1857 he settled in Cutler township, Franklin county, and was elected to the council from that district, consisting of Franklin, Anderson, Lykins and Linn counties. He sat in the extra session of December, 1857, but at its close was suddenly seized with an attack of pneumonia, from which he died January 3, 1858. He was succeeded by David Sibbet, of Linn county, who entered upon his duties February 1, 1858.

JOHN WRIGHT, of Leavenworth county, a farmer, was one of the three successful contestants from Leavenworth county for the seats in the territorial council of Halderman, Davis and Martin. Mr. Wright took the oath of office and entered on his duties December 12, 1857. At

this time he was about thirty-one years of age. A native of Indiana, he settled in Buchanan county, Missouri, in 1839, and in Kansas in 1854. He was a delegate to the Big Springs convention in 1855 and captain of a Stranger Creek company during the troubles of '56, and served as a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention. He was a colonel in the militia during the Price raid in 1864, and was in the battle of Westport. He was born near Greencastle, Ind., June 4, 1827, and died at Fort Scott in December, 1870, where he had gone for medical treatment. His remains were interred in the Fall Creek cemetery, Leavenworth county.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JAMES ADKINS was elected as a pro-slavery candidate from Atchison. He was born in South Carolina and was very bitter in his feelings. His name appears in the journal only as absent or not voting. It is probable he never attended a session. In the early days he lived on a farm near Port Williams. He was appointed sheriff of Atchison county, September 5, 1856, serving until April, 1857. The record also shows that he had been appointed third lieutenant of the Kickapoo Rangers, July 28, 1856. He lived in Atchison county six or seven years and then moved to Nebraska City, Neb.

HIRAM APPELMAN was born at Groton, Conn., June 23, 1825. He was the son of John F. Appelman, who immigrated to the United States at the age of twenty, and settled at Mystic River, Conn., in 1806. The father was born at Wolgast, now a Prussian city. Hiram Appelman attended the common schools until the age of fourteen, when he began work in a country store. In 1847 he went to New York city, where he became skilled in the dry-goods trade. On the 24th of January, 1849, he sailed for California around Cape Horn. After a voyage of 194 days he landed at San Francisco and settled at Sacramento. He was a very active business man, and a Broderick Democrat in that state, until June 21, 1856, when he returned to his native place. In July, 1856, he made a trip for pleasure through the Western states, when he concluded to settle at Lawrence, where he became an active free-state man. In October, 1858, he concluded to return to Connecticut. He was the first man to enlist from his neighborhood in 1861, becoming a member of company E, Second Connecticut regiment. He was in the first battle of Bull Run. In August, 1861, he reenlisted for three years and was assigned to the Eighth Connecticut regiment, of which he was colonel. He was wounded twice, the second time at Antietam so severely that he was physically disqualified, and in December, 1862, was honorably discharged. He then took up the study of law. He died September 4, 1873, during his third term as secretary of state of Connecticut, having also served as state senator and judge of probate in that state.

WILLIAM PRENTISS BADGER was born December 15, 1818, at Tamworth, N. H. He was educated in the common schools and read medicine, and was much interested in scientific matters. He came to Kansas in 1857, and settled at the site of old Muscotah, two miles northeast of the present town. He was a member of the territorial legislature of 1857-'58; agent of the Kickapoo Indians from September 1, 1858, to May 31, 1861; regimental adjutant of the Thirteenth Kansas; mayor of Muscotah for several terms, and commander of McFarland post. He married Chloe Eaton Kellogg, of Montpelier, Vt., a sister of William Pitt Kellogg. They had three children, all of whom are now dead. Mr. Badger was a hatter by trade, with a large business in Montpelier, and gave it up to come to Kansas on account of lung trouble. He died at Muscotah the day after the general election in November, 1896. On the 1st of February, 1858, Badger was unseated and his seat given to Archibald P. Elliott.

OLIVER BARBER, son of Thomas Barber and Mary Oliver, was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, December 10, 1816. He was educated in the common schools of Pennsylvania, and when about nineteen years of age removed to Richmond, Ind., where he entered into partnership with his brother, Thomas W. Barber, in the manufacture of woolen cloths. Thomas W. Barber came to the territory and was murdered by a pro-slavery party on the afternoon of December 6, 1855. Oliver Barber removed to Kansas in 1856, and the following year his family came, making their home in Douglas county. He was elected to the house of representatives in 1857; was one of the county commissioners of Douglas county in 1858, and reelected in 1859. Upon the admission of Kansas into the Union he was again elected a member of the first house of representatives. In June, 1862, he was appointed commissary by President Lincoln, commissioned captain, and served on the staff of Gen. James G. Blunt for a little over two years. In 1864 he was elected state senator, and in 1878 county treasurer of Douglas county. He was a Mason. He was married November 8, 1858, to Miss Malinda Burgess, daughter of Samuel Burgess. While in Kansas he was engaged in farming and stock raising. He died at Lawrence, October 24, 1895.

ABRAHAM BARRY came from Pennsylvania with Governor Reeder's party, and reached Pawnee (Fort Riley) March 28, 1855. He was president of the town company that located Batcheler, now Milford. He was also a member of the territorial legislature of 1859. He was an able lawyer and an upright man, a Democrat, and a free-soiler. He was drowned in Madison creek, May 4, 1873.

OWEN A. BASSETT, of Leavenworth county, was born in Troy, Bradford county, Pennsylvania, July 16, 1834. His father removed with his family to Hancock county, Illinois, in 1837, and two years later settled in Lee county, Iowa. He first studied with the intention of becoming a civil engineer, but finally decided on the law. In 1855 he was employed in the United States land-office at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, but resigned to engage in business in Kansas, and in the spring of 1856 started for Lecompton. He early became connected with the free-state cause, and on August 12, 1856, joined the Lawrence Stubbs, a free-state militia company, and was engaged at the battle of Franklin and also at the taking of Fort Saunders, August 15, 1856. From this time on he was constantly engaged in the service of the free-state army of Kansas, holding the position of engineer and quartermaster. He removed to Leavenworth in December, 1856, and engaged as engineer for the Quindaro Town Company; served in the territorial house of representatives in the special session of 1857 and in the session of 1858. He removed to Franklin county in 1858, and published the *Kansas Freeman* a few months, abandoning it and returning to Lawrence the same year. He was admitted to the bar in 1858. At the breaking out of the war he helped organize the First Kansas regiment. He was appointed bearer of dispatches from Colonel Weer at Fort Scott to General Lyon at Springfield, Mo.; was appointed first lieutenant under Colonel Root, received a commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth Kansas, which regiment was changed to the Second Kansas cavalry, and served with this organization till 1865. In 1868 he was elected district judge, and reelected in 1872, holding office till 1876. He was married at New London, Iowa, to Miss Josephine E. Butland, only daughter of Richard Butland. He was a member of the Masonic order and held almost every office of trust in the same. He died at Ellsworth, Kan., July 19, 1896.

JOHN BENNETT, of Atchison county, was born in Gallatin county, Kentucky, in 1805. He died at Atchison, Kan., December 17, 1890. He was educated at Madison, Ind. He came to Kansas in the fall of 1855, and settled at Atchison. He was married in 1832 to Susan Parks, by whom he had seven children. Mrs. Imogene Challis, of Atchison, is the only one surviving.

BENJAMIN H. BROCK, of Atchison county, was born in Virginia, April 4, 1808. He died near Troy, Kan., April 11, 1893. He was educated at Athens, Ohio. He came to Kansas in October, 1854, and settled in Doniphan county. He married, April 23, 1833, Elizabeth Caples, by whom he had five children. Mrs. Mary Brock Montgomery, of Troy, Kan., is the only one surviving.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBIA, of Morris county, was born January 8, 1821, in Athens county, Ohio, the oldest of eight children. When a boy his parents moved to Fort Wayne, Ind., and a portion of that city is now located on the farm where the subject of this sketch lived. He crossed the plains in 1849 or 1850, returning by way of the Isthmus. He removed to Kansas with his family in 1852, becoming a licensed trader to the Kansas Indians, settling in what became Breckinridge (now Lyon) county, at the crossing of Rock creek, near the town of Dunlap. He was a blacksmith and farmer. He was elected to the legislature of 1857 over a very strong pro-slavery man. He died November 16, 1861, and was buried in the old graveyard near the mission building. His remains were afterwards removed to the city cemetery. He obtained the title of captain from the party with whom he crossed the plains. His widow remained in Council Grove until his four boys were grown men, when she moved with one of them to Chetopa, where she died a few years ago.

STEPHEN S. COOPER, of Jefferson county, was born at Mount Carmel, Ill., August 20, 1826. His father, Rev. Samuel C. Cooper, was a native of Baltimore, removing to Ohio when a mere youth, and becoming a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, and helping in the establishment of Asbury University, where Stephen was educated. He joined the Fifteenth regiment of Indiana volunteer infantry and served through the Mexican war. Returning to Indiana from that war, he took up the practice of medicine, attending Rush Medical College, Chicago. He practiced medicine in Indiana from 1854 till he removed to Kansas in 1857. Locating at Grasshopper Falls (now Valley Falls), he practiced his profession there and at Oskaloosa, where he subsequently moved, until 1868, when he embarked in the mercantile business. He was elected as a free-state man to the house of representatives in 1857, and during the same year was elected a member of the legislature under the Topeka constitution, and also a member of the state senate under the Lecompton constitution January 4, 1858. He was elected county treasurer of Jefferson county in 1861, and was state senator in 1867 and 1868, and in the house of 1887. In 1868 he was elected by the Fifth judicial district a member of the board of railroad assessors, serving two years. He belonged to the Masonic order and was a member of the Presbyterian church. He was originally a Whig, but affiliated later with the Republican party. He was a member of the noted Grasshopper Falls convention. He was married at Spencer, Ind., April 25, 1855, to Miss Kate Patrick, daughter of Rev. Ebenezer Patrick. He died at Oskaloosa, in 1892.

JOHN CURTIS, of Franklin county, was elected from the unorganized or frontier counties with S. J. Stewart and Christopher Columbia. He was born in Indiana, and came to Kansas in

1856, settling on the Wakarusa, in Douglas county. He moved to Peoria, in Franklin county, in March, 1857. He was a good lawyer, and all accounts agree that he was an able and brilliant man. He was interested with Perry Fuller in promoting the scheme to make Minneola the territorial capital. He died in Lawrence during the session of the legislature, February 15, 1858.

ADDISON DANFORD, of Linn county, was born in Laconia, Belknap county, New Hampshire, July 4, 1829; settled at Mound City, Kan., February, 1857; was a member of the house of representatives in 1857 and 1858; was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, March, 1858; was a member of the committee on credentials at the convention at Osawatimie, May 18, 1859, when the Republican party in Kansas was organized; was state senator in 1865, from Fort Scott; was attorney-general from January 12, 1869, to January 12, 1871. His last place of residence was Colorado Springs, Colo., where he died in 1901.

GEORGE W. DEITZLER, of Douglas county, born in Pine Grove, Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, November 30, 1826, was killed near Tucson, Ariz., April 10, 1884, by being thrown from a carriage. He was a member and speaker of the territorial legislature of 1857 and 1858; and also of the territorial session of 1861. During the territorial troubles he was arrested for treason and suffered the indignities put upon free-state men. He was appointed colonel of the First Kansas infantry and was badly wounded at the battle of Wilson Creek. He was made a brigadier-general by President Lincoln, November 29, 1862, for gallant services, resigning August 27, 1863. On February 29, 1864, he was appointed major-general of Kansas state militia, by Governor Carney, and was in command of all Kansas forces—about 20,000 in number—in the Price raid. He was mayor of Lawrence in 1860, treasurer of the State University, and a member of the Emporia Town Company. He left Lawrence for California in 1872, and in 1884 was in Arizona, where he was killed. He was married about the close of the war to a Miss Anna McNeil, of Lexington, Mo., by whom he had three daughters. Mrs. Deitzler died in California, in 1901. On his deathbed General Deitzler expressed a desire to be buried in Kansas soil, and his bones now rest in a cemetery at Lawrence.

JAMES A. DELONG, of Shawnee county, was born in Summerset, Perry county, Ohio, April 21, 1830. He attended school at Delaware, graduating in his eighteenth year. In 1849 he moved to Huntington, Ind., with his father's family, Isaac Delong, and his brother, A. W. Delong. He studied law in his father's office, but later traveled. While at Huntington he, with his brother, edited the first paper published there, the *Indiana Herald*. He spent some time in California during the gold fever there; from there he went to South America, but his health failing, he returned to Indiana. He was greatly interested in the Kansas controversy, and in company with two brothers, W. H. Delong and J. F. Delong, came to Kansas in 1856, settling at Brownsville (afterwards Auburn), in Shawnee county. He spent much of his time in Topeka, then a city of a few cabins. He never married. He died at Auburn of pulmonary consumption, November 25, 1858. C. H. Filson, the last territorial secretary of Oklahoma, is his nephew. A letter from the neighbors to friends in Indiana, reporting his death, says he was a man of the highest character, and highly esteemed by all.

ARCHIBALD ELLIOTT, of Atchison, at an evening session February 1, was given the seat occupied by William P. Badger, the finding being that the latter did not have a majority. Mr. Elliott lived about seven miles southwest of Atchison on a farm. He was born in South Carolina, and came to Kansas from Missouri. The record shows he was fifty-four years old in 1861. He died on his farm about 1866. He left two sons, who sold the farm and went south. A friend writes the Historical Society:

"I knew old Father Elliott well. He was also a member of the Kansas state legislature (1861) that elected James H. Lane and S. C. Pomeroy to the United States senate. He voted for both of them. General Lane was at the old Massasoit House about a year and a half after he had been elected and sworn in. Mr. Elliott called on him and told him farming was a poor business for an old man like him, and Lane said, 'Mr. Elliott, every man who voted for me has got a good government position but you and one other, and your commissions are on the way.' Mr. Elliott was a good old man—a staunch free-state man, and a Jim Lane man all over. Only a few days after all that talk Mr. Elliott was walking around town as a government secret detective—with a nice per diem salary attached and nothing to do; a perfect sinecure."

ROBERT G. ELLIOTT, of Delaware, Leavenworth county, at first a settler of Lawrence, returned to that city after the close of the legislative session. His biographical sketch appears on page 190 of this volume.

CURTIS GRAHAM, of Doniphan county, was born in Catskill, N. Y., April 5, 1818. He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., of old age, in 1906. He came to Kansas in 1856, and settled near Highland. He was a Methodist minister and assisted in the organization of the first Methodist church at Highland, in March, 1857. He was also one of the board of trustees that founded Highland University. He was of much service to Senator Pomeroy in the collection and distribution of aid in 1860. His wife died November 8, 1861, and shortly thereafter he returned east.

JOHN HANNA, of Lykins (now Miami) county, was born at Indianapolis, Ind., September 3, 1827. He was the son of James Parker Hanna, who died August 31, 1839. The mother died in 1844. In 1846 John Hanna walked to Greencastle, Ind., with four dollars in his pocket. He graduated in June, 1850, having worked his way through doing janitor and other service. He served three years as mayor of Greencastle. In 1857 he moved to Kansas. At the October election of that year he was elected to the house from Lykins (now Miami) county. He returned to Greencastle and resumed the practice of law. In 1860 he was a Republican presidential elector for the seventh district of Indiana, and voted for Abraham Lincoln. He was appointed United States attorney for that state in 1860, and reappointed in 1865, when removed by Andrew Johnson. He was a very vigorous lawyer and made much reputation in enforcing draft laws, revenue laws, and punishing acts of treason. He was a member of the Forty-fifth Congress. Mr. Hanna introduced the bill abolishing slavery in the territory of Kansas. He died October 24, 1882.

JOHN P. HATTERSCHEIDT, of Leavenworth county, was a German by birth, who came from Cincinnati to Kansas in the spring of 1857. He did much work in the territory as an engineer and surveyor. In 1858 he was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention. In the spring of 1859 he returned to Cincinnati, and died there. All the Germans were free-soilers, and Hatterscheidt was quite a leader. Another story about him is, that he made quite an impression on Abraham Lincoln when he visited in Kansas, and that when elected president he made Hatterscheidt a consul at some European point, and that he never returned to America, but died abroad.

ALEXANDER A. JAMESON, of Doniphan county—unknown. He was one of the executive committee appointed by the Grasshopper Falls convention to carry out the purpose of that movement. He was last heard of in St. Louis, about the beginning of the civil war.

CHARLES JENKINS, of Pottawatomie county, was born in Oneida county, New York, in the year 1805. He lived there a number of years and then moved to Lasalle county, Illinois. In the spring of 1855 he settled in Pottawatomie county, Kansas. He died in April, 1873, near Westmoreland, Kan.

GEORGE HORINE KELLER, of Leavenworth, was born February 22, 1801, in Mercer county, Kentucky. He died on his farm at Springdale, Leavenworth county, Kansas, November 13, 1876. His wife, Nancy J. Van Dyke, was born at the same place in the year 1805, and died in Leavenworth, Kan., in 1881. Both were descended from Holland Dutch stock. Valentine Keller and Garret Van Dyke emigrated to this country from Holland and settled in Pennsylvania, but subsequently removed to Mercer county, near Harrodsburg, in Kentucky. Keller worked on his father's farm till manhood, and after he married they emigrated to the territory of Indiana, settling on a timbered farm near Terre Haute. It required heroic efforts to effect a clearing in those impenetrable forests in those days in order to do much farming, but being a man of inflexible energies he performed the difficult task. He gave his attention mostly to stock raising and prospered well. He finally constructed a large inn on the National Road, which he managed for several years. He moved about the year 1835 to Platte county, Missouri. Here he engaged in farming and manufacturing till the year 1850, but catching the gold fever, he sold out, equipped a large train with merchandise and went to California during the spring of that year. Settling down in the Sonoma valley, he founded the town of Petaluma, now a prosperous city of some 10,000 people. He returned in 1852 to Weston, and at once embarked in farming, and was thus engaged until the spring of 1854, when he and other citizens of Weston founded the town of Leavenworth, Kan., to which place he removed his family in the fall of that year, after completing the Leavenworth Hotel, the third building ever constructed in that city. Selling this property in 1855, he built the Mansion House at the corner of Fifth and Shawnee streets, which was operated by him until the sale in 1857. Here John Sherman and other members of the Congressional Investigating Committee of 1856, stopped during their sojourn in Leavenworth. He early imbibed the principle of freedom for the slaves and took and maintained a determined stand in making Kansas a free state. No man was more outspoken in his private and public utterances than he, and because of this he was branded as an abolitionist and marked not only for expatriation but assassination. At the end of the fight he became a member of the first free-state territorial legislature. He used his time and money in securing the election of James H. Lane and Marcus J. Parrott to the United States senate. He succeeded with the former, but lost in the latter. Under Governor Crawford he became the first warden of the Kansas State Penitentiary. In 1866 he retired to his farm at Springdale, Leavenworth county, where his generous, useful and blameless life passed away at the age of seventy-six years, without an enemy in the world. John Speer said: "His name was a synonym of honesty, integrity, and patriotism; his house in Leavenworth illustrated the proverbial hospitality of the 'Old Kentucky Home.'"

JOHN LOCKHART, of Johnson county, was born in Scotland about 1834, and was brought to America in 1836. He taught school in Wilmington, Ill. In 1855 he came to Kansas, settling in

Johnson county. In 1856 he was elected to represent that county in the legislature under the Topeka constitution, the body dispersed by General Sumner July 4, 1856. He was elected October 5, 1857, to the regular territorial legislature, and in 1858 to the territorial legislature of 1859. In 1859 Mr. Lockhart was elected by a large vote to represent Johnson county in the state senate under the Wyandotte constitution, serving in the session of 1861, but resigning before the session of 1862, to enter the army. He was commissioned a captain of the Union Guards at Uniontown, August 19, 1861; was commissioned a captain in the United States service March 18, 1862; and was captain of company I, Fifth Kansas volunteer cavalry. His father resided at McCamish, Johnson county. He died at Helena, Ark., September 12, 1862, and his remains were brought to Leavenworth. A negro cook in the camp of the Fifth Kansas was claimed by a Missourian, and the negro promptly surrendered. It is told of Lockhart that a few days after, while scouting, he found the negro in chains. He released the negro and placed the chains on the master.

WILLIAM MOORE McCCLURE, of Leavenworth (now Wyandotte) county, was born at Hillside, Glenmore, Chester county, Pennsylvania, March 5, 1831. March 7, 1856, he started for Kansas, arriving at Leavenworth October 21, 1856. In November he returned to Pennsylvania, where he remained until March, 1857. October 5, 1857, he was elected as a free-state candidate a member of the legislature. May 30, 1859, he returned to Pennsylvania to remain. At the outbreak of the civil war he recruited a company in Pennsylvania and was appointed captain. He was mustered out in July, 1861, but immediately reenlisted in the Second Pennsylvania heavy artillery as captain of company F, and in October, 1864, was made colonel of the regiment. He resigned in February, 1865. March 22, 1866, he married Christiana Boyd, of Danville, Montrose county. He died at Lancaster, Pa., October 2, 1893. His widow and a daughter reside in Columbia, Pa. Barzillai Gray, of Kansas City, Kan., writes, January 30, 1908:

"One evening some forty or fifty gathered to settle on some one as nominee for the legislature. Wm. M. McClure having received a majority of the votes, was selected and subsequently elected. He was a member of the committee of the legislature to prepare a school law. Toward the close of the session he called at my office with a roll of manuscript and said, 'There is your school law; read and comment.' I read the first paragraph to where a provision is made for a rate bill to raise money sufficient to purchase a site for a schoolhouse. I interlined as follows: '*Provided that such site shall consist of not less than one acre of ground,*' and handed him back the paper. It occurred to me at the time that there was so much raw land in Kansas that any farmer would be glad to give an acre to secure a schoolhouse as a neighbor, and thus lessen the desolation of the surrounding prairie. That provision remains in the statute, and every schoolhouse has an acre."

All that can be learned about J. P. MILLER, who represented Marshall county, is that he was living there in 1859 and 1860, and that he died in 1862. He raised a secession flag in 1861, and gathered more of a storm than he could control. A man named W. S. Blackburn contested Miller's seat, but Miller was sustained by the house, and in the latter days of the session voted regularly.

ROBERT B. MITCHELL, of Linn county, was born in Richland county, Ohio, April 4, 1823. He was educated at Washington College, Pennsylvania, and then studied law. During the Mexican war he served in the Ohio volunteers as first lieutenant, and on its conclusion resumed the practice of his profession. In 1856 he moved to Kansas, settling at Paris, Linn county, in 1857; was a member of the territorial house of representatives, 1857 and 1858; was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention of March, 1858; member of the free-state convention, at Topeka, April 28, 29, 1858, to nominate officers under the Leavenworth constitution. On May 19, 1858, he gathered a posse of men, among them Montgomery, and started for Missouri, in pursuit of the Hamilton party, which committed the Marais des Cygnes murders. On February 11, 1859, he was appointed territorial treasurer. He was a candidate for member of Congress at the Democratic convention at Lawrence, October 25, 1859. He was appointed colonel of the Second regiment, Kansas volunteer infantry, mustered in June 20, 1861, and later transferred to the Second Kansas volunteer cavalry; was commissioned brigadier-general by the President April 8, 1862; was appointed governor of New Mexico in 1866, and served until 1869; was a delegate to the Liberal Republican convention at Topeka in 1872, and received from it the nomination for congressman. Most of the time after serving as governor of New Mexico he lived in Washington, D. C., where he died January 26, 1882.

HENRY MILES MOORE, of Leavenworth county, was born September 2, 1826, in Brockport, N. Y. He received a common-school education, and later an academic course at Clarkson and Brockport Academies. He studied law at Rochester, N. Y., and was admitted to the bar in that city in 1848. He removed to Louisiana, and practiced law from 1848 to 1850. In 1850 he removed to Weston, Mo., and was a member of the editorial staff of the *Weston Reporter*. In 1854 he removed to Leavenworth, Kan., a Southern sympathizer, but he did not shut his eyes to the outrages he witnessed in those early days, and accordingly, he says, he took his position as an active and influential champion of free-state principles and policy. In 1855, under the Topeka

constitution, he was elected attorney-general. In 1857 he was elected a member of the first free-state house of representatives, and in 1867 was elected to the state legislature of 1868. In 1868 he was elected city attorney of Leavenworth, being elected three times and appointed to that position several times. He is a Democrat in politics, and in 1882 was the candidate of his party for attorney-general, carrying his county by nearly 2000 votes. He is a member of the Masonic order, and of the Episcopal church. He was married September 15, 1857, to Miss Lina F. Kehoe, who was born at Fairfax Court House, Va. In 1906 he published a volume entitled "Early History of Leavenworth City and County." He resides at Leavenworth.

EDMUND NEEDHAM MORRILL, of Brown county, was born at Westbrook, Cumberland county, Maine, February 12, 1834. He was educated in the common schools and in the Westbrook Academy, and learned the trade of a tanner. He served on the local school board in his native place. In March, 1857, he came to Kansas, settling in Brown county. His first business venture was a sawmill, but a fire wiped out the enterprise, leaving a debt for the young man to struggle with. In 1857 he was elected a member of the free-state territorial legislature from the counties of Brown and Nemaha, and January 4, 1858, a member of the state legislature under the Lecompton constitution, in which there was no service. In 1861 he enlisted in company C, Seventh Kansas regiment, and in August, 1862, was made a captain and commissary of subsistence. General Grant placed him in charge of all the stores at Forts Henry, Heiman and Donelson. In October, 1865, he was discharged, with the rank of major. From 1866 to 1872 he filled the offices successively of clerk of the district court and county clerk. In 1872 he was elected to the state senate, and reelected in 1876. In 1882 he was elected to Congress, where he served four terms. By virtue of a bill bearing his name, there are now in the United States something like a half million soldiers' widows and orphans who draw annually nearly sixty millions of dollars from the bounty of their government. In 1890 he declined further service in Congress. In 1894 he was nominated and elected governor of Kansas. He was president of the State Historical Society in 1896. He is a man of great public spirit and of the strongest friendships. He resides in Hiawatha, where he has conducted a banking business for many years with great success.

PATRICK R. ORR, of Leavenworth county, was born in West Virginia, April 15, 1808, and was educated in the common schools. In 1829, he moved to Morgan county, Illinois, and in 1843 settled in Missouri. He married Matilda Johnson, October 15, 1839. He settled near Easton, in Leavenworth county, March 20, 1855. Mr. Orr was also elected, January 4, 1858, a member of the state legislature under the Lecompton constitution, but no session was ever held. He died at Easton, June 6, 1862. He has a son, John J. Orr, living at Holton.

HENRY BROOKS OWENS, of Jefferson county, was born in Virginia, on the line between that state and Kentucky, July 6, 1808. His father, John Owens, came to Smithville, Clay county, Missouri, with his family, in 1816. In August, 1855, Henry Owens settled in Jefferson county, Kansas, near Oskaloosa. He later bought property at Indianola, on which he lived, and, when the Pottawatomies sold their land in that vicinity, bought and moved to a farm in the neighborhood of Silver Lake, which was still his home when he visited his son and daughter in Oregon in the fall of 1874, where he died, at Harrisburg, in January, 1875. Besides his election to the free-state territorial house of 1857-'58, Mr. Owens was elected a member of the house under the Lecompton constitution. Mr. Owens was a farmer, and was associated in the mercantile business with his brother-in-law, Calvin Smith, of Valley Falls, Kan., who purchased land with him at Indianola and Silver Lake. Henry Owens married Miss Missouri Ann Smith, March 7, 1833, at Smithville, Mo. She died at Veechdale, Shelby county, Kentucky, March 4, 1892, where she was visiting her daughter, Mrs. Sarah Wright. Mrs. Owens was born at Boonville, Mo., July 14, 1816. Her father, Humphrey Smith, was raised near Buffalo, N. Y., and came with his family to Boone county, Missouri, after the birth of his son Calvin, which occurred near Buffalo, December 22, 1807. They came on a flatboat down the Allegheny river to Pittsburg, down the Ohio, up the Mississippi and Missouri to Boonville, where he settled. When the Platte purchase was opened to settlement he removed with his family to Clay county, Missouri, and built a grist-mill on the north fork of the Platte river, and the locality was known as Smith's Mills until the town grew up about it and was named for him, Smithville. He lived to an old age. His son, Calvin Smith, came to Grasshopper Falls, Kan., in 1862, where he remained until a few years ago, when he removed to Kansas City, Mo., and is now living with a daughter, Mrs. Anna Goodenough Smith. He has published an autobiography. Mrs. Reuben M. Spivey, 1100 Topeka avenue, Topeka, Kan., is a daughter of Mr. Owens.

WILLIAM PENNOCK, of Leavenworth county, was born in Waynesburg, Greene county, Pennsylvania, in 1826, the son of Henry Lisle Pennock and his wife, Anna Maria Smith. He was educated in the common schools. He was married December 25, 1849, to Mahala Hill, from whom he was divorced in later years. In 1855 he removed to Kansas, settling on a farm in Leavenworth county, and remained there about two years. He then moved his family to Minneola, Franklin

county, and engaged in the Indian trade at Centropolis, a mile west of the Minneola town site. His trade was with the Sac and Fox, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Munsees. He was a member of the first free-state legislature from Leavenworth county in 1857, and served in the extra session called by Secretary Stanton to meet in December, 1857, and the regular session in January, 1858. January 4, 1858, he was elected to the house under the Lecompton constitution. He was made captain of a militia company organized in the north part of the county, and afterwards, in 1864, was, by the companies of the counties of Franklin and Anderson, composing the Tenth regiment, elected colonel of said regiment. This regiment was called into active service with others by proclamation of Gov. Thomas Carney and participated in the battle of Westport, during the Price raid. He was afterwards a member of the legislature from the north district of Franklin county, in 1866. About 1859 he removed his trading-post to the Sac and Fox agency, near Quenemo, and was associated with Perry Fuller in the trade. The family remained at Minneola during these trade ventures, until Ottawa was started, about 1864, when they removed to that town, and Mr. Pennock engaged in the dry-goods business, until he failed in business, in 1870, and removed to his farm, a quarter-section on the town site of Minneola, and occupied the large fourteen-roomed house said to have been built for the governor's mansion during the effort to make that town the territorial capital. Joel K. Goodin owned the other part of the town site. Mr. Pennock died on his farm near "Silver Lake," on the Marais des Cygnes, between Pomona and Ottawa, February 4, 1890. Mr. Pennock had four children, of whom the two youngest are still living: Henry Lisle; Caroline; Frances Leisure, now Mrs. Frances L. Paramore, 4448 St. Lawrence avenue, Chicago, Ill., who gave the above information regarding her father, born in Pennsylvania; and Mary, now Mrs. Benjamin Sands, 533 Maple street, Ottawa, Kan., born in Kansas, Leavenworth county. He was of Quaker descent, some of his ancestors receiving a land grant from William Penn, in Philadelphia. Said property still remains in the family.

ASA REYNARD, of Calhoun (now Jackson) county, was born in Clinton county, Ohio, February 23, 1817, of Quaker parentage. He received a common-school education. He married at the age of twenty-four. In 1846 he moved to Iowa, settling in Johnson county, but in 1853 changed to Keokuk county. He settled in Topeka, Kansas territory, October 10, 1856. Asa Reynard was one of the incorporators of the town of Holton, in 1857. He settled on a farm west of Holton, on Groomer creek, and from there moved to Leavenworth. He was elected to the first free-state territorial legislature from Jackson county. He was commissioned by Governor Carney to raise a company for the Second Kansas Colored, or the Seventy-ninth United States regiment. He was second lieutenant of company I. He resigned in the latter part of 1863. On John Brown's route out of the territory he kept a station for runaway negroes, and was a witness to the battle of the Spurs, between John Brown and a pro-slavery posse, January 31, 1859. He died at Greenleaf, Kan., April 21, 1883. The journal shows that he was faithful in attendance and in voting.

GIDEON SEYMOUR. Unknown. Have found three men in Johnson county who remember him, but know nothing of him. He left the state about forty years ago.

A. J. SHANNON was born in New Jersey, November 8, 1828. He died at Paola, Kan., July 2, 1898, where he lies buried. He was married in 1857 to Maggie Dunham, at Geneva, N. Y., still living at Paola. Four children also survive him. Captain Shannon came to Kansas in 1857, locating at Paola, then Lykins county. He was an ardent free-state man, and was elected to the legislature in October, 1857. He was among the first to urge the organization of the Republican party, and was a delegate at Osawatimie, May 18, 1859, when he introduced and had adopted a plank suggested by Horace Greeley. He was quartermaster of the Twelfth Kansas infantry during the civil war. In 1863 he was a provost marshal, and had a marvelous escape from death on the morning of the raid at Lawrence. He was a canal collector at Geneva, N. Y., before coming to Kansas. In 1858 he was secretary and agent of the Paola Town Company. In 1859 he was elected register of deeds for Lykins county. He was a member of the Republican convention at Leavenworth, April 11, 1860, which selected delegates to the Chicago convention and chose presidential electors. He served awhile at home on the school board, and was for many years a guard at the State Penitentiary.

JOHN SPEER was born in Kittanning, Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, December 27, 1817. At the age of twelve, he secured a horseback mail contract from Kittanning to Curwensville, places about seventy miles distant, turning his earnings over to his father to help him pay for a 400-acre farm on the Alleghany river. At the age of eighteen he entered as an apprentice the office of the *Register*, at Indiana, Pa., to learn the printing business. His early schooling, which was very meager, was supplemented by studying at night and such odd times as he could devote to it. In the spring of 1840 he removed to Ohio, where he established several papers and worked at the trade. He stayed there until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, in 1854, when he and his brother, Joseph L. Speer, sold out and came to Kansas, settling at Lawrence, September

27, 1854. He returned to Ohio and got out the first number of the *Kansas Pioneer*, dated at Lawrence, October 15, 1854. The second number was not issued until January, 1855, as they were unable to get a plant of their own and the offices of the border towns of Missouri and Kansas were unwilling to help in the publication of a free-state paper. The second issue was called the *Kansas Tribune*. The paper continued publication until 1857. He was a member of the territorial house of representatives in 1857 and 1858. In 1858 and 1859 he pursued lumbering and farming, and in 1860 he followed freighting with ox teams. He purchased the *Lawrence Republican*, December 27, 1860, and conducted it until September 4, 1862. On January 1, 1863, he revived the *Lawrence Tribune*, conducting it until the plant was destroyed by Quantrill's gang on August 21, 1863. He presided over the first meeting at Lawrence to resist what were commonly known as the "bogus laws"; and though under these laws a capital crime, he published in the *Tribune* a full page in display type denying the existence of slavery in Kansas. He took a prominent part in the defense of Lawrence during the Wakarusa war and in the subsequent conflicts for freedom in Kansas. In the spring of 1856 he rescued, by force and violence, Samuel N. Wood from the border ruffian sheriff, Samuel J. Jones. He was elected by the people to the office of state printer under the Topeka constitution. In 1837 he was elected to the state senate. From September, 1862, to October, 1866, he was United States collector for the entire state of Kansas. He did much of the early state printing by contract, and his was the first first-class work the state had ever had. He introduced and secured the charter of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Gulf railroad, in the legislature of 1858, and was a director of that company until 1868. He lost two sons in the Quantrill massacre, August 21, 1833. On New Year's day, 1855, with A. D. Searl as surveyor, and Charles Robinson and himself as chainmen, they surveyed the first site of a prospective college where the State University now stands. He was married at Corydon, Harrison county, Indiana, to Miss Elizabeth Duplessis McMahon. She died April 9, 1876. Mr. Speer published, in 1896, his *Life of Gen. James H. Lane*. He died at Denver, Colo., December 15, 1903. See "The Work of John Speer," elsewhere in this volume.

SAMUEL J. STEWART was born in Miami county, Ohio, March 28, 1833. He came to Kansas from Indiana in April, 1856, settling in Allen county, on land which he still owns and farms. He was educated in the common schools. He married Miss Dollie Tinder, of Monticello, Ill., December 29, 1864, who died October 15, 1866, without issue. September 22, 1868, he married Miss Emma Heath, also of Monticello, Ill., by whom he has had seven children. He represented Allen county in the territorial house of representatives of 1857 and 1858, and in the Leavenworth constitutional convention; was a member of the Grasshopper Falls convention of 1857. When the war broke out he enlisted as a private, was promoted to a lieutenancy in the Fourth Kansas, later the Tenth regiment, in August of the same year, and to captain in February, 1863, serving until he was mustered out, in 1864. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1863 and 1865, and was in the state senate of 1901 and 1903. He has been regent of the State Agricultural College from 1896-1900 and 1901-'05. He resides at Humboldt. March 23, 1903, he celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday, all his children, three sons-in-law, two daughters-in-law, and eleven grandchildren being present.

ANDREW T. STILL, son of Rev. Abram and Martha P. Still, was born in Jonesboro, Lee county, Virginia, August 6, 1828. He received the rudiments of his education in his native county. His father removed to Tennessee in 1834, and Andrew attended Holston College, at Newmarket, that state, for nearly three years. In 1837 his father was sent as a missionary to Missouri, settling in Macon county. He was first married to Mary M. Vaughn, January 29, 1849, by whom he had two children. Mrs. Still died September 29, 1859. On November 21, 1860, he married for his second wife Mary E. Turner. His father and an older brother being physicians decided him to take up the study of medicine, in which he was of great assistance to his father in treating the Indians at the mission. In 1853 he accompanied his father to the Wakarusa Methodist mission in Douglas county, Kansas, where he followed farming and the practice of medicine. He was a member of the territorial house of representatives of 1857, from Douglas county. He and his brother donated 480 acres of land to Baker University as a site for that institution, in 1856. He engaged in the lumber business about this time, and in his sawmill cut much of the lumber used in the building of Baker University. In September, 1861, he enlisted in company F, Ninth Kansas cavalry, serving until it was disbanded, in April, 1862. He then organized a company of militia, and on May 15, 1862, was commissioned captain of company D, Eighteenth Kansas militia. A few months later he was advanced to major, and soon afterward transferred to the Twenty-first Kansas militia, serving until October 27, 1864, when his regiment was disbanded. In 1874 he became an osteopath—the first in the world, and thereafter abandoned the use of drugs in his treatment of disease. He founded the American School of Osteopathy, at Kirksville, Mo., a prosperous institution of which he is still the head.

HARRIS STRATTAN came to Kansas in September, 1854. He settled first at Lawrence, removed to Topeka, and again to Doniphan county. His home was at Doniphan.

JOHN B. WHEELER, M. D., was born about 1822, in the state of New York. He settled in Kansas in 1856, at Palermo, Doniphan county, where he opened a hotel and practiced his profession as a physician and surgeon. After a few years at Palermo he removed to Troy, where he resided until his death, which occurred March 7, 1875. He was elected a member of the first free-state legislature in 1857. When the Thirteenth Kansas regiment was organized, in 1862, he enlisted at Palermo, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel, serving until the regiment was mustered out, the greater portion of the time as acting colonel. He belonged to the Masonic order.

GEORGE W. ZINN was born in Indiana, December 21, 1809. He was educated in the neighborhood of his birth, and in young manhood removed to Illinois. He was married in 1832 to Martha Cunningham, who lived but a short time, leaving one child. In 1836 he married Eliza Weidick, who was born and educated in Kentucky. Two children were born of this union, in Illinois. In 1839 he moved with his family to Missouri, where three more children were born. August, 1846, he enlisted and served fourteen months in the Mexican war. In September, 1854, he moved with his family to Kansas, settling near Lecompton, where he lived until his death, August 12, 1880. His second wife died February 25, 1875, and July 25, 1877, he married Mrs. Laura Pate, who was born at Lynchburg, Va. He was elected a member of the first free-state territorial legislature, and also of the state legislature of 1868. He served many years on the school board for his district.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED HAD LECOMPTON PREVAILED.

THE New York *Tribune* of April 12, 1858, contains about four columns of matter from Kansas, covering the closing scenes of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, and the speeches and scenes of a great mass-meeting held on the night of April 1. The Lecompton constitution was pending in Congress, and a fear existed that it might be adopted for the government of the new state. Thomas Ewing (3d), of New York, has recently contributed to the Historical Society a large number of letters found among the papers of his father, Gen. Thomas Ewing, jr., which hint strongly at something unusual to happen in case of the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. This purpose seems to have been to ignore the Lecompton entirely, even if adopted in Congress, and commence business at once under the Leavenworth constitution. The free-soil men now had control of the territorial legislature, and they in all ways persistently repudiated Lecompton. The Lecompton convention submitted a portion of their work to the people December 21, 1857, the slavery clause only being submitted, no opportunity being given to vote against the constitution itself. The free-state men at this election voted only for state officers and members of the legislature, not expressing themselves at all on the Lecompton constitution. The constitution received 6143 votes with slavery, and 564 without slavery. The vote of the free-state men elected a state ticket by majorities ranging from 330 to 696 votes, and, according to General Ewing, two-thirds of the legislature. The Annals of Kansas states that the free-state men had 29 members of the house and 13 members of the senate, and the pro-slavery people 15 in the house and 6 in the senate. January 4, 1858, when the Lecompton constitution as a whole was submitted, the vote was 10,226 against and 161 for. In the face of all this Congress persisted talking all winter about the Lecompton constitution, compelling another vote in August, 1858, on the English bill. Considering the passion and violence which then prevailed, and which was no doubt inflamed by the persistence of Congress, the English bill at this distance looks like something providential.

The question dividing the free-state people during the first three months of 1858 was whether a government should ever be organized under the Le-

compton constitution. With the exception of Thomas Ewing, jr., S. N. Wood and J. S. Emery, the sentiment was bitter against recognizing Lecompton in the least. The Lecompton constitution "should not be the constitution of Kansas for one hour; that such a dangerous and polluted fountain should never be permitted to send forth streams from which should be derived the organic law of the future state; that such a corrupt attempt to subvert all that is good in republican government by a despotic act of Congress must not be permitted quietly to culminate."

James H. Lane said that no government should ever be organized or permitted to organize under the Lecompton constitution; that the Leavenworth constitution, if ratified by the people, must be the constitution of Kansas. Sarcastically he alluded to those who wished to "take the Lecompton constitution to change it." He drew a comparison of a soldier in the Revolution going to General Washington just before the battle of Trenton, and saying: "Oh, Mister Washington, I think we had better take the British government for ten days or so until we *can change it*."

Martin F. Conway said that Congress could make a state, but they could make no state constitution; that the act of admission was positive and not conditional; that Congress might admit Kansas as a state, but that it remained with the people to say what should be their organic law.

Charles A. Foster, of Osawatomie, made an appeal against organizing under the Lecompton—that that bastard instrument should never be recognized.

T. Dwight Thacher spoke with great fervor against corrupting the organic law of the future state. Should the history of Kansas through all time exhibit the disgraceful record that all our institutions flowed from such a source? He recalled the long and arduous struggle for liberty in which Kansas had been engaged.

William A. Phillips said that under the Lecompton constitution there would be no law, no courts in Kansas, after the moment of admission. Nothing could give the government legality until the legislature met. Official evidence was before Congress that the people had rejected it. The government of Calhoun was a cypher, and its friends were fugitives to the soil. The admission of Kansas now would be its admission without a legal constitution.

Joseph Medill, of the *Chicago Tribune*, said he could certainly comprehend the feeling so freely evinced by the meeting against the Kansas outrages, and this culmination in the Lecompton swindle. Even should a majority of that Lecompton swindle adjourn to Missouri, or any other safe place, to elect two United States senators, and even should a partizan Congress admit them to seats, such an act would speak as badly for the wrong thus inflicted as the most eloquent tongue.

J. M. Walden opposed organization under the Lecompton constitution. Others talked, the burden of their talk being that they loathed the Lecompton constitution.

In the Leavenworth convention, April 3, on the final reading of that constitution, the question of recognizing the Lecompton was raised by Thos. Ewing, jr. The report says: "Coolly, persistently, he took the position that under certain circumstances it might be expedient to organize under the Lecompton constitution. He said that those who went into bolting conven-

tions did not do so to abandon the enterprise; that they had a specific purpose, and they were not to be threatened or intimidated from it." Lane and Conway followed. J. S. Emery and S. N. Wood coincided with Thos. Ewing, jr. Mr. Johnson, of Leavenworth; Charles A. Foster, of Osawatomie; B. B. Newton; R. M. Fish, of Shawnee, and others, spoke, the debate lasting until three o'clock in the morning.

The foregoing extracts from speeches at that time will make clear the following letters on file with the Historical Society:

"CHILLICOTHE, December 10, 1857.

"*To Hugh Ewing and T. Ewing, jr. :*

"I think it decidedly the part of wisdom to vote on the 25th and reject the pro-slavery clause of the Lecompton constitution. Congress will probably reject the whole constitution, and they will the more certainly do it if the free-state men vote and reject the slavery clause. The framers of the constitution did not intend you should vote, and so fashioned it as to prevent you if possible, but I would disappoint them, and I think you have power enough to compel fair play. As to the vote being necessarily *for* the constitution, it is practically but a form of words. You vote against all of it that you can vote against, and though it is unpleasant to allow an enemy whom you are about to demolish to direct the mode in which it is to be done, I would follow the mode which he points out rather than, by refusing it, to suffer him to retain the mastery. I would adopt the philosophy of ancient Pistol, 'I take thy groat, in earnest of revenge.' This, however, is of less importance than the legislature.

"If the constitution should be sanctioned by Congress, you must not fail to possess yourselves of the first legislature and other civil officers under it. You will then have your two senators and your representative in Congress, and the constitution will be at once in your power. You can call the convention to amend it, and, if you please, substitute the Topeka constitution for it, in three months after the legislature meets; and there is no power to question the validity of the act except your own judiciary. And, indeed, until 1865 (I think that is the year), the convention has most generously left you to choose your own mode of amending. If this course be pursued you will in one year from this date have a constitution such as the people approve. You will have your member of Congress and your two senators, your governor, judges, etc., and without rebellion or civil war.

"The course of conduct proposed in one of your meetings—namely, to refuse to vote under the constitution if it shall be sanctioned by Congress, to organize under the Topeka constitution and elect your legislature and state officers, and resist the execution of the laws made under the constitution so sanctioned by Congress and all officers elected to carry them into effect—is most unwise, most horrible. The man who would seriously and understandingly propose it must be in the interest of the adversary, or fond of bloodshed and violence.

"In the first place, you would lose for terms of four and six years your two senators in Congress, and for two years your representative, for that time they would be pro-slavery men and throw their weight in that scale against you and against the Free-state party in the counsels of the nation. Their rights to seats, if elected under a constitution approved by Congress, would not bear a question. You would have also judges and other state

officers against you, whose administration of the laws, if resisted, the United States would be bound to send an army to sustain; and all who should resist such force in organized bodies with arms in their hands would be guilty of treason, by levying war against the United States, and all who should give them aid and comfort would be alike guilty of treason, under that clause of the act of Congress. And owing to the Mormon rebellion, and owing to the insubordinate condition of many sections of our country, treason against the United States begins to be thought of as something other than a joke. And if the threats of resistance above referred to should be carried out, I have no doubt twenty executions for treason would follow the suppression of the revolt. If you cannot give a proper direction to affairs, withdraw from them, and let those that have a taste for such things indulge it. Remember, too, always, that as to the sanction of a constitution on the admission of a state into the Union, Congress is the final tribunal, and that no power can call in question the validity of its judgments. T. EWING."

"SPENCER, April 13, 1858.

"DEAR SIR—What has happened? I bought a *Tribune* yesterday in New York and found in it either the most funny report or a report of one of the most funny performances ever yet enacted in Kansas or out of it. Just get the New York *Tribune* of April 12 and read an account of a meeting in Leavenworth where the angels were outdone in eloquence, and then bring to your recollection a few days of the past. When I left Kansas Judge Conway, Mr. Thacher, and all with whom I conversed agreed with me substantially in regard to the policy for the future, if admitted under the Leecompton constitution, and I suppose that I agreed with you. But now you and they are reported as having differed widely and warmly. Who has changed? As late as March 11 I find my views expressed exactly in an editorial of the *Republican* [this issue of the *Republican* is missing from the files in the Historical Society] as follows:

"But we must hasten to the consideration of the second supposition, viz., that the government is partly in pro-slavery and partly in free-state hands. The most probable case is that of pro-slavery state officers and a free-state majority in the legislature. In such a case the plan is simple and straightforward. Purge the body until a two-thirds majority is obtained, and, if the people do not create a vacancy in the office of governor, leave him no laws to enforce, destroy all means for perpetuating the unholy concern, and then adjourn *sine die*, and allow the people's government to go right ahead. Nobody can complain of such a course—nobody can interfere with it. And the free-state men who shall thus throttle that accursed offspring of tyranny and fraud will have earned and will receive a grateful recompense from the people.

"We pass to a consideration of the last supposition—that of the government entirely in the hands of free-state men. Here there is not a single embarrassing circumstance in the way. Let the legislature assemble, refuse to pass a single law or do a single thing, then adjourn *sine die*, and leave a clear road for the people's government. This was what the people elected the officers under the government to do. This is what they are bound by every consideration of honor, manliness, of self-respect, of justice, to do. This is what we believe they *will* do. And in so doing, they will confer peace upon Kansas and honor upon themselves."

"You also remember at a meeting in Lawrence last winter, where you and Messrs. Conway, Lines, Phillips and others participated, all were substantially agreed, and no one joined issue with you. General Lane was

present and silently acquiesced. I cannot understand it, and consequently will refrain from comments. But if General Lane and others said what they are reported to have said, they said some most ridiculous things, as well as told some most unblushing falsehoods. But I dare not venture a remark based upon this report, lest it shall be unjust to the parties. But one thing I will say—that, should the Lecompton constitution be approved by Congress, and the occasion require it, the members of the legislature under the instrument will be held responsible, first, that no pro-slavery senators are allowed to go to Washington with certificates of election from that body or its governor; second, that the Lecompton constitution is not put in operation and run by the pro-slavery members of the legislature; and *third*, that all this be done *peaceably*. For this purpose they were elected, namely, that we might rid ourselves of the infamous document without war; and they had better think twice before they conclude to neglect the duty entrusted to them, to join men whose occupation will be gone when strife in Kansas is ended. The people, 7000 of them, 'took possession' of that government on the 4th of January last, and put it in their hands for the very purpose of having it *peaceably* and *honorably* displaced, and this they can do in thirty minutes' time and by the dash of a pen.

"What would history have said of the men of the Revolution if, when they had taken possession of all the colonial governments in America, they had ignominiously surrendered them again to the British by non-action at the instigation of a few men whose trade was war. And what would the rank and file of the army at Valley Forge have said to such a proposition? Let there be one life lost, one wife widowed, one child orphaned, in consequence of the neglect of the members elect to do the duty for which they were elected, and all Christendom, outside of Kansas and the insane asylum, will hold them responsible. But the cars are about to leave and I must close.

Very truly yours, C. ROBINSON."

"THOS. EWING, ESQ."

"LEAVENWORTH CITY, KAN., May 11, 1858.

"DEAR SIR—I have your letter of the 3d inst., showing anxiety lest the people of Kansas may accept the English bribe, and come into the Union under the Lecompton.

"I have noticed indications of a like fear in the Republican papers, and in private letters from persons friendly to us. This dread lest the people of Kansas may be bribed to the commission of a base act could only be regarded by them as indicating an ungenerous lack of confidence in their integrity, did they not know that their friends abroad have grown nervous from long solicitude about Kansas, and that their ears are daily filled with untrue statements from it.

"The public were prepared to expect something base from that portion of the Free-state party who in January last wrested the Lecompton government from the hands of the usurpers, by the speeches and letters of some of their brethren whose favorite policy, *inaction*, was then so energetically overthrown. The 'bolting' movement which resulted in the election of the state officers and two-thirds of the legislature under the Lecompton constitution also resulted in a feeling of alienation and distrust between those who against great odds achieved the victory and those who gave the movement a cold support or a vehement opposition. During the suspension of Lecompton in Congress, discussions arose as to the mode of disposing of it

if passed. In the main, those who had elected the officers under it were in favor of having the legislature meet and qualify—not to elect senators or to pass laws for the government of the people—but merely to pass an act submitting to a vote of the people whether they would change the Lecompton constitution and government for the Leavenworth, and providing that, in case they voted for the change, the Lecompton should thereupon die and the Leavenworth remain the constitution and government of Kansas. This we thought necessary because, if the Lecompton legislature should fail to meet, Marshall would have appointed two pro-slavery senators; and, at all events, the United States senate would not admit senators under the Leavenworth constitution during the nominal existence of the Lecompton. It was regarded by us as no more of a recognition of the Lecompton government than would be involved in the act of killing it—a recognition of its technical existence alone, and its possible power for mischief.

“Those who had achieved the victory and had stormed the last citadel of the enemy were not content to abandon it before thus destroying their bulwarks and spiking their cannon. But political leaders (of whom some had taken no part in the fight, and some had come to the rescue when the rescue was at hand, and some had fought the Free-state party while they were fighting the border ruffians!) denounced the use which the voters proposed to make of their victory. They saw in it an acceptance of the Lecompton constitution—a base and treacherous submission—and they crowded the columns of the Eastern papers with letters and speeches denouncing as traitors, Arnolds and Iscariots those who favored that plan, and warned their friends abroad that they were covert Lecomptonites. These denunciations passed here for buncombe and had no effect on the sober intelligence of Kansas. Abroad, however, they have encouraged the Lecomptonites and excited forebodings in the minds of our friends, and your letter is the fifth or sixth I have received asking whether the English bribe may not meet with favor in the Free-state ranks. The character of the English bill is as generally understood here as in any other state, and much more generally despised. Its proffered bribe will not add an hundred votes to the strength of the naked Lecompton. If the National Democracy make no effort in its behalf it will be voted down by 8000 or 10,000 majority. If they make such effort the majority against it will be from 12,000 to 15,000. The Pro-slavery party will vote for it, and some of those Douglas men who prefer a slave state. The rest of the Douglas Democracy will go against it, and the faces of the whole Free-state party will turn all one way. There is no terror to the people of Kansas in the threat of temporary exclusion from the Union. I feel safe in saying, that if they could have had the control of the territorial government from its organization, they would not yet have asked admission. They sought to be admitted under the Topeka constitution, hoping to overthrow in that way the usurping territorial government backed by federal bayonets. After getting control of the territorial government, they framed the Leavenworth constitution merely to defeat the Lecompton. The people of Kansas [are] poor, in debt, struggling to open their farms and build their houses, and have neither the numbers nor the wealth to bear the burden of a state government, and they will not hasten to beleaguer the doors of Congress for admission.

Very truly yours, THOMAS EWING, JR.”

“JAMES G. BLAINE, ESQ.”

REMONSTRANCE

Of the Constitutional Convention of Kansas against the passage of the Lecompton constitution.

The remonstrance being read, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention :

“*Resolved*, That a printed copy of the eloquent address reported to this convention by Mr. Winchell, as chairman of committee on remonstrance against the adoption by Congress of the Lecompton constitution, through the aid of federal bribery and corruption, be sent to James Buchanan, each member of the federal cabinet, the governors of the different states, and all representatives in Congress who may favor or support the Lecompton usurpation.”

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States :

The convention now in session in the city of Leavenworth, for the purpose of framing a state constitution, according to the provisions of a law passed by the territorial legislature of Kansas at its last session, has charged the undersigned with the solemn duty of remonstrating with your honorable body against the passage of an act declaring the instrument known as the Lecompton constitution to be the organic law of the state of Kansas.

We shall not attempt, at this late day, to enumerate in detail the causes or arguments which render it impossible for the people to acknowledge the binding effect of that instrument. Those causes are now a matter of historical record, and those arguments are already before your honorable body and the world. But, as a duty which we owe to our constituents, and with a resolute hope which knows no discouragement, we make in their name a last solemn appeal to that tribunal which has ever been deaf to our prayers, and shall plainly and briefly present the facts which give character to this issue and show why a loyal people under a professedly democratic government are forced to the very verge of revolution.

We remonstrate, then, against the approval of the Lecompton constitution by the federal Congress, on the following grounds:

1. It is not the act of the people of Kansas.
2. It has received from them a stern and overwhelming condemnation at the ballot-box by a majority which leaves no room for doubt.
3. Its origin was marked by events of such atrocity, and its consummation signalized by such glaring frauds, as must ever disgrace the records of a state it shall create; and that people must invariably be demoralized who are forced to the acceptance of such unworthy precedence in place of those glorious traditions of liberty which should illuminate the early history of every republican government.
4. The very existence of this convention is conclusive evidence of the popular will. After its close the result of its labors will be submitted to a vote of the whole people for approval or rejection. Until that decision is made we earnestly trust that Congress will give us respite from the sentence it has threatened to pronounce. No just cause exists for this unprecedented haste. The people are at length in the possession of a government which they have so modified as to render it endurable, and appeal with every argument of expediency and justice to be permitted to retain that government until the exercise of their acknowledged rights they shall see fit to replace it with one of their own creation and choice.

5. Congress cannot force a government upon an unwilling people without an assumption of principle foreign and antagonistic to the fundamental law of the nation and the exercise of an authority subversive of the chief principles of our national freedom. That all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is an axiom of American liberty older than the constitution itself. That Congress may admit new states into the Union is a constitutional admission of this principle which leaves without warrant all exercise of compulsory power. No state can be admitted except upon application; and the people of Kansas have never applied with the Lecompton constitution. The one argument in favor of that instrument is its technical regularity in the steps for its formation at the same time that the popular will was frustrated by conspiracy and fraud. We will not believe that the Congress of the United States is prepared to ignore all the beneficent principles of law by a dogmatic assertion that its sole virtue exists in a mere regularity of form and that no consideration is due to its true spirit and intent.

We rely, therefore, upon the representatives of an intelligent and virtuous people to select that policy which, in view of the extraordinary circumstances, is best calculated to protect the sacred principles of popular liberty and avert the calamities of civil discord. The people of Kansas are the descendants of a race whose freedom has been transmitted as an invaluable heirloom for the inheritance of their children. They are inspired by their convictions and their impulses and by the glorious memories of the past to maintain unflinchingly to the end a struggle which they believe is to determine the triumph of freedom or of tyranny in the republic. They have in themselves a courage which no manifestations of power can intimidate, and a consciousness of right which no political sophistries can confuse; and they possess a material strength increased a hundredfold by the constitutional bulwarks behind which it is entrenched. Their sufferings have won for them the active sympathies of a nation too jealous of its liberties to see their barriers broken down by the exercise of illegal powers by its representatives and its rulers. Against all external foes the federal government is strong to invincibility, but opposed to such resistance as the people of Kansas can offer to this usurpation all its vast appointments will but serve to render more manifest its utter and absolute impotency to the enforcement of its tyrannical resolves.

The federal government cannot conquer the people of Kansas because it ought not. Let it then pause for reflection before taking the irrevocable step. Let it hesitate long before invoking, by the exercise of illegal and tyrannical powers, that fate which always destroys those who conspire against the liberties of a free and enlightened people. Let it retrace those steps which have advanced the nation to the brink of dissolution. Let it secure to the people of Kansas those rights which all parties have so often and so solemnly guaranteed, and thus turn back upon the political dial the shadow which now portends ruin and disaster to the institutions of our common country. Let it recollect that its power is of and from the people; and by dealing justly with Kansas, let it add one more column to the proud array which is the strength as it is the glory of the confederation.

J. M. WINCHELL.

J. S. EMERY.

T. DWIGHT THACHER.

J. M. WALDEN.

LEAVENWORTH, K. T., March 30, 1858.

CHARLES A. FOSTER.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ENGLISH BILL FOR THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

By FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER.*

THE process of converting a territory into a state is ordinarily a matter of purely local concern, but the position that the struggle over the admission of Kansas occupies, as the culmination of the long controversy between the sections over the subject of slavery and as the immediate prelude to the civil war, gives to every step in that process an interest and an importance that it would not otherwise have. In order to understand the particular point to which attention is to be directed, it is necessary to recall briefly the main features of this struggle. The free-state party, repudiating the territorial government as illegal, framed at Topeka a constitution prohibiting slavery, and applied to Congress for the admission of Kansas as a state under it. A bill granting this application passed the lower house of Congress but was rejected in the senate. Thereupon the Pro-slavery party framed a counter-constitution at Lecompton. The convention which framed this instrument did not submit it in its entirety to the voters of the territory, but provided that the ballots should read "The constitution with slavery," and "The constitution without slavery." Under these circumstances the free-state men refrained from voting, and "The constitution with slavery" was adopted by a vote which was fraudulently enlarged to give it an appearance of respectability.

On the 2d of February, 1858, President Buchanan transmitted this constitution to Congress with a special message, in which he urged the prompt admission of the state under it. March 23 the senate passed a bill accepting the constitution and admitting the state.¹ On the 1st of April, by a union of Republicans and anti-Lecompton Democrats, the house passed a substitute bill,² which had been proposed in the senate by Mr. Crittenden and moved in the house by Mr. Montgomery, an anti-Lecompton Democrat from Pennsylvania. The Crittenden-Montgomery substitute provided that the Lecompton constitution should be resubmitted to the people of Kansas and accepted only after ratification by them in a full and fair election. The senate disagreed to the house amendment and the house insisted. April 14 the senate asked for a committee of conference, and Messrs. Green, of Missouri, Hunter, of Virginia, and Seward, of New York, were appointed the senate members of the committee. On the following day, by the casting vote of the speaker, upon the motion of Mr. William H. English, an anti-Lecompton Democrat from Indiana, the house acceded to the request of the senate, and Messrs. English, of Indiana, Stephens, of Georgia, and Howard, of Michigan, were appointed the house members of the committee.

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NOTE 1.—The senate vote was 33 to 25. Douglas, Broderick, Pugh, and Stuart, Democrats; and Bell and Crittenden, Americans, voted with the Republicans against the bill.

NOTE 2.—The house vote was 120 to 112: Ninety-two Republicans, 22 anti-Lecompton or Douglas Democrats, and 6 Americans in the affirmative; and 104 Democrats and 8 Americans in the negative.

As the committee was constituted, with Green, Hunter and Stephens committed to the acceptance of the Lecompton constitution, and Seward and Howard equally committed against it, the work of compromise naturally fell to Mr. English. A statement of what took place in the committee was subsequently given by Mr. English himself, as follows:

"As the senate had asked for the conference, the managers on behalf of that branch of Congress were informed by Mr. English that propositions for a compromise must first come from them. If they had none, the managers on the part of the house had none, and the conference would immediately terminate. The managers on the part of the senate made several propositions, none of which were, however, acceptable to the members on behalf of the house. The senate committee then asked the members from the house if they had any compromise to offer, to which Mr. English replied that he had none prepared, but that he had a plan in his mind based, however, upon the principle of the submission of the question of admission under the Lecompton constitution and an amended ordinance to a fair vote of the people of Kansas; and if the committee thought it worth while he would prepare it and submit it to them at their next meeting."³

This was done, and on the 23d of April the English compromise was reported from the committee, Seward and Howard dissenting. April 30 the report was carried in the house by a division of the votes of the anti-Lecompton Democrats,⁴ and was accepted by the senate.⁵ Promptly signed by the president, it became law on the 4th of May.

The so-called "English bill" submitted the question of admission under the Lecompton constitution to the people of Kansas in conjunction with the acceptance by them of a specific land grant from the United States, viz., two sections in every township for the use of schools, two townships for a state university, ten sections for public buildings, salt springs not exceeding twelve in number with six sections adjoining each, and five per cent. of the proceeds of the sales of public lands within the state. The ballots were to read "For proposition of Congress and admission" and "Against proposition of Congress and admission." It was further provided that, should this proposition be rejected, the people of Kansas were authorized to frame a new constitution whenever but not before "the population of said territory equals the ratio of representation required for a member of the house of representatives," which at that time was 93,560.⁶

In discussions at the time, both in and out of Congress, and in the ac-

NOTE 3.—A Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men of the State of Indiana (Cincinnati, 1880), vol. II, sec. 7, p. 217. I am indebted to Mr. Charles Harker Rhodes, sometime fellow in American history in the University of Kansas, for this reference and for some other data used in this paper. Seward made a statement in the senate denying reported friction in the committee. (Globe, 35-1, p. 1880.)

NOTE 4.—The vote in the house was 112 to 103. Of the 22 anti-Lecompton Democrats, 9 voted for the bill and 12 against it. Montgomery, by pairing with Warren, of Arkansas, virtually made 13. Wilson names the 12, *Rise and Fall*, vol. II, p. 564. The affirmative were English and Foley, of Indiana; Jones of Pennsylvania, and Cox, Cockerill, Groesbeck, Hall, Lawrence and Pendleton, of Ohio. Cox received the largest amount of abuse. Charges of bribery were investigated in the next Congress by the Covode committee. For the total Rhodes (vol. II, p. 300) erroneously substitutes the vote on the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment.

NOTE 5.—The senate vote was 31 to 22. Of the anti-Lecompton Democrats, only Pugh voted for the bill. Probably others would have done so had it been necessary for its passage.

NOTE 6.—11 U. S. Statutes at Large, 269. The possible postponement of admission until the population should equal the basis of representation was derived from the original Douglas enabling act of the first session of the Thirty-fourth Congress. The submission of the Lecompton constitution and land grant together was the logical result of the claim of Douglas that the ordinance was a part of the constitution and could not be changed without the consent of the people. (Globe, 35-1, p. 1258.)

counts given by historians ever since, the English bill has been denounced as an attempt to bribe the people of Kansas into an acceptance of the Lecompton constitution. This charge was most strenuously urged in the house by Mr. Bingham and in the senate by Mr. Wilson.⁷ In the country the bill was dubbed for partisan purposes "The English Swindle," and this phrase still colors the present-day opinion of its character. Of the historical accounts the most important is the one given in Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*,⁸ for the reason that it appears to have dominated the narratives of later writers. As Mr. Wilson was a member of the senate at the time and took part in the debate on the bill, it has been assumed that he not only knew the facts, but that he stated them fairly. Mr. Wilson wrote:

"The proposition of the bill was, indeed, a gigantic bribe. Bluster and bullying had been tried, exhausted, and they had failed. Mercenary considerations were now proposed, combined with the menace that if the bribe was not accepted Kansas could not be admitted until, by the gradual accretion of numbers, its population should reach the general 'ratio of representation' for members of the house."

Later he quotes from his own speech in opposition to the bill the statement that it was "a conglomeration of bribes, menaces, and meditated frauds. It goes to the people of Kansas with a bribe in one hand and a penalty in the other." And finally he closes the chapter devoted to the subject by saying:

"The people of Kansas had suffered too much, and were too deeply in earnest, to be seduced by the offer of the promised benefits of the bill—its liberal grants of land and its admission as a state—or, driven by the menace of being kept out, to accept a constitution they had no agency in forming, and which they so thoroughly detested."

Von Holst says that "the bill to which English owes the unenviable immortality of his name was a legislative monstrosity,"⁹ and devotes an entire chapter to its denunciation. Of more recent historians, Mr. Schouler says:

"This degrading and dishonorable substitute, soon known as 'Lecompton junior,' was exposed in its weak parts as soon as it was presented. It simply proposed to bribe the harassed settlers into accepting a pro-slavery constitution, which they loathed, under the added penalty of being left out in the cold if they refused. . . . The free-state voters of Kansas rallied, and, spurning both bribes and threats, they trampled under foot the largess of public lands and the Lecompton constitution together by a majority of ninety-five hundred."¹⁰

Mr. Rhodes describes the bill more temperately, but much to the same effect, as follows:

"The measure offered Kansas a large grant of government lands and provided that the proposition should be voted on by the people of Kansas. . . . It was, in effect, a bribe of land to induce the people of Kansas to accept the Lecompton constitution."¹¹

NOTE 7.—Globe, 35—1, pp. 1864 and 1874. The paragraph in Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power* which purports to be an extract from Bingham's speech consists of five passages taken from different parts of the speech, pieced together without regard to sense or to the order in which they occur in the original.

NOTE 8.—Vol. II, ch. 42. The extracts quoted are from pages 559, 561, and 565.

NOTE 9.—Constitutional History of the United States, vol. VI, p. 234.

NOTE 10.—History of the United States, vol. V, p. 399.

NOTE 11.—History of the United States since 1850, vol. II, p. 299.

All of these accounts give the impression that the English bill offered the people of Kansas an exceptionally large grant of land.¹² An examination of the policy of the government in regard to the grant of lands to new states discloses the fact that this was not the case. In the course of the successive admission of public-land states, the amount of land to be granted to each had become an absolutely fixed quantity.¹³ The enabling act for Ohio, the first of these states, granted to the new state one section in each township for public schools, in accordance with the reservation in the land survey act of 1785, certain designated salt springs, and five per cent. of the proceeds of public lands thereafter sold within the state. Under the terms of the Ohio Company and Symmes purchases, Ohio had already become entitled to three townships for university purposes. Louisiana and Mississippi, admitted in 1811 and 1817, were given only the five per cent. of the proceeds of public-land sales. Indiana was given one section in each township for public schools; two townships, one in addition to one already reserved, for university purposes; four sections for public buildings; saline lands amounting to thirty-six sections, and five per cent. of the proceeds of public-land sales. Illinois was given the same grant as Indiana, except that all the salt springs were granted in lieu of any grant for public buildings. With the admission of Missouri the grant of saline lands was permanently fixed at seventy-two sections, but in other respects the grant remained the same. Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Iowa and Wisconsin were given practically the same grants as Missouri, the only exceptions being some variation in the amount of land given for public buildings, and in the case of Florida four townships instead of two for university purposes, a grant which Wisconsin also eventually received in lieu of her grant of saline lands. The grant to California followed the precedent, established in 1848 in the act for the territorial organization of Oregon, of granting two sections in each township instead of one for public schools, but the grant of saline lands and the five per cent. were withheld. With the enabling act for Minnesota territory, in 1857, the grant of lands to new states assumed its final form—two sections in each township for public schools, two townships for a university, saline lands amounting to seventy-two sections, and five per cent. of the proceeds of public lands. The grant of land offered to Kansas in the English bill was identical with the grant offered to Minnesota the year before.

This fact was well known in Congress during the debate on the bill. The senate bill for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution provided that nothing therein contained should deprive the people of Kansas of the same grants as those contained in the enabling act for Minnesota territory.¹⁴ The Crittenden-Montgomery substitute copied the land grant from the Minnesota act, as Mr. Crittenden took pains to explain when he moved the amendment in the senate.¹⁵ In speaking in opposition to the English bill in the debate in the house, Mr. Howard admitted that the grant

NOTE 12.—Reference to similar statements in popular books could be multiplied indefinitely. Cf. Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, p. 297; Elson's *United States*, p. 595; Merriam's *Negro and the Nation*, p. 151, and Adams and Trent's *School History*, p. 331.

NOTE 13.—See table of land grants to new states at the end of this paper.

NOTE 14.—Senate Journal, 35—1, p. 201. Globe, 35—1, pp. 902, 1263, and 1436.

NOTE 15.—Globe, 35—1, p. 1260.

was the same as that proposed to Minnesota. At this point Mr. English interrupted with the question:

"I should be glad to ask the gentleman whether he is not advised of the fact that the amount of land proposed to be granted in the bill of the committee of conference is precisely the same as that proposed in the Crittenden amendment for which the gentleman voted."

To which Mr. Howard replied:

"So far as the grant of land is concerned this bill and the Crittenden-Montgomery bill are identical, but the grant in the latter case is offered to Kansas under any constitution she may choose to adopt. The grant there was general, and therefore it was fair, but this grant hinges upon the adoption of this particular constitution, and is therefore unfair. It may be considered as a bribe."¹⁶

Not only was the grant in the English bill the same as that offered to Minnesota, it was the same as that offered to Kansas in the Toombs enabling bill,¹⁷ passed by the senate in 1856; the same as that contained in the Grow bill¹⁸ for the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution, passed by the house at the same time; the same as the grant made to Oregon in 1859,¹⁹ and the same as the grant under which Kansas herself was finally admitted to the Union in 1861.²⁰ Since that time the grants to new states, though of the same general form, have, except in the case of Nevada, been considerably enlarged. It is therefore clear that the grant of land proposed by the English bill was not in the slightest degree exceptional.

In order to explain the position of the land "proposition" in the English bill, it is necessary to review the Lecompton controversy from another point of view. Attached to the Lecompton constitution was an ordinance which requested an unusual grant of public land—four sections in each township instead of two for public schools, all of the salt springs and mines in the state, the usual five per cent. and university grant, and, in addition, alternate sections for twelve miles on each side of two railroads, one to run north and south and the other east and west through the limits of the state.²¹ The request for grants for railroads was evidently inspired by similar grants that had recently been made in other states. The Illinois Central act of 1850 had given to Illinois alternate sections for six sections on each side of a railroad to be built through the entire length of the state. Before 1857 similar grants had been made for a large number of railroads in Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Florida, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Louisiana.²² It therefore appeared to the framers of the Lecompton constitution

NOTE 16.—Globe, 35—1, p. 1857.

NOTE 17.—The text of the Toombs bill, as introduced in the senate, is neither in the Senate Journal nor in the Globe, but the original bill, as moved in the house by Stephens, is printed in the Globe, 34—1, p. 1514.

NOTE 18.—Globe, 34—1, p. 1469.

NOTE 19.—11 U. S. Statutes at Large, 384.

NOTE 20.—12 U. S. Statutes at Large, 126.

NOTE 21.—Poore's Charters and Constitutions, vol. I, p. 613. The General Land Office estimated that this would amount to 23,592,160 acres. (Globe, 35—1, p. 1766.) The English bill reduced the amount by about 20,000,000 acres.

NOTE 22.—See "Statement of Land Grants Made by Congress to Aid in the Construction of Railroads," etc., compiled by the General Land Office, 1888, also "Donaldson's Public Domain," p. 269. The latter compilation must be used with care, as it is probably the source of more misstatements in American history than any other single publication. For the land-grant movement, see "Sanborn's Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways," in Bulletins of the University of Wisconsin, Economics, Political Science and History Series, vol. II.

that Kansas ought to receive equivalent grants, and that they might as well be obtained at the time of her admission to the Union.

The Lecompton question therefore presented two points—the major one of the acceptance of the constitution, and the minor one of the acceptance of the ordinance. Upon the major point the houses disagreed, the senate accepting the Lecompton constitution and the house refusing to do so unless it should be resubmitted and ratified by the people of Kansas. The senate bill, accepting the Lecompton constitution, provided that nothing therein contained should be construed as an assent by Congress to the propositions contained in the ordinance of the said constitution nor to deprive the people of Kansas of the same grants as those contained in the enabling act for Minnesota territory; and the Crittenden-Montgomery substitute,²³ passed by the house, gave to Kansas, as already stated, the identical grants that had been made to Minnesota the year before. The conference committee, therefore, in arranging a compromise, sought to emphasize the minor point upon which the houses agreed and to minimize as much as possible the real issue upon which they were divided. The only possible compromise between those who opposed and those who insisted upon a resubmission of the constitution was some sort of indirect resubmission. The English bill, therefore, put the land grant in the foreground and the constitution in the background. This arrangement enabled those who had opposed resubmission of the constitution to cover their retreat by claiming that it was the land grant and not the constitution that was submitted while it enabled those who had insisted upon resubmission to show that they had, after all, gained their point. The object was not so much to secure the acceptance of the constitution in Kansas, which no one seems to have expected, as to throw the bill into such ambiguous form that it would receive the assent of both houses and restore peace, temporarily at least, to a distracted country.

It is not contended that the land "proposition" may not be construed as a bribe. In the debate in the senate Mr. Douglas stated the case exactly.²⁴ The bill offered a specific grant of land in case the Lecompton constitution was accepted, but was silent as to the grant that would be made under another constitution. Friends of the bill ridiculed the idea that a provision which reduced the grant of land demanded by the Lecompton ordinance from 23,500,000 acres to 3,500,000 acres and offered only the normal cession to new states could be construed as a bribe. Even opponents of the bill conceded that Kansas would probably get the normal grant whenever admitted, but the omission to promise it raised a doubt upon this point, and by opposing a certainty to an uncertainty did offer the shadow of an inducement for accepting the Lecompton constitution.

More important was the inducement contained in the provision of the bill postponing the admission of Kansas, in case the Lecompton constitution was rejected, until the population of the territory equaled the basis of representation, since it offered an immediate admission for an indefinite postponement. This, however, is not the provision designated as a "bribe" in the accepted accounts of the bill, since in them it is described as a "threat" or a "penalty" additional to the "bribe." It was really the more vulnerable provision of the bill, since it involved the inconsistent proposition that

NOTE 23.—Both bills are printed in the *Globe*, 35—1, p. 1436.

NOTE 24.—*Globe*, 35—1, p. 1869.

the population was large enough for admission under one constitution but not under another; or, as Collamer expressed it, "There were people enough to hold slaves, but not enough to enjoy freedom."²⁵ The position of the administration party was that they would waive the question of population provided the Kansas agitation could be terminated, but would not do so if the agitation were to be continued. Despite the inconsistency involved in the provision, Kansas could not fairly complain of the postponement of her admission. No community can equitably claim two representatives in the upper house of Congress until its population entitles it to at least one representative in the lower house. In 1872 Congress passed a general act²⁶ making this requirement for all states that should thereafter be admitted, and in recent practice admission has been delayed until long after this point has been reached. For four years the country had been stirred from the depths by the Kansas issue, and the administration could scarcely be blamed for exercising its right to enforce a respite from further agitation.

When the English bill was discussed in Kansas, the speeches in Congress and the editorials in Eastern newspapers, making the charge of bribery, were reprinted in the local press, and the form of the land proposition was resented, but no one claimed that its rejection would make any difference with the amount of public land that would eventually be received. A few of the leaders²⁷ and of the newspapers believed that it was advisable to secure immediate admission by temporarily accepting the Lecompton constitution and then calling a convention for its revision, but the section in the schedule of the constitution which provided for amendment only after 1864 raised a doubt as to whether this could be done.²⁸ Nearly the whole of the free-state press and the mass of the free-state voters felt that they would stultify themselves by accepting even temporarily a constitution which they had so bitterly opposed. Accordingly, when the question was submitted, on the 2d of August, 1858, the constitution was rejected by a vote of 11,300 to 1788. This vote marks the close of the Kansas struggle in Congress, in the country at large, and in the territory of Kansas, and this end was accomplished by the resubmission of the Lecompton constitution provided for in the English bill.

NOTE 25.—Globe, 35—1, p. 1819.

NOTE 26.—17 U. S. Statutes at Large, 29.

NOTE 27.—Robert J. Walker and Frederick P. Stanton, both stanch friends of the Free-state party, advised acceptance of the Lecompton constitution. George W. Smith, governor elect under the proposed state government, naturally took the same ground.

NOTE 28.—Section 14 of the schedule of the Lecompton constitution provides that after the year 1864 a move may be made to amend, alter or change it. President Buchanan, in his message presenting to Congress the constitution, says, page 479, volume 5, Messages and Papers of the Presidents: "If, therefore, the provision changing the Kansas constitution after the year 1864 could by possibility be construed into a prohibition to make such a change previous to that period, this prohibition would be wholly unavailing. The legislature already elected may at its very first session submit the question to a vote of the people whether they will or will not have a convention to amend their constitution and adopt all necessary means for giving effect to the popular will."

In a large number of letters furnished the State Historical Society by Thomas Ewing, jr. (3d), of New York, we learn that Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Chillicothe, Ohio, gave much consideration to the Kansas troubles. In a letter addressed to his sons, Hugh Ewing and Thomas Ewing, jr., under date of December 10, 1857, he says: "If the constitution should be sanctioned by Congress you must not fail to possess yourselves of the first legislature and other civil offices under it. You will then have your two senators and your representative in Congress, and the constitution will be at once in your power. You can call the convention to amend it, and if you please substitute the Topeka constitution for it, in three months after the legislature meets, and there is no power to question the validity of the act except your own judiciary; and, indeed, until 1865 (I think that is the year) the convention has most generously left you to choose your own mode of amending. If this course be pursued you will in one year from this date have a constitution such as the people approve. You will have your member of Congress and your two senators, your governor, judges, etc., and without rebellion or civil war."

It is not intended to defend all the provisions of the English bill, but merely to show that the bill, both in content and purpose, was quite different from the common conception of it. The issue was between no resubmission and resubmission of the Lecompton constitution. The two inducements for accepting the constitution—the land grant and immediate admission—were the price paid for resubmission. They were not offered in the expectation that they would affect the result, but in order, by an appearance of compromise, to bridge the crisis in Congress. The bill was the trick of a shrewd politician, very similar to the subterfuge by which Clay secured the acceptance of the constitution of Missouri. It rests upon the same basis as all the slavery compromises in our history from the formation of the constitution to the civil war. It was not the best solution of the difficulty, but the only one attainable at the time.

The restatement of this single point in the Kansas controversy suggests the necessity of a new examination of the whole subject. Mr. Rhodes has pointed out the essential fairness of the Toombs enabling bill adopted by the senate during the Thirty-fourth Congress. If, in addition, it be admitted that the English bill, passed by the Thirty-fifth Congress, was a fair adjustment of the existing situation, then it follows that the Democrats, conscious of the injury that the Kansas issue was working to their interests, were willing to adopt any reasonable measure for its settlement. The Republicans, on the other hand, must either have been blinded by prejudice to the fairness of the proposals made by their opponents or else have intended for the sake of partisan advantage, as was charged at the time, to keep the Kansas issue alive as long as possible. Now that the heat of controversy has passed, a study of the debates will convince the candid reader that the irreconcilables, the violent speeches, and the responsibility for the final breach were by no means all on the side of the South.

APPENDIX.

GRANTS to public-land states upon admission to the Union.

STATE.	Schools, sections in each township.	University, number of townships.	Public buildings, number of sections.	Salt springs, number of sections.	Land sales, per cent.	Prisons, number of sections.
Ohio.....	1	3	.....	(a)	5	.....
Louisiana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
Indiana.....	1	2	4	36	5	.....
Mississippi.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
Illinois.....	1	2	.....	All.	5	.....
Alabama.....	1	2	c 1,620	36	5	.....
Missouri.....	1	2	4	72	5	.....
Arkansas.....	1	2	15	72	5	.....
Michigan.....	1	2	5	72	5	.....
Florida.....	1	4	8	72	5	.....
Iowa.....	1	2	5	72	5	.....
Wisconsin.....	1	d 2	5	72	5	.....
California.....	2	2	10	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	2	2	10	72	5	.....
Oregon.....	2	2	10	72	5	.....
Kansas.....	2	2	10	72	5	.....
Nevada.....	2	2	.....	.....	5	20
Nebraska.....	2	2	20	72	5	50
Colorado.....	2	2	50	72	5	50
Dakotas, Montana, and Washington.....	2	2	50	.....	5	(e)
Idaho.....	2	2	50	.....	5	(e)
Wyoming.....	2	2	50	.....	5	(e)
Utah.....	4	f 2	100	.....	5	(e)
Oklahoma.....	2	(g)	(h)	.....	5	(e)

- a. Particular springs designated in the act.
- b. Two-fifths disbursed by Congress, in the case of Ohio for roads to the state, and in case of Indiana and Illinois for roads through the states.
- c. Acres.
- d. Wisconsin, by special act of December 15, 1854, received two additional townships for university purposes in lieu of her grant of salt springs.
- e. Large additional grants of public lands to nearly all public institutions, in lieu of grants to other states under the distribution act of 1841 and the swamp-lands act of 1850.
- f. And an additional grant of 110,000 acres for a university and 200,000 acres for an agricultural college.
- g. One section in each township, proceeds to be divided equally between state university, state normal school, and agricultural college.
- h. One section in each township.

THE FIRST STATE LEGISLATURE.

Address by DAVID E. BALLARD, of Washington county, before the Kansas State Historical Society at its thirty-second annual meeting, December 6, 1907.

IT is not very often, even in the United States, that one witnesses the formation or the launching of a new state. Oklahoma, our southern neighbor, has just had such an experience, and in the formation of our Union there have been some thirty-two other admissions to the family of Uncle Sam. Most of these states came in in peace, but Kansas was born of great travail and much labor. Her faith, indeed, was long tried through rough ways to the stars, and, fortunately, her failures were several before she attained the dignity of statehood. I say fortunately, because her admission under any other than the Wyandotte constitution would have been a calamity which subsequent events might not have remedied; indeed, with a pro-slavery constitution there might have been no "subsequent" event, and the slaves might still be groaning under the lash of the overseer.

As a member of the first state legislature of the state of Kansas, I represented Washington, Marshall and Nemaha counties in the house, and I have had the honor of representing Washington county since in the same capacity. With some people the first is always the best, and I am inclined to that belief myself. Do you remember the first circus you attended as a boy? Well, you never saw after that any show that came anywhere near equaling it; circuses after that lost their glamour, and when as you grew older you recognized that the valiant knights and noble ladies and richly caparisoned horses were all neatly dressed out in tinsel and fustian; that the gleaming helmets were only tin casques; the swords pewter, and the glancing lances pine sticks tipped with tin-foil, you lost interest. Not that I intend to liken the Kansas legislature to a circus, though there have been sessions which resembled one—clown, pewter, fustian, ringmaster, and all. The first potato, first ear of sweet corn—are they not more toothsome, better eating than along in the season? Then why should not the first legislature be the most interesting?

The assembling of the first Kansas state legislature was not coeval with the election of the state government, for over fifteen months had elapsed between the two events. This legislature, and also a full state ticket, had been elected December 6, 1859, fourteen months before the state was admitted into the Union. The Wyandotte constitution, under which we live to-day, was adopted by the people of the territory October 4, 1859, with 10,421 votes for, and 5530 against it. The homestead provision was adopted by a vote of 8788 for and 4772 against. The bill admitting Kansas was signed January 29, 1861. Charles Robinson took the oath as governor February 9,

and asked the legislature to meet on the 26th of March, 1861. Of course there were the usual preliminaries; but the members finally got down to business and accomplished all that was expected of them, except to make a new apportionment.¹ After the many vicissitudes with which the effort toward statehood had been beset, the ardor of the early office-seekers had somewhat abated, and there was not nearly the rush for place in this legislative body that had been experienced in the territorial days, so that the common people got more of a chance, and there was but a small show of the old territorial politicians in the house and senate.

But few of the legislators in that first session were opulent, and the majority were just common farmers, with a slight sprinkling of merchants, lawyers, doctors and newspaper men, yet in a very short time the same common people turned up as captains, colonels, generals and governors.

When the governor's proclamation was promulgated, calling the first session of the legislature, I was peacefully contemplating the opening of spring, with not a drop of rain in sight or a cloud visible to mar the blue vault of the Kansas sky. Like the milk-maid in the old Webster spelling-book, or the character in the "Arabian Nights" who was always figuring on his future profits without attending to present contingencies or mishaps, I was counting the chickens before they were hatched, the pigs before they were farrowed, and the corn before shucking time, and I felt pretty rich, and decided I would accept the call of my constituents, who perhaps numbered five thousand, and represent them in the halls of the legislature. So I roused myself out of dreamland, dumped into my saddle-bags a pair of blue woolen shirts, saddled the cayuse, and hiked to Topeka, across the boundless prairie, dressed in my only suit of clothes, which served me for week-days and Sundays alike.

The summer and fall of 1860 were not exactly propitious for the squatter, and there were few "away out here in Kansas" in the spring of 1861 who had better clothes than blue jeans, unless the Aid Society had contributed them out of the cast-off garments of the opulent East. But in blue jeans I felt equal to the occasion, and, mind you, they were blue, and not butternut. The first legislature was intensely free-state. Party lines in Kansas were drawn tightly in those days, and no one was allowed to be lukewarm, or half-and-half. If one was not a free-state man he was counted a pro-slavery Missourian—one of those who believed that the people of the free states should be slave-catchers, virtually their vassals—and a subject for exportation. The Free-state party was more intensely Republican than any party has been since, or ever will be again, and this legislature killed everything that had a pro-slavery, Democratic, tinge to it. I wonder how often it occurs to the boys of this generation that these early old boys with big, throbbing hearts came to Kansas for a holy purpose, and were not to be balked in their intentions? They

"Crossed the prairies as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West as they the East,
The homestead of the free."

NOTE 1.—"While we think that the legislature has done many good things, it has done some wrong ones. For instance, the constitution requires that the first legislature shall make an apportionment of the state for senators and members of the house of representatives, and that no other apportionment shall be made until 1866. By reason of a foolish and silly quarrel between the northern Kansas and the southern Kansas factions in the legislature, the apportionment bill failed to become a law."—*Elwood Free Press*, June 15, 1861.

The only member of the first state legislature I was personally acquainted with was Col. Samuel N. Wood. The first time I saw him was in the early '50's. As a boy I was driving my aunt from Mount Gilead, Ohio, down to the little town of Sparta on a visit. When we got down to near Cardington, the old rail fences on a farm were covered with sheep pelts. My aunt told me that was Sam Wood's farm, and he was killing his sheep for the pelts and tallow; that the financial conditions were such that it was more profitable to sell the pelts and tallow than to keep the sheep. Wool was not worth the trouble. That set me to thinking, and I have been at it ever since. Later on, in May or June, 1857, I found Sam Wood in Lawrence, Kan., in a little cottonwood shack up the street from the Eldridge House, keeping a broker's office. I was hard up and wanted to borrow some money. He wanted to know what collateral I had to put up. I pulled out a Brooklyn town share with much assurance, when he remarked that it was not worth the white paper it was printed on. That remark sent me down to zero; but he said, "I used to know your old aunt in Ohio, and if you are half as good a boy as she is a woman your name will get the money." I got the fifty dollars all right, and afterwards redeemed my Brooklyn town share, and have it yet.

One of the interesting things about that first state legislature was the election of two United States senators, at the same time, and in joint session. There were but three or four prominent candidates for both places. General Lane² was head and shoulders ahead of them all, for he had been a fighter for the freedom of Kansas, and all of the old boys knew it. They loved him for the enemies he had made, and the reason he did not count more votes was because they traded his votes off for votes to elect Marc Parrott, but the Lane men never lost sight of his election sure and certain. After a few anxious hours' struggle with the changing of votes to elect Parrott, the boys thought they had him in, but when the result of the vote was announced, and Parrott was two votes short, our trades had not prospered and we were sick, very sick, as any of the later supporters of senatorial candidates have been since. D. W. Wilder was one of the sick ones, and caricatured this election of United States senators as follows: "There was only one ballot. The voting continued two hours, in which interval Lane fluctuated between 45 and 64, Pomeroy between 49 and 57, Parrott between 47 and 60, Stanton between 10 and 32, Delahay between 2 and 11, and Kingman between 3 and 18. Fifty-eight members changed their votes. This vote-changing precedent has been faithfully followed, in legislatures and conventions, up to the time of going to press."

There was a busy canvass during the ten days previous to the joint session for the election of United States senator. Some amusing things occurred. I was for Lane from the first, and had not much anxiety but that he would be elected. I will give my own personal experience: Pomeroy had some awful good men working in his interests, notably Judge Franklin G. Adams. About the third or fourth day after reaching Topeka, the judge took me in tow. I had not dropped into the Pomeroy camp for purely personal reasons. The winter before the people of my county had been awfully hard up. They had organized a relief committee and sent to Atchison for goods being distributed there by Samuel C. Pomeroy, relief agent, and had got some aid, but later, when they wanted aid the most, their teams came

NOTE 2.—See the "Senatorial Election of 1861," chapter 16, of the Life of Gen. James H. Lane, by John Speer.

back empty. Then I took a hand, and ordered, as their representative, and they got plenty.³ You will plainly see why I was expected to fall into the Pomeroy camp. Judge Adams walked me from the hotel down to the Kansas river ferry, and back up Kansas avenue to the John Ritchie addition, trying to convince me that it was my duty to vote for Pomeroy, but I would evade him by arguing that Pomeroy's railroad ideas did not suit me. I wanted a railroad on the line of the county-seats of the northern tier of counties, and Pomeroy was always talking the parallel from Atchison west, which would do my people no good. Then Pomeroy sent for me to come to his room and we discussed the situation alone. The aid he had furnished my people was always uppermost, when finally little Warren ran in, all out of breath, to report that he could not get a certain man for less than — dollars. Whether it was supposed that I was on the market for money I do not know, but after that I could not have been pulled into the Pomeroy camp with oxen and log-chains.

I voted for General Lane and Judge Kingman, and when Kingman could not make a showing I went to Parrott. Judge Kingman was my ideal of a perfect, just and upright United States senator. He afterwards made a just and upright judge. I learned my first lesson of law from him while sitting together on a walnut log at Governor Morrill's sawmill, in Brown county. We were discussing the law—and in those early times there were but two law questions, to wit, the fugitive-slave law and the Douglas squatter-sovereignty law—when Judge Kingman remarked that "good law is good horse sense," and I have applied the horse-sense law ever since. You will observe that I say General Lane when I speak of him—later generations speak lightly of his generalship, but the old boys in the '50's knew that he was a general for human freedom—a rough diamond, but as clear as crystal.

The day before this joint session of the legislature to elect United States senators the spring rains began,⁴ and the old shack we were in let the water through like a sieve, and we had to move to the Congregational church.⁵ It was a commodious and roomy hall, but the committees had to hike out into town to hold their meetings. I, being the kid of the house, started first.

A unique thing that occurred during the session was the fall in and drill after the first gun at Sumter, April 12, 1861. There was a beautiful plat of ground in front of the church, which was occupied as a drill-ground at odd times nearly every day.⁶ To me it looked lovely, and reminded me of the middle '40's in central Ohio. There the militia had an annual training-day, and I had eight or ten urchins as a company to whom I taught the step. This squad in front of the old church brought it all back, and I had little

NOTE 3.—See Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 480, for an account by Gov. Geo. W. Glick of this drought and the distribution of aid. Mrs. De Witte C. Nellis, of Topeka, daughter of Rev. Josiah B. McAfee, has given the Kansas State Historical Society a cotton sack marked in stenciled letters: "S. C. Pomeroy, Atchison, for Lykins Co. K. T. Aid."

NOTE 4.—The Topeka *Tribune* of April 6, 1861, mentions the welcome rain of April 3, and quotes a paragraph from the Leavenworth *Conservative*, saying that "as soon as the heavy rain-storm began, Army sent off by mule express a telegram calling for umbrellas. He states that 50,000 people must have umbrellas before the first of May or perish in the deluge."

NOTE 5.—"The Capitals of Kansas," Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 347.

NOTE 6.—Among the papers given the Historical Society by Maj. James B. Abbott is one marked "Roll of Capital Guards, Topeka, 1861." It reads: "The undersigned members and officers of the legislature, recognizing the necessity of a more perfect knowledge of military tactics, and believing that we may with profit to ourselves spend some portion of our time in drill—

trouble in learning it over again, and in less than a year was teaching it to others for your Uncle Sam. But this is a digression.

The senatorial canvass was finished on the 4th of April, and it was only eight days later that Sumter was fired on. My mind, as well as that of the other members of the legislature, must have been so fully taken up with war news, drilling, and bees in our bonnets over the prospects of going into the fight ourselves, that I have no clear memory of the legislation accomplished. But, on turning over the leaves of the Session Laws of 1861, I find that we provided for the issuing of \$150,000 of bonds to pay the current expenses of the state government; for an election to decide upon the town which should have the state capitol; appointed commissioners to locate the penitentiary; provided for the organization of new counties, and changed the names of some of the pro-slavery counties—Lykins to Miami, Dorn to Neosho, and Godfrey to Seward—the last in compliment to the new secretary of the United States, who had lost out in the presidential nomination at Chicago. We also provided for the management and investment of the state school and university funds, and for the location of lands given by Congress to the state. Besides preparing for the organization of the state militia, we authorized the governor to tender one or more regiments to the President. The salaries apportioned to the state officers look very meager to-day. The state seal then adopted is still in use, and we are still trying to live up to the motto.

One matter that disturbed the members of the new administration was the length of their official term. The house called upon Atty.-gen. Benjamin F. Simpson for an opinion. He took the position that the state officers held for two years from the date of the admission of the state. But this view was not accepted by all, for in October, 1861, a petition was numerously signed asking for a vote on a new set of state officers. A full ticket was submitted to the voters in November, and 7437 votes were cast for George A. Crawford, of Fort Scott, for governor. The state board did not canvass this vote. The claim of the petitioners was that Governor Robinson's term should count from the time he was elected, and not from the date of the admission of the state, and that an act of the legislature of 1861 providing that state officers should be elected every two years, beginning with 1862, was unconstitutional. The supreme court, in January, 1862, held this act valid, declaring that Robinson had another year to serve, and that there was no authority for the vote of 1861. This vote was a part of the Lane-Robinson feud.

Some of the old boys in blue I saw under fire, notably Capt. Samuel J. Crawford, of Anderson county, afterwards Colonel Crawford, and later Governor Crawford. Seeing him in his calm and deliberate way as a legislator, one would not suppose that he would tower heavenward, to sixteen feet or more, but that is the way he looked to me at old Fort Wayne October 22, 1862, mounted on a fine horse, with his flaming sword high in the air, at the head of a charge. He captured four rebel cannons with only four companies

ing and acquainting ourselves with military affairs, do hereby agree to temporarily form ourselves into a company for that purpose, to be known and recognized as the 'Capital Guards'; with the further agreement that as soon as twenty-five members shall attach their names hereto, an election shall be had for officers of said company, and all things else shall be done to complete the organization hereby contemplated." Then follow forty-six autographs. The paper is evidently in the handwriting of the secretary of state, W. W. H. Lawrence. Major Abbott was the drill-master of the company, and the ground used was immediately south of the church building, corner of Harrison and Seventh streets.

of the Second Kansas, and his gleaming saber reminded me of the "sword of the Lord and of Gideon."

One day in May, at a committee meeting down at the Capital Hotel, looking out of the window, who should I see but Captain McClure, of Junction City, coming in from the West, at the head of his company of volunteers, tripping along gaily on tip-toes. He came at his country's call, the proudest volunteer captain I ever saw, and I saw a lot of them, on his way to Lawrence to be mustered into the Second Kansas volunteers.⁷ He came back in September minus a foot. The only further remark I can make here is, "for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

The legislature of 1861 was a notable body and did a good work for the state, passing just such laws as were necessary to put the state government in motion. It wasn't bothered much about trusts and corporations and railroads, except to get the latter into the state where they were needed. Patriotism, stirred by the events then taking place in the South, was the ruling sentiment. Nearly all of our members went into the army, and some earned fame and distinction, and all the gratitude of the country. There are few of us now left, but those remaining, though old men bowed with the weight of threescore years and ten, look back to those spring days of '61 conscious that we did our duty well, and believing that the people of Kansas of that day were satisfied with the result of our labors. Those still living are as follows:

Council.—P. P. Elder, Ottawa, Franklin county; S. D. Houston, of Riley, now at Salina; J. M. Hubbard, of Wabaunsee, now at Middletown, Conn.; and Robert Morrow, of Douglas county.

House of Representatives.—David E. Ballard, of Washington, Kan.; Samuel J. Crawford, of Garnett, now at Baxter Springs; James McGrew, of Wyandotte, now Kansas City, Kan.; Ambrose U. Mussey, of St. George, Pottawatomie county; R. P. C. Wilson, of Leavenworth, now of Platte City, Mo.

An examination of the *Topeka Tribune*, *Troy Chief*, and *Elwood Free Press*, gives evidence that the interest of the day was centered on the military agitation throughout the country. D. W. Wilder, editor of the latter paper, says, under date of April 27: "The military spirit of the Union people seems thoroughly aroused. The North for the Union, and the South for its disruption, have almost instantaneously arrayed themselves against each other. Such an enthusiasm as exists was never before known." He closes by urging every town and hamlet in our new state to organize one or more companies under our new militia law. This issue of the *Free Press* contains but five lines on the doings of the legislature.

NOTE 7.—Company B, Second Kansas, were three-months' men. They participated in the battle of Wilson Creek. The original Second Kansas was an infantry regiment. They were re-organized as cavalry. Of the original company B the following are, at this date (April, 1908), still living: Maj. E. S. Stover, Albuquerque, N. M.; Alexander H. Lamb, Norwood, Mo.; First Sergt. Edmund S. McFarland, John Doryland and Theodore Jones, Junction City; William H. Lamb, Lincoln, Neb.; William H. Bower, Manhattan; William H. Morris, Pittsburg, Kan., and Jerome Walbridge, of Wakefield.

BIOGRAPHIES OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1861.

SENATE.

EDWARD PAYSON BANCROFT, born March 1, 1829, in Union, N. Y., died December 25, 1904, at Chelsea, Mich.; was a member of the first state senate, 1861. He removed with his family from New York to Michigan, where he studied medicine at the Michigan State University. He came to Kansas in February, 1857, and settled in Emporia, engaging in the real-estate business. He was nominated secretary of state at the Free-state convention held at Topeka, April 28-29, 1858, and was also appointed one of the agents to select lands granted the state by the general government. He was a member of the railroad convention of 1860, from which he, with others, withdrew on account of the apportionment and representation. At the beginning of the civil war he enlisted in the Eighth Kansas, and was mustered in as quartermaster October 22, 1861, and promoted to major of the Ninth Kansas April 1, 1862, resigning February 19, 1863. Governor Robinson appointed him a colonel on his staff May 2, 1861. In August, 1863, he returned from the South a very sick man. He had been at the siege of Vicksburg, and stopped at Lawrence, where he was joined by his wife and brother, A. R. Bancroft, and caught in the Quantrill raid; they were at the Eldridge House, and Major Bancroft was carried out of the burning building in an armchair. He returned to Emporia. He was a regent of the State Normal School 1871-'73, and was appointed on the board of centennial managers March 2, 1876. Major Bancroft sold bonds of the Normal School and kept the money; he was arrested, and found guilty September 14, 1878, and sentenced to five years in the Penitentiary and costs. This sentence was commuted by Governor St. John to two years and seven months. In 1881 Mr. Bancroft went to Chihuahua, Mex., where he engaged in the real-estate business. Later he returned to Michigan and made his home in Detroit. He was married to Mary B. Millspaugh, of Ontario county, New York, in 1853.

JOHN FLETCHER BROADHEAD was born at Hudson, N. Y., September 15, 1830. He was educated in the common schools, and later read law, and was admitted to practice September 15, 1857. The following spring he came to Kansas, locating at Mound City, where he engaged in his profession. He was elected a senator to the first state legislature, and served until his enlistment in the army; he was mustered in as captain of company D, Third Kansas infantry, July 25, 1861, which became company E on its consolidation with the Tenth Kansas, and was with his company until his regiment was mustered out, August 18, 1864. Upon his return to Mound City he was elected to the house of representatives of 1865, and returned to the senate of 1869-'70. March 9, 1871, he was appointed judge of the Sixth district, *vice* D. P. Lowe, who had been elected to Congress, and held the office until November 17 of that year. He moved to Independence in 1875, where he died November 15, 1881. His first wife was Ellen A. Warner, of Jamestown, N. Y., whom he married July 15, 1857, and who died July 11, 1861. December 11, 1863, he married Nettie W. Warner, a sister of his first wife.

JONATHAN COLMAN BURNETT was born in Morristown, Vt., March 19, 1825, and died in Wichita July 2, 1899. He received an academic education and afterward studied law, and was at one time register of probate of Lamoille county, Vermont. He came to Kansas in 1857, and arriving in Leavenworth he, with seven other young men from Vermont, formed the "Vermont colony," and located in Bourbon county, near Fort Scott. Judge Burnett was a member of the first town site company of Mapleton, in May, 1857, and in 1859 he was a delegate to the Wyandotte constitutional convention. He was a member of the last territorial legislature, which was in session when Kansas was made a state, and likewise a senator to the first state senate. He was appointed register of the Fort Scott land-office by President Lincoln, and took over the office in April, 1861, serving until March, 1865. During his incumbency this office was moved to Humboldt. September, 1861, it was raided by guerrillas, whereupon, on October 3, it was moved to Mapleton, the then county-seat of Bourbon county. The spring of the following year, May 15, 1862, the office was returned to Humboldt, where it remained until December, 1870. After resigning from the land-office Judge Burnett moved his family to Lawrence, where he was for some time a director and land commissioner of the L. L. & G. railroad. He afterward engaged in farming and stock raising, and later moved to Russell county. Judge Burnett was twice married: October 18, 1849, to Laura L. Wheelock, of Hinesburg, Vt., who died October 4, 1850; and December 27, 1852, to Anna Mary Fisk, of Morrisville, Vt., who survives him.

JESSE CONNELL was born in Kentucky about 1819. He settled in Leavenworth in 1855, and was a member of the senate of the first state legislature, 1861. He was also a member of the Lecompton constitutional convention in 1857. He was a man of high character. He died in the early '70's.

HAMPTON B. DENMAN was born in Ohio, about 1829. He came to Kansas in March, 1857, and died in Washington, D. C., in 1906. In a Democratic convention in 1859 to nominate candidates

for state offices under the Wyandotte constitution, he received 27 votes for governor, and Samuel Medary, the nominee, received 43. At the same election, December 6, 1859, he was elected to the first state senate. In 1863 he was appointed a commissioner to select certain lands due the state, and in 1866 Indian superintendent of the Northern agency. He was mayor of Leavenworth for the years 1858, 1859, and 1862.

HARTWIN RUSH DUTTON was born in Allegany county, New York, July 20, 1824. He was a civil engineer by profession, and early in the '50's located in Iowa, remaining there until 1857, when he migrated to Brown county, Kansas. He laid out the town of Hiawatha, and was president of the town company. In 1859 he was elected to the last territorial legislature, and was state senator in 1861, the first state legislature. March 26, 1861, he was appointed by Governor Robinson state treasurer, *vice* William Tholen, who entered the army; at the next election, November, 1861, he was elected to serve out the term. Shortly before his term of office expired he left Kansas, going to Chicago, where he went into the insurance business. He died at Zanesville, Ohio, November 12, 1883.

PETER PERCIVAL ELDER, of Franklin county, was born September 20, 1823, in Somerset county, Maine. He received his education at Farmington Academy and the Maine Wesleyan University. He read law for a short time, but finally settled on a farm in his native county. In the spring of 1857 he arrived in Franklin county, locating on a claim near Ohio City, where his family joined him two years later. He helped organize Franklin county. He was a delegate to the Osawatomie convention of 1859 that organized the Republican party in Kansas, and a member of the territorial council, 1860 and 1861, and of the state senate of 1867 and 1868; was a member of the house of representatives in 1875, 1876, 1877, 1883 and 1891, and speaker of that body in 1877 and in 1891. He resigned from the senate of 1861 to become agent for the Osage and Seneca Indians, which office he held until 1865, when he resigned. During his incumbency he recruited and put into active service a regiment of Osage Indians, and was largely instrumental in keeping many of the tribes loyal. He resides in Ottawa.

HIRAM W. FARNSWORTH was born at Brattleboro, Vt., October 13, 1816, where he received his early education. He entered Williams College in 1836, graduating with the class of 1840, after which he went to Alabama, where he taught school. In 1842 he returned to New England and became principal of the Female Academy of New London, Conn.; this position he held until 1855. The next year he came west, arriving in Lawrence May 9, 1856, and settling in Topeka a few days later. He was elected to the first state senate, resigning in June, 1861, to accept the appointment of agent for the Kansas Indians, which he held until October, 1866. He was then appointed one of three special commissioners to inspect all Kansas Indian tribes, taking deputations to Washington to effect treaties preparatory to their removal from the state; this work being concluded in May, 1867. In March, 1869, he was appointed postmaster of Topeka, holding the office four years. He served as clerk of the Topeka board of education from 1876 until his death. He married, in Boston, Mass., March 17, 1842, Della T. Lerow, who died June 5, 1850; and December 3, 1855, he married Harriet A. Stoddard, of New London, Conn. Mr. Farnsworth died at Topeka, July 26, 1899.

OTIS BERTHOUD GUNN was born October 27, 1828, at Montague, Mass. He was the son of Otis and Lucy Fisk Gunn. He had a thorough New England common-school education, and began work as a rodman on the construction of the Hoosac Tunnel railroad. He was engineer in charge of the railroad between Rochester and Niagara Falls. He taught school for two years near Harrisburg, Pa. In 1853 he was division engineer in the construction of the Toledo, Wabash & Western, and followed railroad construction westward until he located in Kansas in 1857, settling at Wyandotte. In 1859 he was elected to the first state senate, which met in 1861. In 1861 he was appointed major of the Fourth Kansas regiment, later the Tenth Kansas infantry, but in May, 1862, resigned to resume railroad work, being connected at various times with the Kansas City & Cameron, Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western, Central Branch Union Pacific, and the Missouri, Kansas & Texas. Of this last-named road he built 600 miles. He built the bridge across the Missouri river at Atchison, and in 1876 superintended the construction of the present union depot in Kansas City. He was a great engineer. In 1896 he wrote a financial article entitled "*Bullion versus Coin*," which the Republican national committee circulated broadcast over the country. He died in Kansas City February 18, 1901, and was buried in Oak Grove, Lawrence. His widow resides in Kansas City, Mo.

SAMUEL E. HOFFMAN was born in Pennsylvania about 1835. He came to Kansas from Iowa, locating in Neosho Falls, Woodson county, in 1858, being the first lawyer in the county. He was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention in 1859, and was elected to the first state senate. He was also one of the agents appointed to select lands granted to the state by the general government, 1861-'62. He is now a resident of St. Louis, Mo., and engaged in banking.

SAMUEL DEXTER HOUSTON was born at Columbus, Ohio, June 11, 1818. He was the son of Caleb Houston and Elizabeth Purdy. His parents moved to Illinois in 1830. He was educated in the common schools. In 1843 he married Mary Jane Rankin, daughter of a noted Presbyterian divine and anti-slavery leader. She died in 1850, leaving two daughters. In 1852 Mr. Houston married Tabetha Kimball, by whom he had four sons and four daughters. He cultivated a farm in Iowa for a few years. In December, 1853, anticipating the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he migrated to Kansas and settled upon the Blue river, near Manhattan. In 1854 he plowed thirty-five acres and raised a small crop of corn and some vegetables. In October of that year he staked off a town where Manhattan now is. In 1855 he accepted a nomination from the Free-state party as a candidate for the first territorial legislature. He was elected, but when all the other Free-soil members were ousted Mr. Houston resigned, leaving no Free-soil members of that body. (That was the session which met at Pawnee and adjourned to Shawnee Mission.) In 1857 he was elected to the state senate under the Topeka constitution. July 5, 1859, he was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, being now one of the four or five surviving members of that body. December 6, 1859, under this constitution, he was elected to the state senate which met in April, 1861. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him receiver of the land-office at Junction City, which position he held for about ten years. He is still living (April, 1908), in his ninetyeth year, with his son-in-law, Luke F. Parsons, at Salina.

JOSIAH M. HUBBARD was born in Connecticut July 16, 1832. He was educated in the public schools, and in 1856 came to Kansas, a member of the famous Beecher Rifle Company. He was president of the first town company of Wabaunsee, where he settled, and was a member of the first state senate. When the civil war came on he enlisted in the Eleventh regiment of Kansas volunteers and was mustered in September 15, 1862, as first lieutenant of company K, serving until the company was discharged, September 13, 1865. He left Kansas immediately thereafter, returning to Connecticut, where he has since resided and where he has held various public offices, being a trustee of the State Agricultural College for many years; he was also a member of the state legislature of 1886, serving as chairman of the committee on agriculture and a member of the committee on judiciary. He is now member and secretary of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration. Mr. Hubbard has been twice married, first to Miss H. E. Fairchild, July 6, 1863, who died in 1867. His second wife died in California in 1899, after prolonged ill health. He resides at Middletown, Conn.

SAMUEL LAPPIN was born in Ohio about 1831, and died at La Centre, Wash., August 4, 1892. He came to Kansas from Louisiana at an early date, locating in Nemaha county, where he served as register of deeds from 1855 to 1861. He was one of the incorporators of Seneca, in 1857, and long a resident. He represented Nemaha county in the senate of 1861-'62, and in the house in 1869. November 26, 1862, he was commissioned as assistant quartermaster by the President, ranking as captain, and was mustered out September 20, 1865. He was elected state treasurer, and served from January to December, 1875, when he was asked to resign. December 21 suit was begun against him, charging him with forgery, counterfeiting and embezzlement, and he was arrested January 13, 1876, at Chicago. He escaped from jail in the following July, going to South America, where he wandered some years, returning to the states in 1880. He was finally recognized in Washington territory, and, October 23, 1884, was brought back to Kansas to stand trial. The claims of the state having been satisfied in full by the sale of Lappin's property, the case was dismissed December 24, 1885. He again took up his residence in Seneca, and later, through the aid of friends, started a store in Lenora.

JOHN LOCKHART. See Session of 1857-'58, page 211.

EDWARD LYNDE was born in Saybrook, Conn., October 16, 1820, and died at Paola, Kan., March 27, 1897. In 1827 his family migrated to Ohio, settling in Stark county, where he received his education. In May, 1856, he came to Kansas, locating on a claim near Grasshopper Falls. He was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, and was elected to the territorial legislatures of 1859 and 1860, and to the state senate of 1861, serving as president *pro tem.* of that body. He was commissioned colonel of the Ninth Kansas volunteers March 24, 1862, and mustered out November 25, 1865, at De Vall's Bluff, Ark. He returned to Kansas much broken in health, and in 1868 moved to Kansas City, Mo., where he had an appointment in the internal-revenue service. In 1886 he returned to Kansas, locating on a farm in Miami county; but a few years previous to his death he took up his residence in Paola. He was married October 19, 1843, to Margaretta Shaw, at Marlboro, Ohio.

JOHN H. McDOWELL was born in Virginia about 1825, and settled in Leavenworth in 1858. He was elected state senator December 6, 1859. He was a railroad contractor; was one of the purchasers of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western, and sold it to a St. Louis syndicate at a handsome profit. He was a shrewd business man. He returned to Ohio and died there.

JOHN A. MARTIN was born March 10, 1839, at Brownsville, Pa. He received a common-school and printing-office education. In October, 1857, he came to Kansas, locating at Atchison. In February, 1858, he purchased the *Squatter Sovereign*, and changed its name to *Freedom's Champion*. In 1858 he was nominated for the territorial legislature, but declined because he was not of legal age. He was a delegate to the Osawatimie convention in 1859, which organized the Republican party in Kansas. July 5, 1859, he was elected secretary of the Wyandotte constitutional convention; he was secretary of the railroad convention which met at Topeka in October, 1860; and was elected to the state senate of 1861. October, 1861, he was mustered in as lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Kansas regiment, and a year later was promoted colonel, and was mustered out November, 1864, with the brevet of brigadier-general. He was provost-marshal of Leavenworth in March, 1862, and of Nashville Tenn., from December, 1862, to June, 1863; colonel Third brigade, First division, Twentieth army corps, September-October, 1863; colonel First brigade, Third division, Fourth corps, September-November, 1864. He was one of the incorporators of the State Historical Society, and its president in 1878. June 1, 1871, he married Miss Ida Challis. Colonel Martin served as mayor of Atchison in 1865, and from 1878 to 1880 was a member of the board of managers of the National Soldiers' Home. In 1884, and again in 1886, he was elected governor of Kansas. He died October 2, 1889. See the eulogium by Benj. F. Simpson in the Kansas Historical Society's fourth volume of Collections.

JOSIAH MILLER was born in Chester District, S. C., November 12, 1828. He was the son of Robert H. Miller and Susannah Allilley. The family were Scotch Presbyterians and pronounced opponents of slavery. They were badly mistreated. Josiah Miller was educated at the University of Indiana, graduating in the class of 1851, and later from the law school at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. January 3, 1854, he was married to Agnes B. Carlisle, of Bloomington, Ind. In August, 1854, he came to Kansas, and arranged to establish the *Kansas Free State* newspaper at Lawrence, and January 5, 1855, started the paper, the firm being Miller & Elliott. May 21, 1856, the paper was destroyed at the sacking of Lawrence. He was captured by pro-slavery forces, held as a prisoner of war, and tried for treason against South Carolina. On his release he canvassed several of the Northern states for Fremont. In 1857 he was elected probate judge of Douglas county, and in 1859 to the first state senate. He was postmaster at Lawrence in 1863, and resigned to become paymaster in the army. He served again in the legislature of 1867. It is claimed for him that he was the author of the motto upon the state seal, "*Ad astra per aspera*." He was a wide-awake business man and accomplished much. He died at Lawrence, July 7, 1870, after having a leg amputated on account of some disease of the member.

HIRAM S. SLEEPER, senator from Breckinridge (now Lyon) county, in the state senate of 1861, was born in New York state about 1833, and came to Kansas from Illinois. He was a surveyor by profession, was a member of the town site company of Italia and laid out the town in 1855 (the name was changed later to Florence), and in 1857 a new town site was laid off and named Neosho Rapids. Mr. Sleeper was commissioned an additional paymaster of volunteers by the President February 19, 1863, and resigned November 23, 1864. Major Sleeper was surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska from March 15, 1865, to April 13, 1869. He was a member of the state central committee of 1868.

WILLIAM SPRIGGS was born in Floyd county, Kentucky, October 11, 1825. His father was John Spriggs. His grandfather, John Spriggs, came to America about 1770, and was killed in battle in the Revolutionary war. John Spriggs the second was born on the eastern shore of Maryland. Moving to Kentucky he met and married Sarah Burchett. Early in life the parents of William Spriggs removed to Jennings county, Indiana. William worked on a farm in summer and attended school in winter. He studied and taught school until 1850, when he was admitted to the bar. In 1857 he came to Kansas, settling in Anderson county. He married Margaret Ray August 2, 1847. October 4, 1858, he was elected a member of the territorial legislature of 1859. He was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention. December 6, 1859, he was elected a member of the first state senate, 1861 and 1862. In 1862 he was elected state treasurer by a vote of 9025 to 6294 for D. L. Lakin; and again in 1864, by a vote of 12,051 to 8526 for J. R. McClure. In 1867 he was appointed judge of the district court, serving but one year. Mr. Spriggs is still living, on a farm near Garnett.

ROBERT MORROW was born at Sparta, Sussex county, New Jersey, September 20, 1825. He married Martha Cory April 13, 1850. He settled at Appleton, Wis., in 1850, and engaged in merchandising for five years. He was county treasurer of Outagamie county for two years. He settled in Lawrence in 1855 and engaged in the hotel business, and was burned out by Quantrill in 1863. He was a member of the territorial legislature of 1859, and in 1859 was elected to the first state senate. He has served as a member of the city council of Lawrence and as treasurer of Douglas county. He and his wife engaged in the hotel business in Lawrence, Emporia,

Atchison and Indianapolis, Ind., at the latter celebrating their golden wedding. They reside to-day in Lawrence.

THOMAS A. OSBORN, the sixth state governor of Kansas, was born at Meadville, Pa., October 26, 1836, and died at his birthplace February 4, 1898. He served an apprenticeship in the printing business, and paid his way through Allegheny College by typesetting. In 1857 he came to Kansas and begun work on the *Herald of Freedom*. He read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1858. In 1859, at the age of twenty-three, he was elected state senator, and in 1862, when the lieutenant-governor resigned, he was elected president of the senate, defeating John J. Ingalls on the fourteenth ballot. In 1862 he was elected lieutenant-governor, and in 1864 President Lincoln appointed him United States marshal. In 1870 he married Miss Julia Delahay, of Leavenworth. In 1872 he was elected governor, and reelected in 1874. In 1877 he was appointed minister to Chili, and in 1881 appointed to the Brazilian mission. In 1885 he resigned as minister to Brazil and settled in Topeka. He was for many years a director of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company. Edward Delahay Osborn, an attorney in Topeka, is his only heir.

JAMES A. PHILLIPS was born in North Carolina in 1835, moved to Indiana in 1852, and came to Kansas in the spring of 1857, settling at Paola. He studied law with Benjamin F. Simpson, and was admitted to the Miami county bar in 1860. December 6, 1859, he was elected a member of the first state senate of 1861. At the beginning of the civil war, July 16, 1861, he was commissioned first lieutenant and adjutant of the Fourth Kansas infantry, and upon the consolidation of that regiment was transferred to the field and staff as adjutant of the Tenth Kansas infantry. July 10, 1862, he was promoted major of the First Indian home guards. In 1866 he moved to Burlingame. He served as county attorney of Osage county. He never married, and died at Burlingame in 1872.

JOSEPH POMEROY ROOT, lieutenant-governor and president of the senate. See Session of 1857-'58, page 207.

REV. H. N. SEAVER was a native of New England, having been born in Augusta, Maine, in June, 1810. He removed to the state of New York, where he was for many years a minister in the Methodist church, being located at Elmira as presiding elder for some time. He came to Kansas in 1856, in company with General Bayless and several others, and was one of the original proprietors and locaters of the town site of Highland, Doniphan county, where he lived until his death, in July, 1879. He was a member of the senate of the first state legislature, 1861.

SAMUEL NEWITT WOOD was born at Mount Gilead, Ohio, December 30, 1825, the fifth child in the family. He was the son of David Wood and Esther Mosher, who settled in central Ohio in 1817. The family were all Friends, and as early as 1840 were active in the anti-slavery cause. He married Margaret W. Lyon, whom he first met in 1849, as he was helping ten runaway slaves. June 6, 1854, he started for Kansas, settling in Douglas county. In 1856 he was a delegate from Kansas to the convention at Pittsburg, Pa., which organized the Republican party, and he campaigned Ohio that year for Fremont. In 1858 he was elected a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention. The next year he moved to Chase county and started the *Cottonwood Falls Press*; and December 6, 1859, was elected to the first state senate, which met in 1861. He participated in the battle of Wilson Creek, Mo., as captain of a company of Kansas rangers, and was commissioned captain of the Morris county rangers, cavalry, organized at Council Grove, May 20, 1863. He served also as second lieutenant and recruiting officer of the Ninth and Fifteenth Kansas cavalry regiments. He had previously recruited a battalion in Missouri, and was elected major. This battalion having joined in the formation of the Sixth regiment Missouri volunteer cavalry, he was promoted colonel February 14, 1862, serving until August 12, 1862. He also served in the legislatures of 1862, 1864, 1866, 1867, 1876, and was speaker of the house in 1877. About 1885 Colonel Wood moved to Stevens county, and for several years was engaged in a violent county-seat fight, resulting in his assassination by James Brennan in the court-house at Hugoton June 23, 1891. Mrs. Wood resides at Strong City, Kan.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JAMES BURNETT ABBOTT was born at Hampton, Windham county, Connecticut, December 3, 1818, and died at De Soto, Johnson county, Kansas, March 2, 1897. He came to Kansas with the third party of New England emigrants, reaching Lawrence October 10, 1854, with his second wife, Elizabeth Watrous, where he took up his residence. He was one of those who went east to procure arms to protect the free-state men and their interests, and his return trip to Kansas, after having secured 117 Sharps rifles and a twelve-pounder howitzer, was full of danger, as his errand was known and spies were on the lookout for him. He was one of the party who rescued Branson, and as a lieutenant had charge of a company at the first fight at Franklin, and was in command of the Third regiment of free-state infantry during the siege of Lawrence by Missouri

forces in 1856. He was at the battle of Black Jack, and was the leader of the daring and successful rescue of Dr. John Doy. He was a member of the first house of representatives under the Topeka constitution, and at the second election, in 1857, was made a senator. In 1859, under the Wyandotte constitution, he was elected to the first state legislature of 1861, and in 1866 was elected state senator, serving through 1867 and 1868. He was agent for the Shawnee Indians from June, 1861, to the fall of 1866.

DEMAS M. ALEXANDER, of Douglas county, was born at Reno, Bond county, Illinois, December 18, 1825. He came to Kansas in 1856, locating near Lawrence. He married Caroline Baldwin McCord. Two children were born to them, both dying young. In 1859 he was elected a member of the first state legislature of 1861. September 30, 1862, he enlisted in and was made first lieutenant of company I, Twelfth Kansas regiment, and July 30, 1863, he was made a captain and transferred to the commissary department. He was brevetted major August 4, 1866, and mustered out August 21, 1866. He returned to Illinois, and died at Reno February 11, 1871.

ABNER ALLEN, a member of the first state legislature, 1861, was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, September 16, 1826, and died at Ocean Park, Cal., April 3, 1899. While yet a very young man he made a trip to California *via* the Isthmus of Panama, where he engaged in mining for a time, but returned to Ohio in 1853. In October, 1855, he again left his native state, this time for Lawrence, Kan. He remained in Lawrence until the spring of 1856, when he moved to Zeandale township, in what was then Richardson county, where he preempted a piece of land. He remained in Zeandale until 1887, when he moved to California. He was married to Lavinia Taylor November 29, 1859.

WILLIAM F. M. ARNY was born in the District of Columbia, March 6, 1813. He graduated from Bethany College, West Virginia, and for a time acted as secretary for Alexander Campbell, the famous Disciple preacher. He was a very eccentric character, and always as useful as he was eccentric. At the age of twenty-eight he was on intimate terms with all the leading men of the nation, and was a favorite with Mr. Lincoln. He settled in McLean county, Illinois, about 1850, and was active in the organization of the Republican party and a delegate in an anti-Nebraska convention in Illinois, October 5, 1854. In 1856 he was an active committeeman in Illinois for raising money to settle free-state men in Kansas, and in the same year made a trip of investigation to the territory. The spring of 1857 he removed to Kansas and settled in Anderson county, and in August of that year was elected a delegate to the Grasshopper Falls convention. In 1858 he was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, and in 1859 was elected a member of the first state legislature. He was very active during the drought troubles of 1860, handling thousands of dollars, but he was always poor, and died poor. He reported in 1861 that 9,197,300 pounds of relief goods passed through his hands. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed Mr. Arny secretary of the territory of New Mexico. He was a great favorite with the Indians in that region. He did much traveling, exploiting the mineral resources of New Mexico. On his return from a trip east he stopped off at Topeka, was taken ill, and died suddenly September 13, 1881. A night or two before, at the theater, he had been robbed of his money and passes. A collection of \$125 was taken up among his old Kansas friends, to pay his expenses. His body was forwarded to Santa Fe, where funeral services were held in the palace.

DANIEL C. AULD was born in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, February 28, 1810, and died October 9, 1896. He received but a limited education, and was apprenticed to the carpenter's trade. He went out to Ohio, and in 1855 removed to Kansas and settled on a claim in Marshall county, which grew, as years went by, into a farm of over a thousand acres. He was a member of the first state legislature, serving one term. At the beginning of the war he enlisted, and was made second lieutenant of company G, Thirteenth Kansas, resigning his commission April 2, 1863. Mr. Auld was twice married: March 21, 1839, in Harrison county, Ohio, to Jane Auld, who died May 16, 1860; and at Topeka, June 5, 1865, to Mrs. Ellen Hyde.

DAVID ELLENWOOD BALLARD was born in Franklin county, Vermont, March 20, 1837. He is of English descent, his paternal great-great-grandfather coming to this country twenty years before the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, in which five of his ancestors participated. His father, Appleton Ballard, moved to Morrow county, Ohio. His mother's name was Epiphena Ellenwood. Her father was a seafaring man, and was murdered and robbed in the harbor of Halifax after he had disposed of his cargo. In May, 1857, David E. Ballard came to Kansas, locating in Brown county. In 1858 he moved to Washington county, and was the first county clerk, having assisted in organizing the county. In 1859 he was elected to the first state legislature, and in the senatorial election was an active partizan of James H. Lane. In November, 1861, he enlisted in the Second Kansas as a private, and in 1862 was made first lieutenant. He was mustered out in February, 1865. He was in the battles of Fort Wayne, Fort Smith, Cane Hill, and Prairie Grove. In 1867 he was appointed a commissioner to audit the Price raid claims. For

two years, ending in 1869, he was an assessor of internal revenue. At Leavenworth, December 25, 1865, he was married to Miss Louise Bowen. He served also in the legislature of 1879. He has large farming interests in Washington and Meade counties. His home is in Washington, Kan.

OLIVER BARBER. See Session of 1857-'58, page 208.

JOSIAH COMSTOCK BARTLETT was born in New Haven, Hamilton county, Ohio, July 14, 1829. He was the oldest son of David Bartlett, a native of Connecticut. His mother's name was Eunice Comstock. His ancestors on both sides were pure Yankee. Josiah C. Bartlett attended a medical school in Columbus, Ohio, and in his twenty-second year married Hannah Long, the daughter of a neighboring farmer. He first located at Industry, on the Ohio river. In 1852 he and his brother attempted to go to California, but at Weston, Mo., they were compelled to turn back by illness in the family. He next engaged in business at Elrod, Ind., and in the spring of 1857 joined in the rush for Kansas, settling at Big Springs, Douglas county. In the fall of 1859 he was elected a member of the first state legislature of 1861 from the eighth district, which then meant Douglas and Johnson counties. After the session of the legislature he settled in Topeka, and thus became erroneously credited to Shawnee county. In 1861 he was a candidate for the state senate, and was beaten ninety-six votes by C. K. Holliday. He erected a store building on the north side of Sixth street, east of Kansas avenue, where he conducted a general store, residing up-stairs with his family. He died February 20, 1862, and his body lies in the Topeka Cemetery. His widow married F. R. Page, of Lyon county, and now resides in Neosho Rapids. He left three children, Albert L. Bartlett, Eunice E. Bartlett, and David L. Bartlett. The brothers are in business at St. Joseph, Mo., and Albert L. Bartlett was a messenger or page in the session of 1861.

JOHN J. BENTZ, of Leavenworth, was born in Germany in 1827, and came to Kansas from Weston, Mo., in 1854. He died in 1888. He was a merchant, having started the first wholesale grocery store in Leavenworth as early as 1854.

W. D. BLACKFORD was born in Pennsylvania about 1835, and came to Lawrence, Kan., in 1857. He was a lawyer by profession and was active in local affairs in his county, and a member of the house of representatives of the first state legislature in 1861. For many years he was a clerk in the document room of the United States senate, and when he died, in 1907, was superintendent of the senate annex in Washington. He leaves two sons in Washington, clerks to congressmen.

FREEMAN NORTON BLAKE came to Kansas in the year 1856. September 10, 1857, he laid out a town called Kansas Falls, six or seven miles west of Junction City. Kansas Falls as a town did not materialize. October, 1857, he joined the party that incorporated the town of Junction City. March 9, 1858, he was elected a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention. In April, 1859, he started the first Sunday-school in Junction City. December 6, 1859, he was elected a member of the first state legislature of 1861. He was appointed, in 1861, consul to Hamilton, Canada, and died some years ago.

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE BLANTON was a Missourian by birth, having been born in that state about 1830. He was an early settler of Kansas, coming in September, 1854, from Jackson county, Missouri, and locating on the Wakarusa. The post-office of Blanton was established September 24, 1855, with Mr. Blanton as postmaster, but abolished February 23, 1856. He left there in 1857 to become one of the members of the Humboldt Town Site Company. He enlisted in the Tenth Kansas infantry, being mustered in as captain of company H March 4, 1862, resigning the next year. He was a member of the first state legislature from Allen county, and was instrumental in causing the land-office to be moved from Mapleton to Humboldt in September, 1861. He was reelected to the house of representatives of 1868. Captain Blanton now lives in Sulphur, Okla.

WILLIAM E. BOWKER was born in Munson, Maine, April 5, 1829, and died at Los Angeles, Cal., March 5, 1874. He came west, settling in Topeka township in 1855. He was a member of the railroad convention of 1860 and of the last territorial legislature in 1861, and elected to the first state legislature. He was treasurer of Shawnee county in 1863 and 1868; was one of the original incorporators of Lincoln College, now Washburn, and was trustee and treasurer of that institution.

E. J. BROWN was born in Patterson, N. Y., November 7, 1828. He attended the Peekskill Academy. He came to Kansas in 1856, settling at Leavenworth. In 1858 he moved to Woodson county. He was elected a member of the first state legislature in 1859, from Woodson and Madison counties. He was also a member of the house in 1863. During the war he served in the commissary and quartermaster departments. At the close of the war he was placed in charge of the Seminole Indians, who were living near Neosho Falls the last two years of the war, and removed them to Fort Gibson. He has engaged in farming. He now resides at Sylvan, Seminole county, Oklahoma.

DR. HENRY BUCKMASTER was born in Pennsylvania about 1815. He came to Kansas from Ohio in 1857, locating at Oskaloosa, and was one of the first physicians in Jefferson county. He was a member of the territorial legislature of 1861 and of the first state legislature. He was commissioned surgeon by the President June 28, 1862, resigning February 1, 1865. Doctor Buckmaster died June 26, 1875, at his home in Oskaloosa.

THOMAS BUTCHER was born at Brownsville, Pa., June 6, 1809. In his early days he was a brick-mason. He came to Atchison in December, 1858, and settled on a farm southwest of the town. After the war he moved to Atchison, where he joined the firm of Butcher, Auld & Co., railroad contractors. He was a member of the first state legislature, serving one term. He was married in Brownsville, Pa., to Jane Auld, January 19, 1840, who died July 6, 1881. His contracting firm built much of the Central Branch west of Atchison. He owned and operated a line of packets on the Missouri river. He was closely associated with James G. Blaine and J. P. Pomeroy. He died in Atchison in 1888.

JAMES M. CALVERT, representative in the state legislature of 1861, was born in Kentucky about 1815. He came to Kansas from Missouri, locating on a claim near Kickapoo.

SAMUEL R. CANIFF, of Osage county, came from Kingston, Canada, to Kansas in the spring of 1855. He was interested with Philip C. Schuyler in founding the town of Burlingame. In May, 1856, he brought to the territory a large steam sawmill. He was a member of the territorial legislature in 1860 and of the first state legislature in 1861. He was an agent to distribute goods to the needy in 1860, and he served as a scout during the civil war. He was a candidate for the legislature in 1866, but was defeated. He died in Burlingame April 12, 1870, and is buried in the cemetery at that place.

A. J. CHIPMAN was born in Vermont about 1835. He came to Kansas under the auspices of the New England Emigrant Aid Company in 1857, and went out to Council Grove, where he was employed on the government farm by T. S. Huffaker, who had charge of the Kansas Indian mission school. Later he worked as bookkeeper in a mercantile house, and was elected to the first state legislature as a member of the house of representatives. He received an appointment as clerk in the Treasury Department, and went to Washington, where he still resides.

R. W. CLOUD was born in Ohio about 1816. He came to Kansas at an early date and settled in Waterloo township, Breckinridge county. He was on the grand jury drawn for the first term of court ever held in that county. This court, Judge Elmore presiding, was to have been held at Agnes City, but between the date of notice and the time of assembling, December 20, 1858, the county-seat was changed to Americus and the court consequently held there. Mr. Cloud was a member of the first state legislature, 1861.

GUSTAVUS A. COLTON was born at Woodstock, Windsor county, Vermont, October 20, 1828. His father was a Congregational minister. On account of his father's illness he worked on the farm and did not go to school until he was fourteen, and remained upon the farm in Illinois until he was twenty-six. In 1854 he came to Kansas, settling at Stanton, in Miami county. In 1857 he was a delegate to the Grasshopper Falls convention, and was elected assistant secretary of the first free-state territorial council at Lecompton, December 7, 1857. He was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention in 1858. In 1860 he published a newspaper at Osawatomie. He was a member and speaker of the territorial house of representatives in 1860. December 6, 1859, he was elected a member of the first state house of representatives. He also served in the state senate of 1865, and from 1861 to 1868 was agent for the Peorias, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, Weas and Miamis. March 21, 1858, he married Miss Phoebe Beeson. Mr. Colton died in July, 1894, and is buried in the Paola cemetery.

J. E. CORLISS was born in Orange county, Vermont, August 4, 1807. In 1834 he emigrated to Laporte county, Indiana; from there he went, in 1837, to Rock county, Wisconsin, where he remained some time, returning to Laporte in 1844. In 1852 he went to California, by way of the Isthmus, returning the next year and going into Iowa, from which state, in 1854, he came to Kansas, settling in Johnson county. He was county commissioner of his county in 1859 and member of the first state legislature in 1861. Mr. Corliss was married in 1836 to Elsie Jessup, of Laporte county, Indiana.

JOHN D. CRAFTON was born in Virginia about 1821 and came to Kansas from Kentucky, locating in Leavenworth in 1859, where he engaged in real-estate speculation. He was a member of the first state legislature of 1861 from that district. About the close of the war he returned east, where he has since died.

SAMUEL J. CRAWFORD, the third state governor of Kansas, was born in Lawrence county, Indiana, April 15, 1835. He read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1858. In 1859 he came to Kansas and settled at Garnett. December 6, 1859, he was elected a member of the first state legislature. This body assembled in March, 1861, and after six weeks' service he resigned to enter

the army. He raised a company and was commissioned captain of company E, Second Kansas infantry, was assigned to command of troop A, Second Kansas cavalry, in March, 1862, and later of a battalion in same regiment; December 6, 1863, he was mustered as colonel of the Second Kansas colored, or the Eighty-third U. S. colored infantry, and resigned December 2, 1864, and was promoted brigadier-general by brevet, March 13, 1865. His military record is that of one of the most brilliant and active officers in the service. In 1864 he was elected governor, and in December resigned from the army to be inaugurated in January, 1865. He served two terms as governor, and in 1868, two months before his term expired, again resigned to accept the colonelcy of the Nineteenth Kansas. He served many years as state agent at Washington, and settled and collected claims to a large amount for the state. He owns a farm near Baxter Springs, where he spends his summers, and his winters are given to work in Washington. November 27, 1866, he married Miss Belle Chase of Topeka. See sketch elsewhere in this volume.

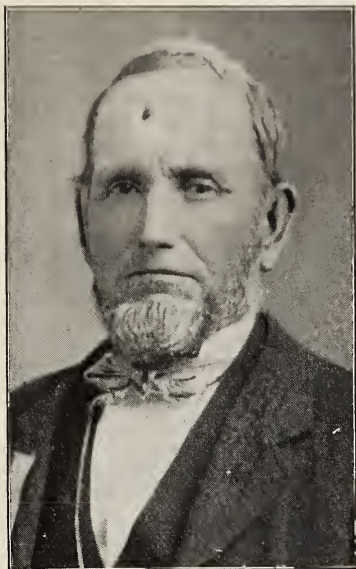
HIRAM W. CURTIS was born in Ohio in 1822, and when but two years old his family moved to Edgar county, Illinois, and there he grew to manhood. With his brothers he started the first nursery in that state. He came to Kansas in 1855, settling on a claim east of Topeka. He was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, and a representative in the first state legislature. Mr. Curtis was married in Illinois to Sarah Lawrence in the year 1846; she died in 1849, leaving one child, I. S. Curtis, of Topeka. In 1851 he married Sarah Detrick. Mr. Curtis died in Topeka, in March, 1907.

GEORGE A. CUTLER was born in Tennessee about 1831, and came to Kansas from Missouri very early. He was a Free-state candidate for the first territorial legislature, March 30, 1855. He was a member of the Topeka constitutional convention in 1855, and was elected auditor of state under the Topeka movement, August 9, 1857, receiving 7177 votes. In 1859 he was elected a member of the first state legislature of 1861. In January, 1864, he was appointed agent for the Creek Indians. He was the first physician at Doniphan, but later his home was at Le Roy, Coffey county. At the close of his service as Indian agent, he engaged in the commission business at Kansas City, Mo. He next engaged in the drug business at Geuda Springs, but about twenty years ago left there, and was last heard of in San Francisco, Cal.

REV. WERTER R. DAVIS, D. D., was born in Ohio, April 1, 1815. He spent his early ministerial life in western Virginia, where he was imprisoned for a short time on account of his anti-slavery opinions. He was transferred to the Missouri conference in 1844. He was pastor of a church in St. Louis when he was elected professor of natural science at McKendree College. In 1858, he was elected first president of Baker University, at Baldwin, and was transferred to the Kansas-Nebraska conference. He was chaplain of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, superintendent of public instruction for Douglas county; fourteen years a presiding elder; three times a member of the general conference, and a delegate to the first ecumenical conference at London. December 6, 1859, he was elected a member of the first state legislature, which met in 1861. He entered the army in 1862 as chaplain of the Twelfth Kansas, and was made colonel of the Sixteenth Kansas cavalry, serving from October, 1864, to November, 1865. He received the degree of "M. D." from the Ohio Medical College, and the degree of "D. D." from the De Pauw University. He died June 21, 1893.

ISAAC E. EATON was born in Belmont Court, Ohio, in the year 1820. After acquiring a classical education he studied law, and was for a long time a partner of Gov. Wilson Shannon. Later he became a member of the firm of Hawks & Co., who operated most of the stage and mail-carrying business west of Ohio; and in 1858 Mr. Eaton came to Kansas as agent for this firm, remaining with it until 1863, when he sold his interest in the company. He was a member of the house of representatives of the first state legislature, 1861, and a member of the Democratic national committee for many years, and always prominent in Democratic political circles. He was a delegate to the Charleston national convention of 1860. In 1864 he was appointed special mail agent of the Post-office Department and given charge of the overland mail. He remained in this position but little more than a year. After following various occupations, he returned to the law, and a few years before his death opened a law office in New York city. He died suddenly in Leavenworth, September 19, 1882, and was buried at Atchison. The Eatons were prominent spiritualists, and in Wilder's Annals is found a brief statement of the spiritual marriage of their daughter Katie, a member of the spirit world thirty years, and Benjamin Pierce, son of President Pierce, who had passed out some twenty-five years before. The bride and groom materialized themselves and conversed with the wedding guests, receiving their congratulations. A wedding supper was served to the company, which consisted of a limited number of friends. This was considered at the time one of the greatest achievements in the way of spiritual materialization ever had. The Leavenworth Times of June 25, 1879, gives some space to an account of the event.

ABRAHAM ELLIS, of Miami county, was born in Green county, Ohio, April 22, 1815, the son of Henry and Charity Ellis. A long search for a descendant of Mr. Ellis was made, and was about to be abandoned, when his photograph was discovered in the historical collection. The hole in his forehead suggested something interesting, and the search was continued with increased vigor. He was educated in the common schools, and, being an apt scholar, became a very proficient and successful teacher. In June, 1840, he was sorely afflicted with typhoid fever,



ABRAHAM ELLIS.

eight of his family being down at once, his mother and brother dying. March 14, 1843, he married Elizabeth Haughy, of Bowersville, Ohio. In 1849 he left the farm to resume teaching at Springfield, Ohio, but his health compelled him to return to the farm. In September, 1857, he moved to Kansas, settling in Miami county, six miles from the Missouri line. His strong free-soil sentiments and capacity for organization made him prominent, and he was soon a personal friend and coworker with John Brown. During the border war, for an entire year, he and his younger brother Franklin always slept away from the house, or, if at home, his wife or daughter stood guard all night. October 4, 1858, he was elected a member of the territorial legislature of 1859, and December 6, 1859, he was elected to the first state legislature of 1861. At the time he was county commissioner and superintendent of public instruction. While in this latter position, in 1860, he gave William C. Quantrill a certificate to teach school at Stanton. In 1860 he was commissioned by his neighbors to go east for aid, and the accounts are in existence to-day showing what became of every penny's worth sent through his hands. When the civil war broke out he enlisted in Lane's brigade and served as quartermaster. He was commissioned first lieutenant of company D, Fifteenth Kansas, September 11, 1863, resigning February 22, 1865. March 7, 1862,

while on his way from Fort Scott to Fort Leavenworth, he stopped over night at Aubrey with a man named Treacle. Aubrey was three miles from the Missouri line and two miles north of the south line of Johnson county. At daybreak of the 7th the landlord roused all in the house with the cry that the "bushwhackers are coming." Reuben A. Randlett, still living on Madison street in Topeka, slept in the same bed that night with Ellis. Treacle, and another man named Whitaker, were shot to pieces, and another man named Tuttle was killed by a ball in the eye; another, named Cody, escaped, only to be caught a year later by two men named Bill Nichols and Van Ordell, who enlisted as Kansas militiamen to save being hung, who shot his head off. At the commencement of the trouble Ellis sprang out of bed, placed a fur cap on his head and looked out of the window. Quantrill took a shot at him. The ball passed through the sash and the fur cap, leaving the mark as indicated in the picture herewith. Quantrill came into the house and, recognizing Ellis, expressed great sorrow for what he had done, saying, "You are not the kind of man I was looking for; I'm d-d sorry." He saved the life of Ellis from his bloodthirsty followers, but he did not get around in time to save him \$250 which he had handed over to one of the bushwhackers; he did, however, save Ellis his team and fifty dollars' worth of groceries. The wound was one of the most remarkable on record. The ball crushed both plates of the skull and lodged against the inner lining, and lay buried in the wound for seventy hours. The ball and twenty-seven pieces of bone are now in the Army and Navy Medical Museum, at Washington. The open wound showed the brain as it throbbed with each pulsation of the heart. He was five months recovering. In 1870 he moved from Miami to Chautauqua county. He was an enthusiastic horticulturist. February 2, 1875, his wife died. He died at Elk Falls, Kan., March 14, 1885, the forty-second anniversary of his marriage. He was known for years as "Bullet-hole Ellis."

ARCHIBALD ELLIOTT. See Session of 1857-'58, page 210.

F. W. EMERY, representative in the first state legislature from Doniphan county, was born in Maine about 1836, and came to Kansas from his native state, settling at Palermo, Doniphan county. He was the editor of a newspaper called the *Palermo Leader*, established by him and Charles Perham, in the fall of 1858. It was Free-state in politics and lived about two years. The material was sold about 1862 and removed by P. H. Peters to Marysville.

WILLARD P. GAMBELL, of Leavenworth, came to Kansas from New York in 1857. He was educated in New York and at Ann Arbor, Mich. He was a candidate for the territorial legislature in 1858, but was defeated. December 6, 1859, he was elected to the first state house of representatives. He was a candidate on a fusion or independent ticket in 1862 for chief justice of the supreme court. There were cast at the November election, 1862, 8918 votes for John H. Watson and 6006 for W. P. Gambell. A contest resulted and the court held that there had been no election. Thomas Ewing, jr., was chief justice and had resigned to become colonel of the Eleventh regiment. On the 15th of September, 1862, Ewing was commissioned a colonel by James H. Lane, and resigned as chief justice October 20, 1862. The court decided he was chief justice until this latter date and therefore did not resign thirty days before the election, and that "the appointment by a recruiting commissioner, of a colonel in the volunteer service," was "without the shadow of warrant of law." (Supreme Court Report, vol. 2, p. 32.) Nelson Cobb was appointed chief justice by Governor Robinson. Mr. Gambell served also in the senate of 1865-'66, and in the house of 1868. He died February 5, 1868. The Annals of Kansas says: "He lived in Kansas about ten years, and probably had no superior among our citizens as a lawyer." His widow returned to Michigan.

ALFRED GRAY was born in Evans, Erie county, New York, December 5, 1830. His parents were Isaiah Gray and Mary Morgan. Mr. Gray worked on the farm in summer and went to school in winter until 1847, when he embarked as a sailor before the mast on Lake Erie. At the age of nineteen he returned to school, and by teaching and other labor maintained himself at Westfield Academy, New York, and Girard Academy, Pennsylvania. In 1853 and 1854 he read law, graduating at Albany, and started into practice at Buffalo. In March, 1857, he came to Kansas, settling at Quindaro. He engaged in farming from 1858 until 1873. He served as a director of the State Agricultural Society from 1866 until 1870. In 1872 he was elected first secretary of the present State Board of Agriculture, in which position he remained until his death, January 23, 1880. He made a wide reputation by the style of published reports which he originated and the success of the display Kansas made at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876. At York, N. Y., he married Miss Sarah C. Bryce, May 1, 1855. April 19, 1862, he was mustered into the army as a regimental quartermaster with the Fourth Kansas and shortly after was transferred to the Tenth, and later to the Fifth. He was detailed by General Grant, June 30, 1863, for service at Vicksburg, remaining until March 24, 1864, when he resigned on account of ill health. He held various positions in the Free-state party and was elected to the first state legislature December 6, 1859. The state erected a monument to his memory in the Topeka cemetery.

WILLIAM H. GRIMES was born in the year 1800 in Maryland; moved thence to Ohio, and from there to Kansas, settling at Atchison. December 6, 1859, he was elected to the first state legislature. He served as surgeon of the Thirteenth Kansas from 1862 until 1864, when he resigned. He represented Atchison county in the state senate of 1869, 1870, 1873, and 1874. In 1874 he was appointed trustee of the Hospital for the Insane at Osawatimie. He died February 17, 1877.

ALANZON K. HAWKES was born in Massachusetts about 1829. He came to Kansas from Hartford, Conn., in 1857, with Harvey D. Rice, and in the spring of 1858 they, with others, formed a town association and founded the town of Hartford, Lyon county, naming it after Hartford, Conn. A post-office was established there in 1859 and Hawkes was appointed postmaster. Mrs. Hawkes taught the first school in the town, at her own home, during the year 1860. Mr. Hawkes was a member of the first state legislature, representing Lyon county. He was afterward elected to the house of 1864. After a long residence in Kansas he returned to Massachusetts and became treasurer of the Shelbourn Savings Bank, and grew to be well known in Massachusetts banking circles. He died at Shelbourn October 21, 1902.

JOSIAH E. HAYES was born at Sanbornton, N. H., July 17, 1818. About 1836 he emigrated to Putnam county, Illinois, where he taught school and also engaged in surveying. In 1857, he came to Kansas, settling at Olathe. He was a member of the first state legislature, 1861. At the beginning of the civil war he recruited a company, and was mustered in as its captain July 16, 1861, and assigned to the Tenth regiment, being company A. Upon the organization of the Twelfth Kansas he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, and at the battle of Jenkins Ferry, Ark., April 30, 1864, was so severely wounded as to necessitate the amputation of his leg. At this battle he was captured by the enemy and held prisoner until February 25, 1865, when he was exchanged. He was mustered out with the regiment July 15, 1865, and was brevetted brigadier-general. He was elected state treasurer, serving from January, 1871, to April 30, 1874, when he resigned. Colonel Hayes died at Eureka Springs, Ark., March 8, 1881.

H. H. HEBERLING was born in Berkeley county, West Virginia, May 19, 1811, and moved with his parents to Harrison county, Ohio, at an early age. He came to Kansas in 1855, settling in Osage county, where he resided until his death, September 22, 1897. He was a member of the legislature of 1861. Mr. Heberling married Catherine Dickerson, in Harrison county, Ohio, January 2, 1834.

THOMAS P. HERRICK was born at West Bloomfield, N. Y., in 1833, and was educated at Amherst College, graduating in the class of 1856. In 1858 he came to Kansas, settling at Highland, Doniphan county, where he edited the *Highlander* in 1858-'59, the first paper printed there. He was a lawyer and maintained a law office in Highland. In 1859 he was elected to the first state legislature, 1861, and in August of that year entered the Union army as captain of company A, Seventh Kansas regiment. He passed through the grades of major and lieutenant-colonel, and June 11, 1863, became colonel of the regiment, mustered out September 28, 1865. Simeon M. Fox, in his "Story of the Seventh Kansas," says: "Colonel Herrick was not an officer as impetuous as Lee, but he was brave, and a safe, judicious commander and an excellent disciplinarian. He was a lawyer of fine ability, and was in demand when a detail for court-martial service was required. He died of cholera not long after his discharge from military service. He was mustered out September 28, 1865." Colonel Herrick died at Highland in September, 1866. He had married a daughter of the Rev. H. N. Seaver, likewise a member of the first state legislature, and is survived by a son, Robert Herrick, a lawyer, of Kansas City, Mo.

ERNEST HOHNECK was born in Saxony, Germany, November 17, 1828. He was in the postal service there, but his sympathies being too democratic, he came to the United States in 1850, in a party of six, who settled at White Sulphur Springs, Va. After a few months he removed to Cincinnati and obtained a position on a German daily newspaper. He came to Kansas in the spring of 1855 in the interest of a German colonization society. In the fall previous a selection had been made by the colony on the Kansas river, where Wabaunsee now is, but upon his arrival the Connecticut people were ahead of him, and so his people made a settlement on Mill creek. He spent several years on the range hunting, and in 1864 located in Saline county. In 1883 he took a position with the land department of the Northern Pacific at St. Paul, Minn. March 21, 1872, he married Miss Elise Vogt. In 1903 he quit the land business, and now resides at 1211 West Sprague avenue, Spokane, Wash. He was elected to the first free-state territorial legislature in 1857 from the fifth district, which was then composed of Davis (now Geary), Dickinson and Wabaunsee counties. The members elected were Ernest Hohneck, Abner Allen, and E. J. Lines. Mr. Hohneck did not appear to take his seat, and on April 5 a special election was held and William M. Snow was elected to fill the vacancy. Mr. Snow did not appear either. The latter died at Manhattan, July 15, 1891. Under date of March 14, 1908, Mr. Hohneck writes from Spokane: "I have always been trying to forget that episode (his election to the legislature), and have been in hopes that every one else had forgotten it. I was elected a member of the first legislature; was proposed for the senate, but at my request nominated for the house. I did not resign. I was, as all the rest of us, wretchedly poor, and in order to raise some money we made up a party to go on the range hunting buffalo and wolves. We made a little on the start, and I went below for more supplies. On the way back a great storm set in, and it took a couple of weeks before I made camp on Walnut creek, about where Ness county now is. The storm cut the hunt short, and we returned as poor as we left. If the whole settlement had been stood on its head I doubt if one could have shaken \$100 out of the pockets. It was after the adjournment of the legislature that we returned. I had been reported dead. I was a Parrott man, and I understand that at one time my vote would have elected him. I never met him nor had any correspondence with him, but I had seen Pomeroy and did not like him. If I had done my duty things might have been different; but after-regrets never did any good. So you see why I have been trying to forget. I left Saline county in the spring of 1883, and every time I think of homeland it is Kansas for me."

NUMERIS HUMBER was born in Kentucky about 1815. He came to Kansas from Missouri, locating in Leavenworth county, in 1857. He was one of the leading farmers of the community, and represented his district in the legislatures of 1861, 1866, and 1869. He died in 1872.

JAMES HARVEY JONES, of Linn county, was born in Virginia March 26, 1826. His parents moved from Virginia to Indiana in 1838. He taught school when a young man, and graduated in medicine at the Cincinnati Medical School in 1850. He married Rachel Bray in 1850. He went to Iowa in 1855, and from there to Linn county, Kansas, in May, 1857. Here he practiced medicine for nearly forty years. His present home is in Knoxville, Ark. November 8, 1859, he was elected a member of the territorial legislature of 1860, and on the 6th of December, 1859, a member of the first state house of representatives.

C. B. KEITH was born in Vermont in 1831. After a residence for some time in Montpelier he went to Detroit, Mich., in 1850. He came to Kansas in 1858, settling at Muscotah. In 1859 he was elected to the first state legislature of 1861. He was proprietor of old Muscotah and surveyed the town site. In 1861 he was appointed agent for the Kickapoo Indians. Some years ago he moved to St. Louis, and resides at 5401 Vernon street. His wife is also living.]

W. C. KIMBER, representative from Palermo, Doniphan county, in the legislature of 1861, was born in Ohio about 1828, and came to Kansas from Missouri.

HORATIO KNOWLES was born in Maine about 1821. He came to Kansas from Wisconsin, locating first in Fort Scott, where he arrived in August, 1857. Under an act of the legislature, February 6, 1858, he, with others, incorporated the town of Marmaton; a few days later, February 11, the town of Marmiton was incorporated by another town site company, and located about three miles west of Marmaton, which was eventually abandoned for the newer town. Colonel Knowles opened the first general store in Marmiton and built the first dwelling-house there, in 1858. He was a member of the territorial house of representatives of 1860 and of the first state legislature of 1861. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Second Kansas colored infantry (Eighty-third United States colored), and mustered in November 17, 1863. He resigned at Little Rock, Ark., May 24, 1864, on account of ill health, returning to his home at Marmiton, where, on the night of October 22, 1864, he was murdered by a band of guerrillas under command of Allen Matthews and Major Courcey, who burned the town and got away south into the Cherokee Nation. In the spring of 1882 the original spelling of the name Marmaton was restored, the town site abandoned, and the buildings moved three-quarters of a mile south to the St. Louis, Fort Scott & Wichita railroad.

JEROME KUNKEL was born March 11, 1827, in Lycoming county, Pennsylvania. He there acquired his early education, and at twenty years of age volunteered as a soldier in the Mexican war, enlisting in the Second Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Col. John W. Geary. This regiment was with Scott from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. Upon his return to Pennsylvania Mr. Kunkel was appointed on the staff of Gov. W. F. Johnson in 1848, and also served on the staffs of Governor Bigler and Governor Pollock, with rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1856 he came to Kansas, settling in Jefferson county, where he was one of the owners of the town of Rising Sun, which was afterward moved to Medina. He was a member of the railroad convention of 1860, and was three times a member of the house of representatives, 1861, 1866 and 1877. August 18, 1862, he enlisted as a private of company D, Eleventh Kansas, and was commissioned captain September 13, 1862. He was one of the incorporators of Medina, in 1865, and lived there many years. In January, 1880, he left Kansas for Pecos, N. M., where he lived until 1907, returning in November to Perry, Kan., where he now lives. Mr. Kunkel was married in 1858 to Christina Artley, a native of Pennsylvania.

WARREN H. H. LAWRENCE died at Mentor, Ohio, August 27, 1906. He came to Kansas in 1857, settling in Franklin county. December 6, 1859, he was elected to the first state legislature of 1861. In 1862 he was elected secretary of state, serving one term. He was a member of the town-site company of Wichita. He left Kansas in 1868 and was one of the promoters of the Denver & Fort Worth railroad. He never returned to Topeka after 1868.

JAMES FRAZIER LEGATE was born in Leominster, Worcester county, Massachusetts, November 23, 1829, in the house built by his paternal ancestor five generations preceding him, and on land deeded to that ancestry by the English government in the reign of George II. His father was a sea captain and commanded a privateer in the war of 1812. His grandfather was a captain and his great-grandfather a colonel in the Revolutionary war, and both were at the battle of Bunker Hill. His mother's name was Nancy Hadley, whose father was at the battle of Lexington. He was educated at Wilbraham Academy, and read law one year. He went to Mississippi and taught a school near Olive Branch Cross-roads, De Soto county. In 1852 he entered politics, espousing the cause of Senator Foote against Jefferson Davis, and was a member of the Mississippi legislature. In 1854, while in Washington, he met Jefferson Davis, who gave him a letter to Col. E. V. Sumner, then at Fort Leavenworth. He arrived in Kansas July 5, 1854, and in August concluded to locate in Lawrence. He promptly espoused the free-state cause and was earnest and active. On the adoption of the Wyandotte constitution he was elected to the house of representatives under it. In 1862 he was appointed United States assessor. He married Miss Jane P. Philips, of Keene, N. H. He had a thrilling escape in the Lawrence raid. In November, 1863, he removed to Leavenworth, where he made his home until his death, August 4, 1902. In addition to his service in the legislature of 1861, he was a member of the state senate of 1865 and 1866, and of the house in the years 1871, 1875, 1879, 1881, and 1889. In 1867 and 1868 he served as United States mail agent for Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico, and the Indian Territory.

E. P. LEWIS, was born near Hopkinton, Mass., in 1832. He came to Kansas in 1859 and settled at Sumner. He was one of the bright young men of that place, and was about the last to leave. He bought a span of mules and a wagon and started for the Rocky Mountains. He died about 1872.

ELFORD JARMIN LINES, eldest child of Charles Burrill Lines, of Wabauunsee, was born in New Haven, Conn., November 19, 1829, and died at Wabauunsee, Kan., in October, 1869. He was educated in the New Haven high school and Russell's Military School. In 1856 he came to Kansas, a member of the "Beecher Bible Company," settling at Wabauunsee, and represented his dis-

trict in the first state legislature, 1861. He was afterwards county attorney of Wabaunsee county, 1865-'66. Mr. Lines was married to Louisa M. Smith, February 22, 1853, in New Haven, Conn.

ASAHEL LOW, of Doniphan county, was born in Baltimore county, Maryland, June 11, 1811. His father was a soldier in the war of 1812. In 1835 the family removed to Ohio, and settled in Miami county. He engaged in merchandising. In 1857 he came to Kansas and opened a store at Doniphan, and in 1863 moved to a farm. In 1859 he was elected a member of the state legislature of 1861. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1865, and in 1866 was elected to the state senate of 1867 and 1868. He served from April, 1861, to December, 1863, as register of the land-office at Kickapoo and Atchison, and in 1869 was appointed mail agent for Kansas, Nebraska and Dakota. May 17, 1835, he married Margaret Folckemmer, of Pennsylvania. He died November 12, 1887.

JAMES MCGREW was born at Gettysburg, Pa., January 26, 1822. His family emigrated to Ohio, thence to Indiana, then to Illinois, and from there to Wapello county, Iowa, finally locating in Keokuk county in 1844. In 1857 he came to Kansas, arriving in September, and settling in Wyandotte county. He engaged in merchandising, conducting a wholesale and retail grocery business in Kansas City, Kan., from 1860 to 1870. He also built and operated the first packing-house at the mouth of the Kaw. He served as mayor of the city for two terms, and was a member of the house of representatives of 1861 and 1862 and of the senate of 1863-'64. He was lieutenant-governor of the state one term, January, 1865, to January, 1867, after which he retired from politics, devoting himself to his business interests. Governor McGrew was twice married: first to Mary Doggett, in Lancaster, Iowa, in 1848, who died in 1863; and second to Lida Slaven, of Alliance, Ohio, in April, 1870. Governor McGrew has had five children, three now living, and his home is on Quindaro boulevard, Kansas City, Kan.

S. B. MAHURIN was a representative from Fort Scott to the first state legislature. He was born in Kentucky in 1831 and came to Kansas from Texas.

JACOB A. MARCELL was born February 6, 1818, at Elizabeth, N. J. He was a cabinet-maker by trade, and owned a hardwood lumber yard at Newark. In the spring of 1855, having disposed of his business, he moved to a farm in Yates county, New York, and in November of the following year came to Kansas, settling at Centropolis, in Franklin county. He was one of the members of the Minneola Town Company and took up his residence there. He was the first probate judge of Franklin county, holding the office from 1857 to 1861, and was a member of the legislatures of 1861 and 1862. In May, 1863, he moved to Lawrence and started a hardware business with G. W. E. Griffith. They were burned out at the Quantrill raid, and after starting again sold the store to Wesley Duncan. Mr. Marcell moved to Burlington, where he continued his residence until his death, which occurred at the Osage agency, Indian Territory, September 21, 1871. He married Araminta Wilkinson May 29, 1842.

REV. JOHN E. MOORE was born in New Jersey about 1829. He came to Kansas from Illinois in 1857, taking up a claim in Auburn township, from which district he was elected to the first state legislature.

PRINCE D. G. MORTON was a member of the territorial legislature of 1860, and in 1859 was elected a member of the first state legislature, 1861. He enlisted in 1862, but early in 1861 had commanded a company for local defense. In 1857 he was one of the first settlers in Chelsea township, Butler county. In the army he became a captain and assistant quartermaster United States volunteers, 1862. He was born in Maine about 1826, came to Kansas from Massachusetts, and was a lawyer. After the war his occupation was that of a music-teacher. He died of pneumonia at Easton, Leavenworth county, about 1868.

AMBROSE U. MUSSEY was born in Coventry, Orleans county, Vermont, February 1, 1834, and was educated in the common schools and the academy, finishing with geometry and surveying. He taught four terms of school, before coming to Kansas in the fall of 1857, and had worked in Boston and vicinity as a carpenter and cabinet-maker. May 8, 1860, he married Sara W. Coulson, whose family came to Kansas in 1857 from Columbiana county, Ohio. The wife died June 22, 1904. They had eight children, of whom five are now living. Mr. Mussey has served his neighbors as township treasurer, justice of the peace, constable, and road-overseer. December 6, 1859, he was elected a member of the first state legislature, 1861. Mr. Mussey started in life by voting for John C. Fremont, but has been a Greenbacker, a Populist, and is now independent. He has engaged in farming, carpentering, bridge-building, and is a millwright. There have been three members of the Coulson family in the Kansas legislature—Mr. Mussey, 1861; George W. Martin, 1883, and George H. Coulson, of Harper county, 1891 and 1893. Mr. Mussey still lives near St. George, in Pottawatomie county.

DR. J. T. NEAL was born in Tennessee about 1831. He came to Kansas from Illinois and settled at Barnesville, Bourbon county, where, in 1859, he was the first postmaster. He was a member of the first state legislature, and was one of the Capital Guards at Topeka in 1861.

THOMAS PIERCE, one of the representatives from the fourth district, Riley and Pottawatomie counties, was born in Richland county, Ohio, August 12, 1820. He died at Garrison, Kan., September 3, 1907, on the homestead he took fifty years before. He was educated in the common schools, and was married to Anna Cary March 16, 1843. He came to Kansas in the spring of 1857, and settled in Pottawatomie county. He served two terms as county commissioner. He was appointed justice of the peace by Governor Reeder, and afterwards elected, until he had served, all told, about forty years. He served twenty years as a member of the school board. When he died he owned 800 acres of land in Pottawatomie and Riley counties.

JOHN S. RACKLIFF was elected from the fourteenth district. It is difficult to locate the district. He was a Republican and voted for Lane and Pomeroy. His post-office was Medoc, which does not show on any map of that period, and his county was Platte, which was on the wrong side of the river to entitle it to representation, but which is probably a misprint. So there is no way of starting a search for him. The list of members shows that he was thirty-nine years old in 1861, came to Kansas from Maine, and was a farmer.

ABRAHAM RAY was an early settler in Grant township, Jackson county. He was a native of Ohio, born there about 1815, and came to Kansas from his native state in 1857 or 1858. He was a member of the first state legislature, 1861. In his log cabin, in 1858, was preached the first sermon by a Methodist minister in the county.

GEORGE H. REES was born in Ohio about 1819. He came to Kansas from Iowa and was a member of the Americus Town Company in 1857; was also a representative from Breckinridge (now Lyon) county in the pro-slavery legislature of January, 1857, and, in 1861, the first state legislature. He served on the first grand jury ever drawn in his county, and made the first assessment of property, in the fall of 1858.

WILLIAM R. SAUNDERS was born in New York about 1821. He immigrated to Kansas from his native state, reaching the site of Le Roy December 27, 1854. He took a claim on Long creek and built a house there; his family joined him in February, 1855. He was one of the first directors of the Santa Fe railroad, and was probate judge of his county in 1859, but resigned before holding the office many weeks. He was also county attorney. He was a member of the house of representatives of 1861, 1863 and 1864, being speaker *pro tem.* in 1863.

JOHN WALTER SCOTT was born near Pittsburg, Pa., August 29, 1823. He came to Kansas in 1857, settling first at Olathe, of which town site he was one of the proprietors. In June, 1858, he removed to Allen county, taking a claim near Carlyle. He was a member of the railroad convention of 1860, and also a member of the territorial legislature of that year, and of the house of representatives of 1861, being speaker *pro tem.*, and served in the senate of 1867-'68. He enlisted in the Fourth Kansas infantry and was made surgeon, and later held the same position in the Tenth Kansas, resigning May 9, 1863. At the close of his service he returned to his farm, but in 1874 moved to Iola. From 1879 to 1883 he was regent of the State University, and at the expiration of his term was appointed agent for the Ponca, Pawnee, and Otoe Indians, which office he held until 1885. In 1891 he left Iola, moving to Oklahoma, and January 19, 1899, passed from this life. Charles F. Scott, member of Congress from the second district, is his son.

O. H. SHELTON was born in Victor, Ontario county, New York, in 1833. His education was limited to the public schools of his native village. In 1856 he came to Kansas and located in Osage county, near the now defunct town of Superior. In 1859 he was elected to the territorial legislature of 1860, and a little later in the same year, December 6, he was elected to the first state legislature. In 1876 he was a delegate to the Republican national convention, and at the election the same year he was elected a member of the state senate for 1876 and 1877. He served two terms as county treasurer of Osage county, and six years as postmaster at Burlingame. In 1872 he laid out the town of Scranton. He died at Burlingame August 13, 1878.

IRA HARVEY SMITH was born in Seymour, Conn., August 20, 1815, and died at Topeka, April 18, 1883. He graduated from Yale in the class of 1842, and then entered the theological school of that college, taking the regular course of three years. He was licensed to preach in the fall of 1844 by the South Litchfield Association, and in February, 1846, was ordained as pastor of the North Haven Congregational church. His health failing him, he was obliged to give up the ministry and take to mechanical pursuits, and in 1853 went to California, remaining about a year. Shortly after his return, in the autumn of 1854, he again left his native state, this time for Kansas, where he was engaged as an assistant in surveying the northern boundary-line. In 1855 he ran the township lines of Brown county, where he settled, and was made surveyor of the county in 1857, and again in 1859. He was one of the incorporators of Robinson, in 1859, and was elected

to the first state legislature, serving in the house of representatives of 1861. May 1 of that year he was appointed receiver of the Kickapoo land-office, serving until December, 1863, when he was appointed register of the Lecompton land-office, then located at Topeka, holding the position until April, 1873, a period of ten years. He married Sarah J. Bartholomew, of Wolcott, Conn., February 26, 1846.

LEONARD THOMAS SMITH was born in Bethany, Genesee county, New York, December 2, 1827. He acquired his education in the public schools of Genesee county, and in 1852 moved to Kalamazoo, Mich., where he was proprietor of a hotel. In 1857 he came to Leavenworth. There he kept the famous Planter's Hotel for seven years. He later engaged with Alexander Caldwell in government contracting and freighting, and was active in building railroads. He was elected to the first state legislature, serving in the house of representatives. Mr. Smith died of heart failure at the Iturbide Hotel, City of Mexico, April 15, 1891, while touring that country. He married Helen L. Kendall, November 3, 1853, at Bethany, N. Y.

MAJ. WILLIAM H. SMYTH of Riley county, was born in Brunswick, Maine, October 13, 1835. He was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1856. He became a civil engineer, and in 1856 came to Kansas, settling at Manhattan. His father, William Smyth, was professor of mathematics at Bowdoin College, and was known as one of the ablest mathematicians in the United States. Major Smyth's occupation was teaching and surveying. In 1856 he meandered a portion of the Blue river for the United States. He was a delegate from Riley county in the Osawatomie convention, May 18, 1859, which organized the Republican party in Kansas, and was a member of the committee on platform. December 6, 1859, he was elected a representative in the first state legislature of 1861. He received twenty-two votes for speaker *pro tem*, as against thirty-five for Mr. Buckmaster. In October, 1861, he was mustered into the army as first lieutenant of company C, Sixteenth United States infantry. In May, 1869, he resigned as captain and brevet major. He was brevetted at Chickamauga. At the close of the war he married Miss Maggie Poole, of Atlanta, Ga. He was stationed at Atlanta in 1867, and upon his resignation he settled there. He served eight years, from March, 1873, until 1881, as United States marshal for Georgia by special request of General Grant. He was for three years United States commissioner for the northern district of Georgia; served four years as assistant postmaster; was appointed postmaster of Atlanta by President McKinley November 15, 1897, and reappointed by President Roosevelt and confirmed by the senate for a second term but a few days before his death, February 17, 1902. He was provost marshal of Atlanta while that city was under military rule. His wife and a brother, Rev. Newman Smyth, pastor of the Central Congregational church, in New Haven, Conn., survive him. The Confederate veterans of Atlanta paid him distinguished honor. The Atlanta Constitution said: "Major Smyth has been long a resident of Atlanta, and filled many positions of public honor and private trust. His firmness of character, integrity of conduct and obliging disposition won for him the esteem of all just men. He will be missed from the circles of Atlanta activity, and his loss lamented by all who appreciated his sterling worth as citizen and official."

ANDREW STARK was born March 8, 1834, at North Lyme, Conn. He was educated at Norwich, where he had academic and business training, and later became a newspaper publisher, conducting the Norwich *Examiner* and, under the State Agricultural Society, the *Homestead*. In 1856 he disposed of his newspaper interests and emigrated to Kansas, arriving in October. He was one of the free-state party arrested near the north line of the territory by command of Col. Philip St. George Cook. Mr. Stark eventually arrived in Lawrence and was employed upon the *Herald of Freedom*. From Lawrence he went to Linn county, taking a claim near Mound City, and became one of the Moneka Town Company in 1857. The town was abandoned in 1859. In the fall of 1857 he was elected superintendent of public instruction for Linn county, and served in the sessions of 1860 and 1861 as clerk of the territorial house of representatives, afterwards becoming himself a member of the state legislature of 1861. In that year, upon the organization of the supreme court, he was appointed clerk, serving until June, 1868. In 1863-'64 he published and edited the *Weekly Topeka Tribune*, and in 1867 was manager of a foundry in Topeka which burned in 1875. In 1864 he edited the "Kansas Annual Register," prepared by L. D. Bailey of the State Agricultural Society. Mr. Stark married, in Linn county, December 24, 1860, Susan M. Swingley, a native of Ohio. After a long residence in Kansas, Mr. Stark moved to Chicago, where he was last heard of in 1888.

CHARLES STARNES was born in Tennessee January 29, 1813, and died July 14, 1865. He came to Kansas from Platte county, Missouri, in the fall of 1854, settling in Leavenworth county, where he became a large landowner and leading citizen. He was a member of the first state legislature, 1861, and was one of the commissioners of the State Penitentiary in 1861-'62.

REV. J. W. STEWART, of Baldwin, Douglas county, who represented his district in the first state legislature, 1861, was born in Ohio about 1821, and came to Kansas from Iowa.

EDWARD D. THOMPSON was born in Saratoga county, New York, July 6, 1837. He came to Kansas and settled in Lawrence in 1857. He was a banker. He was a member of the first state legislature, 1861. He enlisted in the Second Kansas infantry as third lieutenant of company D, was promoted to first lieutenant and adjutant May 25, 1861, and mustered in June 20. He was mustered out with his regiment, a three months' organization, October 31, 1861.

W. W. UPDEGRAFF, speaker of the house, was born in Pennsylvania, and came to Kansas in 1856, settling at Osawatomie. He was next in command to John Brown in the battle of Osawatomie, August 30, 1856. He had a building in the town destroyed at that time, and received a slight wound in the fight. In October, 1859, he was elected to the territorial council, and served as president for the sessions of 1860 and 1861. December 6, 1859, he was elected to the first state house of representatives, 1861, of which body he was chosen speaker. He was defeated as a candidate for the house in 1866. In 1868 he was steward of the Hospital for the Insane at Osawatomie. He was superintendent of the Institution for the Education of the Blind, at Wyandotte, 1870-'72.

BENONI WHEAT, Methodist Episcopal clergyman, was born at Berkeley Springs, now W. Va., April 18, 1808. He immigrated to Kansas in 1857, locating in Coffey county, and was one of the earliest ministers in that section of the country. He was a member of the first state legislature, and has been county superintendent of public instruction. Mr. Wheat was married in Virginia to Rachel E. Chapman, in the year 1830. They settled first in Le Roy township, where they lived many years, but in 1879 moved to Le Roy. He died May 19, 1895.

ROBERT P. C. WILSON was born at Boonville, Cooper county, Missouri, about 1836. When a child he went with his parents to Platte county. He was educated at William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo., and at Center College, Danville, Ky. He read law, and located at Seguin, Tex., where he began to practice. He came north, to Leavenworth, in 1860, and formed a partnership with Col. A. J. Isaacs. He was elected to the house of representatives of the first state legislature, but the latter part of 1861 returned to Platte county, Missouri, to make his permanent home, and from there was sent to Congress in 1889, serving until May, 1893—two terms. Mr. Wilson now resides at Platte City, Mo.

LEVI WOODARD was born at Newport, Ind., August 29, 1830, of Quaker parentage. He married Sarah A. Hadley October 17, 1853. With his wife and child he came to Kansas in the spring of 1857, settling on the open prairie twelve miles southeast of Lawrence. He named his home Hesper, and the village and school, which in after-years grew up near the house he built and on the land he had owned, appropriated the name. He was one of the three directors who built the first schoolhouse there, which was the fifth school building in Douglas county. He was a member of the territorial legislature of 1859, of the railroad convention of 1860, and of the first state legislature, 1861, serving in the house of representatives. He was also a member of the house of 1866, and the senate of 1869-'70. He served on the Price raid commission of 1869, and as a trustee of the Osawatomie State Hospital, 1870-'76. Mr. Woodard was commissioned captain of the "Hesper cavalry company" October 16, 1862, recruited at Eudora for the state militia. From 1876 to 1879 he was agent to the Osage and Sac and Fox Indians. He died at Lawrence, May 20, 1882.

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1868.

Address by JOHN S. DAWSON,¹ of Hill City, before the thirty-first annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, December 4, 1906.

THERE have been notable parliaments, conventions, congresses and legislative assemblies in the history of every country and of every state. There are occasional epoch-making events which call the representative men of a commonwealth together to devise methods and measures for the common good, and the net result of their deliberations makes history which is felt at home and abroad for generations afterward. Such an assembly was

NOTE 1.—JOHN S. DAWSON was born June 10, 1869, at Speybridge, Morayshire, Scotland. He came to America in 1884, and lived in Illinois until March 4, 1887, when he came to Kansas. He went to Scotland in 1888, and returned to the United States. He was educated in various private and high schools in Scotland, and at the normal school at Salina, Kan. He took a home-stead in Graham county in 1892. He was principal of the Hill City schools in 1895 and 1896, and of the Wa Keeney high school in 1897. Instructed and lectured before the normal institutes and teachers' associations, and campaigned the state for the Republicans in 1900 and 1902. He served four years as bond clerk in the state treasurer's office, and in January, 1903, was appointed assistant attorney-general of Kansas, which position he still holds.

the first Olympiad of the Hellenes in 776 B. C. Such was the result of the convention of the Decemvirs who promulgated the twelve tables of laws for ancient Rome. So, too, the long parliament of England, and the national assembly of France—the harbinger of the French Revolution. Instances could well be multiplied in American history.

But it is only once or twice in a century that the occasion is presented where an assembly of lawmakers may establish or decree a policy or code which accentuates history from the very day of its enactment. It is rather by laborious and dispassionate attention to the commonplace duties of civic life that the average lawmaking body leaves its impress upon the economic life of the state. It is an impress unnoticed at the time, but it is there nevertheless, and nets an approximate good or ill upon the common weal.

In the American states, subject, as they are, to two sovereignties, opportunity for epoch-making legislation is less likely to arise in the state assemblies than in the national legislature—the federal authority taking over to itself, very properly, all matters of national concern. This, as Professor Bryce has noted, causes a deterioration in the intellectual fiber of the average state legislature, as little elbow-room is afforded to give scope to the talents of men of the highest statesmanship. Accordingly, the legislatures of the several states are commonly given over to men of second-rate intellectual vigor and of mediocre capacity. It is seldom that men of the highest talents of constructive statesmanship can be induced to serve their community in the state legislature. Thus it happens that mediocrity is characteristic of the average legislature. And yet on that score it may be said that such an assembly is more truly representative of the people who elect them than a congress of collegians and professors of economics would be, for it is not to be denied that mediocrity and commonplace are most truly typical of the people themselves.

Perhaps we can agree that the true worth of a legislative body will depend upon the painstaking and conscientious manner in which it deals with the matters at its hand, viewed from a sufficient distance of time to measure and gage its results and when its deliberations have been welded by administration into the jurisprudence of the commonwealth. Judged by this standard the legislature of the state of Kansas for the year 1868 is easily the greatest legislature that ever assembled in this state, and, tried by the test of thirty-eight years' results, it is second only to the Wyandotte constitutional convention of 1859.

For campaign political expediency a very high—in fact an extravagant—place has been claimed for the legislature of 1905, and we will all bear witness to the earnest spirit with which that body approached and grappled with its problems; but it is too soon—the perspective is yet too close—to justly determine the lasting worth of its deliberations. If time and experience give the legislature of 1905 a place of note among Kansas legislatures, it is apt to be based upon what it attempted and failed to do as much as upon its constructive work. But this, too, is conjecture. Let a third of a century roll by and let our children determine its value.

And now to the legislature of 1868. A careful examination of the records of the time, the journals of the assembly, the newspapers, the manuscripts, etc., fails to disclose the fact that the members of that legislature considered themselves or their deliberative body in any way out of the ordinary.

It is commonly a praiseworthy and conscientious mood in which a lawmaker foregathers with his fellows in the legislative assembly. Only after repeated jolts are his ideals shattered. The halo of the legislative hurdy-gurdy does not evaporate in a day. So far as can now be known the legislature of 1868 was, in all outward respects, much like its predecessors and successors. There may have been more than the usual number of really big men of the state in that session of the legislature—I suppose there were. George W. Glick was there, and was chairman of the judiciary committee of the house. It is worthy of remark that that honorable old sage, who has been known for the last decade or two as a patron and practitioner of agriculture, had in earlier life a long and honorable career as a lawyer, and he was in the zenith of his career as an attorney when he served in the legislature of 1868.

D. W. Finney was there; John Guthrie was a member; so were Harrison Kelley, Samuel D. Lecompte, H. Miles Moore, W. H. Smallwood, and James D. Snoddy, and others who have filled their niche and made an honorable name for themselves in Kansas. Over in the senate were James M. Harvey, O. E. Learnard, W. M. Matheney, John M. Price, B. F. Simpson, Geo. W. Veale, P. P. Elder, and others of note—yes, on reflection, it is perhaps safe to say that the personnel of the legislature of 1868 was considerably above the average. In fact, there were men in both houses who could adorn and who have adorned the highest walks of public life.

In the senate were eight farmers, seven lawyers, three merchants, three physicians, a conveyancer, a banker, a carpenter and a freighter, twenty-five members in all. Politically classified, there were five Democrats, twelve Republicans, seven Radical Republicans and two Radicals. Just what subtle niceties in political economy caused the shades of distinction between Republicans and Radical Republicans, and between Radical Republicans and mere Radicals, is difficult to say. It may be a very poor guess to say that it was analogous to the secta of "the grand old party" to-day where certain philosophical principles have caused it to arrange its membership into three classes, viz.: the machine, the boss-busters and the square-dealers.

In the house there were forty-four farmers, seventeen lawyers, seven merchants, five physicians, a minister, and one each of fourteen other common avocations. The political complexion of the house was twenty-eight Democrats, fifty-three Republicans, two Radical Republicans, one Radical, one Independent, one Democratic Republican, one "Democratically disposed," and one "mixed."

The names of the senators and representatives may be found in the volume of special laws of the session of 1868, but it is a curious thing that neither the house nor the senate journal contains a list of the members. The padding of legislative journals for purposes of revenue, which in later years became reduced to such a fine art, was unthought of by E. C. Manning, secretary of the senate, and John T. Morton, chief clerk of the house. It is perhaps the glamour which time throws over that session of thirty-eight years ago, but the words of the poet kept trying to run off the point of my pen all the time that I was jotting down my notes for this address: "Then none were for a party, but all were for the state."

The message of Governor Crawford to the legislature is a most valuable résumé of the affairs of the state at that time. Opening with the usual

greetings, he branches at once into the financial affairs of the state, saying that the property on the tax-rolls of the state is \$56,276,360, but ventures the confident opinion that there is \$100,000,000 worth of property in Kansas, and that it is for the legislature to find means and methods to remedy this "glaring defect." Just what this grand old man would have said if he had the present-day "glaring defect" in the assessed property returns to deal with may be imagined, but can hardly be described. The total receipts for the state in 1867 were \$183,833.52—not as much as the fiscal income of a good second-class county nowadays. The interest receipts on the permanent school fund for the last year, 1867, were \$420. There would be no chance for a Rowett or a Moxey to earn a reputation examining the state treasury shortages in 1868.

The permanent school fund amounted to \$59,846.03. The bonds of the state sold for ninety and ninety-one cents on the dollar without clipping any coupons, but, on the contrary, by leaving on past-due coupons which had matured while the bonds were being hawked about the country seeking a purchaser. The governor gives interesting information regarding education in Kansas, manifesting that splendid self-denying spirit which has swelled into a full tide with the passing years, and which is the crowning harvest of the dream of the pioneers.

"We go to plant her common schools
On distant prairie swells,
And give the Sabbaths of the wild
The music of her bells."

A subject which has passed from consideration, nowadays and for all time, but which was of overshadowing and tremendous importance in 1868, and which was extensively treated by Governor Crawford, was Indian depredations. The governor aptly says that "a well-organized militia is necessary for the security of a free state"; and it certainly was in Kansas in 1868, when the Cheyennes, Osages, Otoes, Wichitas, Kiowas, Arapahoes, Sioux, Comanches and Pawnees swarmed over the prairies, stealing horses and murdering settlers, not only on the frontier, but penetrating the state far into the settled districts.

The state charities were reviewed, there being twenty-five inmates at the Deaf and Dumb Institute at Olathe, and twenty-two in the asylum at Osawatomie. The governor informs the legislature that the lease will soon expire on the buildings rented for the state government, and hopes that the east wing of the new state-house will be ready for occupancy by the time the legislature meets again.

The governor felicitated much on the fact that the state had 523 miles of railroad; boasts of its excellent quality; of the fact that the Union Pacific earned over a million dollars for the preceding year. He refers to the railroad land grants, including that to the "Katy," which has recently been much talked about by men who know nothing about it, and by others who know considerable about it which isn't true.

The legislature is urged to give its assistance to immigration, for the governor says:

"Kansas cannot afford to remain idle while other states are using every honorable means in their power to encourage immigrants to settle within their borders. The immigration for 1867 was 50,000, and it should have been 100,000."

The governor touches on the Paris exposition and the interest of Kansas therein, pours forth the vials of his honest wrath against the Secretary of the Interior on account of what he calls the infamous treaty with James F. Joy for the sale of 800,000 acres of neutral lands, considerable part of which was occupied by settlers. The Osage lands, he declares, embarrassed the proper development of the state. He commends the work of the codifying commission to the earnest attention of the legislature, giving his views as a stout and stanch Union patriot on the necessity of putting aside mawkish sentimentality in dealing with rebels and traitors, and winds up with a solemn conjuration on the necessity of legislative economy; and there is no touch of irony in that, either, although there was no money in the treasury to pay even the lawmakers' per diem and mileage.

The legislature gave but indifferent attention to the recommendations of the governor—that it played some small politics is evidenced by certain resolutions regarding some land transactions between the governor and the Union Pacific railroad concerning which the present generation neither knows nor cares.

In these days, when it costs over two and a half million dollars a year to run the state government, a brief review of the governmental expenses of the early days cannot fail to be instructive:

In 1861 the total expenses of state government were	\$84,775 93
In 1862 " " " " "	92,508 53
In 1863 " " " " "	137,259 54
In 1864 " " " " "	173,977 01
In 1865 " " " " "	154,768 66
In 1866 " " " " "	197,285 37
In 1867 " " " " "	234,555 36
In 1868 " " " " "	274,533 14

The disbursements authorized by the session of 1868 were as follows:

Legislative expenses	\$32,978 00
Judiciary.....	22,950 00
Executive department.....	4,700 00
Secretary of state.....	6,300 00
Auditor	3,350 00
Treasurer	3,000 00
Attorney-general.....	1,250 00
Superintendent of public instruction	2,100 00
State University	7,500 00
Adjutant-general.....	5,205 25
State printing.....	18,000 00
Rent of state-house.....	1,800 00
Deaf and Dumb	10,500 00
State Normal School.....	5,637 00
State Agricultural College.....	8,715 00
Insane Asylum	12,600 00
Blind Asylum.....	11,722 11
Penitentiary.....	80,255 64
Miscellaneous	13,512 87
Price-raid commission	4,457 27
Negotiating sale of state bonds.....	3,000 00
Printing general statutes	15,000 00
Total.....	\$274,533 14

Of the foregoing appropriations, much was for institutional buildings. Thus the total disbursements of Kansas' greatest legislative session were but slightly in excess of a quarter of a million dollars. It was not until as late as 1883 that the legislative appropriations for the state government passed the million-dollar mark. That year they were \$1,005,540.91. But Kansas by that time had cleaved her way through the preliminary "difficulties" and was striking a million-dollar gait in her upward and onward journey, in her glorious race "to the stars."

In this year of bountiful harvests and opulent citizenship, the legislative appropriations authorized by the last session (1905) are \$2,974,720.10, and with the fees collected and disbursed by the several state departments will push the expenses of state government for 1906 over the line of \$3,000,000. Yet the state levy for 1906 is substantially what it was in 1868, although the intervening years have seen it much higher. But according to Governor Crawford's message in 1868, only half of the property of the state escaped taxation. To-day the proportion is much greater, and yet the burdens of state government rest as lightly to-day upon the fraction of our people and property paying taxes as they did in 1868. This goes to show that our ability to pay taxes has even outrun our extravagance.

The great work of the session of 1868 was enacting statutes which cover practically every subject of our civil polity. That legislature in fact made the law of the land. The legislature of 1867 had authorized the governor to appoint a commission to revise and codify the laws of the state, and the executive had commissioned for that pretentious work three men qualified indeed for such a task. These were Samuel A. Riggs, of Douglas county, John M. Price, of Atchison county, and James McCahon, of Leavenworth county; and some day, when Kansas gets through with her more utilitarian tasks of building cities and railroads and pipe-lines and irrigation ditches, and turns to take a thought of those who have laid the foundation of her greatness, and to commemorate the memory of those who despised not the day of small things—when we come to adorn the state-house square with statues of those who served her with distinction, there will be a monument of brass and marble to Riggs, Price and McCahon, who whipped into efficient and practical shape the confused and crazy patchwork of legislation which constituted the laws of Kansas prior to 1868.

I cannot now tell you how inharmonious, incongruous and confusing were the laws of Kansas prior to the codification. Part of them had been enacted by the several territorial legislatures, whose principal business appears to have been to repeal the statutes passed by every previous session since the bogus legislature of 1855. Part of the laws were the work of state legislatures attempting the hopeless task of molding territorial enactments to fit conditions under the state constitution. The territorial and state laws being framed under different organic charters, preliminary work by experienced lawyers, like the codifying commissioners, was an absolute necessity before the revision could be undertaken by even the most earnest and enlightened legislature.

It is the chief glory of the legislature of 1868 that it set itself with laborious care to this work, and neither faltered nor dallied with the matters at hand. It is not uncommon for legislatures to authorize commissions to codify or revise some branch of statute law, but we have all seen them

grow weary of the task of reviewing and intelligently passing upon the revisions and codifications submitted to them for approval and enactment. The most conspicuous example of this was the proposed revision of the laws of taxation. In 1901 the legislature, like several of its immediate predecessors, recognized the necessity of a revision of the laws of taxation, and authorized a commission to sit in vacation for the purpose of framing a new law for the assessment and taxation of property. The commission accordingly, after most laborious research of all the assessment laws of the American states, submitted a bill to the legislature of 1903.

Perhaps it was not perfect—

“He who hopes a faultless tax to see,
Hopes what ne’er was, is not, and ne’er will be.”

The legislature of 1903 took up the bill, criticized it, amended it, botched it, quarreled over it, fussed over it, played small politics with it, wasted the greater part of the session over it, and then dropped it. The legislature of 1905 never touched the subject, and our chaotic system of taxation still remains, and, like as not, it will continue for another decade.

Not so the legislature of 1868. It set to work and grappled with one subject after another, and it was no mere acquiescence in the work of the commission, either; but the legislature intelligently examined, discussed, criticized and amended the work of the commissioners. They passed the bills; the governor signed them; they became the law of the land; and there are scores of these laws thus passed that remain on the statute-book, thirty-eight years after, without amendment, and are to-day in no more danger of either amendment or repeal than the eithics of the sermon on the mount.

I like the way the house started in to work at the session of 1868. There were no exasperating delays while the speaker and the “third house”² fixed up the committees. George W. Smith, of Douglas county, was elected speaker. On taking the gavel, he said:

“The business of the legislature should be conducted without reference to party. It is proper that parties should exist. But when we meet together in the legislative hall for the purpose of passing laws we ought to quell all political feeling. I have discovered that members sometimes forget that they have taken an oath to discharge their duties as members of the legislature, particularly on political questions. The Republican party can afford to be generous, and I hope it will be so, and show no disposition to force any measures on the minority which may be wrong. To the Democrats I will say, there may be hope for them. I would say, in the language of the Scripture, ‘Fear not, little flock, it is your Father’s good pleasure to give you the kingdom.’ But it will require you to act honestly in the discharge of your duties. I have heard that there have been boasts made that you have the controlling vote. It is all proper, when political questions come up (which I hope will not during this session), that you should use your votes for the purpose of controlling them. But you must recollect that you have also taken an oath to discharge your duties to the best of your ability.”

Let it be noted that the house met at noon, January 14. The organization was completed, the governor’s message read and referred to a special committee for appropriate subdivision among the standing committees, by January 16. On January 17 the speaker announced all the standing committees, and the business of the session was under way. That the speaker

NOTE 2.—“Third house”—a term used in our day to designate the lobbyists.

practiced what he preached in repressing politics is demonstrated by his appointment of George W. Glick, the foremost Democrat in Kansas for a generation, as chairman of the judiciary committee—a committee which in a session to be dedicated to constructive legislation was bound to be pre-eminently the principal committee of the house. Preston B. Plumb, also a committeeman of the judiciary, was chairman of the committee on railroads, and that committee in 1868 devoted most of its time to encouraging legislation calculated to bring railroads and railroad builders and railroad investors to Kansas. That eminence and distinction in public life were to be achieved by “busting” the railroads and crying down the rapacity of corporate influences and railroad greed seems to have been entirely overlooked by the solons of 1868.

The work of the codifying commissioners was taken up without delay. The judiciary committee did not arrogate to itself the latter-day prerogative of passing on the merits of every bill submitted to it. It examined a multitude of them merely as to their legal sufficiency and then reported them with the recommendation that they be referred to other appropriate committees as to the wisdom of the subject-matter. Of course, in a session devoted to the revision and codification of the laws of the state, a vast amount of work fell to the judiciary committee which could not in the nature of things be profitably referred elsewhere.

Let me briefly run over the list of subjects considered and enacted into law by the session of 1868. These were the laws of apprentices; assignments; attorneys at law; bonds, notes and bills; bonds and warrants; commissioners to take depositions; contracts and promises; conveyances; corporations; county boundaries; counties and county officers; county-seats; courts—supreme, district and probate; crimes and punishments; damages against cities; descents and distributions; elections; executors and administrators; exemptions; fees and salaries; fences; ferries; frauds and perjuries; fugitives from justice; guardians and wards; illegitimate children; impeachment; jails; jurors; landlords and tenants; laws and legislative journals; lunatics and drunkards; married women and their rights; minors; mortgages; notaries public; oaths; pardons; partnerships; plats of cities and towns; procedure—civil; procedure—criminal; procedure—civil, before justices; procedure—in misdemeanors, before justices; statutory construction; stock; town sites; townships and township officers; trespassers; fiduciary trusts and powers; wills.

Only two important subjects were laid over for another session—schools and taxation. These remained in confusion until 1876, when another of the more important legislative sessions of Kansas considered them at length, and the enactments of 1876 form the basis of existing laws on those subjects. But it is to be regretted that these two subjects were not touched by the master hand of the legislature of 1868. Of the long roll to its credit, however, much remains the law in Kansas to-day without so much as a single amendment, and where changes have been made they have not always been for the better. Legislative tinkering is greatly to be decried. How often have we observed that the whole scope and purpose of a useful and valuable law is crippled by the subsequent enactment of a well-meant amendment secured by some lawmaker who has failed to consider the whole range of the subject with which he was tinkering. Nothing like omniscience or pre-

science is claimed for the session of 1868, however; but the fact remains that if every legislature that has since convened had contented itself with passing the necessary revenue bills and the periodic apportionments required by the constitution, the commonwealth would have lived, flourished and prospered under the beneficent laws of 1868.

The law of descents and distributions, whereby a man's property passes without a will to those who are most entitled to his bounty, is still the law of this state, with only two insignificant amendments.

The law of executors and administrators, which occupies some thirty-five pages of the General Statutes of 1901, has stood the test of thirty-eight years' practical operation with a scant half dozen changes.

The law of exemptions, conceived in the days when Kansas and its people were poor, is still the law in our day of opulence, and if its necessity has largely passed, the reverence of the sons for this wisdom of the fathers has saved this humanitarian law from the iconoclastic hand of ambitious innovation.

The statute of frauds,³ time-tried before Kansas was born, remains untouched.

Only slight changes have been made in the law of guardian and wards.

Kansas, with her glorious allodial land system where the troubles of landlords and tenants have never given the state concern, as in less favored portions of the earth, has found the landlord and tenant act of 1868 sufficient for almost every circumstance.

The law of married women was framed for the enlightened age of the present, and nothing of the dead past, when woman was a chattel, is contained in its sacred sections. It bids fair to remain untouched while Kansas endures.

The codes of procedure were drawn from the most enlightened ideas of a procedure-reforming age, and have worked out an approximate justice between man and man. They have, of course, been changed in details with operative experience. Code making and code division are still going on, and are bound to continue for many years. Indeed, it is doubtful if court procedure will ever crystallize as it did and remained for generations at common law.

But I must bear in mind that this is a miscellaneous audience, interested in history, and it would trench both upon your patience and upon the occasion should I run this address into a lecture on law.

The law of wills, which occupied ten full pages of the general statutes, has scarcely been touched through all the years since its enactment.

Perhaps enough has been said to demonstrate that the legislature of 1868 was the greatest that ever convened in Kansas, and that other legislatures have been great, and in the future will be great, just in the measure in which they approach their problems with the spirit and abiding purpose of the session of 1868.

The great session had its fun, too, as it went along. The lawmakers, like everybody else in 1868, were all so poor the state was poor; the state treasury was empty; the state's credit was below par; some needy member, whose wits were sharpened by his needs, offered a resolution that the school-fund commissioners purchase the members' per diem warrants as an invest-

NOTE 3.—Statute copied from the English statute on the same subject.

ment for the school fund. The speaker's characterization of the Democratic members as "the little flock," whom he bade "fear not," seems to have been considered such a good thing that it lasted throughout the session, and "the little flock" is kindly and jocularly mentioned at various intervals in the house journal.

To relieve the tedium of prosaic work one day, Mr. Horace Tucker, of Douglas, offered the following resolution (Ho. Jour., pp. 323, 324):

"WHEREAS, The treasury of the state of Kansas is like the Widow McWhizzle's tub when the bottom fell out—there is nothing in it; and

"WHEREAS, the landlords and proprietors of the boarding-houses persistently refuse to accommodate the members of this honorable legislature without 'greenbax'; and

"WHEREAS, At the session last winter board was furnished free at the hotels by the candidates for United States senator, with many pressing invitations to partake thereof; and

"WHEREAS, A member could get credit at the saloons for refreshments as long as his *thousand dollars* lasted; therefore,

"Resolved, That senatorial elections are a good thing.

"Resolved, That if they are a good thing, Kansas needs as much of them as any other state we know of.

"Resolved, That for the relief of the landlords and landladies of Topeka, and in order that the charitable enterprises of said city may prosper, it is necessary that we should have a senatorial election every session.

"Resolved, That the shepherd of the 'little flock' be called upon publicly to state whether, if said 'little flock' comes into possession of the 'kingdom,' they will have senatorial elections every session or not."

It appears that the state had acquired a considerable number of Texas cattle, evidently estrays; and their disposal had occasioned some discussion. A special committee, to whom the matter was referred, brought in the following report:

"MR. SPEAKER: Your special committee, to whom was referred the resolution to appoint a committee to dispose of the state's interest in Texas cattle, have had the matter under consideration, and would respectfully recommend that, as a large majority of the members of this house are farmers, they be requested to take Texas cattle as legal tender for all claims they may have against the state for per diem and mileage. As regards other members—lawyers, doctors, etc.—your committee can see no legal claims they can have against said cattle, but would recommend that they be constituted a committee to draft a law restricting the state government from speculating in Texas cattle, unless they have good reasons to believe the funds will be returned prior to the annual meeting of the legislature."

One member offered a resolution that the chief clerk be instructed to buy a map of Kansas, so the members would know what they were legislating about.

There is an excerpt from the *Topeka Record*, which forms the basis of a question of personal privilege by C. R. Jennison, that makes interesting if not edifying reading, but it is too long for reproduction. The curious will find it in the *House Journal* at page 841.

The legislature of 1868 passed many resolutions and memorials to Congress concerning the establishment of mail-routes, and urged loudly and long and frequently for congressional land grants to encourage the building of railroads—without which, they declared, the fertile lands of Kansas must remain a howling wilderness.

The local bills of that session were few; the times gave little token of

the deluge of petty bills which came with after-years and which necessitated the constitutional amendment of 1906 pertaining thereto.

As early as 1868 the extravagant and senseless practice of scattering the state institutions at various places far distant from the state capital was foreseen and a strong spirit of retrenchment and reform was manifest, but local self-interest was even then too strong to correct the expensive system. The proposed concentration of state institutions was voted down, and has never since been a subject of feasible undertaking.

On one point the wisdom of the fathers has come to naught. In 1868 it was confidently believed and frequently expressed that a day was speedily coming when the endowment funds of the State University, the State Normal School and State Agricultural School, realized from the sale of land grants, would amply sustain these institutions. Governor Crawford, in his message, expresses this confidence:

"It is sincerely to be hoped that such of our state institutions as have been generously endowed from the public domain will soon be able to dispense with the aid drawn from the treasury."

It would add little to this address to attempt to draw a moral from the legislature of 1868. And yet the lesson is there. The legislature which will conscientiously apply itself to the improvement of existing law will serve the state better and establish a work more enduring than one which devotes itself to the passage of a few spectacular, evanescent bills which, when fickle opinion passes on to other matters of like transient interest, will lie and rust in the limbo of forgotten uselessness.

I lay great stress on the constitutional amendment of 1906 relating to special legislation. It will give the legislature time to revise and perfect existing general laws. And many of them badly need perfecting. The school law, the school-land law, the bridge law, the law of municipal indebtedness, the law of taxation, and many others, need the same laborious and prayerful consideration that was given to the great codes and statutes promulgated in 1868. It is time we had another commission to revise, rewrite and codify all the laws of the state. It will be forty years since the last codification before it can be enacted, even if the coming legislature of 1907 should authorize its creation. And when the codification comes, let us hope that men of the rank of Price, Riggs and McCahon will prepare the codification, and that patriots like the legislators of 1868 will compose the assembly which will enact it into law.

BIOGRAPHIES OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1868.

SENATE.

J. B. ABBOTT, of Johnson county. See session of 1861, page 242.

WILLIAM SAYERS BLAKELY was born in Troy, N. Y., July 20, 1838. He was educated in the public schools, and at the age of fourteen was granted a certificate to teach. Russell Sage, the great New York financier, then a member of Congress, tendered him an appointment as cadet to West Point, which was declined. He lost his mother at the age of twelve, and his father at the age of fourteen, and then made his home with an uncle, Garrett Norton, in Illinois. In April, 1858, he came to Kansas, and settled on Clarke's creek, in Geary county. In 1861 he was in the three months' service, and participated in the battle of Wilson Creek. He became connected with the Junction City newspapers, and remained so until 1864, when he became a clerk at Fort Riley. He was a major in the Kansas state militia. He was married to Miss Josephine Morgan, in 1865. In 1866 he began merchandising at Chapman, but removed to Junction City in 1867. He was state senator in 1867 and 1868, and a member of the house in 1873. In 1873 he was appointed postmaster of Junction City, and in 1881 unanimously elected mayor. He died June 11, 1885.

S. S. COOPER. See Session of 1857-'58, page 209.

DR. N. C. CLARK, representing Doniphan county in the senate of 1868, was born in Ohio about 1823. He came to Kansas from his native state in May, 1859, settling in Burr Oak township. He was member of a Burr Oak company of the Doniphan county militia, organized in 1861 to disarm all disloyal citizens of the county, and was mustered in as surgeon of the Eighth Kansas, serving until November 28, 1865. He was a member of the house of 1863 and of the senate of 1867-'68.

WILLIAM HENRY DODGE was born in Jefferson county, Kentucky, December 26, 1834. He came to Kansas in May, 1861, and located at Holton, Jackson county. In 1861 he was elected clerk of the court for that county, but resigned to enlist as a private in company B, Eleventh Kansas, on August 16, 1862. June 4, 1864, he was commissioned first lieutenant and quartermaster of the Eighteenth United States colored, from which he was discharged March 1, 1866. He returned to his home at Holton and resumed the practice of law. He served in the state senate of 1867 and 1868, from the counties of Jackson and Pottawatomie, and was a member of the judiciary committee, which formulated the code. He moved to Great Bend in 1875, removing from there, on account of ill health, to Florida, in 1887; returned to Kansas in 1890, and in 1895 settled in Shawnee, Oklahoma, where he now resides.

ROBERT C. FOSTER, JR., a member of the senate of 1868, from Leavenworth county, was born in Logan county, Kentucky, September 10, 1834. He was educated in the common schools of Kentucky, and was for two years in the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, resigning as midshipman to take up the study of law. He was graduated from the law school of Cumberland University in 1856, in which year he came to Kansas with his father's family, locating at Leavenworth. He was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, 1859, and was elected to the house of representatives of 1863, returned in 1865 and 1866, and elected to the senate of 1867-'68. He married Amanda M. Harrelson, October 18, 1871. He is now a resident of Texas.

PETER PERCIVAL ELDER, of Franklin county. See Session of 1861, page 239.

CAPTAIN GEORGE GRAHAM, born at Shawangunk, Ulster county, New York, February 6, 1819, died at Seneca, Kan., February 12, 1880; was a Kansas pioneer, coming to the territory in 1857, and settling where now is the town of Albany, of which he was one of the founders. In 1865 he moved to Seneca, then a new town, where he continued to live until his death. He was elected to the territorial legislature of 1859, was also a member of the state legislature of 1866, and served in the senate of 1867-'68. He was elected state treasurer in the fall of 1868, filling the office one term. He was appointed a member of the board of railroad assessors in March, 1871, serving two years. Captain Graham was a member of company A, Seventh Kansas cavalry.

LOUIS FISHER GREEN, senator from Douglas county, 1867-'68, was born in West Liberty, Ohio, August 31, 1834. He was educated in the common schools, and spent one year at the Ohio Wesleyan University and two years studying law in a law office. In the spring of 1855 he came to Kansas, settling in the town of Palmyra, which was later absorbed by Baldwin. His sympathies were with the free-state people and he constantly upheld their principles. He was for a time an itinerant preacher in the Methodist Episcopal church on the Paola and Centropolis circuits. In 1861 he helped recruit for Colonel Nugent's independent regiment, and served as chaplain until they were mustered out, in 1862. He then raised a company for the Eleventh Kansas and was commissioned its captain. In 1865 he was with the army on the Indian expedition to Wyoming and Dakota. He was married in 1863 to Mattie E. Taylor, and at the close of the war returned to Baldwin, where he engaged in the real-estate business.

NEHEMIAH GREEN, lieutenant-governor and president of the senate, was born at Grassy Point, Hardin county, Ohio, March 8, 1837, and died at Manhattan, Kan., January 12, 1890. He was a brother of the preceding. Another brother, Geo. S. Green, served in [the house of 1883, from Riley county. He came to Kansas in March, 1855, a lad of eighteen, and with his two brothers located in the new town of Palmyra, now Baldwin. In 1856 he returned to Ohio to enter the Ohio Wesleyan University; in 1860 he became a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, and in 1862 he enlisted in the Eighty-ninth Ohio regiment, where he served as lieutenant of company B. Resigning on account of ill health, he later, after partial recovery, enlisted in the One Hundred and Fifty-third Ohio, and served until the close of the war. Immediately thereafter he returned to Kansas, and was pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal church at Manhattan. November, 1866, he was elected lieutenant-governor, and upon the resignation of Gov. Samuel J. Crawford, in November, 1868, he became chief magistrate of the state. In 1870-'71 he was presiding elder of the Manhattan district, but was obliged, on account of ill health, to give up active work. He was a member of the legislature of 1881, his last public service, of which session his brother, George S. Green, was also a member.

COL. HENRY C. HAAS, a carpenter by trade, was born in Germany about 1835. He came from Iowa to Kansas, locating at Leavenworth in 1857. He was captain of a turnverein company there in 1857-'58, and helped capture the "Kickapoo" cannon which the pro-slavery men had trained upon the polls at Kickapoo at the election of January 4, 1858. According to a letter to this Society from H. C. Fields, under date of August 22, 1884, this outrage so incensed the free-state men at Leavenworth that, Wednesday morning following the election, about 300 or 400 men, companies of Capt. H. C. Haas, George P. Buell, and James Dickson, marched to Kickapoo, captured the cannon, and brought it into Leavenworth. Colonel Haas served in the senate of 1867-'68 and 1871-'72. He was superintendent of construction at the Penitentiary in 1868. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the Fifteenth regiment, Kansas volunteer cavalry, having been mustered in as major October 20, 1863. He died June 25, 1875. The "Kickapoo" cannon is now among the relics of the Kansas State Historical Society.

JAMES M. HARVEY, fifth governor of Kansas, was born in Monroe county, West Virginia, September 21, 1833. He came to Kansas in 1859, settling in Riley county. When war was declared he enlisted and served as captain of company G, Tenth Kansas. After peace was restored he returned to Riley county, and was elected and reelected to the legislatures of 1865 and 1866, and to the senate of 1867-'68. In November, 1868, he was elected governor of the state, holding the office two terms, until January, 1873. In 1874 he was elected United States senator, to fill the unexpired term of Alexander Caldwell. At the end of his term he returned to Riley county. For a time he was engaged in government surveys. April 15, 1895, he passed away, leaving a wife, four daughters and two sons.

SAMUEL HIPPLE, a member of the senate of 1867-'68 from Monrovia, Atchison county, was born in Perry county, Pa., in the year 1815. He was a railroad contractor in his native state, but upon coming to Kansas, in 1857, he located his family on a farm near Monrovia and entered the freighting business, extending his work into New Mexico, Wyoming, Utah and the far West and Southwest. He built the first sawmill in his neighborhood, to which was attached a corn-grinder. During the civil war he had charge of the quartermaster's department at Cape Girardeau, Mo., from which point supplies were distributed west. He was commissioned by the President, November 26, 1862, and resigned July 18, 1865. His real-estate holdings in Kansas very large, and in the last years of his life he dealt in stock, buying and shipping cattle. He died January 21, 1875.

O. E. LEARNARD. See Session of 1857-'58, page 206.

A. LOW. See Session of 1861, page 251.

PETER MCFARLAND was born in Ireland about 1816. He came to Kansas in 1857, and settled at Leavenworth. He served in the legislature of 1863, was judge of the criminal court of Leavenworth, and sheriff of that county four years. He was a farmer. He was captain of company C, First Kansas, and was badly wounded at Wilson Creek. He resigned from the army in 1862. His death occurred at Leavenworth, about 1874.

WILLIAM MILTON MATHENEY was born in Salvisa, Mercer county, Kentucky, November 30, 1832. He was educated in the schools of the time, graduating from Center College, Danville, with distinction, in the class of 1850. He afterward studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1854. He settled in Harrodsburg in 1857, and shortly after, upon his marriage with the daughter of Governor Rector, of Arkansas, he moved to Little Rock. While there he was elected judge of the circuit court. Being a Northern sympathizer he left Arkansas during the war, going to Chicago, and in 1866 came to Fort Scott, Kan., afterward moving to Baxter Springs. He was a member of the senate of 1868, having been elected to fill a vacancy, and was reelected to that of 1873-'74. Mr. Matheny now lives at Hot Springs, Ark.

PERRY B. MAXSON was born July 20, 1828, in Hopkinton, R. I. He was educated in the common schools, with an academic course at the De Ruyter Institute, De Ruyter, N. Y. After his graduation he taught school and held various clerical positions before coming to Kansas in 1856, when he settled on Dow creek, in Lyon county. He was a member of the railroad convention in 1860, was register of the Independence land-office from April, 1869, to March, 1873, and appointed a member of the Board of Railroad Commissioners in 1893, serving until 1895. He was elected to the house of representatives of 1862, and to the senate of 1863-'64 and 1867-'68. He now resides at Americus, Lyon county.

ATLANTIC ABRAHAM MOORE, familiarly known as "Lank" Moore, was born in Ohio September 15, 1834. In 1842 his family moved to Waukegan, Lake county, Illinois, and after some years residence there, to Hodge county, Wisconsin. Through a chance acquaintance with Colonel Collins, superintendent of Indian affairs at Santa Fe, N. M., Lank Moore, with his elder brother, was engaged in 1858 to drive government ambulances from Kansas City to Santa Fe. They made a trip out, and, disliking the work and not caring to settle near Santa Fe, they started back to the states with an ox train. At Fort Union they were held under government orders until five trains had assembled ready to make the trip east, and with these trains was sent an escort of United States soldiers, Kit Carson commanding. This was in the fall of 1858. At Cottonwood Crossing (now Durham, Kan.), on the Santa Fe trail, a man named Smith had built a small log cabin and was running a trading-post, selling whisky, canned goods and other provisions to passing trains. The Moore brothers, interested in the country and on the lookout for a location, bought him out and then and there took possession. Later, taking up a claim there, the place became known as Moore's Ranch, and a post-office was established in the spring of 1861; A. A. Moore, postmaster. That year the town of Marion Center was laid out, and there Mr. Moore built a store and otherwise identified himself with the interests of the place. Upon the organization of Marion county, in 1865, he was elected county treasurer and representative, and was returned to the legislature of 1867. He also served in the senate of 1868, and was again a member of the house of representatives in 1871. In 1882 he left Kansas, moving to Prescott, Ariz., and later to Walnut Grove, in the same territory, where he now lives. He has been a member of the city council of Prescott, county supervisor, and a member of the legislature of Arizona for the years 1890 and 1899. Mr. Moore was married at Council Grove to Nancy O. Waterman in 1862, and to them was born in 1863 the first white child born in Marion county, Ira A. Moore, who lives near his father in Arizona. During his residence in Kansas Lank Moore was identified with every project in his county that had for its end the bettering of social conditions. In 1868 he was foremost in the building of a stone schoolhouse. Likewise, when the Rev. Timothy Hill, a Presbyterian missionary, came to the Marion settlement, it was through Mr. Moore's efforts that a church was built, which is still used by the Presbyterians of Marion. He is a man of more than ordinary ability, and although his educational advantages had been extremely limited, he was a brilliant conversationalist, and has left something of the imprint of his individuality upon the county he helped to claim from the wilderness.

JOHN MOSES PRICE was born at Richmond, Ky., October 4, 1829. He studied law, and in March, 1849, was admitted to the bar and immediately began the practice of his profession. He was married to Eliza Park, January 10, 1854, and in 1858 they came to Kansas, locating at Atchison. In 1859, upon the resignation of A. G. Otis as judge of the district court, Mr. Price was appointed to fill the vacancy, and held the office until statehood. He was a member of the state senate of 1867-'68, 1871-'72 and 1893-'95, and served in the house of 1879. His death occurred, after a lingering illness, October 19, 1898.

JAMES ROGERS was born at Oxford, N. H., October 18, 1826. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1851, and taught school a short time afterward. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1854. After practicing in Patterson, N. J., he moved to Kansas, arriving in 1856 and settling in Burlingame. He was a free-state man, and, like the rest, suffered for his principles. He was regent of the Normal School 1867-'69, was a member of the house of representatives of 1863, 1864 and 1869, and of the senate of 1867-'68. He married Mary B. Harper in 1855. She died in 1873, and in 1874 he married Mrs. Anna L. Toby Heywood. Mr. Rogers died July 28, 1880.

JOHN WALTER SCOTT, of Allen county. See Session of 1861, page 252.

ISAAC B. SHARP was born in Ohio, in January, 1836. He was a graduate of Oberlin University and of the Ohio State Union Law College, at Cleveland. He came from Fremont, Ohio, in January, 1859, locating at Wyandotte, where he began the practice of his profession with Charles W. Glick. In 1860 he was appointed assistant district attorney, holding the office until 1862, when he was elected probate judge, and reelected in 1864. He served as mayor of the city two years, and in 1866 was elected to the senate. Upon the expiration of his term as senator he was again elected probate judge of Wyandotte county, and reelected for the third term. In 1860 he married Maria A. Bennett, a native of Baltimore, Md. Judge Sharp took his own life June 22, 1884. He had been in poor health for some time, suffering from a cerebral affection.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SIMPSON was born in Belmont county, Ohio, in 1836. He received an academic education, and took up the study of law, being admitted to the bar in 1857. In the spring of that year he came to Kansas, locating at Paola, where he opened a law office. He was elected county attorney in 1858, was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, 1859, and a member of the territorial legislature of 1860. He was the first attorney-general of the state, but served only from February to July, 1861, when he resigned to enlist in the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, where he served as captain of company C, and was promoted to major June 7, 1865. He was a member of the senate of 1867-'68 and 1877, and speaker of the house of representatives in 1871. He resigned from the senate in 1877, and in 1878 was appointed United States marshal for the district of Kansas, holding the office about eight years. He served as one of the Supreme Court Commissioners from 1887 till 1893. He was married in Paola, March 23, 1862, to Augusta L. Redfield, of New York.

DANIEL UNDERHILL was born January 10, 1826, in Tippecanoe county, Indiana. He was educated in the common schools, and came to Linn county, Kansas, in March, 1857. He was the first postmaster of Jackson, Linn county, being appointed in November, 1857. He was elected to the legislature of 1863, and was a member of the senate of 1867-'68. He was appointed a trustee of the Osawatimie State Hospital, serving from 1866 to 1869, and was its steward in 1870-'73. In 1869 he was elected probate judge of his county, but resigned. He was county treasurer in 1878-'82. He enlisted in company I, Tenth regiment Kansas state militia, organized to repel the invasion of General Price. Mr. Underhill was married July 24, 1851, to Julia A. Richhart.

GEORGE WASHINGTON VEALE was born in Daviess county, Indiana, May 20, 1833. He was educated in the country schools, supplemented by two years at Wabash College, when he began a business career. In the spring of 1857 he came to Kansas, locating first at Quindaro, and in a short time coming to Topeka, where he started a dry-goods business. He was part owner of the Otis Webb, a Kansas river boat, that plied for a short time between Leavenworth and Topeka during the year 1858. He was one of the signers of the call for the railroad convention of 1860, and an incorporator of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. In 1866 he was appointed commissioner for the sale of state lands, which position he held some years. He raised a company for the Fourth Kansas cavalry in 1861, and in 1862 was made major of the Sixth Kansas, serving until 1864. He was colonel of the Second Kansas militia, serving during the Price invasion. A member of the Senate of 1867-'68, he was elected and reelected to the house of representatives for the years 1871, 1873, 1883, 1887, 1889 and 1895, and was made speaker *pro tem.* of the house of 1873. Colonel Veale was married, January 20, 1857, to Nannie Johnson, of Evansville, Ind. He is now president of the State Historical Society.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

ANDREW JACKSON ANDREWS was born October 10, 1825, in Richland county, Ohio, where he received a common-school education, and where he married Julia A. Biggs, December 30, 1855. He came to Kansas in 1858, and settled at Neosho Rapids, in Lyon county, his family joining him in 1859. He enlisted as a member of company C, Eleventh Kansas, in August, 1862, and served until the end of the civil war, being mustered out August 7, 1865. He was elected to the house of representatives of the legislature of 1868. Mr. Andrews died January 9, 1897.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG, of Jefferson county, lived at Perry. He was from Indiana, and was born about 1825. In 1865 he was employed on the old Kansas Pacific railroad. He was elected a member of the legislature of 1868. About 1870 he left Jefferson county for Neodesha, Wilson county.

EVERARD BIERER was born in Uniontown, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, January 9, 1827, coming of the sturdy German stock who were among the pioneers of that state. He acquired his education in the common schools of Uniontown, and at Madison College studied law, and was admitted to the bar March 7, 1848. In October, 1850, he was elected the first district attorney of Fayette county, serving until December, 1853. In 1861 he recruited the first company of volunteers for the civil war raised in his county. This company, of which he was made captain, became company F of the Eleventh regiment, Pennsylvania reserve volunteer corps. Captain Bierer was wounded and captured at the battle of Gaines' Mill, Virginia, June 27, 1862, and sent to Libby prison, where he was kept until exchanged, August 16. He was again wounded at the battle of South Mountain, Maryland, September 14, 1862. As soon as convalescent he was made commandant of Camp Curtin, at Harrisburg, Pa., and in November was commissioned colonel of the One Hundred and Seventy-first regiment Pennsylvania volunteers. He was mustered out of the United States veteran reserve corps March 17, 1864, and at the fall election was made one of the Lincoln presidential electors. Colonel Bierer came to Kansas in the autumn of 1865, settling, with his family, in Hiawatha, Brown county, where he still resides. He had been in Kansas from April 1, 1857, until August, 1857, attending land sales at Iowa Point, in Doniphan county, and

Paola, Miami county. He represented Brown county in the legislature of 1868. He married Miss Ellen Snouse, April 8, 1852, and they have had eight children, all but one of whom are now living. In January, 1898, Colonel Bierer, by permission of the Secretary of the Navy, made a trip to Honolulu in the U. S. S. Iroquois, in company with his son, then Lieutenant Bion B. Bierer, now lieutenant-commander, U. S. N.

HENRY BLACKBURN, of Linn county, was born at Sheffield, England, January 25, 1813. He came to Kansas from Oskaloosa, Iowa, in 1858, and served as member of the house in 1868. He died in Linn county November 8, 1884.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE BLANTON. See Session of 1861, page 244.

MAJ. JOHN B. BRUNER was born at Muncy, Pa., July 29, 1837, and was educated at the Muncy seminary. He was a jeweler by trade, and engaged in that business in Mason county, Illinois, in 1857. In 1860 he went to Colorado, but soon returned to Illinois, enlisting in company K, Twenty-sixth Illinois infantry, in November, 1861. On the organization of the company he was made second lieutenant, and filled successively the grades of first lieutenant, captain and major in that regiment. He was mustered out in July, 1865, and immediately started for Kansas, located at Gardner, Johnson county, and engaged in the mercantile business. He served as a member of the legislatures of 1868 and 1879; was county treasurer in 1871, and reelected in 1873. Major Bruner was married to Minerva E. Cramer, of Gardner, April 15, 1869, and they now make their home at Olathe, where Major Bruner was, until his retirement from business in 1903, vice-president of the First National Bank.

THOMAS H. BUTLER was born in Ross county, Ohio, April 26, 1823, and there received a common-school education. When he was thirteen years of age his family moved to Randolph county, Indiana, and in 1850 he went to California, returning the next year. In 1857 he came to Kansas, arriving in Linn county May 15. The following year he was elected a delegate to the Leavenworth constitutional convention from that county. Colonel Butler served on Governor Carney's staff, 1863-'65. He moved into Neosho county, and represented that district in the legislatures of 1868, 1869 and 1870. In 1875 he moved to Topeka, where he was appointed claim agent on the Santa Fe railroad. In 1885 he left his railroad work and removed to his farm near Great Bend. He served as director of the Penitentiary from 1893 to 1895. Colonel Butler served as foreman of the jury in the case of Asa Hairgrove, a survivor of the Marias des Cygnes massacre, against Charles A. Hamilton *et al.*, tried October 29, 1858. Hairgrove sued Hamilton and his gang for injuries received May 19, 1858, when he was taken from his home and shot, wounding his face and breaking the bones of his hands. He was awarded damages to the amount of \$5000 and costs, and Hamilton's property in Linn county was attached and sold to satisfy the claim. An account of this is found in Kansas Reports, volume 15, page 218, Jackson v. Latta. Mr. Butler died suddenly at Great Bend March 16, 1908.

WILLIAM C. BUTTS was born in Dutchess county, New York, August 4, 1832. He was educated in the county schools, and taught four terms. Early in 1856 he moved to Adrian, Mich., and a year later to Kansas, where he established himself at Grasshopper (now Valley) Falls. He built the first hotel in that city and was its proprietor for three years. In 1867 he was elected a member of the legislature, and reelected in 1868; served also in 1870, 1871 and 1879—five terms in all. He was postmaster of Valley Falls through both the Cleveland administrations; has been mayor of the town and also county commissioner. He was the first Santa Fe railroad agent, which position he held for twenty years. He was married, May 28, 1855, to Miss Cordelia E. Waltermire. He died at Valley Falls, April 18, 1908, leaving two sons, Halleck and John; his wife, four sons and two daughters having preceded him to the spirit world.

AUGUSTUS BYRAM, member of the house of representatives of 1868, from Atchison, was born in Kentucky. He came to Kansas from Nebraska City, where he was in the employ of Russell, Majors & Waddell, freighters, and continued with them until their failure in 1863, when he purchased some of their equipment, and, with his brother, Peter Byram, started in the freighting business on his own account. He invested in mines in Utah, and at one time owned an interest in the famous Horn silver mine, the sale of which brought him six million dollars. He moved to Chicago in the '80's, and later died there.

D. G. CAMPBELL was born February 13, 1821, in Memphis, Tenn. In 1849 he emigrated to Ouachita county, Arkansas, near Camden, and in 1856 came into Kansas, but on account of unsettled conditions located in Andrew county, Missouri. However, three years later, 1859, he returned to Kansas, settling at Quindaro, Wyandotte county, and in 1861 made a permanent location in Shawnee township, Johnson county. He was a member of the legislatures of 1863, 1864, 1865, 1868, 1875 and 1876. Mr. Campbell was married March 5, 1846, to Miss A. V. Cooley, of Dresden, Tenn. He was a lawyer, and practiced in partnership with John T. Little, of Olathe. He was in Shawnee when the place was destroyed by Quantrill. November 11, 1890, he was run over by a locomotive at Merriam, on the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad, and instantly killed.

JAMES COOLEY was a Kentuckian, born in 1816. He settled in Leavenworth in 1855, and died in 1876, aged sixty years.

G. T. DONALDSON was born in Muskingum county, Ohio, about 1832. He came from Illinois to Kansas in the spring of 1855, locating first in Jefferson county, where he became associated with James H. Lane. In 1857 he moved to Butler county, settling at Chelsea. He served through the civil war, and in 1867 was elected representative from Butler county. In 1854 he married Eleanor P. Vaught, at Paris, Ill. Mr. Donaldson died November 3, 1869, at Chelsea.

JOHN DOWNS, of Brown county, was born in Cameron, Steuben county, New York, September 27, 1825. He came to Kansas in October, 1858, settling in Nemaha county. In 1865 he moved into Brown county. He was a farmer. He died near Sabetha, August 27, 1890. His family removed to Stockton, Cal., in 1895.

ORLO H. DRINKWATER, representative from Chase county in the legislature of 1868, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1835. He came to Kansas in April, 1855, locating first near Topeka, where he took an active part in the border war, being an ardent free-state man. In 1857 he went to Chase county, settling in Cottonwood township, where he became one of the proprietors of Cedar Point. He served in the civil war until July, 1863, when illness forced his resignation. He was then captain of his company. Captain Drinkwater is still living in Cedar Point where he owned and operated for many years one of the largest mills in the county. His brother, Delos F. Drinkwater, was an early Kansas newspaper correspondent.

CHARLES CONVERS DUNCAN was born at Newark, Ohio, April 30, 1843. He was educated in the common schools, and afterward was employed in the transportation business on the Mississippi river. At the beginning of the civil war he entered the service as clerk in the transportation department, but shortly went into the engineer corps. After the war he became captain of a Red river boat, remaining in the South until 1866, when he came to Kansas and settled at Ellsworth. He was elected to the legislature of 1868 from that county, and in 1869 moved to Pottawatomie county. In 1872 he moved to Leavenworth county, which county he represented in the legislature or 1876. Mr. Duncan was married, December 11, 1861, to Tella C. Effinger, of Lancaster, Ohio.

LEWIS EDMUNDSON was born in Pennsylvania, July 10, 1831, and died at Pueblo, July 19, 1899. He came to Kansas from Illinois in the spring of 1860, settling at Iola; enlisted in company E, Ninth Kansas cavalry, October 19, 1861, and was mustered into service as a corporal January 16, 1862. He reenlisted January 4, 1864, was promoted to sergeant March 1, and assigned to new company B, promoted to first lieutenant of new company D May 15, 1865, and mustered out July 17, at De Vall's Bluff. He returned to Iola, and in 1867 was elected to the legislature, serving in the house of representatives of 1868. Mr. Edmundson was twice married: in Champaign county, Illinois, in 1858, to Anna Thrasher, who died in 1862, and in 1872, in Allen county, Kansas, to Alice M. Wisner, who survives him and is a resident of Pueblo, Colo.

P. FAY, of Wilson county, was from New York, a miller by trade, and aged forty-nine years, Further history unknown.

DAVID WESLEY FINNEY was born in Parke county, Indiana, August 22, 1839. His education in the common schools was that of all pioneers. He came to Kansas in 1866, having served throughout the civil war in company A, Eighty-fifth Indiana volunteers, and settled at Neosho Falls, opening a general store. A few years later he went into the milling business, and still operates a mill in Neosho Falls. Mr. Finney has always been interested in public affairs, beginning in 1867, when he was elected to the legislature from Woodson county. In 1876, 1877, 1878 and 1879 he represented his district in the state senate, was lieutenant-governor from 1881 to 1885, and railroad commissioner from April 9, 1901, to April 1, 1902. He was receiver at the Topeka land-office from September to December, 1877. Governor Finney was married in 1869 to Helen H. McConnell, whose father was a Kansas pioneer. The legislature of 1883 changed the name of Sequoyah county to Finney in honor of the governor.

JAMES FLETCHER, of Shawnee county, was born in Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, in 1830. In 1839 he moved with his parents to Franklin, Ind. He received a common-school education. In 1857 he came to Kansas, settling in Shawnee county. In 1858, living then on Mission creek, he was elected from Richardson county a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention. He represented the forty-second district in the house of representatives for the years 1865, 1866 and 1868. He also served as county clerk of Shawnee county. He died at his home in Tecumseh March 26, 1871, and is buried in the Topeka cemetery.

JAMES N. FOSTER was born about 1830, in Indiana. He received a common-school education, and in 1866 removed to Kansas, locating at Peoria City. He was a member of the legislatures of 1868 and 1875. About 1880 he moved to Arkansas, and nothing further has been heard from him.

CHARLES O. FULLER was a native of New York state, having been born there July 4, 1828. He came west, and for a time drove a stage for the Overland Stage Company from Missouri to New Mexico. In 1855 he established a ranch on Turkey creek, in what is now McPherson county, which was called Fuller's Rancho, or Big Turkey Rancho. These ranches for the accommodation of travelers were numerous along the Santa Fe trail, and were located by the government, the land being given to any one who would undertake to keep the place. In 1865 Fuller's was a celebrated stopping-place, for he employed two women—one to cook and the other to wait upon the table. These women, were French and were sisters; they married and settled in the locality. Mr. Fuller afterwards lived in Marion Center, and was a member of the legislature of 1868 from Marion county. He built the first hotel in Marion, a frame structure still in use, and also, in connection with Ira E. Moore, built and operated the first flour-mill in the county. In 1872 he traded his milling interests for a farm a few miles west of Florence, to which he moved with his family, and where he died August 2, 1879. He was married, while a resident of Missouri, to Martha J. Rice, who survived him about ten years.

WILLARD P. GAMBLE. See Session of 1861, page 248.

JOHN W. GARRETT, of Linn county, was born in Otsego county, New York, in 1809. He came to Kansas in 1857, and settled in Potosi township, Linn county. He died in Linn county July 4, 1872. He married Amanda Daniels, in Garrettsville, N. Y., in 1829; she died in 1852. In 1854 he married Rebecca Carpenter, of New York, and she died in Linn county February 29, 1878. He leaves two sons, John Garrett and Neal Garrett, living at Pleasanton. He served as postmaster at Potosi, and in 1868 built the first sawmill there.

GEORGE W. GLICK, of Atchison, ninth governor of Kansas, 1883-'84, member of the legislatures of 1863, 1864, 1865, 1867, 1868, 1875 and 1881. For extended sketch see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, page 395.

JOEL KISHLER GOODIN was born at Somerset, Perry county, Ohio, February 24, 1824. He was educated in the common schools and at Norwalk Seminary and the Columbus Academic and Collegiate Institute, afterwards studying law. He was admitted to the bar early in 1854, and came to Kansas, arriving June 30 of the same year, locating on the Wakarusa. He shared in all the privations and alarms of the Kansas pioneer; was a delegate to the Big Springs convention, to the Topeka constitutional convention, and to the Leavenworth constitutional convention. He was chief clerk of the Topeka house of representatives until that legislature was dispersed by Colonel Sumner. He was clerk of the free-state territorial council, 1858, and was appointed territorial printer. In 1866 he was elected to the house of representatives, and reelected in 1867. He helped to organize the State School for the Deaf and Dumb, at Olathe, and was a member of the board of trustees, 1867-'69. In 1858 he had begun to practice law in Douglas county, but shortly moved to Ottawa. He married, January 8, 1846, Elizabeth Christ, at Bucyrus, Ohio; she died at Cincinnati May 21, 1870. For his second wife he married Mrs. Catherine A. Coffin, *nee* Taylor, of Baldwin, whose father was one of the early presidents of Baker University. Mr. Goodin died December 9, 1894, at Ottawa.

DR. JOHN WILLIAM GOSSETT was born September 30, 1828, in Grant county, Kentucky, and moved to Illinois, where he married his first wife, Margaret Frazer. From Illinois he moved to Cass county, Missouri, and in 1861 to Paola, being driven from Missouri on account of his loyalty to the government. At Paola he continued the practice of his profession, in which he was very successful, and later took a course at the Kansas City Medical College, Kansas City, Mo. In 1867 he was elected to the house of representatives, serving one term. Doctor Gossett died at Paola, June 20, 1890. He was married three times.

JOEL GROVER was born in Springwater, Livingston county, New York, August 5, 1825, and was educated in Geneseo University. He later moved to Iowa; thence, in 1851, to California, where he remained but two years, when he returned to New York. Interested in the free-state cause, he joined what is known as the "second party," and arrived, September 9, 1854, at Lawrence, or "Wakarusa" as it was then called, and continuously resided there until his death, July 28, 1879. He bore his part in all the storms of that stormy period, proving his devotion to his principles by his deeds. He had command of a company in the Wakarusa war, was a member of the safety committee in 1856, and took part in the battles of Franklin, Fort Saunders, and Fort Titus. He was elected a member of the legislature of 1868, and reelected to that of 1869. October 13, 1857, he was married at Lawrence to Miss Emily J. Hunt.

JOHN GUTHRIE was born in Switzerland county, Indiana, July 2, 1829, and died July 1, 1906. He read law, and in 1857 was admitted to the bar and became a successful criminal lawyer. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted in company D, Forty-sixth Indiana infantry, and was commissioned its captain, serving until 1862, when broken health caused his discharge. He came to Kansas in May, 1865, locating at Topeka, where he lived until his death. He was a member of

the house of representatives in 1868, 1869 and 1870, being speaker *pro tem.* during the latter session. He was judge of the Third judicial district from 1885 to 1893, and in 1896 was appointed postmaster of Topeka, holding that office until a few months before he died, when he resigned. He was married at Logansport, Ind., to Miss Mary C. H. Updegraff, a native of Ohio. Judge Guthrie was for many years treasurer of the Kansas Historical Society, having been a leading member since its foundation. He was an easy writer, contributing many valuable articles to the *Agora Magazine* and other publications.

JAMES MANY HAGAMAN was born in Wayne county, New York, in July, 1830. He received a limited education, and later read law. He came to Cloud county July 8, 1860, settling on Elm creek, where he and his family endured many privations, suffering constant fear of Indian marauders and having many narrow escapes. In 1870 he became one of the incorporators of Concordia, where he afterward resided, and of which he was twice mayor. He represented Cloud county in the legislature of 1868. He was editor and joint publisher with his son of the *Cloud County Blade*, Concordia, from April 23, 1879, to February 9, 1900. Mr. Hagaman died at Concordia January 18, 1904.

REV. WILLIAM NELSON HAMBY, SR., of Anderson county, was born in Wilksborough, N. C., February 15, 1815. He died in Anderson county, September 27, 1888. He was educated in the common schools and seminary of his native county. He came to Kansas in 1859 and settled near Garnett. He served in the war with Mexico, in an Illinois regiment, and during the civil war was a member of company G, Seventh Kansas cavalry. He reenlisted as a veteran. He was a minister of the Methodist church for fifty years. He was married to Elizabeth Davidson, of Wilksborough, in 1837, who died in Illinois in 1851; and a second time married to Elizabeth Herinton, of Alma, Ill., in 1855.

CAPT. JOHN HAMILTON was born in Pennsylvania February 12, 1816. He was a soldier in the regular army and came to Kansas, a youth of nineteen, with the United States dragoons in 1835, ordered to Fort Leavenworth. In 1842, with seventeen men of the First dragoons, he acted as escort to the commission detailed by Gen. Zachary Taylor to select a site and establish a military post in Kansas. The party consisted of Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, of the First dragoons, Dr. Jacob Rhett Motte, assistant surgeon U. S. A., and Sergeant Hamilton and his command. They left Fort Wayne, Cherokee Nation, April 1, and arrived in the vicinity of the proposed establishment on the 8th. After selecting the ground Captain Moore and Doctor Motte returned to Fort Wayne, leaving Sergeant Hamilton and his party to erect temporary quarters at the new post of Fort Scott, work being commenced on the 9th of April, 1842. Sergeant Hamilton himself cut down the first tree. May 23 an additional force was sent him, making his command twenty-five men. On June 10 Captain Moore arrived with two companies of the First dragoons, and commanded the post until Maj. Wm. M. Graham, of the Sixth infantry, and his company arrived. Capt. Thomas Swords then took charge of the work, and Sergeant Hamilton was detailed quartermaster sergeant, serving under Captain Swords until appointed ordnance sergeant by the Secretary of War and ordered to Fort Jessup, La. After serving his term of enlistment in the army, Sergeant Hamilton returned to Fort Scott from Weston, Mo., in March, 1855, and took up his permanent residence there. During the border troubles he was made captain of the first company of militia, which was organized in January, 1859, and which saw some rough border service. In 1865 Captain Hamilton moved to Sheridan township, Crawford county, and was elected from that district to the legislature of 1868. The last record of him is as a resident of Independence, Kan., where he died February 26, 1876. He is buried in Mt. Hope cemetery, Independence.

W. H. HASTINGS was from Ohio, and settled in Leavenworth county in the spring of 1857. He was a man of push and energy. In the early '60's he went west.

THOMAS G. HEDLEY, member of the legislature of 1868, was an early settler of Anderson county, coming there and locating near Scipio in the spring of 1857. He was born in Franklin county, Indiana, July 24, 1818, and died in Garnett February 22, 1870. He held various county offices and was closely identified with the pioneer interests of the county, being an ardent free-state man. He married in 1848, and two sons survive him, John W. Hedley, of Chillicothe, Tex., and J. E. M. Hedley, of Hedley, Tex.

DR. RICHARD HEWITT was born about 1805, in New York state. He came to Wyandotte county from Missouri in 1845, as subagent for the Wyandot Indians, which position he held until 1849, when he returned to Missouri, locating in Jackson county. He was a strong pro-slavery man, but later came back to Kansas, where in 1867 he was elected to the legislature as a Democrat. Doctor Hewitt died in Shawnee township, Wyandotte county, in 1879.

WILLIAM HINTON was born in Bullitt county, Kentucky, in 1828. With his father he moved to Indiana in 1840, and in 1855 he came to Kansas, locating in Bourbon county on the Osage. He was a member of the legislature of 1868, and had prior to that time held various county offices. Mr. Hinton was first married in 1853, losing his wife in 1856. He married, for his second wife, a Mrs. Young, of Missouri.

JOHN HODGINS, member of the legislature of 1868 from Nemaha county, was born November 26, 1829, in Glens Falls, N. Y., where he was educated at Glens Falls Academy. He came to Kansas in the spring of 1860, settling on a piece of land four miles northeast of Centralia, and taught the first school in the town, riding in every morning. He was for thirty years a correspondent for the Department of Agriculture at Washington, furnishing valuable information in regard to grains, fruits, etc. A lover of nature and of his fellow man, he planted many trees, and at one time had every variety known to Kansas growing on his farm. He married at Glens Falls, April 9, 1856, Esther Jane Williams, who died at Centralia March 16, 1907. Mr. Hodgins passed from this life June 2, 1896.

SETH HOLLINGSWORTH was born in Ohio about 1826, and came to Kansas from Iowa in 1857, settling near Delaware. He was elected to the Legislature of 1868, serving one term. He afterward moved to Colorado, where he died.

REV. WILLIAM ROLLEN HUFFMAN, member of the legislature of 1868, was born in Butler county, Ohio, July 1, 1815. He moved with his family to Indiana at an early age, and from there to Illinois, where he began preaching in the United Brethren church in 1843. In 1850 he went to Iowa, and from there, in June, 1857, he came to Miami county, Kansas, locating first near "Old Marysville;" and in January, 1859, he moved into Miami township, where he was a local preacher in his church for many years. He was married in Indiana January, 1835, to Alice Davis, a native of North Carolina, who died in 1860, and in 1863 he married Mrs. Lucy E. Nichols. Mr. Huffman died September 21, 1900, at his home in New Lancaster.

EDWARD MUNSON HULETT, of Bourbon county, was born April 30, 1839, at Horseheads, Chemung county, New York. He died at Fort Scott, Kan., September 12, 1904. He graduated from Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., class of 1860, and came to Kansas in 1867 and settled at Fort Scott. He served in the house of representatives of 1868 and 1875. He was married to Theodocia Ward, by whom he had two children, Charles Edward Hulett, of Fort Scott, being the only survivor.

JAMES D. JAQUITH was born at Bellows Falls, Vt., October 30, 1821. In his childhood his family moved to New Hampshire, and thence to Illinois. He read law in Detroit, Mich., and was admitted to the bar in 1849, and began to practice at Paris, Ill. Here he married Miss Emily Gordon, and in 1856 moved to Plainview, Minn., where he was county attorney for three years. Mrs. Jaquith died in 1858, and April 7, 1860, he married Elizabeth S. Kepner. In 1865 he came to Kansas, locating in Lyon county, near Americus. He has twice represented his district in the legislature, 1867 and 1868. Has served as justice of the peace a number of years, and is now, in his eighty-seventh year, police judge of Americus.

EVAN JEFFERSON JENKINS, member of the senate of 1868 from Doniphan county, was born in Washington county, Ohio, May 1, 1832. A lawyer by profession, he settled at Troy, Kan., in 1859, and was elected district attorney for the second district in 1863, serving until 1865. He was a member of company C, Ninth Kansas militia, called into service to repel General Price, and was in the battle of the Little Blue, serving from October 12-27, 1864. He was elected a representative in 1867, reelected in 1868, and served in the senate two sessions, 1869-'70. He was appointed register of the Concordia land-office in August, 1870, holding that position until January, 1884. He is the author of *The Northern Tier*, which he published in 1880, one of the most delightful and readable of Kansas books. Mr. Jenkins married, in Platte county, Missouri, September 22, 1861, Miss Josephine Brown. He died at Concordia March 25, 1899.

RICHARD W. JENKINS was born in Meade county, Kentucky, January 31, 1831. He moved first to Illinois and then to Iowa, coming to Kansas from the latter state in 1859, and locating in Jefferson county. He then went into the territory of Colorado, where he engaged in mining, and at the outbreak of the civil war enlisted in the Second Colorado, and was commissioned captain for meritorious service. In the spring of 1866 Captain Jenkins returned to Kansas, settling in Pottawatomie county. He was elected to the legislature of 1867, and reelected to that of 1868. In 1868 he was commissioned major in the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry, and was with Custer in the expedition against the Kiowas and Comanches. In 1871 he was appointed commissioner of the Penitentiary, serving until 1874. He was president of the State Board of Agriculture from 1879 to 1885. He was associated with the Union Pacific railroad, being claim agent, from 1877 to 1899, when he resigned. For some years he has been living at Los Angeles, Cal.

CHARLES RANSFORD JENNISON was born in Jefferson county, New York, June 6, 1834. When he was twelve years of age he, with his family, moved to Wisconsin, and in 1857 he came to Kansas, settling at Osawatimie. He had been educated in the common schools, and later studied medicine, and began practice in Osawatimie. Remaining there only a short time, he moved to Mound City, and later to Leavenworth. He was a man of strong free-state feelings and became immediately involved in the border warfare. Governor Robinson commissioned him captain of the Mound City rifle guards, February 19, 1861, and September 4, 1861, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Kansas cavalry, where he served with distinction from October 28, 1861, to May 1, 1862. He was colonel of the Fifteenth Kansas from October 17, 1863, to June 23, 1865. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1866 and 1868, and of the senate in 1872, filling an unexpired term. He was married at Albany, Wis., February 26, 1854, to Mary Hopkins, who survives him. Colonel Jennison died at Leavenworth June 21, 1884.

JOHN BLOSSER JOHNSON was born January 21, 1842, in Fulton county, Illinois, and died at Topeka May 18, 1899. He enlisted in the Fifty-fifth Illinois infantry, and at the battle of Shiloh, 1862, was promoted for "meritorious services" to the rank of lieutenant. In 1863, on account of sickness, he resigned his commission. The following summer, having recovered, he raised a company and joined the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Illinois infantry. After the war he returned to Illinois, and finished his education at Prairie City Academy, and in September, 1865, came to Kansas, settling at Oskaloosa, Jefferson county, where he began the practice of law. He was elected to the legislature of 1868, reelected in 1869 and made speaker *pro tem*. In 1877 he moved to Topeka, continuing the practice of his profession. From Shawnee county he was elected to the house of 1881, and again elected to that of 1885, serving as speaker in both sessions. In 1891 he was made judge of the newly created circuit court of Shawnee county, holding the office until 1894, when he resigned to become special master for the federal court in the Santa Fe foreclosure proceedings. He was a brilliant lawyer and one of the most popular orators in Kansas.

D. M. JOHNSTON was a native of New York state, born about 1827. He came to Kansas from Wisconsin and located in Manhattan in the '60's. He represented Riley county in the legislature of 1868, and afterward moved to Topeka, where, in 1873, he was a salesman. He served for a short time as deputy internal revenue collector.

W. S. JOHNSON, of Atchison county, was born in Virginia in 1834. He was a farmer in Lancaster township. He removed from Atchison county in 1871 to Waterville, in Marshall county. Some time later he went to Colorado, where he died.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON KELLEY was born in Wood county, Ohio, May 12, 1836, and died at Burlington, Kan., July 24, 1897. He came to Kansas in 1858 and settled in Ottumwa, Coffey county, living there until 1888, when he moved to Burlington. He enlisted in the Fifth Kansas cavalry and served through the civil war; was commissioned captain of company B of that regiment. He was elected to the legislature of 1868, and to the senate of 1881-'83, was receiver of the Topeka land-office December, 1877, to September, 1878, and a member of the State Board of Charities in 1889. He was a member of Congress, succeeding Thomas Ryan when he was appointed minister to Mexico, and served from 1889 to 1891; was chairman of the Live-stock Sanitary Commission, 1885 to 1889, and regent of the Agricultural College, 1893 to the time of his death, at which time he was also president of the State Historical Society. See Kansas Historical Collections, volume 6, page 219, for a more extended biography.

WILLIAM LAMB, of Dickinson county, was born in Randolph county, North Carolina, December 28, 1806. He died at Junction City, Kan., June 6, 1891. He was educated in the common schools, and came to Kansas in June, 1856, settling near Big Springs, in Douglas county. He moved to Dickinson county, and upon the organization of the county was appointed county commissioner, in which position he served three terms. He was early impressed with the evils of slavery, and in 1856 was an ardent supporter of John C. Fremont. He married Jane Wilson at Hamilton, Ohio, December 25, 1828. His living children are John W. Lamb, Enterprise, Kan.; Alexander H. Lamb, Norwood, Mo.; Green R. Lamb, Enterprise, Kan.; W. H. Lamb, Lincoln, Neb.; Jane Taylor, Junction City, Kan., and C. W. Lamb, Kansas City, Mo.

VINCENT J. LANE was born January 7, 1828, at West Middletown, Pa. He was educated in the common schools and had the benefit of some collegiate study, and himself taught school for a time. He left Pennsylvania in 1852, and the following year located in Jennings county, Ind., where he did surveying and contracting on lines of railway between Fort Wayne, Ind., and Louisville, Ky. The Kansas fever caught him and he landed in Quindaro March 6, 1857. The following year he became connected with the *Quindaro Tribune*, and was also a justice of the peace in that township. He shortly moved to Wyandotte, and in 1860 was a delegate from that place to the railroad convention. He was a member of the firm of Parks, Lane & Co., who built twenty

miles of the Kansas Pacific railroad through Ellsworth county in 1867. He was early connected with the *Kansas City Times* in Wyandotte, and January 4, 1872, with F. G. Jackson, established the *Wyandotte Herald*, which still continues to hold first place among the Democratic weeklies of the state. He was a member of the legislatures of 1868 and 1870, and president of the State Historical Society in 1894, also for many years one of its directors. Mr. Lane married, in Paris, Ind., in 1855, Miss Sarah Robinson. Mr. Lane still lives at Kansas City, Kan.

SAMUEL DEXTER LECOMPTÉ was born in Maryland, December 13, 1814, and died in Kansas City, Mo., April 24, 1888. He was a prominent lawyer of Maryland, and had been a member of the Maryland legislature when, October 3, 1854, he was commissioned by President Pierce chief justice of the territorial court of Kansas, which office he held until March 9, 1859. Upon his retirement from the bench he located at Leavenworth and resumed the practice of his profession. He was a member of the house of representatives of 1867 and 1868. For more extended biographies see *Kansas Historical Collections*, vols. 7 and 8.

DE WITT C. LOCKE, member of the house of 1868, was born in Corinth, Orange county, Vermont, December 26, 1835, and came to Kansas in the spring of 1858, locating near Circleville, Jackson county (then Calhoun county), where he lived until 1866, when he removed to Franklin township. He married first, in Circleville, Margaret R. McComas, who died in 1873; and in 1875 he married Betty R. Lewis, daughter of N. D. Lewis, of Garfield township, who was among the first settlers of Jackson county. Mr. Locke died at Holton in 1892.

ED F. MILLARD represented Saline county in the house of representatives of 1868. He was born in Michigan about 1843. He was a merchant in Salina at the time of his election. Very soon after his term of service in the legislature expired he left Salina and his present whereabouts is unknown.

GEORGE W. MILLER, of South Cedar, Jackson county, was born in Kentucky in 1836. He came to Kansas during the war and settled in Cedar township, where he has since lived. He was a member of the legislature of 1868. Soon after coming to the state he married Miss Harris. Mr. Miller died at his home in Jackson county in 1907.

WILLIAM MITCHELL was born June 24, 1825, in Kilmarnock, Scotland, and while yet in his infancy was brought by his parents to the United States, where they settled at Middletown, Conn. He received his education in the schools of that town, and in 1849 went to California, thence, in 1853, to Australia, and in 1855 he returned to Connecticut by way of Great Britain, and joined the "Beecher Rifle Company," and with them came to Kansas in the spring of 1856. He was prominent in the history of that intrepid colony and in the border troubles of the state. He was one of the first commissioners of Wabaunsee county, and in 1867 was elected to the legislature. He married, March 31, 1868, Mary N. Chamberlain, of Middletown, Conn. Captain Mitchell died March 31, 1903, at his home in Wabaunsee.

RICHARD DANIEL MOBLEY was born June 24, 1833, in Graves county, Ky. He was educated at Aurora Academy, at Filiciana, Ky., and upon going to Texas followed the occupation of teacher. In 1855 he came to Kansas, locating at Reeder, near the present Solomon City, Dickinson county. He moved to Junction City in 1860, remaining there until 1864, and was clerk of the district court of Davis county during that period. In 1865 he moved to Ottawa county, but served for a short time as superintendent of public instruction and clerk of the district court of Saline county. In 1866 he was elected county attorney of Ottawa county, and the same year elected to the house of representatives, and was reelected in 1867 and again in 1874. He married Emma Dawson, at Topeka, December 24, 1868. Captain Mobley was killed in a railroad wreck near Grand Junction, Colo., about 1897.

HENRY CLAY MOORE, a member of the legislature of 1868, from Doniphan county, was born in 1829, in Kentucky. He came to Kansas in 1854, arriving in Doniphan county in July, and immediately located in Burr Oak township, being one of the earliest settlers there. He married Mrs. Denning in 1858, and their daughter was one of the first white children born in the township. Mr. Moore died December 1, 1886, aged fifty-seven years.

H. MILES MOORE. See Session of 1857-'58, page 212.

JOEL BURRIS MOORE, of Bourbon county, was born near Watsika, Iroquois county, Illinois, in 1838. He died in October, 1870, ten miles northwest of Fort Scott. He was educated in the common schools of Illinois, and came to Kansas in 1860, settling about seven miles northwest of Fort Scott. He married Margaret Blair in 1861, who also came to Kansas in 1860. He was a stone-mason and plasterer. He was a Methodist, and always interested in Sabbath-school work.

ALBERT G. PATRICK. See Session of 1857-'58, page 207.

JOHN LANG PHILBRICK was born September 21, 1825, at Freedom, then North Effingham, N. H. He served as a seaman on board the ship *Independence* in the coast service during the war with Mexico, and was the first man to carry the flag up Sacramento river in 1841. He returned to Boston in 1849, and in 1859 came west, locating at Doniphan in February, 1860. He served in the legislature of 1868 and at the close of the session was appointed warden of the State Penitentiary, holding that office until 1870. In 1884 he moved to Huron, Atchison county, and later to Wymore, Neb., where he died, July 8, 1894.

PRESTON BIERCE PLUMB was born in Delaware county, Ohio, and died in Washington, D. C., December 20, 1891. He came to Kansas in 1856, established the *Kansas News*, and was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, 1859. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1861; served in the legislatures of 1862, 1867, and 1868, being speaker in 1867. In August, 1862, he was mustered into the Eleventh Kansas infantry as a second lieutenant, promoted to captain, major and lieutenant-colonel. He was elected to the United States senate, succeeding James M. Harvey, in 1877, reelected in 1883 and 1888, and was in the third year of his third term when death took him.

MAGNESS HENRY RISTINE was born in Crawfordsville, Ind., June 9, 1823, and died in April, 1894, at Broughton, Clay county, Kansas. He removed from Indiana with his parents, settling in Iowa, and from there he first came to Kansas in 1859. He remained but a short time, returning to Iowa. In 1864 he came again to Kansas, locating on a farm near Clay Center. He was the first probate judge of Clay county. He was elected a member of the legislatures of 1868 and 1869. He married Nancy Jane Hemphill, of Wapello, Iowa, February 24, 1850.

J. P. ROBINSON, representative from Johnson county in 1868, came from Indiana, and settled in Douglas county, near Blue Mound. In 1866 he moved to De Soto, in Johnson county. No one in that settlement knows when he left or where he went.

PHILIP ROCKEFELLER, a member of the house of 1868, from Nemaha county, was born August 29, 1821, in Livingston, N. Y., and removed to Kansas in 1860 from Connecticut, locating at Sabetha. Upon the breaking out of the war he enlisted in company D, Eighth Kansas infantry, receiving promotions, until November 4, 1863, brought him a captain's commission. At the close of the war he returned to Nemaha county, settling at Albany, but in the spring of 1868 he moved to Washington county, taking a homestead adjoining the town of Washington, where he opened a general store. In 1870 he was elected senator from his new home, serving in the sessions of 1871 and 1872. In February, 1884, he went to Rawlins county where he purposed starting a cattle ranch, but in the fall of that year, October 21, he was suddenly stricken by the hand of death.

MATTHEW RYAN, born in Johnstown, Kilkenney county, Ireland, August 30, 1819, was a Kansas pioneer of 1857. His father, Michael Ryan, a merchant, brought his family to the United States in 1832, settling first in Maryland, and, later, in Cincinnati, Ohio, from which state Matt Ryan came to Kansas. He located in Leavenworth, establishing there the first packing-house, and doing a retail and wholesale business. He later became an extensive cattle dealer through the West, trailing cattle from Oregon and Washington to Wyoming, and established a large ranch on the Yellowstone in Montana. But his home he kept in Leavenworth until his death, June 20, 1893. He was elected to the legislature of 1868 from Leavenworth county.

CHARLES MAY SEARS was born November 26, 1829, at Port Leyden, N. Y., and died October 22, 1900, at Chillicothe, Ohio. He received a common-school education, and came to Kansas from Iowa in July, 1859, settling five miles southwest of Eudora. He was commissioned as captain of troop A, First regiment of Kansas militia, by Governor Robinson, November 26, 1862, and July 25, 1864, enlisted in company E, Seventeenth Kansas volunteer infantry. He commanded a squad of the Hesper militia company in pursuit of Quantrill after the Lawrence raid, and near Bull creek, while with the advance-guard, was wounded in the neck by a rifle-ball. He was elected to the legislature of 1868, and was of much use in shaping the justice of the peace code, having served as justice of the peace for six years. He was for one term a county commissioner of Douglas county. He left Kansas for Circleville, Ohio, in 1882, and went into the canning business there, and 1884 removed to Chillicothe, where he continued his business until his death. He began the canning business about 1873 at Eudora, Kan., with thirty-five acres of sweet corn, and it developed to such an extent that he had to seek a larger field. The business to-day is in the name of "The Sears & Nichols Company," Mr. F. M. Nichols being a son-in-law. The main plant is at Chillicothe, Ohio, with a second plant at a point in Michigan. To-day the company uses the product of 8000 acres of sweet corn, 4000 acres of peas, 3000 acres of tomatoes, 1000 acres of Lima beans, 3000 acres of other vegetables, 50,000 bushels of peaches, and other fruit in proportion. They own and operate a seed farm of 1000 acres near Northport, Mich.; they manufacture 150,000 tin cans a day for their own products, and they have 150 graded registered

Jersey cows, milked by machinery; the machines milk two cows at a time. Gen. William H. Sears, whose home is still at Lawrence, is a son of Charles May Sears, and is general attorney for the company. General Sears was in command of the Kansas National Guard from 1893 to 1896, and later private secretary to United States Senator William A. Harris.

ISAAC SHARP was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, May 5, 1832, received his education in the common schools, and later graduated from the State Normal School, when he read law with Thaddeus Stevens, and began practice in 1856. In 1857 he immigrated to Kansas, locating first in Wyandotte. The following spring he moved west, making his headquarters in what is now McPherson county, and in 1862 came into Morris county, settling at Council Grove, and resuming the practice of law. He represented his county in the legislature of 1868, and the same year went as a delegate to the Democratic national convention in New York city. He was married in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, December 28, 1854, to Emeline Armstrong. Mr. Sharp died in Washington, D. C., December 25, 1903.

B. F. SMALLEY, of Bourbon county, was born in Illinois June 27, 1832. He married Miss Anneline Milligan and moved to Texas. His Union sentiments made living there uncomfortable, and in 1861 he moved to Indiana. Here his wife died. In the fall of 1862 he married Miss Margaret Wilson and moved to Kansas, settling near Xenia, in Bourbon county. As a militiaman he was at the front of the Price raid from Kansas City to Fort Scott. In 1867 he was elected to the legislature of 1868. When the railroad reached the west line of Bourbon county he removed to Bronson and started a general store, which he conducted until fire destroyed all he had, without insurance. He was a member of the Baptist church. He died on his farm, near Xenia, in 1896, leaving a wife and daughter.

WILLIAM HILLARY SMALLWOOD, member of the legislature of 1868, from Wathena, Doniphan county, was born at Elizabethtown, Hardin county, Kentucky, February 12, 1841. He came to Kansas at an early date, settling on a claim near Wathena June 27, 1854. He was captain of company G, First regiment Kansas colored volunteers, enlisting March 9, 1863, and resigning his commission April 19, 1865, at Little Rock, Ark. He served as deputy United States marshal, 1868-'69, and was secretary of state two terms, 1871-'75. He was a man of some parts, contributing to the *Kansas Magazine* during the years 1872 and 1873. His last known residence was Duluth, Minn.

GEORGE W. SMITH, speaker of the house of representatives, 1868, was one of the early settlers of Lawrence and was closely identified with the free-state cause. He was a native of Pennsylvania, born about 1806, and dying at Lawrence October 28, 1878, at the age of seventy-two. He bore a prominent part in territorial affairs; was chairman of the Big Springs convention in September, 1855, and a member of the Topeka constitutional convention and the free-state executive committee. May 21, 1856, he, with Gaius Jenkins, Doctor Robinson and others, was arrested and confined in the Leocompton prison camp until September, charged with "high treason." He was the free-state governor elect under the Leocompton constitution, a member of the railroad convention of 1860, and a representative from Douglas county in the state legislature of 1866.

PERSON H. SMITH was born in Chautauqua county, New York, in the year 1828. He received a common-school education, and in 1854 came to Kansas, settling in Le Roy, Coffey county, where he established a general store. He was elected to the legislature of 1868, serving one term. In 1856 Mr. Smith was married to Miss Frances E. Ward. He died at Le Roy June 17, 1876.

JAMES DONALDSON SNODDY was born September 11, 1837, at the foot of South Mountain, White Deer valley, Lycoming county, Pennsylvania. He acquired a common-school education in Pennsylvania and Indiana, and prepared himself for college, graduating from the University of Michigan in 1859, and receiving his master's degree from that institution in 1867. He came to Kansas in February, 1861, locating at Mound City, Linn county. He enlisted in the Seventh Kansas cavalry and was made first lieutenant of company C, resigning in 1862. He was commissioned colonel of the Sixth regiment Kansas militia, June 13, 1864. April 1, 1864, he, with his brother, Maj. J. T. Snoddy, began the publication of the *Border Sentinel*, at Mound City, and upon the death of Major Snoddy, some weeks later, Colonel Snoddy took over the full management of the paper. In 1865 he had associated with him F. B. Smythe, and in August, 1866, the paper was purchased by Joel Moody. Colonel Snoddy was a member of the house of representatives for the years 1868, 1869, 1870, 1881, 1883, and the special session of 1884, and was speaker in 1883-'84. He was state senator in 1871-'72. He was married to Cornelia A. Baird March 15, 1865. Mrs. Snoddy died November 23, 1907, after a few hours' illness. Colonel Snoddy's home is at Pleasanton.

SQUIRE FELIX SNYDER was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, about 1811. He died in St. Louis, Mo., in 1903. He was an early settler in Kansas, coming into the territory from Clarinda, Iowa, in 1859, and locating on a farm in Washington county in 1860. He was a member of the house of representatives of 1868, serving one term, and held various county offices previous to that.

JAMES R. STEWART, member of the house of representatives of 1868 from Osage county, was born about 1830 in Pennsylvania, from which state he emigrated to Kansas, arriving in what is now Osage county in November, 1854. He enlisted in the Second Kansas May 14, 1861, as sergeant, and was mustered out with the regiment October 31, 1861. This was the original organization of three-months men.

GEORGE WALTON THOMPSON was born October 18, 1827, at Georgetown, Scott county, Kentucky. He acquired a common-school education, and in January, 1855, immigrated to Kansas, arriving at Leavenworth on the 14th of the month. He afterwards settled in Atchison county, which he represented in the legislatures of 1867, 1868, and 1869. He was first lieutenant of company A, Twelfth Kansas militia. On December 22, 1850, he married Rebecca A. Stigers, at Oakville, Mo.

EDWIN TUCKER was born in Newbury, Vt., December 23, 1837, was educated in the schools of his town and at St. Johnsbury Academy, and, after the removal of his family to Beloit, Wis., at Beloit College. He came to Kansas in May, 1857, and settled in Greenwood county and owned the land on which Eureka is now located. He was the first postmaster of the town, holding the office until 1867, and in 1862 was elected county superintendent of public instruction, and reelected for the succeeding term. He was a member of the house of representatives in the legislatures of 1867 and 1868, and a senator 1869-'70 and 1889-'91, and regent of the State Normal School 1871-'83. Mr. Tucker married, in August, 1863, Miss Amelia Willis, of Eureka. George E. Tucker, late state senator, is a son of Edwin Tucker.

HORACE TUCKER, of Douglas county, was born in Norwich, Conn., in 1823. He settled in Kansas in 1854. He died in Douglas county December 26, 1886. His widow lives in Scott county, Kansas.

THOMAS JEFFERSON VANDERSLICE was born at Georgetown, Scott county, Kentucky, November 10, 1827. He died March 18, 1902, at Perry, Okla. He was educated in the common schools, and married Sarah Jane Burchfield, June 5, 1851. Mr. Vanderslice enlisted in Captain Forbes's company of volunteers for the Mexican war, in Scott county, Kentucky, in 1846, when he was a mere boy, but this company was never called into active service in the field. He came to Kansas in the latter part of 1853, stopping at the Great Nemaha agency, where his father, Maj. Daniel Vanderslice, had just taken charge as agent of the Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, and Kickapoos, and served as farmer and miller for the Sacs and Foxes at the agency from 1854 to 1856. He was elected to the territorial legislature of 1860, and to the state legislature of 1868; twice elected sheriff of Doniphan county—1874 and 1876. He belonged to the Kansas militia during the civil war; was with the state troops that assisted in driving back Sterling Price when he threatened Kansas City in 1864; was a prominent Freemason; went to Oklahoma shortly before his death, after which he was brought back and buried by the side of his wife in the cemetery at Highland.

DR. JAMES L. WALLACE was born at Carlisle, N. C., November 11, 1812, son of William and Margaret Wallace, a descendant of Sir William Wallace. When nine years old his parents moved to Cape Girardeau, Mo. Being anxious for more of an education than could be obtained there, he and a brother, Harvey, graduated at South Hanover College, in Indiana, and graduated also from a medical institute at Louisville, Ky. Doctor Wallace married Sarah Jane Patterson, of Washington, Ind., and made their home at Hamburg, Ind., until they came to Kansas, in 1859. He was a Democrat, and represented Clark county in the Indiana legislature of 1856. In 1850 he made a trip to California. In 1859 he came to Kansas and bought a farm eight miles south of Leavenworth. Always keeping up his interest in politics, he was called to represent Leavenworth county in the legislature of 1868. He died April 10, 1869. Mrs. Mathew Weightman, of 1029 Topeka avenue, is a daughter of Doctor Wallace.

W. C. WATKINS was born in Claiborne county, Kentucky, in September, 1835. When seven years old the family moved to Whitney county, where they remained until he was fifteen years old. They then went to Taney county, Missouri, and from there to Page county, Illinois, and after remaining there three years moved to Adair county, Kentucky. In 1857 he moved to Wayne county, Iowa, and when the Rebellion began he enlisted in the Missouri state militia. He became a member of the Twelfth Missouri cavalry, serving until 1864, when he was badly wounded in the battle of Nashville. He settled in Labette county, Kansas, in 1865. He was president of a soldiers' club, a self-constituted court in those days for the adjustment of land troubles. He was elected a member of the legislature of 1868. He lived in various places in Texas and the In-

dian Territory until 1877, when he returned to Elgin, Kan. In 1882 he moved to Arizona, where he died in 1891. He was a self-made man, learning to read by the light of a pine knot. He owned a ranch and a herd of cattle near Medicine Lodge which he sold for \$105,000.

WILLIAM E. WEBB, representing Ellis county in the legislature of 1868, was born in New York about 1839. He came to Kansas with a party from St. Louis in the latter part of 1866, and purchased land out about Fort Hays, returning east very soon thereafter. In 1867 he returned and surveyed and platted a town site, giving it the name of Hays City. This town had a remarkable growth, having in less than a year over 1000 population. Mr. Webb is the author of the volume *Buffalo Land*, and several articles in the *Kansas Magazine*. He died in Chicago.

HARLAN PYLE WELSH was born at Roscoe, Coshocton county, Ohio, July 26, 1834, and came to Kansas from Centerville, Iowa, in 1858, settling at Minnecola, Franklin county. He was appointed the first district clerk of that county, but held the office only a short time, resigning to follow the practice of law. In 1863 he was made journal clerk of the house of representatives, and again in 1864. In 1865 he was elected county attorney of Franklin county, serving two years, and in 1868 was a member of the house of representatives, and again elected in 1871. He served as mayor of Ottawa, 1869-'70. His later years were devoted to the practice of law. He died February 14, 1902. Mr. Welsh was first married, in 1855, to Mary Shaw, who died in 1870; and in 1871 he married Mrs. Isadora A. Crawford, who survives him.

BOAZ WILLARD WILLIAMS was born at Salem, Forsyth county, North Carolina, in October, 1817. He was the son of James Williams and Julia Willard. Both parents belonged to the Society of Friends. They moved to Danville, Ill., and entered government land adjoining the town site. Mr. Williams's ancestors came from Wales. Owing to the early death of his parents he received a limited education. He became a merchant at Danville. In 1856 he removed to Chariton, Iowa, and, in 1858, changed to Kansas, settling in Leavenworth and thence to Atchison, remaining in the latter place engaged in merchandising until 1869. He was a candidate for the territorial legislature of 1860, but was beaten. He represented Atchison in the legislature of 1864 and again in 1868. In 1869 he removed to Washington county, where he continued in general merchandising. He made several trips across the plains to Santa Fe and Denver in the early days. He represented the counties of Marshall and Washington in the state senate of 1875 and 1876. He was one of the active promoters and directors of the Central Branch railroad, and was mainly instrumental in extending the line west from Waterville, and in building the branch to Washington. He was originally a Whig, but early became a Republican. His first wife was a sister of James A. Cravens, a member of Congress from Indiana. She died August 3, 1855, leaving one child. He was married a second time, to Miss Lucinda J. Gish, April 17, 1856, by whom he had four children. Mr. Williams died in 1880. Mrs. George G. Hill, of Concordia, is the only surviving child of the second marriage.

HENRY H. WILLIAMS was born in Hudson, N. Y., September 28, 1828. He came to Kansas in the spring of 1855, and was the third settler on Pottawatomie creek, Anderson county, where he became closely associated with the Browns and other free-state men. He was sent as a delegate to the Big Springs convention, September, 1855, and marched to the defense of Lawrence in December of that year, and upon the organization of the "Pottawatomie Rifles" he was made second lieutenant. He was a member of the house of representatives elected under the Topeka constitution, and walked to Topeka, sixty-five miles, to take his seat. He suffered many indignities at the hands of the pro-slavery people, being one of the free-state prisoners at Leecompton with Robinson, Jenkins and others. He was sheriff of Miami county in 1857, and reelected in 1859, serving until his enlistment in the Third Kansas regiment, of which he was major. At the close of the war Major Williams went to Kansas City, where he was appointed sheriff of Jackson county, but in April, 1867, returned to Kansas, settling at Osawatimie. He was elected to the legislatures of 1868, 1869 and 1870, was appointed one of the railroad assessors March 24, 1871, and served on the state-house commission from 1879 to 1883, and from 1886 to 1887. Major Williams married Mary A. Carr, at Osawatimie, February 23, 1858. He died in San Diego, Cal., March 28, 1906.

JOHN K. WRIGHT was born in Wayne county, Indiana, December 29, 1834. He was educated in the district schools of his locality until, upon the death of his mother, he left home. With varied employment he drifted west, and the outbreak of the civil war found him in Colorado, where he enlisted in the Second Colorado infantry. He afterward was commissioned captain in the Sixteenth Kansas. At the close of the war he settled in Junction City, where he lived until his death, January 14, 1904. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1868, 1870 and 1876, and of the senate in 1889-'91. He also served as relief agent in 1869, having been appointed by Governor Harvey to purchase and distribute seed wheat. Captain Wright married in Junction City November 27, 1866, Mrs. Sarah F. Thoman, a daughter of Reuben Emick, of that city. He was a contractor and built one thousand miles of railroad in Kansas.

GEORGE W. ZINN. See Session of 1857-'58, page 216.

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF JAMES HUMPHREY.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by GEO. W. MARTIN, Secretary.

THE history of Kansas abounds to an unusual extent in the personality of individuals. All classes have contributed to make our history—practically all now living, as well as many who have gone before, having been witnesses of all passing events and of the development of present conditions, where nothing beyond nature existed twenty, forty or fifty years ago. They have built houses, opened farms, planted trees, made roads, and brought into being countless other things which did not exist before, until the face of nature has been changed. Some, of course, have done more than others—they have built schools and churches, and have given of their capabilities and good purposes to the establishment of order and stable government. Others have constructed and led in a variety of ways in the development of policies affecting the public welfare until we have a great and prosperous commonwealth, the units of which are a happy and contented people.

This distinctness of the individual comes of course from the fact that we have been engaged in opening a new country, and as we recede from the beginning the work of the pioneer becomes more marked in the comfort which his or her brain, activity and sacrifices have brought to others. But duty is never done. The pioneers were years in laying the foundation, and there will be need for all time for the same spirit which they exhibited in preserving and expanding the temple.

But there were degrees among our pioneers. Some were more useful than others. Some had capabilities that others did not have. As in the development of all new countries, thousands were industrious and faithful to every duty, but of no use in leadership. Strong-minded men of nerve and foresight were always needed. The responsibility placed upon a few in each neighborhood in establishing order was occasionally tremendous. In the beginning civil authority was sometimes weak, but its strength came with years of growth and an occasional summary but irregular judgment upon the part of the neighbors. The political troubles foisted upon this region by the sin of the nation will cause the pioneers of Kansas to be considered exceptional for all time. In addition to the experiences of all pioneers, from the Atlantic coast westward, they had to meet an awful bitterness and carnage.

Those who were in Kansas at the beginning are to-day exceedingly few. It is now fifty-four years since the territory was created, when our troubles began. Many came, of course, with the primary object of making a home, while others came with the additional purpose of fighting a battle for a principle. With the rush of people came some that were characterless, attracted by the excitement. It would not take over three figures to enumerate all now in the state who came here in 1854; and of the active leaders or business men of the territorial period but few remain. The subject of this sketch came to the territory in 1857, and lived here full fifty years to see the results and enjoy to the last minute of active duty the spirit which moved him in all lines of constructive leadership and usefulness.

James Humphrey was born in Pleasley, Nottinghamshire, England, March 8, 1833. His father, John Humphrey, was one of four brothers who had inherited some land, which they cultivated, although they lived in the village. They owned some hand hosiery-knitting machines, and employed men to run them. The application of steam machinery to the manufacture of hose ruined their business, and made it necessary for them to seek other avenues of employment, thus placing them in less prosperous circumstances than the family had been for generations. This occurred during the boyhood of Mr. Humphrey, and somewhat limited his opportunities for education. But he was born with a fondness for books and an order of mind which took in knowledge intuitively. He exhausted the village libraries and the village schools, and at the age of twenty-one was fully prepared to enter King's College, London. But about this time, after reading the biographies of eminent Americans, he resolved to emigrate to the United States. In 1854 he reached Newport, R. I., and from there went to Fall River, Mass., where he remained until the spring of 1857. He was easily caught by the free-soil agitation then on concerning Kansas, and notwithstanding the various organizations and companies in Massachusetts interested in Kansas, he came to the territory alone and of his own motion. He reached Manhattan in April, 1857, and until his demise, at Topeka September 18, 1907, the public and social record of central Kansas is identical with that of James Humphrey.

The colony then at Manhattan gave him a most cordial welcome, and he was promptly taken into their councils. He had some savings, and being always industrious, he invested in a brick-yard, but owing to the failure of a partner, whose contribution was to have been a knowledge of the methods of brick-making, the scheme did not materialize. He promptly set about whatever his hands could find to do. He helped dig a number of wells in the vicinity; carried the hod some days, cooked in a lumber camp, and all the time preparing himself for something better, looking to the interests of his friends and the community as well as for himself. He thus commanded the unlimited respect of the colony, whose boast it was that they included more college graduates in their number than any other company of settlers.

Humphrey's adaptability to public duties soon became known. It was verily then a case of the office seeking the man. George W. Higinbotham, a pioneer of those days, who closed a life of usefulness and prominence in Kansas in 1899, was beseeched to take the place of sheriff of Riley county, but before accepting he induced Mr. Humphrey to agree to perform the duties for him. It was not then a place of elegant quarters in a fine stone court-house, serving papers on civil and polished gentlemen; rather, he had to deal with those who took liberties with government property, who believed in the common ownership of horses, and who were at home on the road or in the brush. Most vigorously did he perform the duties, several times delivering desperate fellows to the authorities at Fort Riley without the use of arms or other demonstrations of force. In those days he also served a term as mayor of Manhattan. In 1859 and 1860 Dr. Amory Hunting was county treasurer of Riley county, and Mr. Humphrey performed the duties for him, succeeding to the office in his own right for the years 1861 and 1862.

In the fall of 1861 James Humphrey was married to Mary Vance, of Cincinnati, Ohio. Miss Vance was born in Springfield, Ohio, but her parents moved to Cincinnati when she was a child. She was educated there, in the

Wesleyan College. Mrs. Humphrey has always been very active in educational, literary, and club circles. She has been president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and president of the Woman's Kansas Day Club, a patriotic organization.

During the early days Judge Humphrey was also elected and served as a justice of the peace. His first case was of some importance, with an array of lawyers on each side. At its close he was asked where he had studied law, so impressed were the lawyers with his management of the case. He assured them he had never turned his attention to the study of the law, but had only general knowledge to rely on. With one accord they assured him that he ought to study law—that he had a clear legal mind. This so aroused him that he began to give all his leisure time to the law. In England he had studied some theology, and in New England he had begun the study of medicine, but neither appealed to him as did the law. In 1863 he was admitted to the bar, and began practice with cases sufficient to keep him busy during the entire term of court.

His literary ability and general knowledge led him also into the newspaper business. He was employed in 1860 by C. F. De Vivaldi to assist in editing the *Manhattan Express*. Soon Vivaldi was made a consul to Brazil, and the full control of the paper fell to Humphrey. In those days the local paper missed no one—everybody read every line of it. There were then no great dailies, with a small library thrown in each Sunday. There has been no equal newspaper opportunity since for giving notoriety or reputation to the editor, and certainly no chance afforded like those days for testing the nerve or the metal in the make-up of the editor. There were many tricks to beat the law, so the duties of the sheriff were regarded as perfunctory, but when the same young man with a newspaper began to arouse the conscience of the public it was something serious.

In the scope of country included in the border counties of Missouri and westward to the Rocky Mountains, during the civil war, the devil was surely loose and getting in his work. Legitimate war conducted by authority was bad enough, but marauding gangs of thieves harassing the homes and property of everybody was much worse. Nearly every locality in Kansas during the civil war had trouble with those who had no regard for the property rights of others. Somehow the toughest sort of a crowd had settled in and about Manhattan. We never ride by on the train without thinking of a bunch of those roughs who once ornamented some of the trees on the east side of the Blue. James Humphrey, as editor of the *Manhattan Express*, was equal to the occasion, and did not hesitate to denounce the gang. "Civilized warfare," he declared, "did not recognize the despoiling of individuals or of homes. Such a course was unjustifiable, even if confined to the enemy, and, if continued, must result in such complete demoralization as to prevent any discrimination of persons; and friends or enemies would alike be considered lawful prey." The gang was then ostensibly stealing from Missouri—punishing the enemy—but later the editor obtained proof that they had stolen horses from Union men in Johnson county, Kansas, and when proof was produced, Humphrey's life was pronounced the penalty, and the result was one of the most startling and romantic incidents in all Kansas history. A writer in the *Club Member* tells the story thus:

"The editor, who was also a justice of the peace, issued warrants for

the arrest of the ringleaders, but proved his altruism by giving material aid and comfort to one who had returned wounded, sick, and in want.

"It was this act of compassion to which he afterwards owed his life. Seated in his home one dark, cold night, with bright fire and light and books and newspapers, and bride, full of happiness and hopefulness, but for the interposing hand of that man there might have been a tragedy to end this story.

"Suddenly upon the quiet scene there came a crash of a bullet through the window, the sound of an oath of rage and disappointment, of footsteps receding rapidly, and then all was quiet.

"The young couple found themselves standing, startled, amazed, confounded, and then thanking God for safety.

"Long afterward, when an early morning raid of the vigilance committee to the den of the gang had resulted in the shooting of one and the capture of fifteen, who were lodged in Fort Riley for safe-keeping; when others had been taken and dealt with by Judge Lynch; when the quiet little community had resolutely purged itself of lawlessness, and law and order were finally established, the editor learned the true secret of the bullet that failed of its mark.

"Sandy swore he would kill you, and compelled me to go with him and see the fun,' said a quiet man to him one day. 'It was a purty picter you made that night. It only angered Sandy, but it touched me. I thought of all you had done for me and my family, and how my wife said you was right. All this in an instant, for you sat in full view, and Sandy took straight aim at your head.' His hand was on the trigger; quick as a flash I jogged his elbow, and struck out on a dead run for dear life. It was dark as pitch, and Sandy was mad, consequence he stumbled and fell, and I live to tell the tale. You saved me from a life of sin, and I gave you your life in return—guess we're even. Shake.'"

By this time the federal authorities were aroused, and this irresponsible method of suppressing the rebellion ceased.

The years following the close of the war were characterized by business activity, a large immigration coming into the state, and Mr. Humphrey was occupied in building up a law practice. He, however, was not entirely absorbed in himself, but was watchful of public interests and the right use of public advantages.

He early recognized the signs of restlessness about the future of the Agricultural College. December 14, 1867, he published in the *Junction City Union* a column communication concerning the school, opening a controversy which raged with much violence until 1873, when it culminated in a reorganization of the school nearer to the purposes of the act of Congress establishing agricultural colleges. Here are a few sentences from his article published at that time:

"It is quite evident that schools of science rather than classical colleges were intended to be established. The investigation of natural phenomena—the laws of nature—the teaching of mathematical and physical sciences and their practical relations and bearings to the agricultural and mechanic arts were to constitute the leading objects of these institutions. While classical studies *may* be pursued, those branches of learning *must* be taught. The industrial interests of this state deserve the fostering care of such a school as was contemplated by the act of Congress."

Thus encouraged by a resident of Manhattan, the newspaper editorially asserted:

"It is high time the public should take hold of the matter, and by their interest or by their power place the State Agricultural College on a purely agricultural footing."

In the spring of 1867 Gov. Samuel J. Crawford appointed Mr. Humphrey judge of the eighth judicial district, composed of Clay, Cloud, Geary, Dickinson, Ottawa, Riley and Saline counties. In the fall he was elected by a majority of 1218 in a total vote of 1911. The contest was non-partizan. He was then living at Manhattan.

He served as judge until 1870, when he resigned to enter the law practice in partnership with James R. McClure, of Junction City. May 1 of that year he changed his residence to Junction City. The practice was more lucrative and furnished more scope for his tireless energy. For thirteen years he was associated with Captain McClure, and favored always with great success. During these years of continuous practice, when not interrupted by calls to public position, there was scarcely a case of any importance in the eighth district, either civil or criminal, in which he was not engaged. He attended all courts as regularly as did the judge on the bench. When the Texas cattlemen were at Abilene he had great practice among them, and he was also always engaged in many cases for and against eastern landowners. He seldom lost a case, which was partly because he would not accept one that had no merit in it.

In 1882 there was a revolt among Republicans, and a Democratic governor, with a Republican state ticket, was elected. The state had always been so firmly Republican that no Democrat had the temerity to expect anything. At the Democratic state convention of that year, which met at Emporia, Judge John Martin was unanimously nominated for governor, but because of some difference about a resubmission plank peremptorily declined. This threw the body into much confusion. For two hours the telegraph was at work searching for James Humphrey. He was in northwest Kansas somewhere trying a lawsuit, and could not be reached. Had he been at home he would have been elected governor of Kansas. George W. Glick was named and elected. Humphrey was a good-natured and obliging man, and would no doubt have done the sacrificial act, which was about all a Democratic candidate considered a nomination to be in those days.

But a more congenial job awaited him; one affording a better opportunity for his constructive genius, and from which greater usefulness to the people and the state might follow. The legislature of 1883, after years of contest, established a State Board of Railroad Commissioners. March 31, 1883, James Humphrey was elected the Democratic member of this Board by the Executive Council, for the term of two years. March 23, 1885, he was re-elected for the term of three years. March 28, 1888, he was again elected for three years. After eight years' continuous service he was retired, and March 26, 1891, W. M. Mitchell was elected to succeed him.

In the *Cosmopolitan* for January, 1892, pages 337-342, is an article written by Albert R. Greene, entitled "The Kansas Railroad Commission." Mr. Greene was a member of the Railroad Commission and served six years, three years before the retirement of Judge Humphrey. Mr. Greene makes a statement of railroad troubles leading up to the creation of the Commission, as well as the results of its labors, of absorbing historical interest. He says: "The history of the Kansas Railroad Commission, together with the attempts at state control of railroads for several years antedating its creation, and the substantial results attained, form an important chapter in the annals of railroading west of the Missouri river, and one that cannot fail

to interest the student of modern transportation methods and the problems they involve."

Discussing causes for some legislative supervision, he said:

"Foremost among these may be mentioned excessive charges, domineering disposition of railroad officials, unnecessary delay in adjusting claims for damages and overcharges, officious interference in politics, and, lastly, a natural reaction from an overgenerous treatment of the railroads in the beginning. . . . It is only a few years since it cost more to transport a barrel of sugar from the Missouri river to the interior of Kansas than it now costs to carry it from San Francisco to that river. And it is a still shorter period since it cost more to ship grain from the interior of Kansas to the Missouri river than it now costs to ship it from the Missouri river to Liverpool. The rates were not made on the basis of cost, but on the basis of competition with stage fare and wagon haul. It was not whether ten cents a mile was a reasonable rate for passage, but whether such a rate would safely compete with the stage and the steamboat."

The fight for regulation, including the campaigns and legislative sessions of 1876-'77, 1878-'79, 1880-'81, and the final success in the creation of the Commission in 1882-'83 is fully up, as told by Mr. Greene, in spectacular display to the average Kansas historical incident. The scene changes so rapidly with us to-day that the story of that fight seems but a dream. The first round in the contest, in the legislature of 1877, ended thus:

"When it came up for final consideration the enemies of the railroad legislation, seeing its passage to be a foregone conclusion, unless a vote could be prevented at that time, created such an uproar that the presiding officer availed himself of his parliamentary prerogative and declared the house adjourned. It was near the close of the session, and the bill was never heard of afterwards."

Verily Kansas history has always been unique—different from any other. But the end came, and when Mr. Greene wrote there had been eight years of the Commission, and the following final review is made by him:

"In a word, the Commission has always enjoyed, to a large extent, the confidence of both the people and the railroads, and its work, embodied in its annual reports to the governor, stands in the realm of railroad jurisprudence unchallenged from any official or reputable source.

"This result, it is proper to state, has been largely due to the ability, indefatigable labor, and general fitness for the position, of Judge James Humphrey, whose retirement, after a continuous service of eight years, is universally regretted by the people of Kansas."

But how did the Commission start off? The eight or nine years of warfare shows that the amicable condition was not easily obtained. The record of those years constitute a public chapter, and they are referred to in this instance only to show the responsibility devolving upon the subject of this sketch, and his masterful effort in meeting it. A bitter newspaper fight resulted, and the leading railroad manager was relieved and sent out of the state, his conduct being in line with the spirit Mr. Greene portrays. In a letter dated February 8, 1884, Mr. Humphrey, for the Board, writes, and only sufficient is reproduced to show the feeling existing:

"We are in receipt of your extraordinary letters of January 31, which were evidently intended for the public eye rather than for the Board of Railroad Commissioners. Were it not for the fact that you apparently seek further information from this quarter, the propriety of our giving them any notice would not be entirely clear. We shall pass over certain imputations upon the integrity of the proceedings of the Board with the simple remark that they possess the sole merit of being false and were intended to be in-

solent. We can well afford to receive aspersions from you without being incited to unkind feelings.

"You possess the ability to be vague when it would be dangerous to be explicit; and the members of this Board have seldom had the good fortune to meet you in the latter mood. In these letters, however, you have not altogether succeeded in surrounding yourself with an atmosphere of absolute mystery, and we may be able to catch your general drift. It is due to you, and especially to those who have entrusted their interests to your keeping, that we address you without guile or concealment.

"In your returns to us you have made no report of the earnings and expenses of these auxiliary lines, but they are all merged in the report of the Atchison company, so that we have no means of testing the value of this statement that these parts of your system, or any of them, have been operated at a loss. We do not wish to be understood as intimating that your statement is untrue, but that we don't accept conclusions for facts.

"But if at a loss, at whose loss? And what kind of a loss? At these points you fail to be explicit. The stockholders of your company have never had to reach their hands into their pockets to pay one dollar of any loss sustained in operating any auxiliary line belonging to your system. But, instead of that, over and above any loss, you have from year to year divided among the stockholders millions of dollars out of the surplus earnings, and still had a surplus with which you have bought hotels, extensive coal-fields in Kansas and Colorado, built new railroads and bought great quantities of additional rolling-stock, thus adding immensely to the wealth of your company without the expenditure of a single dollar by its stockholders. You report to us over two million dollars spent in additional construction and rolling-stock the last year, and every dollar of this, together with the accumulated millions which you have been able to place to income account on your books, has been gathered from the industries of the people by what you are pleased to call 'reasonable rates.'

"Let us call your attention to another thing. These auxiliary lines have not been built by money furnished by the stockholders of your company. They have been built by local aid, by money gathered from the people through 'reasonable rates,' and from the money derived from the sale of bonds, for the payment of which these lines have been pledged; not one dime of which the stockholders of your company are liable for or will ever pay. But the last farthing of this debt, with every dollar of interest, will have to be paid by the people, who can never derive a cent from the investment. These roads are an absolute gift to the stockholders from the toiling masses, from which you are gleaming vast revenues, and still you are clamoring for millions more."

Humphrey then discusses the stock issues of the company, how much real money the stockholders put into the property, how much was raised by bonds, and the local aid given, and further on says:

"You then add, 'how can your honorable Board in justice and reason make a lower tariff without forcing us to apply to the court for protection?' You have a right to apply to the courts, and we have already shown how much you need protection. But we haven't shown it all, and we shall take great pleasure in assisting you in showing the courts how unreasonable we have been, by instituting an investigation of the history and character of your stock transactions. We will proceed to ascertain what part of your stock is *bona fide*, and what part is illegal and bogus. We have no doubt that you will perform an unintended public service by inviting such an investigation."

This was not an official publication, but a newspaper controversy, and enough has been quoted to show the bitterness then prevailing on the subject. But chaos was finally overcome, and order and good service prevailed, as stated by Mr. Greene. And the end also came to James Humphrey's

service in this capacity. The *Topeka Capital*, of March 26, 1891, is authority for the statement that "Judge Humphrey made no effort to secure a re-election, and in fact has never at any time in the eight years he has held the office asked any one to support him." Editorially, the *Capital* further said:

"No one knowing Judge Humphrey, the outgoing commissioner, can say a word derogatory to the man or his eight years' work on the Board, and it is well known that he enjoys the personal esteem and friendship of every member of the council. For some time, however, it has been realized that at least one member of the Board shall be thoroughly and practically conversant with the track, transportation, and construction of railroads.

"He is a Democrat by conviction, a gentleman whose political principles and whose conduct on the Board, which now suffers the loss of his service, are beyond the breath of suspicion. If Mr. Mitchell proves as worthy a commissioner as Judge Humphrey he will be a credit to the state and an honor to his party."

His successor served two years, and then was engulfed. But the clamor of the boys on the section and the engine-wipers for representation on the board, in view of Humphrey's keen and vigorous discussion of rates, stock and bond issues with the president, is one of the most delightful and refreshing instances of humor in the politics and history of the state.

The writer, representing Kansas City, Kan., Board of Trade at the time, attended the session of the legislature of 1891, in the interest of the first grain-inspection law ever passed in the state. The Populists were then in power, and they held a bitter antagonism to the creation of any more offices or boards. The bill was prepared to avoid this by creating a dual authority, conferring power on local boards of trade, together with an inspector representing the state. There was much objection to this feature in the Republican senate, and finally a leading senator remarked: "I think James Humphrey the best lawyer in Kansas, and if he says that will work we will put it through." I called at the commissioners' office, and James Humphrey, George T. Anthony, and Albert R. Greene spent the forenoon reading and criticizing the bill. Humphrey gave a written opinion that it would work. It was passed, and it did work to a charm—until politics crept in and grain inspectors who had done patriotic service about election time were set to work.

Judge Humphrey immediately resumed his law practice, and was soon vigorously at work as the attorney for the Wholesale Grocers' Association, the salt men at Hutchinson, and for Hoffman & Son at Enterprise, in cases involving rates. But his neighbors, in a non-partizan movement, insisted upon further service on the bench, and so at the election of 1891 he was elected judge of the eighth judicial district, then composed of the counties of Dickinson, Geary and Morris, by a majority of 638 in a total vote of 8758. In 1895 the passion following the Populist movement resulted in party lines being drawn, and so there was a Republican and a Populist candidate for judge. On the 31st of August, 1895, a non-partizan convention nominated Humphrey for another term. On the 22d of September, his son, Spencer Humphrey, a passenger conductor on the Union Pacific, was crushed to death between two cars at Lawrence. On the 30th of September a Republican convention met and nominated O. L. Moore, of Abilene, while the Populists placed on their ticket J. H. Mahan, also of Abilene. On the 11th of October, 1895, James Humphrey published the following:

"The undersigned desires to advise those who have kindly lent their aid

and support to his nomination for reelection for judge of this district that he has felt constrained to withdraw.

"The earnest desire of very many Republicans to have a party candidate, and which resulted in the nomination of Mr. Moore, necessarily divides the Republican vote of the district. I have felt great reluctance to becoming or remaining the occasion of dissension and division among the adherents of the same political party.

"I am, on account of a recent affliction, unable to actively participate in such a canvass, and for other reasons it is deemed by some of my friends, as well as myself, advisable to withdraw. To all my supporters I tender my grateful acknowledgment."

He was always a busy man, but always found time to interest himself in and to give aid to all local or general movements essential to social, local or public comfort or advancement. In 1894 he delivered twenty lectures before the law department of the State University on constitutional law. From 1892 to 1896 he appeared many times in addition on the general subject of equity. When occasion called for it he used the keenest sort of a pen, but oftentimes he discussed matters of public interest, freely and pleasantly, and to the instruction of the people. When not at work he was absorbed in a book. He was a student—a patient, painstaking investigator. There was no idea of pelf in his make-up; he was always prosperous and had a competence, but the sordid and the grasping was far from him. When acting as county treasurer he had abundant opportunity to buy great quantities of land for taxes, but so rigid were his notions of propriety that he would not thus take advantage of his position. He was interested in the Universalist church, was a trustee, and frequently talked of a Sabbath evening to the people. He was George Smith's legal adviser, and he it was who drew the will which left the legacy for library purposes, now the pride of Junction City, and the city authorities made him president of the board which carried out Mr. Smith's purpose so handsomely. He was a candidate for railroad commissioner on the Democratic ticket in 1906.

Judge Humphrey was originally a free-soiler, but early after statehood he became identified with the opposition, or the Democrats, and when he quit the judgeship he sympathized with Republicans on the sound money issue. He was regent of the State University from 1883 to 1885, and his loyalty to that institution and to the state is borne out by the fact that four of his five children graduated there. Referring to his ability to write, could anything be handsomer in diction or loftier in sentiment than the following from his letter of acceptance of the nomination for judge in 1891?

"It is therefore in every way fit and appropriate that in selecting from among the body of citizens of the district some one to whose hands shall be committed the solemn functions of public justice, the ordinary forms and practices of party warfare should be laid aside, and that the resulting election shall create no claims or obligations upon the incumbent of that office in favor of any party or individual. This is especially true of an elective judiciary. The law hath 'her seat in the bosom of God, her voice is the harmony of the world, and all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the weakest as feeling her care, and the strongest as not being exempted from her power.' The most efficient and faithful service in that office should ordinarily be expected where the incumbent is made to realize that the tenure of his office depends not upon the pleasure of a dominant party or clique, but upon the approval of the people."

In 1896 the Judge concluded to settle in Sedalia, Mo., and about the 1st of August his family made the change. They remained there until March 29, 1899, when they returned to Junction City, and settled for the remainder

of their days in the home they had built in 1870. An idea had seized some people, including many Kansans, that the capital of Missouri could be removed from Jefferson City to Sedalia, and for a couple of years a great campaign was made to this end. But the movement failed and the taxpayers of that state concluded to remain at Jefferson City, and to do some handsome building there.

The oldest son, Herbert J. Humphrey, a very bright and promising young lawyer, died August 8, 1890, and, as before stated, another son, Spencer, died in a railroad accident in 1895, the two daughters, Eleanor and Adelia were away at Butte, Mont., engaged in school work, and a third son, James V., was in a home with a family of his own, and so the old folks were lonesome enough to readily respond to another call of public service in 1907, to remove to Topeka.

The tax system of Kansas had been working very unsatisfactorily for many years. The law from the first required that property should be assessed at its full value, but in practice it was usually assessed at a third or a fourth, with millions and millions of dollars' worth of property escaping taxation entirely, resulting in a tax-roll of \$436,454,948 for the year 1907, and a levy ranging generally from five to six dollars on the \$100 valuation.¹ Various attempts to correct the business finally resulted in a new law passed by the legislature of 1907, creating a Tax Commission. The governor was not required by the law to appoint a Democrat on the Commission, but James Humphrey was the first name he announced, and the Republican senators promptly said that he should be confirmed. When the Commission met, July 2, 1907, his two Republican colleagues made him chairman. It was a deserved honor, made doubly so by the heartiness in which it was given. He was the lawyer member of the Commission, and every measure suggested was given his careful consideration.

He entered heart and soul into the duties of this new position. His wife and daughters joined him in Topeka about the 1st of August, anticipating a joyous two years. By the 1st of September he was taken ill, and in the morning of the 18th death claimed him, in his seventy-fourth year. The *Topeka Capital* said:

"It was at a time when the Commission was rendering Kansas the highest quality of service in expounding the provisions of the new law to county commissioners, and other taxing officers, urging their new responsibilities upon them, drafting interrogations in harmony with the new requirements of the law, and preparing the public mind for the full enforcement of a revolutionary change in the tax system, that his labors were suddenly halted by the hand of death. A great part of this valuable work Judge Humphrey and his fellow members had already completed, but the Commission between this time and next March had its administrative work yet to do. Such men

NOTE 1.—The evils which had grown up under the system of taxation which had been in effect in Kansas since 1876 had become so flagrant, and the demand for reform so pressing, that the legislature of the state, in answer to the demands of public sentiment, enacted the Tax Commission law. The law was framed upon lines calculated to secure a uniform assessment and to obtain a valuation at the actual value in money of all the property, real and personal. The Commission, composed of S. C. Crummer, Samuel T. Howe, and James Humphrey, entered with enthusiasm upon the work of organization, which work was interrupted by the death of Judge Humphrey. The work has been continued with unabated zeal by the Commission, Judge W. S. Glass, of Marysville, becoming a member by appointment to the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Humphrey. The indication from reports received is that a sweeping change has been wrought in the administration of the tax law. It now appears that in all probability the valuation for the purpose of taxation of the property in Kansas will be close to two and one-half billion dollars for the year 1908. When this is considered, in connection with the fact that the total assessment of all property in Kansas for the year 1907 amounted to \$436,454,998, some adequate idea of the results obtained through the work of the Commission can be formed.

as Judge Humphrey, thoroughly skilled in the qualifications for public service, men whose personal honesty is never discussed because as native to them as breathing, who in taking public office are exacting in what they require of themselves, can ill be spared at any time. Kansas has lost one of the best type of its citizens and public servants."

His remains were taken to Junction City on Friday, the 20th, escorted to the train by Chief Justice W. A. Johnston, Governor E. W. Hoch, State Treasurer Mark Tulley, Secretary of Agriculture F. D. Coburn and State Superintendent of Public Instruction E. T. Fairchild. The flag was placed at half-mast on the state-house, to remain until after the burial on Saturday, and the building was closed from ten until two o'clock P. M. Friday. S. C. Crummer, Samuel T. Howe and John H. Smith, of the Tax Commission, Superintendent Fairchild, representing the Executive Council, and Geo. W. Martin, accompanied the remains to Junction City. Saturday forenoon, by request of the mayor, all the business places were closed during the burial services. Several prominent men from neighboring towns and some from distant parts of the state attended the services at Junction City. He was laid away with every evidence of affection and reverence. The mayor of the city the day previous issued the following proclamation:

"To the Business Men and Citizens of Junction City, Greeting:

"Because the late Judge Humphrey, whose remains we deposit in their last resting-place to-morrow, was an honored and respected officer of this great commonwealth, because the state authorities have closed the offices of state through respect to the memory of an honored Kansan, because the national flag will fly at half-mast until the funeral cortege of this man shall have passed to the city of the dead, and because he was one of our oldest men in point of public services, as well as one of our most honored and loved citizens; therefore,

"I, W. F. Muenzenmayer, the mayor of Junction City, do hereby proclaim a period of public mourning for to-morrow forenoon, from ten to twelve o'clock M., and request that all business firms in the city do close their doors during that time, and all national flags in the city float at half-mast, in honor and in deserved respect for the city's sacred dead."

The following expression was placed on record by his colleagues of the Tax Commission:

"A realization of the worth of Judge James Humphrey could come, in a sense, only to the members of his family and to those who had the benefit of his acquaintance. He was a great student of history and philosophy, and of all other subjects of interest to humanity, and his varied and remarkable knowledge thereby acquired enabled him to always instructingly entertain his listeners. He was a rare companion. His wonderfully retentive memory was stored with anecdote and reminiscence which he was able in a charming way to dispense to those who came into his presence. He possessed all the qualities of a pure and manly man, and sympathy and charity were marked characteristics. A careful student, a calm and deliberate thinker and reasoner, his conclusions generally commended themselves to his fellows. More need not be said. The state has been deprived of the services of a faithful, able and honest servant, and his associates mourn the loss of a valued friend and companion. BY ORDER OF THE TAX COMMISSION."

The Bar Association, of Abilene, adopted the following splendid tribute:

"Although the death of Judge Humphrey will be greatly felt by all who knew him and will be a severe blow to his city, county, and state, those most afflicted, outside the intimate circle of his home, are the lawyers of Kansas. He came to this state with the pioneers who first ventured to reclaim it from the wilderness, when there were but few courts in the land and but little law, and during the short, fierce years of strife, and the later longer

ones of peace, his purity and perfect sense of honor, his culture and great intellect, his gentle, never-failing courtesy, gave him a place in the hearts of his fellow men that no other could occupy and that must now remain empty and remind us of our loss.

"He was eminently the ideal lawyer. In all that pertained to his profession, as well as his personal character, he was the leader always, serving as a beautiful example for his contemporaries, and marking a goal toward which youthful aspirants were to strive.

"During his lifetime he was given by the people many positions of trust, but it was as judge of this, the eighth judicial district, that we knew him best. He held the office for many years, and no man could have filled the place with greater dignity. His title of 'Judge' fitted him. He was strong and upright always, but his goodness of heart and benevolent nature served ever to temper justice."

The board of directors of the George Smith Library Commission resolved:

"On the 18th day of September, A. D. 1907, death removed from the membership of this board the Honorable James Humphrey, the president of our board, who was the personal friend and legal adviser of the lamented donor, George Smith, whose will he wrote, and whose able counsel and tireless labor contributed much to the carrying out of the beneficent design of our noble benefactor in the consummation of the present magnificent library building, the completion of which it was not his privilege to survive; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That in the death of James Humphrey our bereaved community loses one of its most venerable and worthy citizens, whose conservative and impartial counsel and unblemished private and public life has made us debtors to his memory, and this board loses one of its wisest and most unselfish advisers."

And thus passed away a pioneer who maintained his ability, character, activity and usefulness from the beginning to the end in all private and public relations through fifty years, dying in the harness. His life is an open book. No one can compute the influence he exercised in molding the institutions of the state of Kansas, or place a limit on his influence with the generations to come. James Humphrey had a clean heart, and consequently had a clean mouth. No blasphemy or vulgarity ever passed his lips. He was a remarkable combination of good nature, an easy-going, accommodating spirit, and a firmness or resistance, when personal conviction or public necessity required it, equal to the eternal hills. It is the duty of the state to perpetuate such a life.

The following review of Judge Humphrey's life comes from a life-long acquaintance and friend:

"MOLINE, ILL., May 1, 1908.

"*Geo. W. Martin, Topeka, Kan. :*

"DEAR MR. MARTIN—Since I met you last fall at the grave of our noble friend, Judge Humphrey, I have recalled to mind every day the splendid things you then said of him, as well as the other splendid things I knew of him in his lifetime.

"We were trying that day to find the secret quality of character which gave him such unusual influence and made him always the counsellor and leader, by voluntary common consent.

"In the rare inquiry in the author's preface of Belloc's *Robespierre*, the fine conclusion is reached that the abiding strength of that calm, resistless champion of the rights of man lay in the fact that he was born with 'a stone house in his soul,' in which was enshrined that fundamental principle in the preservation of human liberty; the right of equal opportunity to sustain life, as against invading feudal statutes and caste privilege.

"I am persuaded that James Humphrey was born with a fortress of moral and intellectual wisdom in his soul greater than that possessed by the average man at the end of a lifetime of experimenting with the good and evil fruits of the tree of life; that it was this gift of the gods which raised him up even as a Seer, in his own generation, and a type of manhood for the generations to come; in which later time, as we hope, men and ideals are to be nobler and higher than we have known them.

"You will not ask me to cite proofs of the correctness of this high estimate of his character, for, of your own knowledge, you have them abundantly; but I am strongly impelled, as a form of memorial service, to set down here a few of the grand attitudes of his life, as they appear from my personal angle of vision.

"It is in the record that, as a young boy, his relations in his native English village were such as to single him out for public recognition. He was very early known for his gentle uprightness, his love of knowledge, and his extraordinary facility in acquiring both theoretic and practical information. As he learned, he taught those around him—through every agency which offered; for it was one of the graces of his nature to freely share his learning with others.

"His instinctive understanding of the higher rules of individual conduct, and of the diplomatic relations necessary between the several families of the closely populated village, was of so high an order that he was very early called into the councils of his elders in all matters of local society concern. All the incidents in his life at that period tend to show that he was a local favorite; the pride of the community, without rivalry or dissent; and the one young citizen at large, above the smaller relationships of family or faction.

"In July, 1854, he left England for America; and in 1902, forty-eight years afterward, I visited his native village, commissioned to convey his affectionate greetings to his surviving relatives and friends. It was mistakenly given out that James Humphrey had come back to Pleasley; and the joy and excitement occasioned by the report was such as to astonish even those of us who knew the abiding character of his influence.

"The things said to me then, by the elder citizens who had actually known him in his youth, and by members of the younger generation who had never seen him or heard his voice, taught me that there are prophets not without honor even in their own country; and that the supreme proof of greatness, in even a young man, is the fact that his name and memory endure as an active moral force, growing more and more sacred in the hearts of the people long after he himself has quitted the scene of his former activities, never to return.

"In Pleasley village he still lives—immortal; its good genius, its sacred legend, its benediction.

"His nature and character are easily read in the light of the great causes which appealed to and influenced him. The cause of popular self-government, as embodied in the organic laws of a new nation, called him from Europe to America. The cause of free soil against slave soil called him from the comforts and refinements of New England to the bare plains of Kansas. The building of a new state, dedicated to liberty and progress, appealed to him in his young manhood, and he answered with willing service, through all the years of a richly filled half-century.

"The one ever-recurring fact in his life was, that he was sought out by the lowly and the lofty, by individuals and families, and asked by them to accept their most sacred trusts; that educational institutions asked his guiding counsel as trustee, regent and learned lecturer; and that the village, the county, the judicial district and the state called him, again and again, to executive trusts of the highest order.

"You are aware of the surprising number and range of these public trusts, and of the wise and unselfish manner in which they were all executed. Here again is the evidence, in the exceptional character of his practical relationships in domestic and public affairs, that he was 'a man set apart.' Men turned to him for guidance because their intuitions revealed him to them as one having the double-character endowment of intellectual strength

guided by clear moral vision; and it is this double gift at birth which places its recipient in the company of the truly great.

"Here are other proofs to my mind that he was high-born in soul: He lived unentranced and unawed by wealth and the power of wealth, in a time and country in which character and ideals were swallowed up in universal money-madness. He lived in a period in which the arena of public life was exploited and marred by self-seeking, corrupt political ambition; and yet he trod this arena in unselfish, clean-handed devotion to public duty.

"In his generation he saw government by a conspiracy of political party and predatory corporations take the place of unselfish statesmanship; but in the black night overhanging loyalty and patriotism he still saw clearly, laying his own political course in defiance of party behest and for the common good as he divined it. When other gifted men went down into the characterless mire, under the blandishments and bribes of railway corporations, he stood so incorruptibly alone that destiny called him to be the executive head of the newly established Railroad Commission in his state; and from the bar of this tribunal the champions of special privilege, after appearing in insolent pride of corporate power, retired, beaten and humiliated by his fearless indictments of their shameless methods, his ringing logic and his exhaustless learning in the enemies' own field.

"When the State Tax Commission had been established by legislative enactment, the high-minded man in the governor's chair, disregarding party distinctions, called this incorruptible citizen, this venerable scholar, this non-partizan statesman, to assist in the most difficult of all ministerial functions—the putting into operation of a revolutionary statute in the field of taxation. In such rare hours of disinterested public action, to be called as a leader is to be crowned among the noblest and wisest in the service of man.

"At the time of his appointment to the Board of Tax Commissioners he wrote me briefly of the fact, saying, among other things: 'This is my last public duty, and I welcome the labors which come with the appointment. My associates on the board are not only most agreeable gentlemen, but they are able and true men; and much good must come from sincere enforcement of the law.'

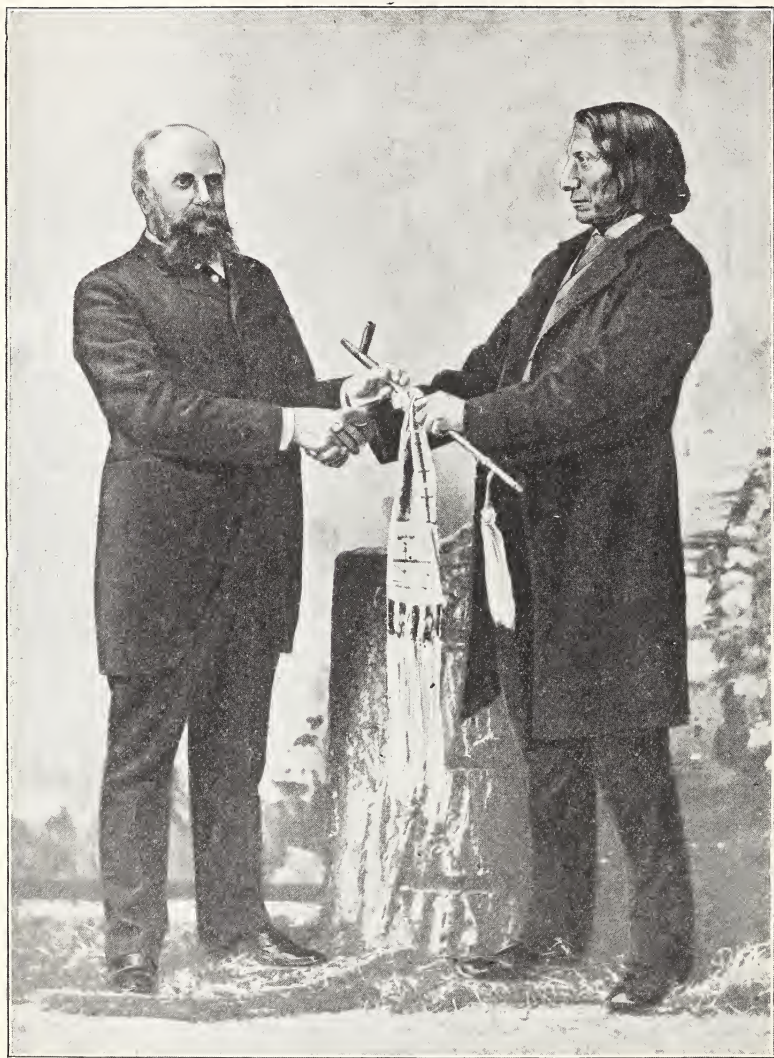
"Thus, as he lived so he died—his willing hands filled with good works to the last.

"The master minds in metaphysical research seem bringing us to the glad conclusion that each human pilgrim is, through implanted mental and moral consciousness, illumined, more or less clearly, direct from the source of all truth and knowledge; that this source of consciousness is expressed in measureless, primal, eternal laws in which planets and universes are held, as in the hollow of a hand; that it is the glorious destiny of our race, through the rational evolution of the implanted religious sense, to receive more and more fully this mental and spiritual illumination; that in this upward climb the individual must tread the path alone—must himself seek and find the light—though another may point him to the true way; that in this individual destiny is found the explanation of the mighty fact of individual differences in mental and moral illumination—the rational answer to the riddle of the ages: Why are some human beings pitiable clods of the earth, while others, in the same generation, are geniuses and prophets?

"This philosophy infers at least one preexistence, and builds a rational hope of 'the life to come'; and it is only in this light that I can place James Humphrey, in comparison with his average fellow man, as my reason and reverence demand. Since he came into this life better and wiser than most of us will be on leaving it, in some other stage or plane of the human pilgrimage he must have laid up more treasure than we.

"I have gone this long road to avoid being obscure in presenting for your consideration the feelings and ideas which have pressed upon me so unremittingly since we last met; and in the further hope and expectation of having the cherished assent of your heart and mind.

Sincerely your friend, MARSHALL BECK."



RED CLOUD AND PROFESSOR MARSH.

The illustration is reproduced from a photograph in the possession of Miss Fannie Brown, of Andover. The date is uncertain; negative lost. The writer knows of but one other photograph. Supposed date between 1871-1875.

IV.

THE INDIAN.

THE PASSING OF RED CLOUD.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by WARREN K. MOOREHEAD,¹ of Andover, Mass.

THERE is lying in feeble health at Pine Ridge agency, S. D., Red Cloud (Maqpe Luta), the former head chief of the Sioux Indians.²

A hundred years ago his people were second to no other Indian stock, numerically. As the Iroquois controlled the East, so did the Sioux dictate to all comers on the plains. Hennepin, in 1680, found numerous Sioux bands in Minnesota, and heard that their relatives occupied the country west of the Mississippi, and it is now known that they ranged from Canada to Oklahoma and from the Mississippi to western Kansas.

Throughout this vast region they followed the buffalo in its migrations north or south according to the season. Lewis and Clarke frequently observed the Sioux during their voyage of discovery on the Missouri in 1804-'06. Catlin and Schoolcraft, the famous ethnologists, have given us paintings and descriptions, both popular and scientific, of these sturdy natives. In recent years scientists have studied their language, arts, ceremonies and habits. The Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution and numerous other institutions have published volumes concerning their folk-lore, customs and social relations.

Of the individuals who exerted an influence upon the various bands of Sioux somewhat can be learned by a search of the records. Perhaps Sitting Bull and Red Cloud are more popularly known than others. Every plainsman worthy of the name has had an encounter at some time during the past with Red Cloud's warriors. Army officers stationed on the frontier in the '60's or '70's testify to the courage and dash of these sons of the plains. The War Department records contain more frequent mention of Red Cloud than of any other American Indian; and the pictographic accounts made by

NOTE 1.—WARREN KING MOOREHEAD, archaeologist, was born in Sienna, Italy, of American parents, March 10, 1866; was educated in common and high schools, and was sent to college in 1883. He spent three years in study under Dr. Thomas Wilson, the curator of prehistoric anthropology of the Smithsonian Institute; and four years in investigation at his own expense. He was appointed in charge of work in the Ohio valley, Utah, Colorado and New Mexico for the World's Columbian Exposition. He was married November 10, 1892, to Evelyn Ludwig. He is a member of the Victoria Institution of England, a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and was formerly curator of the museum of the Ohio State University and Historical Society. He is now curator of the department of archaeology at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., and is the author of *Primitive Man in Ohio: Fort Ancient; Wanneta, the Sioux; Prehistoric Implements*; also of several reports for the state of Ohio, etc. He was engaged in exploring in the West in 1898. Mr. Moorehead has been occupied for the past five years in the preparation of a classification of all the implements, ornaments, utensils and unknown forms used by prehistoric man in America. The book will illustrate more than 2000 artifacts used by primitive man. Nothing on so large a scale has been heretofore attempted in this country.

NOTE 2.—This was written in December, 1907. In the report of the Comm'r of Ind. Aff., 1876, p. 351, Red Cloud's Indian name is spelled Marpiya-luta.

the Sioux themselves upon tanned buffalo hides, many years ago, are filled with evidences of the prowess of this chief.

Red Cloud has said, in his pictographic history of his life, that he was born in the year 1822.³ His parents were not prominent among the tribe. He calls this year "Star-passed-by-with-a-loud-noise-winter." The Sioux, in their winter-counts, designate each year by some particular or striking occurrence. For instance, in Red Cloud's winter-counts, or census, one winter is called "Winter-in-which-many-died-of-smallpox"; another, "Winter-we-killed-one-hundred-white-men." There are several of these winter-counts made by different chiefs in possession of the government, which agree as to the naming of each year, and only vary in minor details. Two of them cover a surprisingly long period of time, from 1775 to 1877. Both have been carefully studied by ethnologists and interpreters, and accurate translations prove them of special value to history students.

Of the extreme youth of Red Cloud we know nothing. An old Indian, when asked at Pine Ridge, shrugged his shoulders and said, "All great men were once boys." He was trained as became a young Lokota. All Indian children learn to ride when extremely young. General Dodge says that, whether men or boys, the plains tribes, or, as most officers call them, "Horse Indians," produced the finest horsemen in the world. Red Cloud was not a hereditary chief, but arose to distinction through merit.

Red Cloud was about sixteen when he became a leader among the other boys, signaling himself in skirmishes and battles with the Crows, Pawnees and other hereditary enemies of the Sioux. The various winter-counts tell us that many severe engagements occurred between the Crows and the Sioux, and it is doubtless true that he charged and yelled, scalped and tortured just as energetically as his companions.

Mr. C. W. Allen, who is well acquainted with Red Cloud, prepared a manuscript some years ago, before the chief's memory failed. Because the chief presents his version of plains history, the work is unique and merits publication. Heretofore we have had only the white man's narratives.

Between 1840 and 1849 there were but few attacks against whites on the plains, and most of these occurred to the south, in Texas, or along the old Santa Fe trail. It was not until and during 1849 that extensive emigration set in towards California. As the wagon-trains increased, the hunting of the Indians was seriously interfered with. Expeditions, not only of United States troops but of adventurers, buffalo hunters, and miners, penetrated to various parts of the great West. Among these travelers were men who regarded an Indian no higher than a dog, and fired upon peaceful parties of hunting Indians without the slightest provocation. Wagon-trains were often in charge of men from the East who knew nothing whatever of Indians or their habits, and becoming insanely frightened at the approach of either friendly or hostile red men, opened fire without the slightest thought of consequences. The white people introduced whisky and smallpox. It is therefore not surprising that all the plains Indians soon assumed a hostile attitude toward any being with a white skin.

I have talked with many old Indians of Pine Ridge, Red Cloud's home,

NOTE 3.—Garrick Mallery, in the Fourth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, in an illustrated article entitled "Pictographs of the North-American Indians," includes the Dakota winter-counts of Lone Dog, an aged Indian of the Yanktonai tribe of Dakotas, which covers the winters from 1800-'01 to 1876-'77. Among similar counts he mentions that of the Dakotas, as set down by Battiste Good, covering the period from A. D. 900 to 1879-'80.

WHERE THE MILLIONS HAVE GONE.



and they have agreed that the destruction of the buffalo was the greatest calamity ever brought upon their race. They could forgive the whites for attacking their villages, and for the disregard of treaty promises, and overlook the seizure of their lands, but they could not forget that the Americans made useless and unnecessary slaughter of that grand, majestic native animal, typical of the "spirit of the plains." But few men appreciate what the buffalo was to the Indian. He was used for twenty-two separate purposes. His meat sustained life; it was cut in strips and dried, it was chopped up and packed in skins, its tallow and grease were preserved—all for winter use; its bones afforded material for implements and weapons; its skull was preserved as great medicine; its hide furnished blankets, garments, boats, ropes, and a warm and portable house; its hoofs produced glue; its sinews were used for bowstrings and made a most excellent substitute for twine. Were there no other game but an abundance of buffalo, the people continued happy and contented. They never killed wantonly, and the buffalo would have been in existence to-day if his destruction depended solely upon the Indian hunters. Where the Indian killed one buffalo, the hide and tongue hunters killed fifty.

Every intelligent person is familiar with the enormous exportation, aggregating millions, of hides to eastern and foreign markets during the period embraced between 1850 and 1883. Thousands of men flocked west to hunt buffalo solely for their hides. Most of them were inexperienced and destroyed many animals before they learned how to properly prepare a robe for sale. The great Platte valley, the Arkansas, the Niobrara and other plains rivers, were in a few years lined with millions of skeletons—a pitiful spectacle—wretched relics of a once noble and numerous creature. Complaints were made by the Indians, who depended solely upon the buffalo for existence, to the government at Washington, but without avail. More butchers, attracted by the alluring and exciting life of the hunter, flocked to the West. They strained every nerve to make a "record" in destroying these animals. To be a buffalo hunter became popular, and a number of persons have since carried through life names distinguishing them from their fellows because of the exceeding slaughter which they made. "Buffalo Bill" killed 4280 buffalos in eighteen months.⁴ But the day of retribution was at hand. The Sioux held a great council, which was attended by the dissatisfied element of other bands, and decided to drive out all the whites found in their hunting territory. They split up into small bands, attacked emigrant trains, killed hunters, and at the time of the civil war were carrying on a general warfare from the Black Hills to the frontiers of Texas.

After the terrible massacre of 1862 in Minnesota⁵ the Indians became more bold, and having received recruits from the bands who had fled from

NOTE 4.—The Extermination of the American Bison, 1887, by W. T. Hornaday.

NOTE 5.—From the Minnesota Historical Collections, page 434, volume 9, we learn that on Sunday, August 17, 1862, a small party of Sioux, belonging to Little Crow's band, while out ostensibly hunting and fishing at Acton, in Meeker county, Minnesota, obtained from a white man some spirituous liquor, became intoxicated, and murdered a white man and part of his family, and this act precipitated the Sioux war. Little Crow said that since blood had been spilled the war would have to go on, and he summoned warriors from Montana and what is now North and South Dakota. The war began August 18 and lasted about twelve days. The number of white people killed was about 500. The whole or a large part of some fifteen or twenty counties was fearfully desolated, and for a time almost entirely depopulated. In one of the engagements between the Indians and a company of regular troops, twenty-three soldiers were killed and about sixty wounded, and also ninety-two horses were killed. Chief Big Eagle makes a statement of the causes which led up to the trouble. The whites were constantly urging the Indians to live like the white man. Some were willing, but others were not and could not—the Indians were



THE HIDE-HUNTER.

Minnesota they held up several large wagon-trains, killed or captured the escorts and appropriated the goods. When the news of this affair reached Washington, Colonels Carrington and Fetterman were ordered to subdue the plains Indians, and were sent to Wyoming, where they established Fort Phil. Kearny on the Piney fork of the Powder river. Not only was this movement necessary on the part of the government because of the hostility of the Sioux, but it was desired to open a road through the Powder river country to Virginia City and other mining towns in the mountains, and also to the coast. Part of the territory was owned by the Crows, but the Dakotas had usurped most of it as hunting-grounds for themselves. Several conferences between the authorities and the Indians were held, but as dissatisfaction among the Indians was manifest no settlement could be effected. "We will lose," said they, "all our best hunting territory if this route is established." Red Cloud and other chiefs (Crazy Horse, American Horse, etc.) saw opportunity for war and openly urged hostilities. Clouds of warriors flocked to his standard. During the long and tedious struggle he won great reputation as a leader. General Dodge said:⁶ "Several forts were established, but they only protected what was inside the palisades. A load of wood or fuel could not be cut outside without a conflict."

During these troublous times Fort Laramie was the center of importance, peace conferences, Indians coming and going, troops and supplies arriving from the East. When Colonel Carrington and his troops left Laramie, June, 1866, they were constantly watched by Red Cloud, and a reliable report states that upon the visit of some Indians at headquarters the commander was informed of his movements, in detail, during the entire journey. With the troops was Capt. Frederick H. Brown, noted for his bravery and contempt of Indians, and after the establishment of the post he infused in Col. William J. Fetterman some of his own spirit. Both officers declared that a nervy white could put to flight a hundred Sioux. When calling one evening, Brown told Colonel Carrington's wife that he must have Red Cloud's scalp before he returned East, but, instead, Red Cloud took *his* scalp on the day of the Fetterman fight, December 21, 1866.

The warriors harrassed the garrison of Fort Phil Kearny constantly, killing small parties of wood-cutters. It became necessary to send out a guard of fifty to eighty men with every wood train. Red Cloud drilled his warriors daily, seeming to possess a system of signals equally as good as those in use

annoyed, and wanted to do as they pleased. "Then," he says, "some of the white men abused the Indian women in a certain way and disgraced them, and surely there was no excuse for that." The war with the South was going on then. A few weeks before the outbreak the President called for many more men, and a great many of the white men and some half-breeds enlisted and went to Fort Snelling to be sent south. "We understood," he said, "the South was getting the best of the fight, and it was said the North would be whipped. A company of half-breeds was raised and sent south, and the Indians began to think the whites pretty hard up. It began to be whispered about that now would be a good time to go to war with the whites and get back the lands." And then the grafter was there. The Indians did not think the traders had done right. "The Indians," he continued, "bought goods of them on credit, and when the government payments came the traders were on hand with their books, which showed that the Indians owed so much and so much, and as the Indians kept no books they could not deny their accounts, but had to pay them, and sometimes the traders got all their money. I do not say that the traders always cheated and lied about these accounts. I know many of them were honest men and kind and accommodating, but since I have been a citizen I know that many white men, when they go to pay their accounts, often think them too large and refuse to pay them, and they go to law about them and there is much bad feeling. The Indians could not go to law, but there was always trouble over their credits. Under the treaty of Traverse des Sioux the Indians had to pay a large sum of money to the traders for old debts, some of which ran back fifteen years, and many of those who had gotten the goods were dead, and others were not present, and the traders' books had to be received as to the amounts, and the money was taken from the tribe to pay them."

at the fort. Colonel Carrington, in his description of the events at the post, says on one occasion Red Cloud's signals covered a line of seven miles, and were rapidly and accurately displayed. Again, on December 6, a number of soldiers were killed. On the 21st the picket signaled that the wagon-train was surrounded, and ninety-seven men were sent to its relief. Afterward it was ascertained that the train was threatened but not attacked; in fact, the teams and escort came in safely that night. Red Cloud had made a feint to draw troops some distance from the post that he might engage them successfully. The world knows the result, and it is not necessary for me to enter into details here. The entire command under Fetterman and Brown was killed, including several citizens accompanying it. Col. H. B. Carrington, in his official report, says: "The officers who fell believed that no Indian force could overwhelm that number of troops well held in hand."⁷

Red Cloud's name was heard throughout the land, and among his own people he arose to be supreme chief; hundreds of recruits joined his camp, and he was given an immense medicine dance and heralded as invincible.

August 2, 1867, Maj. James Powell was attacked by a large force under the command of Red Cloud and Spotted Tail. In this fight Red Cloud and his warriors exhibited, with scarcely an exception, the greatest bravery ever shown by Indians in the history of the West. Unknown to the Indians, special wagon-beds, constructed of iron, were mounted on wheels by the government blacksmiths. As soon as the attack began, the troops removed these from the trucks and placed them in a small circle, the men concealing themselves beneath. The iron was sufficiently heavy to stop or deflect bullets, and the men were armed with the first repeating rifles brought on the plains. They were thus better equipped than their adversaries. Red Cloud charged no less than eight or nine times, frequently coming within thirty or forty feet, many of his dead falling less than twenty or thirty yards from the improvised fortification. The Indians could not understand how so small a body of men could fire with such rapidity. Red Cloud said to Spotted Tail, as the two sat their horses on a little knoll a few hundred yards distant, that he believed the Americans had "medicine guns," which never ceased firing. The entire force of the Sioux and Cheyennes was hurled against the enemy, Red Cloud's nephew distinguishing himself by riding among the foremost and the two chiefs accompanying the charge. One Indian fell near enough to touch the beds with his coup-stick before he died. But for the protection, the whites would have been wiped out of existence, for nearly every spot on the outer surface of the iron as large as one's hand showed a bullet mark. An Indian chief told Colonel Dodge afterwards that they lost 1137 in the fight. A famous scout said to Major Powell that at least a thousand were struck, and the most conservative estimate places the number at three or four hundred. Not only was great bravery manifested in these charges, but after the battle many of the dead and wounded were recovered in spite of a heavy fire kept up by the troops. In the Fetterman fight Red Cloud had been victorious. In the Powell engagement he was badly defeated.

These two fights, and the series of peace treaties held by the Indian Peace Commissioners⁸ August 13 to September 13, 1867, brought about what

NOTE 7.—Ho. Ex. Doc., No. 2, Fortieth Congress, 2d Sess. Report Secretary of War, 1867, vol. 1, p. 32.

NOTE 8.—Comm'r of Ind. Aff., Rpt. 1868, p. 50.

the Sioux desired—the evacuation and destruction of several forts in favorite hunting territory, the promise of extra annuities and rations, and paved the way for the great Dakota treaty of 1868.

In 1868-'69 Hon. William Blackmore, of London, visited the plains tribes and made a lasting friendship with Red Cloud.⁹ At that time Red Cloud scorned the "white man's road" and refused to have his photograph taken; but it is noteworthy that he made an exception in favor of Mr. Blackmore, and in the first portrait of this distinguished red man we see him standing side by side with the patron of the great South Kensington (Blackmore) museum. Why did he do this? Because he knew that the British treated the Indians well, and that for a century Indians in Canada lived unmolested, whereas just over the American border bloodshed and robbery were rampant.

After the treaty Red Cloud himself went to war no more, but instead became distinguished as a council and treaty maker. He was, with Spotted Tail, uncompromising, and insisted upon the fulfilment of every condition of the later treaties.

Sitting Bull, a shaman, had made "medicine" for most of the battles, and about the year 1870 came into prominence.¹⁰ To the Indian "medicine" means much. Upon going into action he places implicit confidence in the efficacy of his medicine first, in his own courage second. Sitting Bull, being very crafty, a schemer and a politician, became known as the "battle-medicine maker" of the Dakotas. Before the Custer fight he made several dozen medicine sacks, filled them with the "mystery," and hastily distributed them among the chief warriors and subchiefs. After the fight he and his friends claimed the honor of the victory, saying that it was through his miraculous medicine alone that the Sioux prevailed over the soldiers. Sitting Bull never was a warrior, claimed no distinction as a fighter, and owes his reputation among the whites as the leader of the forces on the Little Big Horn to the misdirected energy of the newspapers. Red Cloud was friendly with Sitting Bull, but was seldom associated with him either in councils or upon the field. The two present marked contrasts. The latter was very outspoken in his hatred of the whites, lacked the tact and judgment displayed by Red Cloud in his later years, and appears decidedly the inferior man of the two. Sitting Bull's temper was easily ruffled, and even as late as 1890 (he was killed December 13, 1890) he persisted in open censure of government authorities. To give an idea of his language, he told General Miles, upon the occasion of their first meeting, that "God Almighty made me; God Almighty did not make me an agency Indian, and I'll fight and die fighting before any white man can make me an agency Indian." His prophecy was fulfilled.

So, when Red Cloud settled down upon his reservation near Fort Robinson, Sitting Bull continued to range about the plains and in the valleys of the Tongue, Powder, Yellowstone and Big Horn rivers. Some of the turbulent element in Red Cloud's camp joined him, but by far the greater portion of those who followed Sitting Bull until after the Custer fight were not Oglalas.¹¹ In 1874-'75, when Professor Marsh, of Yale, passed through the agency, he noted

NOTE 9.— Introduction to Col. R. I. Dodge's *Plains of the Great West*, 1877.

NOTE 10.— *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs*, by N. B. Wood, c. 1906, p. 442.

NOTE 11.— Red Cloud's band.



Sitting Bull

that there were some 13,000 Indians under the care of the authorities. He reported that the provisions issued them were of poor quality and insufficient, and tardily delivered. Lieutenant Carpenter also complained that the Indians were compelled to eat ponies, dogs and wolves to avoid starvation. Professor Marsh stated that the goods purchased by the government, carefully and honestly delivered and distributed, would prevent all suffering. Eastern newspapers published Marsh's charges, and the "Indian ring" of politicians was defeated. Marsh was well received by Red Cloud, who accompanied him east. The two were photographed together, holding the peace-pipe in common. The Sioux called Professor Marsh the "Big Bone Chief," because he hunted fossils in the Bad Lands. And while Bills and Dicks of frontier fame howled about the "hostile Injuns" and engaged in frequent fights with the Sioux, Marsh came and went in that wild country *safe*. The "murderers" knew he was to be trusted!

It is no secret that Red Cloud's ponies were looked upon as legitimate prey by the whites living near the reservation. One man told me he had seen a bunch of cattle driven around the beef corral twice in order to figure in a double count, and corn and provisions had been passed twice through a certain building in order that some one might make just 100 per cent. off the Indians. During the early '70's horse-stealing was carried on to a surprising extent, and Indian ponies were openly sold in frontier towns. A deputy United States marshal, who had twenty years' experience on the reservations of the Sioux, told me that some detectives and trailers employed by the government were in league with the thieves and received two compensations—one from the government and the other from their confederates. Stolen stock was seldom recovered. The warriors, becoming desperate, would steal stock from some ranchman in retaliation. Another method of getting even was to complain to the officers at Fort Robinson, who would give the Sioux an escort of troops. Along the trail of the robbers the combined forces traveled as rapidly as possible, and, upon reaching any ranch or town where ponies were assembled in large numbers, the warriors would claim, and apparently identify as their property, a number of horses. Protests on the part of the whites were of no avail, and the triumphant party would return with some of the stolen stock, and, perhaps, some which had never been on their pastures. I asked an old Indian about this and he said it seldom happened, but as they had lost thousands of horses which were never recovered, and as nearly all white men living near the reservation were there to rob the Indians, and as every white man (whether he had or had not Sioux ponies on hand) would deny knowledge of the location of stolen stock, he thought it was fair and just to seize everything in sight!

In spite of suffering, privation and thefts of every description, the Red Cloud tribe kept their faith. Would that white men had been as faithful to their treaty promises. They complained to the Great Father that they had been moved eight times since 1863. Exclaimed Red Cloud: "How can you expect us to take the white man's road when you move us before we have time to plant and grow corn, to clear the ground and raise cattle?" In 1874 the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail reservations were in western Nebraska, the nearest railroad point being Sidney, on the Union Pacific. Except in spots the land was barren—absolutely worthless. Red Cloud said that the whites gave it to his people because they could not use it themselves. A delegation of Indians went to Washington, were talked to in the usual patronizing

manner, flattered, promised, and returned to their agency. Some one suggested to the commissioner of Indian affairs to remove the Indians to the Missouri river, where some good soil assured corn and wheat. Red Cloud and Spotted Tail begged that they be not sent there, for whisky was brought up the river and sold to their young men, to the injury of the entire tribe. Being assured that their supplies had all been sent to the old Ponca reservation, they consented to go there provided they would be sent to a new reservation in the spring.

I can best describe what ensued by use of Mrs. Helen Jackson's words:¹² "In the spring no orders came for the removal. March passed, April passed—no orders. The chiefs sent word to their friend, General Crook, who replied to them with messages sent by swift runner, begging them not to break away, but to wait a little longer. Finally, in May, the commissioner of Indian affairs went himself to hold a council with them. When he rose to speak, Chief Spotted Tail sprang up, walked toward him, waving in his hand the paper containing the promise of the government to return them to White Clay creek, and exclaimed: 'All the men who come from Washington are liars, and the bald-headed ones are the worst of all! I don't want to hear one word from you—you are a bald-headed old liar! You have but one thing to do here, and that is to give an order for us to return to White Clay creek. Here are your written words, and if you don't give this order, and everything here is not on wheels inside of ten days, I'll order my young men to tear down and burn everything in this part of the country! I don't want to hear anything more from you, and I've got nothing more to say to you,' and he turned his back on the commissioner and walked away. Such language would not have been borne from unarmed and helpless Indians; but when it came from a chief with 4000 armed warriors at his back, it was another affair altogether. The order was written. In less than ten days everything was 'on wheels' and the whole body of these Sioux on the move to the country they had indicated, and the Secretary of the Interior says, naively, in his report: 'The Indians were found to be quite determined to move westward, and the promise of the government in that respect was faithfully kept.'" It had been decided in council that Spotted Tail would do the talking, while Red Cloud and his followers held themselves in readiness for any emergency which might arise.

Crazy Horse as war chief, and Sitting Bull as the most prominent of the shamans, engage our attention during 1875-'76. A continual warfare was kept up against the whites. Gold was discovered in the Black Hills, and settlers and miners flocked into the new territory, committing en route depredations against the Sioux.¹³ They promptly retaliated, and our government sent General Custer to remove the miners from the new gold-fields, and history records that he successfully scattered the obnoxious invaders. During his famous march not one shot was fired at Indians. Red Cloud had kept his treaty promise, but peace was not long to be maintained. The frontier towns began to fill up with outcasts of civilization. Breeders of mischief, they instilled into the minds of the Oglalas love of gain. "You should have more money, more rations," said they. "These lands to the

NOTE 12.—Jackson's *Century of Dishonor*, p. 183.

NOTE 13.—Comm'r of Ind. Aff., Rpt. 1874, p. 7; 1875, p. 246; 1876, pp. XIV, 330; Sec. of War, Rpt. 1875, p. 64.

north (Black Hills) are full of valuable mineral and are yours. Drive out the miners and we will show you how to develop the country." Custer had returned from his expedition and the miners flocked back to the gulches about Deadwood. Buffalo-hunters were fast destroying the great north and south herds, and Red Cloud beheld the encroachments with a heavy heart. The death-knell of his people's freedom and prosperity on the plains was sounded in the noise of the train, the blast in the mine, and the hum in the town. Civilization was advancing, savagery must die! He could not go to war himself, he must look after his people on the reservations; but he sent many of his best warriors to join Crazy Horse and American Horse. Murders and robberies followed in rapid succession. Custer was ordered to the Big Horn to destroy the villages of the hostiles.

As to the battle which followed, the Bureau of Ethnology Report, 1888-'89, gives a series of pictographic paintings made by Chief Red Horse, which are considered the most accurate narrative we possess of the Sioux side of that unfortunate affair. I can only refer to it briefly. People digging wild turnips saw a cloud of dust in the distance. Supposing it to be made by a herd of buffalo, they informed the end of the village (scattered for three miles along the river) nearest them. Before any persons were armed a runner came up in great excitement and said, "Soldiers are coming." There was no time to hold a council. The chiefs shouted their orders. At first it seemed as if the whites would take the whole village, but as warriors hastened up from the main body of the camp, the flanks as well as the front were attacked, and the troops forced across the river. Red Horse says there were two men with long yellow hair. One wore a buckskin coat.¹⁴

Captain French was the bravest man the Sioux ever fought. Red Horse says he repeatedly covered the retreat of his men. Finally the soldiers gained the hill and began to throw up little earthworks, but were all killed. Red Horse says some of the soldiers became demoralized and begged the Sioux to take them prisoners but not to kill them.

At Pine Ridge agency I was told that Flat Hip, an Uncapapa Sioux, claimed to have killed Custer. Flat Hip died of consumption a few years after the battle. No one knew positively as to Custer's manner of death, but two men, dressed alike, were noticed for their bravery. Oglalas at Pine Ridge said Sitting Bull was not in the fight, but made medicine while it was in progress.

Many Sioux surrendered after the summer of 1876, and were returned to their respective agencies. Sitting Bull and his most faithful followers fled to Canada, where he remained some time. General MacKenzie took nearly all of Red Cloud's horses shortly after the Custer battle, thus effectively preventing further hostilities.

September 3, 1877, a soldier ran a bayonet into Crazy Horse while the latter was confined as a prisoner of war in the guard-house of Fort Robinson. The murder occasioned much talk among the Sioux, and, but for the interference of Red Cloud, who counseled peace, would have resulted in a war of revenge. Crazy Horse was a desperate but withal a brave Indian.

During the latter part of 1876 and 1877, Red Cloud gave General Crook a party of young men to help him fight the Cheyennes, which was greatly to his credit, considering his treatment at the hands of the whites.

NOTE 14.— Doctor McChesney says this man was Captain French, as Custer had cut off his famous locks before his last campaign.

After the removal of his people to Pine Ridge agency he was somewhat dissatisfied because of the poor land given him as a reservation. He also appealed to Washington for reimbursement for the ponies stolen by lawless men. There are voluminous reports, Congressional and Interior Department, filled with speeches of Red Cloud and his people, and all more or less pathetic. They ask for fulfilment of treaty stipulations, for money due for cattle and goods. At the time of the visit of the Congressional committee in 1883 he had 8000 people under him. The flag from Fort Robinson agency was there, and, by the way, there is an incident regarding that flag. Their agent had cut and hauled a long pole, upon which he proposed to raise a flag. Red Cloud said he wanted no flag over his reservation, and so his men cut to pieces the flagstaff, but the agent saved the colors and sent them to Pine Ridge.

Red Cloud last achieved prominence in the Messiah craze of 1890, properly called the ghost dance.¹⁵ Whether he believed in the coming of an Indian Savior is uncertain, but I know that he used his influence to preserve peace.

The Messiah craze was purely religious, and, although the Indians worked themselves into a frenzy, they had no thought of war, and were particular to clothe themselves in white garments, according to the command of the Indian who claimed to have received instructions direct from the Savior. Setting up a "sacred tree," they circled about it day and night, crying to Waukantanka to come and save them out of their troubles.

Agent Royer did not regard the dance as a religious ceremony, notwithstanding the testimony of ethnologists to the contrary. He held that all dances must necessarily be warlike, and that, while among the whites good Methodists and Baptists might have camp-meeting revivals, shout and sing, see visions and fall into trances, the Indians should not be permitted to do likewise. So he appealed for troops, and with the troops came a few friends of the Sioux. As the troops entered the agency frightened Indians fled to the Bad Lands. Others, being unable to account for this strange proceeding, after a few days' deliberation did likewise. Once located in that barren district, they suffered for food and were compelled to raid cattle ranches on White river. Oglalas who remained at the agency, known as "friendlies," made unsuccessful efforts to induce their kinsfolk to return. Sitting Bull, away up north on the Missouri, seized upon the opportunity to flee with his band to Pine Ridge and join the company in the Bad Lands. He and his son and others were killed when they attempted to start. Following closely upon the heels of this disaster was the battle of Wounded Knee, December 29, 1890, in which some 220 Indians and 49 soldiers were killed.¹⁶ When the news reached Pine Ridge, a few miles distant, most of the friendlies "stampeded," tore down their lodges and fled north. Red Cloud and his daughter and son, in spite of protests, were compelled to accompany them. Jack Red Cloud, his son, smuggled him out of camp, and his daughter led him eighteen miles through a severe blizzard, back to Pine Ridge. I mention this incident to show the faithfulness of the man.

Red Cloud is nearly blind and has aged rapidly since 1890. Eighty-five

NOTE 15.—Comm'r of Ind. Aff., Rpt. 1890, p. 49; 1891, pp. 125, 410.

NOTE 16.—Comm'r of Ind. Aff., Rpt. 1891, vol. 1, pp. 130, 179; Pine Ridge and Wounded Knee, Shawnee county, S. D. A large monument stands at Fort Riley erected to the members of the Seventh cavalry who died at Wounded Knee.



RED CLOUD IN INDIAN COSTUME.

years is a long time for an Indian to live. Continual exposure, uncertain food supply, and frail habitation, break down the constitution, and one rarely sees an Indian more than sixty years of age. Red Cloud has enjoyed the comforts of a two-story frame house for many years. It was given him by the government as a special mark of honor. During the presence of the troops he kept a little American flag and a white peace flag constantly floating above it. He bemoans the fate of his race, and from his conversation one can easily discern that he has done his duty, has defended the claims of the Dakotas in adversity as in prosperity. Nearly twenty years ago I had several conversations with him through the interpreter. He dwelt upon the happy "buffalo days," and the free life of the plains sixty years ago. We stepped outside the house and he told me to look about over the valley, for his eyes were dim; but he knew its character. I cannot give the exact words of his speech, but it was somewhat as follows: "You see this barren waste. We have a little land along the creek which affords good grazing, but we must use some of it for corn and wheat. There are other creeks which have bottoms like this, but most of the land is poor and worthless. Think of it! I, who used to own rich soil in a well-watered country so extensive that I could not ride through it in a week on my fastest pony, am put down here! Why, I have to go five miles for wood for my fire. Washington took our lands and promised to feed and support us. Now I, who used to control 5000 warriors, must tell Washington when I am hungry. I must beg for that which I own. If I *beg hard*, they put me in the guard-house. We have trouble. Our girls are getting bad. Coughing sickness every winter (consumption) carries away our best people. My heart is heavy, I am old, I cannot do much more. Young man, I wish there was some one to help my poor people when I am gone."

It is a singular anomaly that the character of an Indian should not be gaged by the same standards employed in measuring the virtues and worth of a white man. To my mind Red Cloud's high character places him on an equality with prominent men of America, irrespective of color.

In considering the Indian, while most persons recognize the disadvantages under which he has labored, yet I am persuaded that very few realize the great, almost overwhelming difficulty, which must be overcome before a truly strong and high character can be developed. With but few exceptions, nearly every white man who went on the frontier as a scout, miner, trader, hunter or explorer, exhibited the worst side of his character when among Indians. It is natural that when a man is in a new and wild country, far from restraint, untrammelled by laws, unchecked by society or the refining influence of women, all that is bad in him comes to the surface. Many men would die in defense of a woman or child, undergo great hardship to succor a comrade in danger, exhibit personal bravery in the defense of claims, wagon-trains, ranches, etc., but, admitting all this in their favor, most of them were destitute of a regard for the rights of Indians. Such men inspired hatred in their dealings with the Sioux.

The Indian became acquainted with all that was bad, and saw but little of the real good of civilization. He heard more oaths than prayers, saw more saloons than churches or schools. The men whom he met were not calculated, by their acts to inspire him with any confidence or respect for the white race. If the plains tribes had associated with a better class of citizens before they had learned the vices of civilization, I am satisfied that

the historian would not be compelled to write so dark and tragic a narrative; nor would he feel constrained to hold them up as fit subjects for pity and compassion.

Considering that Red Cloud came in contact with a class of white men whose presence would not be tolerated in a respectable community; his high character, his forbearance, his submission to the unjust acts of his conquerors, places him, in my opinion, among the great men of America, regardless of color, birth or ancestry. His career exhibits a degree of mental capacity, a knowledge of human nature and an acquaintance with the affairs of men which we would not expect in the mind of a savage. Red Cloud's bearing towards the government in the Leavenworth and Fort Robinson treaties, in having secured his end in both instances, indicates a knowledge of diplomacy of no mean order.

His people were suddenly confronted with a high civilization which they could neither understand nor follow. For centuries they have been schooled in the simple life of the plains (and it ranked below the culture of the bronze age of man in Europe), unmolested by any extensive or exterminating war, content with their lot. To be suddenly brought face to face with a question, the issue of which was not a matter of temporary supremacy, but involved the very existence of themselves as a nation—to have bravely met it, mustered every available young man and fought their superior forces for a period of nearly thirty years, and then to have ceased only when resistance was no longer possible—presents an heroic spectacle. All through this stormy period, Red Cloud figures as a brave warrior, dignified counselor, and stanch advocate for the welfare of his people.

After the treaty, he and his immediate followers, or those directly under his control, observed their part of the agreement, although the white people gave them every pretext for violation. A weaker man, one of less character, would have taken his warriors, as Sitting Bull did, and have fought until there was not a man left.

Red Cloud possessed more human kindness than any of his red contemporaries. It has been affirmed that, after the Fetterman fight, he assisted the young men in scalping and mutilating the bodies of the dead. There is no direct evidence as to this. Red Cloud himself says he never tortured a living person or mutilated a dead body, and that those under his control were no more cruel than the Colorado citizens at the Sand Creek massacre, the soldiers at the battle of the Wichita, or the Seventh cavalry at Wounded Knee. He cites the murder of Crazy Horse and several subchiefs after they had surrendered and were held as hostages in one of the forts. He also says that some whites, many years ago, visited the camps of the Sioux under the guise of friendship, and presented the Indians with whisky which contained strychnine. Nineteen who partook of it died in terrible agony. He claims that in all his fights and raids he never perpetrated cruelties like these; that he was either a stanch friend or a bitter enemy.

Of late years he has rather inclined towards the faith of the Catholics, but when younger he was reported to have said that he believed in no white man's God, but held to the Great Spirit, Waukantanka, and propitiated the evil spirit also; that, if he tried to do his duty, help his people and was a good man, he should not fear to meet the Great Spirit in the hereafter. That so far he agreed with the missionaries of different denominations, but because they were in discord among themselves as to just how the Great

Spirit should be worshipped, he considered that not one of them was better than another; that his religion was as good as theirs, and that he would do as his heart prompted him.

He has always been a little vain-glorious, but not more so than other prominent men. The fifteen years of his residence in Pine Ridge he has exhibited a quiet and gentle demeanor. He has ever lamented the fate of his people, but there is no bitterness, and his bearing is such as one might expect in a man who has faced death upon the field of battle.

When some of the subchiefs after his release said, "Let us kill our women and children and fight until we are gone, that is preferable to starvation here on the reservation," he is reported to have made a dignified and manly speech, in which he maintained that the Almighty had decreed that they should continue on the reservation, virtually as prisoners of their conquerors, and resistance would only result in suffering and bloodshed, and could accomplish no good.

An intelligent savage, reared upon the plains amidst surroundings not calculated to develop other than the lowest desires, and possessing a primitive idea of the true type of manhood, he has presented us with a career which shall endure in American history long after the Bills and Dicks shall have been forgotten.



James White Cloud and wife; Louie White Cloud and family — descendants of the great chief White Cloud — living near White Cloud, Kan.

THE IOWA, SAC AND FOX INDIAN MISSION AND ITS MISSIONARIES, REV. SAMUEL M. IRVIN AND WIFE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by PRYOR PLANK,¹ of Highland Station.

IN 1837 the government of the United States removed the Iowa and Sac and Fox Indians from the Platte purchase,² in Missouri, to their new reservation west of the Missouri river, and located them on the public domain between the northern boundary of the Kickapoo lands above Fort Leavenworth and the Great Nemaha river, along the fortieth parallel, which was established by act of Congress in the Kansas-Nebraska bill as the boundary line between Kansas and Nebraska. With these Indians the Presbyterian Board of Missions sent Rev. Samuel M. Irvin, a Pennsylvanian by birth, as missionary, and he established the Iowa and Sac mission north of the public road which now connects Highland and Highland Station, and about midway between these two places. This was the first permanent white settlement in what is now Doniphan county.

Mr. Irvin gives the following gloomy account of the deplorable condition of these Indians when he first came among them:

"It was on the 10th of April, 1837, when I first visited the Iowa Indians in what was then called the Platte purchase, in what is now an important part of the state of Missouri. A year previous they had made a treaty with the government which obliged them to leave that country and take a new home in what is now the state of Kansas.

"They numbered in all 830. They were a wild, warlike, roving people, and in a most wretched condition, depending mainly on the chase for a subsistence. Their habitations were of the most frail and temporary kind. They were shelters in the form of huts or houses made of the bark of trees stretched over slender poles and tied together with bark strings, or they were tents or lodges made of the skins of the buffalo or elk, and sewed together with the sinews of these animals. These bark houses were mainly for summer shelter, and would in a few years yield to the wear of time, when they would be abandoned and a new location sought. The skin tents were carried with them, and made their habitations wherever they chanced to stop. They were strictly a migratory and unsettled people.

"Domestic animals, excepting ponies and dogs, were not among them. Indeed, to some of them, such things as cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry were almost unknown, and did such animals happen their way they would pounce upon them for present food as quickly as upon a buffalo or wild turkey.

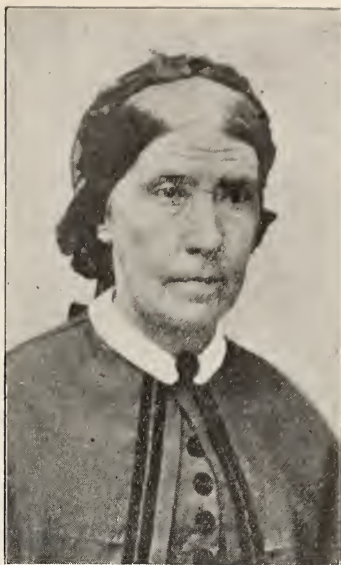
"Their ponies or horses being of the wild Mexican or mountain stock,

NOTE 1.—PRYOR PLANK was born September 16, 1832, in Claiborne county, Tennessee. He comes of German stock, his ancestors having immigrated to this country some time previous to the Revolutionary war and settled near Lee Court House, Va., from which they drifted into Tennessee. It was in Claiborne county, in a log schoolhouse with puncheon floor and seats, that Mr. Plank acquired the rudiments of his education, which was continued under like conditions when the family, in 1844, moved to Buchanan county, Missouri, then the frontier. In 1850 Pryor Plank began life on his own account. Crossing the plains to California, he returned in 1851, and four years later, 1855, came into Doniphan county, where he was one of the earliest settlers, and where he still lives, enjoying in the evening of his days the prosperity of the state he helped to make. He was married October 5, 1871, to Sarah M. Patton, who died May 17, 1904.

NOTE 2.—The "Platte purchase" was a strip of country lying between the original western line of the state of Missouri and the Missouri river. In this strip, which derives its name from the Platte, a stream which flows through its length, bands of Iowa and Sac and Fox Indians had long made their home. By the treaty of September 17, 1836, they relinquished their rights in favor of the state of Missouri. February 15, 1837, the ratification of the treaty was proclaimed, and settlers began to move to the new lands.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 468; Gatewood's History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri, 1885, p. 545.



REV. SAMUEL M. IRVIN.



MRS. ELIZA IRVIN.

shifted for themselves in the winter, and their poor, half-famished dogs had a miserable existence, except in the better hunting seasons.

"Their farming utensils were a squaw-ax (a miserable looking piece of iron with a beveled edge and an eye like a garden-hoe, which a man nowadays would not know what to do with) and a heavy hoe just introduced by the traders.

"With the men, war was the chief employment and great delight. The women also entered considerably into the war spirit. They took a large part in the war-dance. The more honored in the circle would carry a shrub or branch of a tree as large as could be carried, pendent from which were mutilated parts of the bodies of their enemies, such as fingers and toes and even feet and hands.

"In one instance known to the writer, an old woman of fourscore, on hearing that a grandson had so distinguished himself in a war party as to be entitled to the honor of a brave, by some means got upon a pony and rode through the village at full speed, her gray hair floating in the air, and at the top of her voice telling the glad news, and solacing herself thus: 'Did I think I should ever live to see so happy a day.'

"Their notions of a future state were in keeping with their physical condition. They believed they would exist hereafter, but in some way that would expose even the best to the ordinary vicissitudes of this present life. Soon after we came among them a woman, familiar at the mission, lost a little son a year and a half old. It was buried near the village, and a bowl full of the best cooked corn and beans, the best provisions they had, with a little wooden spoon, was set by his grave and there remained. She soon after went on their winter hunt and was absent near six months. On her return she came to the mission and asked for some bread, which was given her. She did not eat it, but with a mother's tenderness went and put it by the grave of her little son. In the summer melons and beans were cultivated at the grave and left for his benefit.

"The year after the Iowas moved to their new homes [in 1837] the government, under treaty stipulation, built for them five double log-houses with a passage of ten feet between, being equal to ten houses of sixteen by eighteen, each with good shingle roof, glass windows, floors and doors, and

with good stone chimneys; also fenced and broke 200 acres of ground, in ten-acre lots. The rails were soon used for camp-fires, the houses, some of them, were occupied for a short time, but all were eventually abandoned. The doors, floors, windows, and all that could be were sold for whisky and trinkets, and the logs were finally burned. Thus in a few years the houses were not to be found, and the place where the fields had been could not be distinguished.

"Under provisions of the same treaty 100 head of milch cows and 100 head of stock hogs were delivered to them; also a large quantity of farming utensils. The cattle and hogs were soon devoured for food, and the farm tools were traded off for whisky and the like, so that in a very short time all was gone. A water mill built by the government at a cost of \$2800 was burned to ashes; whisky shops gathered around, and drunkenness prevailed to a fearful extent. Under its influence it was often the case that a brother would fall by the hand of a brother, or father by the hand of a son."

Mr. Irvin also relates the following story:

"One day as I was crossing the Missouri river with a number of Indians one of our horses became restive and unwilling to go upon the craft. An old Indian with a whip in hand made a flourish at the animal and at the same moment blustered out a profane English word. Through an interpreter, for at that time I did not know the language, I told the old Indian kindly that the word he used was a bad one and should not be spoken. He seemed surprised and said he did not know that; it was a word he heard white men use at such times, and he thought it would make the horse go."

Another time an old Indian told Mr. Irvin his boy was learning to talk English very fast, but when the boy came in, at Mr. Irvin's request he gave a sample of his learning, and swore like a pirate, all the English he knew. The Indians have no profane words in their language. All they know about profanity, and many of their other vices, they learned from their paleface Christian brethren.

Later on Mr. Irvin speaks in glowing terms of the improved condition of these Indians, traceable to the establishing of the mission among them.

The first mission building was constructed in true frontier style, of round logs as they came from the forest, and scalped afterwards. It was one story high, covered with clapboards held in place with weight-poles, had a puncheon floor, stick and clay chimney, and the openings between the logs were plastered with mortar made from mother earth.

Many of the first Indian houses were bark wigwams, like the cut which adorns this sketch. Some of these wigwams, built at a later date, were standing when the white man took permanent possession of the country. After the treaty of 1854, by which the original reserves were reduced, I remember a man by the name of Matthews lived in one of these old bark-wigwams, south of Iowa Point, for some time. According to a provision of the treaty of 1836 the government built the Indians a number of good double houses of hewed logs in that vicinity. Of these houses Mr. Irvin says: "The houses, some of them, were occupied for a time, but all were eventually abandoned. The floors, doors, windows, and all that could be, were sold for whisky and trinkets, and the logs were finally burned." A pioneer settler, James Plank, built his cabin to a stone chimney where one of these houses had been burnt down, which gave it a more aristocratic appearance than his neighbors' cabins, which all had stick and clay chimneys. The writer did a lucrative business building stick and clay chimneys at seventy-five cents per day and board, until the brick-chimney builder came along and ruined my occupation; but I got my revenge when the stone man came along and put the brick-chimney builder out of business.



AN IOWA WIGWAM.

Much of the first nine years of missionary work among these Indians was carried on at their homes, instructing them in habits of industry, morality, cleanliness and sobriety.

In a pamphlet published in 1896 by Rev. A. B. Irvin, pastor for more than twenty-five years of the First Presbyterian church of Highland, which is an outgrowth of the old Iowa and Sac mission, Rev. William Hamilton, an associate of Mr. Irvin, says, in a letter written in 1891, shortly before his death: "I remember I often thought part of my preparation for the Sabbath was washing the boys on Saturday evening, and getting them clean for the Sabbath. I taught them both in English and Iowa—the books in Iowa being prepared by myself, and the type set by Mr. Irvin; and we together struck off the sheets and folded and bound them. I then taught the children to read them. I often thought if all authors had first to study a language, then write a book and print it, and then teach children to read it, there would not be as many trash books published as there are. We prepared and printed an elementary book of 101 pages, a translation of the children's catechism; a grammar of 150 pages, and a hymn-book of fifty hymns in Iowa. I printed about sixteen pages of Matthew's Gospel."

In 1845 the Presbyterian Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions began the erection of a splendid building, three stories high, 106 feet long and 37 feet wide, with thirty-two rooms, two of which, the dining-hall on the first floor and the chapel on the second floor, were 34 by 30 feet each. The first story was of cut stone, the upper stories of brick, and, as originally built, a belfry was placed over the center, the top of which was fifty-two feet from the base. The shingles, doors, windows and all the finishing lumber was shipped from Pittsburg, Pa., to St. Joseph, Mo., and hauled



First Mission Building at Highland, erected in 1846.

from there with ox teams. The stone for the lower story came from near where Highland station now is, and the brick, I think, were made not far from the building. Some of this building was removed before the picture, which is herewith presented, was taken, and during the past summer, 1907, a severe wind-storm completed its final destruction.

In Mr. Irvin's report for 1848 he says :

"About one-half of the teaching and learning is done in the Iowa language and the other in the English. This seems to combine the advantages of giving them useful ideas in their own language, which they can understand, and at the same time of gradually introducing the English language. The teaching we do ourselves, dividing it equally between us. The scholars have memorized in their own language a number of hymns, which they sing with ease; and also a good collection of questions, which they answer with readiness. Most of the boys are small and unable to do much on the farm, but we find them willing to do what they can as white boys of the same age.

"The little girls are quite industrious in the kitchen, and are making good progress in learning to do house- and needle-work. Our help for carrying on the mission and school, with the wages allowed, is as follows :

" William Hamilton and wife.....	\$200 per year.
S. M. Irvin and wife.....	200 " "
John Myers and wife	200 " "
Two hired girls, \$50 each	100 " "

"There are also seven white children in the mission family who have an allowance of \$25 each—\$175."

When the new building was completed it had ample room to accommodate a large attendance of scholars, and a strong effort was made by Mr. Irvin in that direction, with rather indifferent success, as the following report, made by him six years later to Agent Vanderslice, at Great Nemaha agency, will show. It is a fair sample of all his reports to which I have had access :

"IOWA AND SAC MISSION, September 20, 1854.

"DEAR SIR—Our school during the past year has averaged forty-two. Up to May we had forty-four. In that month some Otoes persuaded three of our boys off to their village, and one of our girls died about the same time, leaving us but forty. These children are from the tribes of the Black-feet, Sioux, Pawnees, Sacs, Foxes and Iowas, a majority from the latter tribe. We have nearly an equal number of boys and girls, and one-half are half-breeds, and a majority of them are orphans, having neither father nor mother living.

"Their studies in school are spelling, reading, arithmetic and geography; and nearly all to write. They are making some progress in their studies, as much perhaps as we should expect, in view of the work they do [on the farm and in the house], and the strange language and difficulties they have to meet. But until these people have more settled and industrious habits, work is as necessary as letters. The children all work very well, and we find the more diligent they are in work the more contented and cheerful they seem to be; itself a sufficient reason for keeping them close at work.

"Our custom is to rise at five o'clock in the morning, breakfast at six, have six hours at school in the day, commencing at nine, and the hours out of school are spent at work.

"Our crop has been well tended and is good for the season; but from the drought it is rather below an average crop. We have about 100 or 115 acres under fence, and one-half is cultivated, and about one-half is pasture. We have thirty head of cattle, over forty pork hogs, three horses, and one yoke of oxen. Our help the past year has been Mr. and Mrs. Williams, Harriet Wallace, cook, and a part of the time, Mrs. Higley, assistant teacher.

"Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis reached us a few weeks ago to assist on the farm and in the house. Our expenses ending May last, as reported by the board, were \$2515.64. Care is had to the moral and religious instruction of the children. It is kept in view in the school, and Friday afternoon is still given to this. Besides our common services on the Sabbath, catechising and Sunday-school is uniformly attended to. Most of the scholars succeed well in memorizing Scripture. Three of our scholars are members of the church, and others at times seem serious. Their good order in time of worship is commendable.

"Visiting and preaching, or talking to the adult Indians, have been kept up as usual, but with no more marked encouragement than in former years; but we still trust the 'set time to favor' these poor people will soon draw near. These hurried statements (for I am just setting out to be absent a few days), together with your personal knowledge of our doings, will, it is hoped, enable you to report intelligently on the condition of our affairs.

Very respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

"COL. D. VANDERSLICE.

S. M. IRVIN."

From the foregoing it will be seen that here was an institution of learning with ample educational facilities for a large number of pupils, and yet there were only forty in regular attendance, which was a fair average for a number of years; and these were gathered up from five different tribes ranging over a territory westward from the Missouri river for more than a thousand miles to Snake river, in Idaho.

Surely Mr. Irvin's zeal knew no bounds, or he would have given up in despair. He could not justly be accused with mercenary motives, for from vouchers in my possession, signed in his own handwriting, he only received \$250 per year for his services—with board and clothing for himself and family, no doubt, though it is not so stated.

Col. Alfred Cummings, superintendent of Indian affairs, made the following report of a visit to the agency:

"ST. LOUIS, September 25, 1856.

"The farm at the Great Nemaha agency is in a good state of cultivation, and the tribes of that agency appear to have realized the necessity of betaking themselves to the cultivation their own farms. They are, I am pleased to add, less addicted than formerly to the use of ardent spirits. The Iowa mission contains about forty children of both sexes. Upon examination I found that they had attained a respectable proficiency in reading, writing, etc. In addition to these branches the girls are instructed in needlework, cooking, and general housework. The boys cultivate a farm of eighty acres of corn with great neatness, and have a heavy crop ripening for the harvest. The children are healthy, cheerful, well clothed, modest, and polite in their deportment.

"The Sacs and Foxes, who have been in contact with civilization for years, continue unchanged, and are now, as heretofore, distinguished for their courage in war and their indomitable energy in the chase. They have uniformly refused the services of the missionary and the farmer, and continue to inhabit bark huts constructed in the rude style of their fathers. They are expert in the use of firearms, and by their adventurous courage have so often defeated the Comanches in the open prairies, though greatly outnumbered by the latter, that the very sound of the name of Sacs causes a panic among those very bands of Comanches long considered so terrible upon the frontiers of Texas."

The water mill provided for by the treaty of 1836, which Father Irvin mentions as having been burned by the Indians, was situated about five miles northwest of the mission, on Mill creek, a small stream that puts into Cedar creek above Iowa Point. The Sacs had an old-fashioned treadmill at the agency, which survived until the whistle on the steam mill at Iowa Point sounded its death-knell in 1857. Sometime after this the old iron and burs, of the treadmill were sold to a party above Mound City, in Holt county, Mo. The burs from the mill on Mill creek were used as stepping-stones across that shallow stream, where the old mill had stood when I first came to Doniphan county, in 1855, and they are no doubt covered up there now in the bed of the creek, by the soil that has washed down from the cultivated fields above the old mill site.

As first established, the Great Nemaha agency was a mile southwest of the mission, on the Sac lands, and the mission was on the Iowa side of the line, between the two tribes. The original agency buildings, like those of the old mission, were made of round logs, and but little improvement was made in them while the agency remained at this place. After the treaties of 1854, by which the two reserves of 1836 were diminished, the Indians went north to their reservation on the Great Nemaha, between White Cloud and Rulo, Neb., and better agency buildings were erected.

The Iowas, by provisions of their treaty of 1854,³ gave the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions 320 acres of fine land where the mission building stood, together with 160 acres of well-timbered land. This, after being divided into smaller tracts, has long since passed into other hands.

Article 4 of the treaty between the Sacs and Foxes, at Washington, May 18, 1854, reads thus:

"The said Indians reserve a tract of one section of land at the site of their present farm and mill, and to include the same; and, if they desire it, said farm may be cultivated for them for a term not exceeding two years,

NOTE 3.—Treaty with the Iowas, 1854, sec. 7, In *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2, page 629.

at the end of which time, or sooner, if the Indians request it, the said tract and mill may be sold by the President to the highest bidder, and, upon payment being made, a patent to issue to the purchaser; the proceeds of the sale to be paid over to the Indians with their other moneys.

"ART. 5.—At the request of the Indians, it is hereby agreed that the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian church shall have a tract of 160 acres of land, to be selected by said board at a distance not exceeding two miles in a westerly direction from the grant made to said board at their mission by the Iowa Indians—and the President is authorized to issue a patent for the same to such person or persons as said board may designate."

The board designated Rev. S. M. Irvin, and the patent was issued to him.

Until 1840 these missionaries received their mail at Liberty, in Clay county, Missouri, going after it twice a year, in the spring and fall. The round trip took a week's time on horseback, for the distance was about 100 miles. June 10, 1840, a post-office was established at Robidoux's trading-post, called "Blacksnake Hills," now St. Joseph, Mo., and then the mission folks could get their mail in two days with an ox team.

Rev. William Hamilton and wife (Julia Ann N. McGiffin), were long associates with the Irvins at the Iowa and Sac mission, having arrived December 29, 1837, and remaining until 1853, when they succeeded Rev. Edmund McKinney and wife at the Omaha and Otoe mission, Bellevue, Neb., also in charge of the A. B. C. F. M. The McKinney's had been in charge of Spencer Academy among the Choctaws, but came on to Mr. Irvin's in the spring of 1846, and remained during a vacation taken by the Hamiltons in Pennsylvania, at the completion of which, the same fall, they went north to Bellevue. Mr. Irvin, in notes of a trip to Bellevue in July, 1853, says his trip was made at the instance of Mr. Lowrie, secretary of the board, for the purpose of taking up some children as assistants to the Omaha missionaries, and for the purpose of seeing and advising with the new missionary but recently arrived.⁴ Mr. Lowrie had visited Bellevue in 1847, to plan the erection of a commodious log mission building, which was completed the following year.

It may be well to mention here that the first missionaries among the

NOTE 4.—Extracts from Father Irvin's diary :

"On Tuesday, July 10 [year not given], we set out from the Iowa and Sac mission, or the Indian Orphan Institute, as it is now called, for the Omaha mission in Nebraska, a distance of over 200 miles. The trip was made at the instance of Mr. Lowrie, secretary of the board, and his object was to take up some children as assistants to the Omaha mission; also a team and wagon; also to see and advise with the new missionaries who had recently arrived there. Our little company consisted of four persons: Miss Sally McKinney, of the Pawnee tribe; Miss Lena Dupee, of the Sioux tribe; W. James Donaldson, of the Pawnee tribe, and the writer. The three young persons named are half-breeds nearly grown, and have been raised and educated mainly at the Iowa mission. Economy suggested that we make the trip all by land, carry our own provisions, and camp out on the way. With wagon well covered, plenty of provisions, cooking utensils, quilts, etc., we set out about nine o'clock A. M. Fifteen miles brought us to the Nemaha, where we halted for noon. The girls got dinner while James and I got wood, made fire, tended horses, etc.

"After passing the Nemaha our road lay along a high, dry ridge, and we were anxious about water for our horses. It was not until we had gone fifteen miles, and about sunset, that we came to water for our horses. We had a good and late dinner, so we drove as long as we could see, and then stopped for the night on the high prairie; then tied our horses with long ropes to the wagon-wheels, that they might graze around, while we with our quilts and blankets take lodging either beyond their reach in the prairie-grass or under the wagon.

"Fifteen years ago I traveled this very path with the chiefs and braves of the Iowas to make peace with the Omahas. We camped near this spot. The Indians then pointed out a spot on a ridge a little south, where the Iowas but a short time before had murdered and scalped nine Pawnees. Their bones then lay white on the prairie, and I presume some of them are still there. Wednesday, 11th, about noon, we passed the Little Nemaha at a point I well remember to have passed before several years ago, when, in company with brother McKinney, we were looking out a situation for the Otoe mission at Bellevue.

"There was then no human habitation within forty miles. In the afternoon we reached a point on the Missouri river which is now called Peru, a small village or landing. I presume the inhabitants are quite ignorant of a tragedy which happened years ago at the foot of their main street or where their landing is. A party of Sioux attempted to invade the Iowas and Otoes, to

Otoes and Omahas seem to have been the Rev. Moses Merrill and his wife, Eliza Wilcox, who came by way of the Shawnee Baptist mission in 1833, where they tarried while fixing upon their future work in Nebraska. The same year they began work at Bellevue, and remained in that vicinity until his death, in February, 1840.⁵

In 1842⁶ Fremont discovered the South Pass through the Rocky Mountains, over which the first emigrant train through what is now Doniphan county passed in that year to the Pacific coast, going by the mission on its journey of 2000 miles, which took six months with ox-teams.

In 1843 a printing-press was sent from New York to the mission. This is said to be one of the first presses⁷ west of the Missouri river. Mr. Irvin and Rev. William Hamilton printed some elementary books in Iowa on this press in the old log mission-house.⁸

The Iowa and Sac mission ceased to exist as such about the year 1863. Mr. Irvin and his devoted wife had spent twenty-six of the best years of their lives in a noble effort to civilize and Christianize a wild and warlike people, whose chief occupation had been war and rapine from time immemorial. After closing up the affairs of the mission, Mr. Irvin devoted the remaining years of his life in the interest of Highland University, a worthy institution of learning located in the beautiful town of Highland, two miles west from where he established the Iowa and Sac mission in 1837.

At this transition period, Mr. Irvin says, in a communication to an eastern paper:

"Editor Banner: In the year 1837, the writer, a farmer boy in feeble

get horses and scalps. The latter tribes combined proved too strong for the Sioux and they were put to flight. Being hard pressed, four of the retreating party took shelter in a small piece of tall grass that remained unburnt where Peru landing now is. The Iowas and Otoes surrounded the grass on all sides excepting towards the river and then set fire to the grass. Two of the Sioux were killed in attempting to escape through the fire—two took to the river and shared the same fate in the water."

At the close of this journey, Mr. Irvin remarks: "We met an old and beloved friend, brother Hamilton, with his estimable family. With him and his family I had spent near sixteen years of missionary life."

NOTE 5.—Autobiography of Mr. Hamilton in Neb. Hist. Soc. Trans., vol. 1, p. 60; "Personal Sketch of Rev. Moses Merrill," by his son, in above Trans., vol. 4, p. 157; Morton's Hist. of Nebraska, vol. 1, p. 223.

NOTE 6.—Oliver W. Nixon, in his book *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*, in telling of the wedding journey of the Whitmans and Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Spalding in 1836, says: "The road discovered by the pioneers through the South Pass seems to have been made by nature on purpose to unite the Pacific with the Atlantic slope by an easy wagon road. The Wind river and the Rocky Mountains appear to have run out of material, or spread out to make it an easy climb. So gentle is the ascent the bulk of the way that the traveler is scarcely aware of the fact that he is climbing the great 'Stony Mountains.' Fremont discovered the pass in 1842, and went through it again in 1843, and Stansbury in 1849, but it is well to remember that on this notable bridal tour these Christian ladies passed over the same route six years before the 'Pathfinder' or the engineer corps of the United States ever saw it. It was on this trip that the first wagon was taken through. Dr. Elijah White, United States subagent of Indian affairs west of the Rocky Mountains, conducted an emigrant party, by way of Westport, to Oregon, in 1842, over the same pass."—Oregon Pioneer Assoc., Trans., 1875, p. 45.

It is extremely interesting to associate these early missionaries, and to find that though their work was widely separated they frequently crossed each other's paths in the pursuit of duty. On the bridal trip mentioned above came also Rev. Benedict Satterlee and wife, as far as Liberty, Mo., where she died, surrounded by these lately found but sympathizing friends. The Eells, who followed the Whitmans to Oregon in 1838, mention on their trip up the Platte valley the finding of the remains of Doctor Satterlee by a man whom they had met. The sad fate of this young couple reminds us that Doctor Whitman and wife came to an untimely death in Oregon in 1847, at the hands of the Indians to whom they were giving their all.

NOTE 7.—See Kansas Historical Society Collections, volume 8, page 80, for biography of Rev. Jotham Meeker, who set up the first press in Kansas in the winter of 1833-'34, at the Shawnee Baptist mission, in Johnson county.

NOTE 8.—One of these volumes is in the library of the Kansas Historical Society. It is a 12mo. of 152 pages, and is entitled: "An Iowa Grammar, illustrating the principles of the language used by the Ioway, Otoe and Missouri Indians. Prepared and printed by Rev. William Hamilton and Rev. S. M. Irvin, under the direction of the Presbyterian B. F. M. Iowa and Sac Mission press, 1848."

health and not far from your city, was taken up by the venerable and much beloved Doctors Swift and Heron and sent as a missionary among Western Indians. Our destination was 100 miles beyond the lines of civilization. Six weeks was then necessary to make the journey, and for years the post-office was so distant that a week of time was needed to make the trip. Away out on the beautiful prairies, as beautiful as the Garden of the Lord, seventeen years of delightful and uninterrupted missionary labor were spent. Then followed six years of restlessness and change, treaty-making, moving, claim-jumping, grasping speculation, mammon worship, political strife and great commotion. The clouds were gathering. Then came the dark years of the war. Fear and trembling and anxiety filled the hearts of the people, and sorrow and bereavement reached every family circle. This state of things reached over a period of near six years. But the clouds broke away, and now we are in a period of wonderful activity, enterprise and improvement. Through all these vicissitudes and a lapse of thirty-three years, the full measure of an estimated age, your old friend and fellow laborer, having obtained help of God, remains even to this day, but with new surroundings and new work to do."⁹

Mr. Irvin then says: "When the mission work closed we supposed our work was about done, but not so." He then enters into an elaborate argument for Highland University, whose interests he faithfully and energetically championed as long as he lived.

The following extracts are taken from a letter of one of Father Irvin's pupils:

"At the time Father Irvin and wife came to the territory of Kansas the Indians were very wild and totally uncivilized, and these brave young missionaries were in danger of their lives. At the time they were building the mission they lived in a little log house across the branch. I remember Mother Irvin telling how one day she had lain down to rest, and when she awakened there stood three big Indians at the foot of her bed looking at her. They said "How," shook hands with her, and went away. They never at any time were molested by the Indians, though had the Indians so minded they could easily have killed them, as they were far from any white people. God was their protection through all.

"The teachers were many and constantly changing. James Williams taught for awhile. Miss Maggie Patterson, afterwards Mrs. Wm. Bayless, who came from Ohio; a Miss Turner from New Haven, Conn.; Miss Fuller from Pennsylvania; Miss Lizzie Diamond, and many others. The Reverend Robertson and family took charge of the mission when Father Irvin moved to Highland.

"The Indian children learned rapidly, being especially gifted in writing, drawing, and singing, which seemed to be natural to them. They were taught all the common branches, also housekeeping for the girls and farming for the boys.

"The girls were taught home-making and housekeeping under the personal supervision of Mother Irvin herself, especially butter-making, at which she was expert, canning, preserving of fruits, etc.

"Mrs. Rachel McCreary, Aunt Rachel, as we were taught to call her, was seamstress and taught the girls to sew, mend and knit. They knitted all of their own stockings, and made their dresses by hand. Aunt Rachel was a sister of Mother Irvin; her son, Mr. Jefferson McCreary, still lives and is a resident in the vicinity of Highland.

"The cooking was taught by Mrs. James Williams, Aunt Letty, another sister of Mother Irvin. The laundry work was done by the older girls—Mary Childs, Eliza Nohart, Rachel McCreary, who also assisted with the cooking. Rachel is still living in the territory.

NOTE 9.—The old mission, even after the settlements began, continued to be the center of social life and activity. Frank A. Root, then a printer in the *Highlander* office, recalls a Presbyterian social at the mission in the winter of 1858-'59. Several loads of young people went over from Highland, spent the evening with games and music, closing with a bountiful supper. Elliott, the oldest child of the missionaries, had just returned from Pittsburg, Pa., with his bride.

"The boys were taught farming, gardening, care of stock, etc., under the supervision of an industrial teacher. They had to cut wood and carry it to the house for the three great fireplaces. There was plenty of fruit of all kinds on the place.

"The children's spiritual welfare was especially cared for. Religious services were held twice on Sabbath, besides Sabbath-school and morning and evening family worship, all conducted by Father Irvin. The Indians used to come to these services from their camps. Father Irvin learned to talk the Iowa language. He preached, prayed and sang in that language, and translated hymns into Iowa.

"There were a number of converts in the school from time to time; one in particular, 'Sandy Reed,' an Iowa boy, had quit school and gone away for several years. He was slowly dying with consumption. He sent for Father Irvin saying he wished to talk with him. Father went to him and Sandy told him that he had given his heart to God through his teachings and that he was ready to die. He died that night a Christian's death. Another boy, Thorpe, by name, died while he was on his knees at prayer.

MARGARET RUBETI MARGRAVE (Mrs. Wm. A. Margrave)."

The foregoing sketch of Rev. Samuel M. Irvin and the Iowa and Sac mission has been gleaned from old records, kept mostly by himself, and verified in part by a personal acquaintance extending from 1855 to the time of his death, in 1887. Many other incidents in Mr. Irvin's life, showing the simplicity and nobleness of his character, could be given; how for a paltry sum he and his self-sacrificing wife forsook the walks of civilized life and bade adieu to refined society, casting their lot among a wild and warlike people who were total strangers to the refining influences of civilized life.

These two zealous old missionaries died in Highland—Mrs. Irvin in 1886, and Mr. Irvin a year later. They now sleep peacefully side by side in the Highland cemetery, near where they labored so faithfully to enlighten a people who were groping in darkness. On a beautiful memorial window in the First Presbyterian church of Highland, a testimonial from loving friends, the following record is made:

"S. M. IRVIN, 1812-1887.

"MRS. ELIZA IRVIN, 1808-1886."

In the language of an old-time friend of theirs at the mission, John W. Forman, now deceased, "Peace to their ashes and everlasting honor to their names."

Let us now examine briefly the antecedents of the tribes for whose benefit the Iowa and Sac mission was established and maintained during the twenty-five years of its existence.

About the beginning of the past century the Iowa Indians were a numerous and warlike people, said to be very cruel and barbarous, mutilating those that fell into their hands in battle in a most horrible manner. At that time the Iowas lived in the vicinity of where St. Joseph,¹⁰ Mo., now is, and they, with the Sacs and Foxes, made frequent raids on the Kansas Indians west of the Missouri river; and, being better armed, they usually came

NOTE 10.—"The Iowas were a tribe of the great Siouan family, descendants of the old Missouris. In Lewis and Clark's time [1804] they had one village, 40 leagues up the Des Moines river, with a population of 800, of which 200 were warriors."—Coues' *Lewis and Clark*, vol. 1, p. 20. Morse, in his "Report on Indian Affairs," 1822, page 204, says: "The Ioways only visit this place [Fort Osage, Mo.] occasionally. This tribe is about as numerous as the Kansas. They are latterly much divided, so that I am unable to state precisely how many villages they occupy, or where they are located. About half the tribe, I understand, joined the Otoes, near Council Bluffs, last year, with the intention of remaining there. I am not sure whether they still remain there or not. The other part of the tribe remains in two villages, I believe, on the De Moines and Grand rivers. The Ioways hunt principally between the Missouri, north of it, and the Mississippi rivers, from the heads of the two Chacatons [Charitons] up to the Nodaway, and sometimes still further up."

out of the fray victorious. But their decline soon set in, and their numbers rapidly diminished, so that when they came to Kansas, in 1837, they only numbered a little over 800. This, however, did not diminish the war spirit among them, for they engaged in a war with the Omahas and Sioux in 1838. The next year after they came to Kansas, I once heard No-heart (Nan-chee-nin-ga), head chief of the Iowas, say, in a public speech at a Fourth of July celebration at Highland, that he had killed seven Sioux himself in a single battle.

When the Iowas first came to Kansas, White Cloud (Mo-has-ka or Mo-hos-ca) was their head chief, and James White Cloud, a descendant of the old Chief White Cloud, is now chief of the tribe. The group of White Cloud and family, which adorns the pages of this article, shows them off in their gaudy official robes, with the exception of his son Louie, who is dressed in citizens' clothing, a custom their tribe adopted several years ago. See page 311.

Although the Iowas are now greatly reduced in numbers, being about 100, their condition is certainly much better than it was when Mr. Irvin first went among them, in 1837. They now live in houses on their own reservation above White Cloud, Kan., cultivate the soil, and have horses, cattle and hogs about them, like the white man. The housewife also has her flock of chickens, and encounters the same difficulties in taking care of them that her paleface sisters do. Old Chief White Cloud's wife's name was Raut-che-wai-me, *female flying pigeon*.

The Sacs and Foxes, like many other tribes, divided up into bands in an early day, resulting from disagreement over leadership or some policy to be pursued. Ne-sour-quot¹¹ *Bear* was head chief of the Missouri band which came to Kansas with the Iowas in 1837. They had lived adjoining the Iowas on the south in Missouri for a long time. Sac Prairie, in Buchanan county, received its name from this tribe.

The Sacs, like the Iowas, were a warlike people. They engaged in many bloody battles before they left Missouri, notably the great battle at King Hill, now in the corporate limits of St. Joseph. They assisted the Iowas in most of their wars with other tribes.

Ne-sour-quot opposed old Black Hawk in his war against the government on the Rock river, in Illinois, in 1832. Ridpath, in his History of the United States, says of this Indian outbreak:

"In the spring of 1832, the Sacs and Foxes and Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin territory began war. They were incited and led by the famous chief Black Hawk, who, like many sachems before him, believed in the possibility of an Indian confederacy sufficiently powerful to beat back the whites. The land of the Sacs and Foxes lying in the Rock river country of Illinois had been purchased by the government twenty-five years previously. The Indians, however, remained in the ceded territory, since there was no occasion for immediate occupation by the whites. When at last, after a quarter of a century, the Indians were required to give possession, they caviled at the old treaty, and refused to comply. The government insisted that the red men should fulfil their contract, and hostilities began on the frontiers. The governor of Illinois called out the militia, and General Scott was sent with nine companies of artillery to Chicago. At that place his force was overtaken with the cholera, and he was prevented from coöperating with the troops of General Atkinson. The latter, however, waged a vigorous campaign against the Indians, defeated them in several actions, and made Black Hawk a prisoner."

NOTE 11.—In the treaty of 1836 this name is given "Ne-sa-at-que."

In the summer of 1853 the government called the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache Indians together to make their first treaty with the United States. They met at Fort Atkinson, and stipulated that for certain presents they would allow the government to establish roads through their domain, that they would cease to molest travelers, and would refrain from making incursions into the Mexican provinces, etc. The next summer, as their agent, John W. Whitfield, was preparing to deliver the annuities allowed by the treaty, he learned that the above tribes, together with portions of the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Osages, had assembled on the Pawnee Fork at the Santa Fe crossing, for the purpose of forming a war party to wipe out all the frontier Indians they could find on the plains. Plainsmen said it was the largest gathering of Indians they had ever known to assemble, 1500 lodges being present, the Indians having from forty to fifty thousand horses and mules, many of which had been stolen from Mexicans and freighters. Before the agent could reach them the warriors started north, a band of 1500. A hundred miles west of Fort Riley they fell in with a band of a hundred Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi, the band residing, since 1846, on the reserve in Franklin and Osage counties, well armed with rifles, and thought, of course, they were going to have a picnic. In the fight which ensued the Sacs and Foxes took refuge in a ravine, from which the wild Indians could not dislodge them with their bows and arrows, which did but little execution, and as every shot from the ravine was telling on either horse or rider, after several ineffectual attempts to drive the Sacs and Foxes out into the open, where they would have made quick work of riding them down and spearing them, these 1500 valiant warriors ingloriously fled, leaving their dead behind them—a thing Indians never do unless they are badly whipped. This fight cost the wild Indians pretty heavily, about sixteen being killed outright and one hundred wounded, while the Sacs and Foxes only lost five or six in killed and wounded, and, what was infinitely more gratifying to them, they got the scalps of all their enemies they killed, which is the greatest trophy an Indian can carry from the battle-field. Scalps tell the story of how many killed without the formality of making a report to headquarters, which in their absence is easily exaggerated.

About a month after this a young Sac brave, who had a brother killed in the engagement, mounted his pony and went alone within 400 yards of an Osage encampment, met two Osage men, shot one down and scalped him. He could have killed the other, but wanted him to carry the news of what he had done to the Osage village. He waited until he had done so, heard the cries of those in the camp for the dead warrior, and mounted his pony and returned home with his scalp.

The Sacs and Foxes accused the Osages of doing all the execution in the fight against them, as the Osages had guns, while all the balance of the attacking party were armed with bows and arrows. These incidents show that the Sacs, even in their decline, which had long before that set in, were fighting stock and worthy representatives of a tribe that produced such warriors as old Black Hawk.¹²

There are but a few of this tribe, perhaps not more than fourscore souls, now on their reservation along the Big Nemaha west of the Iowas. Some of them went to the Indian Territory a number of years ago, and are now full-fledged citizens.

NOTE 12.—Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1854, pp. 298, 312.

When the Sacs came to Kansas, in 1837, they numbered 500. The total of the three tribes, Iowas, Sacs, and Foxes, was 2500. They and the Iowas owned the north half of Doniphan county, and the Kickapoos the south half, the Sacs living between the Iowas and the Kickapoos.

Fox Skin, Bear Skin Tug, Waking Bear and Eagle were prominent Kickapoos at the time of the treaty of 1854. White Cloud, No-Heart, Little Wolf, and the Stealer (Wah-moon-na-ka), were Iowas. The Bear, White Sturgeon, Hard Fish, Fox and Jumping Fish were Sacs and Foxes.

The Kansas Indians had lived in this region perhaps for ages before the Iowas and Sacs and Foxes came here in 1837. Old Indian village sites are scattered all over Doniphan county. The house in which I live stands upon one of these village sites. It would be interesting to know when this village was founded, and more instructing still to know who its founders were. This may have been the province of Quivira Coronado visited in 1541. His description of that country, which was located where the fortieth parallel crossed "a great river" tallies exactly with Doniphan county, and the north-eastern corner of Doniphan county is where the fortieth parallel crosses the Missouri river, which is certainly a great river, as it is the longest river in the world.

Coronado expected to find many sites in Quivira with fine two-story stone houses, for the guides had told him there were, but instead he only found twenty-five villages, and the houses were built of straw. The white man has built many "straw" towns in Doniphan county since Coronado's day. I have a list of about forty of them now in my possession. Had they all panned out as their projectors predicted they would, Doniphan county, instead of raising the biggest corn and biggest hogs of any county in the state, would have been a solid town larger than New York city. These enterprising characters were known as corner-lot speculators, whose business it was to lay out towns, which followed suit and laid out all who invested in them. After gathering in all the shekels in sight their projectors departed for fresher fields, leaving their victims, like the deluded snipe-hunter, holding the empty sack.

A correspondent of the Hillsdale, Mich., *Democrat* (July, 1856), after mentioning rifles, states the real want of Kansas as follows: "A young Missourian came to my office yesterday on business, having left his claim about one hundred miles west, a few days since, where he had been living about four months. He said among other things: 'There are plenty of men up there, but I have not seen a woman for four months. There is an Illinois man up there who has got a woman's dress, and carries it around for a show, charging one dollar a sight, and is getting rich at it.'"

JULY 1, 1856.—A Worcester company of forty-four men bound for Kansas on the *Sultana* were disarmed on Friday last at Waverly. A party from Ottawa, Ill., were disarmed on Saturday. A dispatch from Chicago says: "All the river towns have announced a determination to allow no emigrants from the North to enter Kansas."—Webb's Scrap-book 14, p. 17.



WAH-MOH-O-E-KE,
the second signer of the last treaty.

WAH-SHUN-GAH,
the last chief of the Kansa.

HISTORY OF THE KANSA OR KAW INDIANS.

Address by GEORGE P. MOREHOUSE,¹ of Topeka, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-first annual meeting, December 4, 1906.

ANYTHING pertaining to the Indian tribe that gave a name to our commonwealth and to the largest river and city within its borders will always have a peculiar interest to all true Kansans and to those who are ever eager to know more about the early history of the "Sunflower" state.

The majority of the tribes resident in Kansas during the past century were immigrants, brought here from Eastern states within the memory of those now living—the remnants of nations whose important history took place on the other side of the Mississippi river. These immigrant tribes never had that strong attachment for their new home they would have possessed had they been to the manor born.

Not so with the Kansa nation. Its earliest recorded accounts represent the tribe as owner of most of that imperial pasture now called Kansas. Here the Kansa were born, had lived, acted and passed on for many generations; here they had hunted, fished and fought; here was their home, with all the sacred associations of home; and though an Indian home, what an empire to these first native sons of Kansas! Within this wonderful prairie domain they had experienced the high fervor of victorious conquest, and anon the bitterness of disastrous defeat. Its ample sustaining resources were on every hand—the secrets of nature, from the wooded streams and rich bottom-lands of the Missouri border to the vast treeless areas of the great plains, all teeming with game of every character, were to them revealed as an inspiration and an open book.

"Look now abroad—another race has filled
These populous borders. Wide the wood recedes,
And towns shoot up and fertile realms are tilled—
The land is full of harvests and green meads."

The first recorded mention of the Kansa nation is found in the account of the explorations of Juan de Oñate, who met them on our plains in 1601, in his attempt to reach, as Coronado did in 1541, the land of the Quiviras. Oñate had first colonized New Mexico and settled many valleys of that Spanish province with the 130 families and 400 soldiers accompanying him, and the many immigrants that followed. Farms were cultivated, towns builded, convents established, and civilization was thus brought to New Mexico, where with little change it exists to-day. After gaining the friendship of the native Indians, Oñate became fired with other ambitions, other fields to conquer. Remembering that Coronado had penetrated far to the northeast only sixty years before, and had crossed the plains to the noted Quivira—what more daring and inviting field could be presented?

With a picked company of eighty soldiers, a large number of armed Indians, with their bows, arrows and spears, several guides and two friars, and a full equipment for either peace or war, this pioneer pageant marched eastward and was soon in the heart of the buffalo country. Here, as it has

NOTE 1.—Biography in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 137.

been said, "They marched, as Coronado had marched more than a half-century before, over the great plains toward the east, finding the same clear atmosphere, the same unvarying prairie, the same grapes and plums, the same enormous herds of buffalo, the same wandering tribes of Indians, which had no doubt been here from time immemorial." Finally they came to hills and bluffs, and passed along creeks, rivers and valleys where grew the mulberry, grape and plum; and, having traveled over 200 leagues, they were doubtless in the heart of what is now the eastern half of the state of Kansas. Here they met the tribe of Indians they called the Escansaques² (Kansa), a wild and powerful tribe, who were out on their annual raid to plunder the cultivated country of the Quivirans. It seems that there was great enmity between these tribes at that period, and may it not be that this answers the question, "What became of the Quivirans?"—that the more peacefully inclined Quivirans were finally crushed between the upper and nether millstones—the Escansaques on the east and the Apaches and Paducahs on the west.

Oñate found these marauding ancestors of the Kansa bent upon destroying the Quivirans, who at that time lived along a valley close to their cultivated fields. According to Professor Brower and others, their home was on the Smoky Hill and Kansas rivers, in the neighborhood of the present Junction City, though some locate Quivira on the Missouri river, farther to the northeast.

There arose some difficulty between the sons of Spain and their new acquaintances, and it seems that the Franciscan friars with Oñate were determined to teach the Escansaques a lesson, not to make further raids upon the more docile Quivirans. It was surely heroic treatment, for it is said that 1000 Escansaques were slain. This seems incredible, and it must be remembered that the old Spanish writers used the term "thousand" in rather a careless manner, when describing their conquests. However, this friendly act established a strong attachment between the dwellers of Quivira and the Spanish, for in a few years an army of 800 Quivirans appeared at the gates of old Santa Fe to solicit further aid in fighting their enemies. After this first recorded battle with the Kansa, Oñate continued on and approached the city or villages of the Quivirans, situated on the bank of a large river, and soon entered into a perpetual treaty of peace and friendship with them.

To us the most interesting feature of this early expedition is that it came in contact with the Kansa Indians.

What an awe-inspiring sight this spectacular pageant must have been to them, as it moved across their favorite hunting-grounds! What a scene of thrilling beauty greeted these adventurers, as they passed over these limitless plains and along the margins of the wooded streams on that memorable trip 300 years ago!

While there is some doubt as to the exact location of Quivira—whether it was in the Kaw valley or on the Missouri—in either event it must have been in the region of the hunting-grounds and habitat of the Kansa nation, when first visited a hundred years later by French explorers.

Oñate says that the Escansaques and the Quivirans were hereditary ene-

NOTE 2.—"If the 'Escansaques' or 'Excanjaques' are identical with the Kansa, and there is every reason for believing them to be the same, then the first mention of the tribe was made in 1599, by Juan de Oñate, who encountered them on an expedition to find the 'Quivira' of Coronado in the region of the great plains."—F. W. Hodge, in Brower's *Missouri River*, 1897, p. 165.

mies. Professor Dunbar presents convincing proof that the Quivirans were the early Pawnees. This would seem to add more evidence to prove the old and well-known saying that the Kansa and Pawnees were enemies from time immemorial. One of the old traditional questions handed down in the Kansa nation to modern times, and a question that was first asked of a returning hunting or war party, was "Pah-ne-its-es-skah?" "Did you kill a Pawnee?"

According to their language and traditions,³ many hundreds of years ago the five tribes, Kansa, Osage, Omaha, Ponka and Kwapa, were one people, and lived along the Wabash and far up the Ohio. There was even a tradition that their home at one time was near the shores of "the sea of the rising sun," from whence came the mysterious sacred shells of the tribe. For some reason they worked westward, probably pressed by the encroachment of superior forces. Coming to the mouth of the Ohio, there was a separation. Those going down the Mississippi took the name Kwapa, or *down-stream people*, while those going up the river were called Omaha, or *up-stream people*. As De Soto found the Kwapa, also known as "Akansa," in 1541 as a distinct tribe, this division took place prior to that date, and probably prior to the year 1500. The up-stream people, of which the Kansa formed a part, reaching the Missouri, followed up that stream. Another division then took place, the Omaha and Ponka passing far to the north and northwest—the Omaha gathering south of the Missouri near the mouth of the Platte, and the Ponka locating toward the Black Hills.

The Osage and Kansa being left behind, the former passed up the stream which took their name, and the Kansa, coming to the junction of the Missouri and the Kansas rivers, established themselves probably at a permanent settlement within the forks, and claimed the Kansas valley as their heritage. At least, the stream very early acquired their name. It is supposed that subsequently the tribe continued to move up the Missouri, and had reached its most northern settlement at the mouth of Independence creek, now Doniphan county, Kansas, prior to 1724, when visited by Bourgmont. In 1757, though still residing in part on the Missouri, they had established themselves in at least one village upon the Kaw. About the time of the Revolution they had entirely abandoned the Missouri. Their life upon the historic Kansas river extended until 1847, when they were moved to a reservation in the Neosho valley near Council Grove. Here they lived until the year 1873, when they went to their present home in the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). During their early history the Kansa were a powerful tribe, both in numbers and in influence. At present (1907) they number only 193 allotted members, of whom but 70 are full-bloods.

MONCAHTAPÉ, THE INTERPRETER.⁴

Moncachtapé (one who destroys obstacles and overcomes fatigues) was a strange but capable character, and was one of the first to visit and tell anything about the Kansa Indians to the outside world.

Monnacht was a Yazoo Indian, with possibly French blood in his veins. Some time about 1700, he traversed the continent from ocean to ocean, visiting

NOTE 3.—Fifteenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, page 191.

NOTE 4.—Dumont's *Memoires sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, vol. 2, p. 246; *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, Le Page du Pratz; *Proceedings of Literary and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, 1829; *Revue d'Anthropologie*, 1881; Windsor's *Mississippi Basin*, pp. 210-213.

numerous Indian tribes and learning their languages. It seems that he desired information regarding the origin of his race, and went from tribe to tribe in his search. At first, he passed to the east, thinking the cradle of the race was toward the rising sun. He traveled until he came to the lower lake regions and learned of the falls of Niagara and the wonderful high tides of the Bay of Fundy. Afterward he traversed the far West, passing along the Ohio and Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, which streams he minutely described. Following the Missouri river, he came to the Missouri Indian nation, and, staying with them all of one winter, learned their language. When spring opened he went further up that stream till he came to the great village of the Canzés, near the present site of Doniphan, Atchison county, Kansas, and stopped for some time. From these Indians he first learned of the great divide, beyond which was a river that flowed toward the west, supposed to be the Columbia. Continuing his journey, Moncacht passed down that stream to the sea, where he saw a strange ship manned by strange people, which had come to those shores for cargoes. After wandering for five years, he returned to the Mississippi valley and his home near the Gulf of Mexico. He was known as "The Interpreter," from his ability to acquire different Indian languages, learning from one tribe something of the language of the next one to be visited.

THE FRENCH AND THE KANSA.

The French association with the Kansa nation, while not as early and spectacular as that of the Spanish, was altogether more peaceful and far-reaching.

It seems that Frenchmen, whether explorers, traders, trappers or missionaries, have been more fortunate in their intercourse with the American Indian than have the other nations. It would have been much better for the general welfare of both races had the entire management of Indian affairs from the first been in the hands of Frenchmen. There seems to be something in the general composition of the French nature, whether trader or priest—some capacity—which always reaches the Indian and secures his highest confidence.

The brightest spots through three centuries of dishonor in our country's dealing with the Indian have been the successful and honorable social and business relations of the French with these dusky children of the forest and plain, and especially the self-sacrificing services in their behalf of the French missionaries of the Cross. The French authorities made early attempts to spread missions among the Western Indians with whom they came in contact.

It is supposed that the French first visited the Kansa, in 1705, as Maj. Amos Stoddard says that, failing in attempted settlements on the upper Mississippi, they turned their attention to the Missouri river, which they ascended to its mouth by 1705, where they met with a welcome reception from the Indians.⁵

As an instance of the great influence the French had over the Indians, the following is interesting: Chtoka, alias Wet Stone, a Little Osage, told Pike, during his visit to that tribe in 1806, that he was at Braddock's defeat in 1755, with all the warriors who could be spared from both villages. It seems that the Indians were engaged by Mr. McCartie, who commanded at Fort Chartres, and he furnished them with powder and ball. The place of

rendezvous was near a lake and a large fall (Niagara). It seems that the Kansa Indians were also on the ground with a select band of warriors to assist the French, but arrived just at the close of the fight. These Indians from beyond the Mississippi had many hardships in returning to their distant homes, and were gone seven months, or till the inclemency of the following winter, and were driven to eat their horses upon the return trip.⁶

LIEUTENANT PIKE AND THE KANSA.

FIRST TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THIS TRIBE.

After the Louisiana purchase of 1803, the United States desired to open up at once friendly relations with the numerous Indian nations which occupied that new possession. It was the desire of the government to win and hold the favor of these children of the plains to the same degree of influence held by the French.

One of the leading objects of the Pike expedition of 1806 was to meet these tribes and bring about peace between certain warring nations. This would more fully strengthen the sway of the United States in the interior and lessen the danger of Spanish encroachments upon the newly acquired and unprotected frontier.

When Pike visited the Osage villages on his outward trip he found them at war with the "Kans," and it was with difficulty that he induced some of them to go with him to guide the expedition to the Pawnee republic in northern Kansas. A number consented, but they took him in a roundabout way, fully 100 miles further than necessary, because, as Pike says, of their fear of their enemies, the Kans.

After the command reached the Pawnee village a dozen "Kans" came into the camp, and Pike induced two of them to accompany the expedition.

Pike learned that the Spanish military force, which had visited the Pawnees a few weeks prior to his arrival, had instructions to treat with the Kansa nation, as well as other tribes, and was provided with medals, commissions and mules for each one; but it seems that they treated only with the Pawnees. It was fortunate that Lieutenant Malgares did not visit the Kansa, for notwithstanding their great loyalty to the French, they might have been moved by the gifts and overtures of these explorers from the far Southwest and forgotten the disastrous meeting with Oñate. The Kansa were always true to the French, never liking the Spanish, and for the most part were loyal to American interests.

On the 28th day of September, 1806, Pike induced his new-found Kansa friends to go into a treaty council with him and with the Osages of his party, and to enter into an agreement of peace and friendship between the tribes and with the United States. Pike says (September 28, 1806): "I effected a meeting at this place [Pawnee republic] between a few Kans and Osages, who smoked the pipe of peace and buried the hatchet, agreeably to the wishes of their great father; in consequence of which a Kans has marched for the Osage nation, and some of the latter propose to accompany the former to their village. Whether this good understanding will be permanent I will not take on me to determine, but at least a temporary good effect has succeeded."

It may be stated now, after 100 years, that Pike's mediation did succeed,

NOTE 6.—Coues' Pike, p. 531.

for it made friends between these two tribes, which has continued to the present. Prior to 1806 the Kansa and Osages had been at war for many years—possibly since their separation from each other generations before, when they differed and became two distinct nations.

The next day was Pike's memorable council day with the Pawnees, when he required them to pull down the Spanish colors and raise the stars and stripes. The Kansa representatives were there and helped along the ceremonies, and were highly pleased when the American banner went up. The Kansa friends openly professed to be under American protection, which doubtless encouraged the Pawnees in their change, and in many other ways assisted Pike by advice as to the intentions of the Pawnees.

During Pike's time, and for many years, the Kansa nation had a high reputation for the skill and bravery of its warriors, and it seems remarkable that they were able to hold their own, surrounded as they were by so many powerful tribes greater in point of number, if not in prowess, when compared with the smaller Kansa nation.

Pike bears deserved tribute to their traits of bravery when he says: "In war they are yet more courageous than their Osage brethren; being, although not more than one-third of their number, their most dreaded enemies, and frequently making the Pawnees tremble."

I notice that Pike and other writers, in enumerating Indian tribes, where mention is made of the Kansa nation, often places it at the head of the list. Being rather a small nation as compared with the Sioux and Pawnees, who pressed them on the north, and the great plains tribes, continually beating them back from the best buffalo-hunting grounds, it is remarkable that they held their own for so long a time. The Kansa seldom initiated war just for the love of fighting. During the last century of their active tribal life they usually fought on the defensive. They were not slow to defend themselves when attacked, and on their annual hunting trips, when small parties of their braves were often assailed by much larger forces, it was frequently said that "a handful of the Kansa on the plains, by their skilful defensive manoeuvres, could put to flight several times their number of enemies." Their custom of fearlessly going far out on the plains in small hunting parties, where they often encountered larger bands of the fiercest plains Indians, often excited surprise and wonder from both white man and Indian. Some Indians wantonly killed game to deprive others of its use. This the Kansa never did, killing only enough for their own use and a moderate amount to sell, when there was a market.

THE NAME OF THE TRIBE, THE KANSA—ITS SOURCE.

During the past 300 years, since the name was first written, there have been numerous methods of spelling the designation of this tribe—the Kansa. To follow the many changes through which the word has passed to its present form would, within itself, be an interesting study. Probably no historic name in America has gone through so many changes, with so frequent variation, on maps and in books. In the ninth volume of the *Kansas Historical Collections*, Professor Hay's article on the name *Kansas*, prepared in 1882, gives twenty-four ways of spelling the word. The editors of volume 9, in a foot-note, add some twenty additional forms, and for several years past I have been gathering similar data coupled with the authority for the same. At present, 1907, I have all of the forty-four forms above mentioned.

and twice as many beside, or, in all, over 125 ways used in the past to spell the name designating this tribe of Indians, the verbal forerunners of the word Kansas. At some future time I will prepare an article on this subject, giving these names and the authorities using them, but at present will only note some of the more important and marked features.

For the initial, we find *C* and *K* and *Qu*; using *a* or *o* for the first vowel, and with or without the final *s* in the singular. The following curious double plurals are noticed: *ces*, *cez*, *ses*, *sez*, and *sais*. There are several adjective forms, like *Kanzan*, *Canzan*, *Kanzon*, *Canzon*, etc. Among the simplest forms of the word are *Kan*, *Kaw*, *Can*, *Caw*, and then the longer forms, *Kantha*, *Kansies*, *Kancez*, *Ka-anzou*, *Kanissi*, and many others beginning with *K*; then we note the many odd forms beginning with *C*, as *Canceze*, *Canchez*, *Canceas*, *Canceys*, *Canses*, etc. Among the most peculiar forms are *Quans*, *Kensier*, *Caugh*, while the most complicated are *Escansaques*, *Excanjaques*, *Escanxaques* and *Excansaquex*.

But seeing that I have reached the stage of having to spell Kansas with *j*, *q*, *u*, *x*, and *z*, I will stop, fearing it might hinder President Roosevelt, who is interested in simplified spelling. While he has been trying to decide the preferable of two ways of spelling certain words, a Kansan is exploiting over 125 ways of spelling the name of one of his favorite Western states.

In this article I will refer to the tribe as the "Kansa." Although they were often and are still called the Kaw, Kansa is preferable, and has been adopted by the Bureau of American Ethnology. It seems to harmonize more in sound with a majority of the forms of the word used by the early writers in mentioning the nation.

From whence comes this word Kansa and what is its signification? Most historians have stated that it was an Indian word of doubtful meaning; others have attributed to the word meanings which are clearly erroneous. Richardson, in *Beyond the Mississippi*, 1857, says that it signifies smoky, and several historians, like Holloway, have followed this manifest error. The Kansa word for smoke and smoky is *shu-jeh*, and I know of no Indian word regarding smoke that resembles in the slightest the word Kansa. Dorsey, an authority on Siouan languages, says the word "refers to winds," or wind people, but that its exact meaning is not known.⁷

For several years I have given this question considerable attention, and after examining numerous sources of information, believe that I have discovered the true source of the word Kansa and arrived at its real meaning. The trouble has been that the writers regarding this tribe and its name have only gone back to the records of the French explorers, traders and trappers who visited them, and have tried to translate the word Kansa as if it was either an Indian or a French word.

While it is true that the French traders used the name Kaw or Kâh for designating this tribe, they had nothing to do with originating the word

NOTE 7.—"So far as can be determined the name of Kansa refers to 'winds,' but the full definition is unknown."—F. W. Hodge, in *Brower's Missouri River*, 1897, p. 165. "The name of the Kansas river is doubtless derived from the Kansas Indians who lived on that stream. They were often called 'Kaws,' and the river in an early day was called Kaw river. The Iowas called the Indians *Kantha*, which means swift. Their own (the Kansas Indians) mode of pronouncing that word would be *Ka-za*, and this they called themselves, but whether they had another name I am unable to say. Most Indians speak of themselves by a different name from that by which they are known by the surrounding tribes."—Wm. Hamilton, in *Transactions of Nebraska State Historical Society*, vol. 1, p. 73.

Cansa or Kansa. Kaw or Kâh are nicknames or abbreviations of Kawsa, Kahsah, Kauzau, Cauzes, and a dozen other forms with similar first syllables.

An old Osage Indian once said that the name Kaw or Kah-sah was a term of ridicule once given by the Osages to the Kansa because they would not join the former tribe in a war against the Cherokees, the term meaning coward.⁸ This explanation of the word is not deserving of serious consideration, for the time that the Osages and the Kansa had some differences over the question of going to war with the Cherokees was long subsequent to the time when the Kansa were known to history by this well-known name. In the early part of the nineteenth century, when the Cherokees first migrated into Arkansas, the Osages disliked them and wished the Kansa to join in a general war against the Cherokees. This the Kansa refused, and the Cherokees came into eastern Oklahoma, which deprived the Osages of certain territory, and the Osages laid it up against the Kansa nation; but it had nothing to do with the giving of the latter name. Even if this term Kah-sah was applied to them by Osages, and even if it did mean coward, of which there is no evidence, it does not explain the older and more general word Kansa, which was used by Marquette in 1673, or over 100 years before this alleged trouble between the Osages and Kansa over the Cherokees.

I find that the dates of the authorities using Kah, Kaw or Kau for first syllable, such as Kah-sah, Kaw-sa, Kau-sas, etc., are all during the past 100 years, or since 1804, and that the first instance is found in the Lewis and Clark reports of their expedition of that year.

The names used to designate this tribe for 200 years prior to that date have the Kan or Can forms as the first part, which expresses the sound in the more ancient forms as well as the form in popular use to-day. This form, Cansa or Kansa, same in sound, was first used by the Spanish, to which I will refer later on, then by Father Marquette, and finally by French explorers and writers for 125 years after his time. This would seem to establish beyond any doubt, even from French sources, that this form of the name was by far the older, and their original and proper appellation, that by which they were first designated by the whites. The Kah-sah, Kaw-sa and Kau-zau types are corruptions of the far older and expressive name Kan-sa. In pronouncing Kan-sa, the hasty French would fail to nasalize the *n*, which would disappear, and the first syllable of the word, with a broad *a*, would become Kah or Kaw, and thus Kan-sa would become Kah-sa or Kaw-sa. Afterward, by abbreviation, these names became Kaw, the nickname of the French trader.

Kausus was used by Lewis and Clark, 1804; Kauzau by McCoy, 1840; Kaw is found in Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1850, as used while the tribe lived at Council Grove, 1847-1873, and by plainmen during the border days, and is still in common use in Kansas, and at the present home of the tribe in Oklahoma.

It may be wise to preserve this French-Canadian name Kaw, in referring to the Kansas river; but it is a nickname, a misnomer, means nothing, has no good foundation, and it should not be applied to the tribe, for it was not its name. Instead, the form Kansa should be used, it being the ancient and expressive word, the name of our state, and is supported by the weight of scores of authorities during the past 300 years.

NOTE 8.—Dickerson's Osage Nation, p. 2.

This famous historic word Cansa or Kansa is neither of Indian nor French origin, and it is useless to look to those languages for some strained and vague signification. The word is plain Spanish, and as such has a well-defined and expressive meaning when applied to an Indian tribe, and especially when used to designate that Indian tribe from which our state takes its noted name.

Cansa or Kansa means "a troublesome people, those who continually disturb and harass others." It comes from the Spanish verb *cansar*, which means "to molest, to stir up, to harass," and from the Spanish noun *can-sado*, "a troublesome fellow, a disturber."

So when the Spanish explorer Oñate, on his trip of 1601, met this tribe and learned that they annually pillaged and made war upon the Quivirans, and were always ready for a fight, he called them *Escansaques*, "the disturbers, the troublesome." From this it is easy to see how the name "wind people" might have been used in referring to the tribe, and suggested, as it has to some, that the meaning of the word was, "those who come like the winds sweeping across the prairies," the wind being a disturbing element of old plains days.

In the body of the name *Escansaques* we have the exact form used by many early writers. The sound of the letter *c* being hard like *k*, it is easy to see how early historians used either as the first letter of the name. Many early French writers follow closely the Spanish name *Cansa*. In my list of over 125 ways of spelling there are about thirty authorities with the letter *c* and having *Can* for the first syllable; *e. g.*, Cansa, Canse, Canceys, Canceze, Canzas, Canceas, etc.

Some have thought that the *Escansaques* were the Utes, but the greater weight of evidence, as I have shown, seems to establish the fact that they were none other than the Kansa—now so considered by the United States authorities and the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington.

The 200 leagues or more, 500 or 600 miles, traveled by the Spanish before they met the tribe they name "*Escansaques*," brought them to the lower Kansas river, or to the Missouri river, in the neighborhood where the French explorer found the Kansa in 1724.

In all the many ways the word has been written, with *Can*, *Kan*, *Kon* or *Quans* as part of the name, the sound attempted to be conveyed is the same. Is it strange that the Spanish name *Cansaques*, the *Es* being a mere prefix, should turn to *Quans*, *Cans*, *Canzan*, *Canses*, *Canceas*, *Canze*, *Canceys*, *Kansa*, *Kances*, *Kanse*, *Kanses*, *Konsa*, *Konzo*, as used by different French explorers and writers in speaking of the nation? The Spanish really gave the name Kansa to the world when they called this tribe the *Escansaques*—for *Cansa* or *Kansa* would be the same in sound. They first met the tribe, and the French who followed them applied the same name used by the Spanish in designating this people. It was probably first written "*Kansa*" by Marquette, on his famous autograph map of the Mississippi, about 1673; but many succeeding French explorers and writers clung to the Spanish custom of using "*Can*" as the first part of the name.

Yes, the Spanish called this Indian nation *Escansaques*, an expressive term, which speaks volumes regarding the character of the tribe in those early days. Those aboriginal inhabitants of our state were called "those who harass," "those who stir up," "disturbers"; and it seems that the latter-day Kansans—those who now occupy the former homes of the de-

parted red brothers—are keeping up the record by continually working at the same old game. Possibly they have absorbed from the atmosphere or from the soil some of the elements which give them the same characteristics of the nation of aborigines which, during the dawn of Kansas history, was so noted for getting into the lime-light as disturbers and agitators. Kansas will be Kansas no more when she lapses into a stupid pace and ceases to stir public sentiment along lines of activity. Let Kansans ever remember the source and signification of that name, a name which has not only been used as a slogan of unrest and agitation for 300 years, but also has been and now is the stirring war-cry of advancement along many lines which make our state and nation both interesting and great.

KANSA VILLAGES ON THE MISSOURI RIVER.

“KANSES”—“GRAND VILLAGE DES CANSEZ.”

Many localities in this state will contend for the honor of being the first capital of Kansas, but all will have to yield to the claim of the ancient Indian city and government center of the Kansa nation which occupied the present site of Doniphan, in Atchison county, Kansas.

As has been said, this once great nation had villages along the Missouri, Kansas, Neosho and their branches during the period in which they were the masters of a great part of the present state of Kansas, but to their ancient capital, at the mouth of Independence creek, was the distinction given of being called, “Grand village des Cansez,” or “Grand village des Quans.” It was so known even before the French explorer visited it in 1724, at the time a compact of friendship was formed which ever afterward existed between this tribe and the French people.⁹

Mr. Geo. J. Remsburg, of Oak Mills, who has made a life study of north-eastern Kansas, and written much on the subject, corroborates Lewis and Clark’s statement that Doniphan is the site of the Grand village of the Kansa, also known as “the Village of the Twenty-four,” according to Major Long, who made note of its ruins in 1819.

The first description we have of this famous spot, and the Indian nation gathered there, comes from the account of the visit of M. Étienne Vényard de Bourgmont, in the summer of 1724. This gentleman had been commissioned military commandant on the Missouri, in 1720, by the French government, which was alarmed at the attempted Spanish invasion of the Missouri river region, and desired to establish a friendship with certain border tribes, which might assist in preventing any further advancement of the Spanish from the Santa Fe region toward the Missouri valley.

The French had reason to be alarmed, for they knew that the Spanish were attempting to colonize the Missouri valley, drawn thereto by their own explorations and the reports of valuable mines,¹⁰ and intending to open up

NOTE 9.—Margry, vol. 6, p. 393.

NOTE 10.—The following letter to the secretary of the Historical Society will serve as a sequel to the note on page 17 of the Ninth Volume of Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society:

“COUNCIL GROVE, KAN., April 15, 1908.

“In answer to yours of the 11th instant, I would say that at the time I came to this territory, back in the ‘40’s, there was talk about a tin-mine somewhere in the Smoky Hill valley, and that the Kaw Indians held a key to the location. This was the talk in western Missouri and in this territory. The Kaws had in their possession specimens of the ore. We procured from them a part of it, had it tested, and sent it to Washington, to the commissioner of Indian affairs. I talked with the head men of the tribe about the matter and they said to me that the samples exhibited by some of their tribe had been obtained by their people from the whites who were passing over the Santa Fe trail, or from the border settlements of western Missouri. Various parties during

trade with the Indian tribes on French territory.¹¹ Bourgmont started overland for the Kansa village in 1724, from Fort Orleans, a French stronghold established by himself on the Missouri river the previous year, not far from the present Malta Bend, Mo. With him were M. Bellerive, Sieur Renaudiere, two soldiers, and five other Frenchmen, besides 177 Missouri and Osage Indians, under command of their own chiefs, included in that number. Several boat-loads of presents, consisting of useful and ornamental articles, had been sent on ahead in charge of Lieutenant Saint-Ange and an escort of eleven soldiers. On July 7, 1724, the overland party arrived on the east side of the Missouri, opposite the Kansa village. They crossed the next day in a pirogue and on rafts, swimming the horses, and camped near the village. Then began a two-weeks celebration, councils, pow-wows, trading horses for merchandise, and making presents to the Indians.

On July 24, they were ready to proceed on their journey to the land of the Padoucas (Comanches) upon their mission of peace and friendship. It was surely an imposing procession, this grand departure, and Bourgmont says: "We put ourselves in battle array on the village height, the drum began to beat, and we marched away."

Besides Bourgmont's forcés, the Kansa furnished the following escort to this remarkable procession: "Three hundred warriors, commanded by two grand chiefs and fourteen war chiefs, three hundred Indian women, five hundred Indian children, and five hundred dogs loaded down with baggage and provisions."

Unfortunately, the summer was unusually sultry, a prevalent fever attacked Bourgmont and obliged him on the 31st of July to return to Fort Orleans, after sending Gaillard as messenger to the Padoucas with some slaves which had been purchased from the Kansa to insure a welcome reception for the French, and to bear tidings of his intention to visit them later. By October 8, his health being restored, the commander again set out from the Kansa village, but took in his retinue only a few chiefs and head men of the Kansa and neighboring tribes. Bourgmont reached the Padoucas October 18, and effected a peace treaty with them (heretofore they had been friendly with the Spanish), and also induced them to enter into a treaty of peace and alliance with the Kansa, Missouris, Osages and other tribes.

the early '50's from the borders of Missouri went in search of the mine. In 1852 one outfit from Jackson county, Missouri, had a caravan of thirty teams and wagons. They distributed presents among the Indians and spent several weeks in the Smoky Hill country searching for it, the Indians refusing to locate the treasure. After I talked with the head men of the nation I was satisfied it was a scheme on the part of the few Indians claiming to know its location, to make money out of the report, and I refused to give encouragement to any effort to locate it. For about twenty years this talk was kept up, and various reports sent out to the department at Washington, and the department finally, during the latter '60's sent Colonel Boone out here to investigate the matter. He came with some blankets, and other presents, and distributed these among the Indians, procured teams here, and I selected one of the shrewdest Indians to go with the commissioners to the Smoky Hill to locate the mine. Maj. E. S. Stover, then agent for the Kaws, was one of the commission, and went with the party. I was invited to accompany them but declined. They spent several days in the search. The Indian guided them to the mouth of a small stream that enters into the Smoky, and the commissioner informed me that they found some specimens of some kind of ore, iron-pyrites, or something of that nature. Since that date I have not heard the tin-mine spoken of. Respectfully, T. S. HUFFAKER."

NOTE 11.—April 21, 1721, "M. de Boisbriant wrote M. de Bienville from the Illinois, that 300 Spaniards had left Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, for the purpose of conquering the colony [evidently a colony on the Red river], but only 70 had put their threat into execution, who had arrived at the Kansas river, where they encountered the Octotata and Panis Indians, who massacred all except a priest, who had made his escape on horseback."—Statutes, Documents and Papers Bearing on the Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, 1878, p. 100. Another account of this same expedition says that in 1720 a Spanish expedition led by Don Pedro Villazur reached the Platte river, and that the party was ambuscaded by the Pawnee Indians and practically destroyed.—Baudelier, in Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, vol. 5, p. 179.

This Grand village seems also to have been a Jesuit missionary station as early as 1727, for lately I have found in some old French-Canadian records of the province of Ontario, an interesting fact not before recognized in Kansas history, that the name "Kanzas" was a well-known geographical term to designate a place on the Missouri river, within the present borders of our state, where the French government and its official church, nearly 200 years ago, had an important missionary center. These early French records, preserved in the "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," contain this statement: "For the support of a missionary at Kanzas, 600 livres."

It is significant as to the standing of this mission station of the Jesuits at Kanzas, away out in the heart of the continent, that in this document it was classed along with their other important Indian missions, such as the Iroquois, Abenakis and Tadoussac, and that the same amount per missionary was expended. It was "Kanzas," a mission charge on the rolls of the Jesuit Fathers, for which annual appropriations of money were made as early as 1727. Here some of those saintly, self-sacrificing missionary pioneers of the Cross must have come from distant Quebec and Montreal, or from the far-away cloisters of sunny France. What zeal and sacrifice for others! Is it any wonder that the Kansa Indians always spoke reverently of the "black robes," who were the first to labor for their welfare in that long-ago period in the wilderness.

Our next authoritative record as to this village is given by Lewis and Clark, under date of July 4, 1804:

"We came to and camped on the lower edge of the plain, where the 2d old Kanzas village formerly stood, above the mouth of a creek, 30 yards wide; this creek we call Creek Independence. As we approached this place the prairie had a most beautiful appearance. Hills and valleys interspersed with copses of timber gave a pleasing diversity to the scenery, the right fork of the Creek Independence meandering through the middle of the plain. A point of high land near the river gives an elevated situation. At this place the Kanzas Indians formerly lived. This town appears to have covered a large space. The nation must have been numerous at the time they lived here. The cause of their moving to the Kansas river I have never heard nor can I learn. War with their neighbors must have reduced this nation and compelled them to retire to a situation in the plains better calculated for their defense, and one where they may make use of their horses with good effect in pursuing their enemies. We closed the day by a discharge of our bow piece, [and] an extra gill of whisky."

"JULY 5th, 1804. Set out very early; proceeded on near the bank where the old village stood for two miles. The origin of this old village is uncertain. M. de Bourgmont, a French officer, who commanded a fort near the town of the Missouris [Fort Orleans] in about the year 1724, and in July of the same year he visited this village. At that time the nation was numerous and well disposed towards the French. Mr. Du Pratz must have been badly informed as to the cane opposite this place. We have not seen one stalk of reed or cane on the Missouris. He states that the 'Indians that accompanied M. de Bourgmont crossed to the Canzes village on floats of cane.' These people must have been very numerous at that time, as M. de Bourgmont was accompanied by 300 warriors, 500 young people and 300 dogs of burthen out of this village. The cause of these Indians moving over to the Kanzis river I have never learned."

Sergeant Charles Floyd, who accompanied Lewis and Clark, wrote the following in his journal, July 5, 1804:

"Pressed on for two miles under the bank of [where] the Old Kansas

village formerly stood in 1724. The cause of the Indians moving from this place I can't learn, but naturally concluded that war has reduced their nation and compelled them to retire further into the plains with a view of defending themselves, and to observe their enemy, and to defend themselves on horse-back."¹²

"JULY 4th. After 15 miles' sail, we came-to on the north, a little above a creek on the south side, about 30 yards wide, which we called Independence creek, in honor of the day, which we could celebrate only by an evening gun, and an additional gill of whisky to the men.

"JULY 5th. We crossed over to the south and came along the bank of an extensive and beautiful prairie, interspersed with copses of timber and watered by Independence creek. On this bank formerly stood the second village of the Kansas; from the remains it must have been once a large town."¹³

The remains of another old Kansa town, have been found about twenty miles down the Missouri from the Grand village, a short distance below Cow island (*Isle au Vache*) and the present Oak Mills, in Atchison county. It was evidently not as large a town as the Grand village, yet for certain reasons was quite as important a point, and should not be forgotten in recording the early history of Kansas. It was probably the first governmental center in our state where white men lived in a permanent community, erected buildings, and transacted business. Here was the old French fort or trading-post, the ruins of which were seen and noted by Lewis and Clark. But we do not have to entirely depend upon relics and ruins of this famous spot for there are records preserved in French-Canadian archives telling of its importance. Bougainville on French Forts, in 1757, says:

"KANSES.—In ascending this stream [the Missouri river] we meet the village of the Kansés. We have there a garrison with a commandant, appointed, as is the case with Pimiteoui and Fort Chartres, by New Orleans. This post produces one hundred bundles of furs."¹⁴

Perrin du Lac, in 1802, says that thirty-five miles above the mouth of the Kansas was found the site of one of the Kansa villages. According to Mr. Remsburg these two quotations refer to the village he has described in the Salt creek valley, on the farm of Mr. Thomas Daniels, and I have no doubt that he will yet determine the exact position of the old fort and trading-post, about which clusters so much that would be of interest in Kansas history. Lewis and Clark mention it as follows:

"JULY 2, 1804. Opposite our camp is a valley, in which was situated an old village of the Kansas, between two high points of land, on the bank of the river. About a mile in the rear of the village was a small fort, built by the French on an elevation. There are now no traces of the village, but the situation of the fort may be recognized by some remains of chimneys, and the general outlines of the fortification, as well as by the fine spring which supplied it with water. The party who were stationed here were probably cut off by the Indians, as there are no accounts of them."¹⁵

The following extracts are also made from the same author:¹⁶

"JULY 2. We camped after dark on the s. s. [starboard side] above the island [Kickapoo island], and opposite the first old village of the Kanzas,

NOTE 12.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 7, pp. 15, 16.

NOTE 13.—Coues' Lewis and Clark, pp. 38, 39.

NOTE 14.—Statutes, Documents and Papers Bearing on the Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, 1878, page 81.

NOTE 15.—Coues' Lewis and Clark, page 37.

NOTE 16.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 1, p. 64; vol. 6, pp. 57, 36.

which was situated in a valley between two points of high land and immediately on the river bank. Back of the village and on rising ground at about one mile the French had a garrison for some time and made use of water out of a spring running into Turkey creek."

"'First Old Kansa Village,' thirty-five miles up from the mouth of the Kansas."

"Twenty-five miles further Turkey creek falls in on south side. This creek is but small, passes through open bottoms nearly parallel with the Missouri and in rear of an old Kansas village. This creek once furnished water to an old French garrison situated near its mouth."

Floyd's Journal says, under date of July 3:

"Camped on the north side, on the south side was an old French fort who had settled here to protect the trade of this nation in the valley. The Kansas had a village between two points of high prairie land, a handsome situation for a town."¹⁷

Some have thought that this village, which I will term the Fort village, was older than the Grand village, but the fact that the fort in its vicinity was in existence in 1757 would tend to disprove this. Bourgmont, who visited the Grand village in 1724, makes no mention of this one near Isle au Vache, which he certainly would have done had it been there at the time. The trading-post or fort was probably established soon after his visit, as Fort Orleans was destroyed during Bienville's government, which ended in 1726, and the interests of the French would have required one on this remote frontier for the double purpose of trade and as a guard against Spanish invasion, which had been attempted only a few years before. As was often the case, the trading-post and fort were not located at the main Indian village, but at some commanding position near by. The post once established here, the Indians who came to trade would erect a village, which, although at first of a temporary character, would finally become permanent.

While this Fort village was the Frenchman's headquarters, a military and trading center, the Indian village, located within a mile, was doubtless tributary to the Grand village at the mouth of Independence creek, the capital of the tribe.

At these early French forts or posts like Kanzas, the officer in charge was called the commandant. There was a garrison or strong-house built for his use and quarters for the soldiers. Then there was the storehouse, where the trading took place with the Indians. Here the furs and peltries were received and stored, which the Indians brought and exchanged for the goods they wanted, such as powder, lead, beads, bright-colored cloth, arrow-points and trinkets of various kinds. All the buildings were surrounded by a line of palisades, and, if possible, the means of obtaining water were within or very near at hand. At these posts there was usually a licensed trader, who had bought the privilege for a certain price. Some traders were appointed by the governor-general with the approbation of the court. It is needless to state that the privileges went to the favorites of the appointing power, and the practice became an extensive system of patronage. Certain posts reserved the fur trade for the benefit of the king, but the record says that the traffic at these posts was not profitable for the king, who always lost money in this way, and only retained them to preserve an alliance with the Indians; the storekeepers and the commandant knowing how to enrich them-

selves. The trading-post at Fort Kanes was of the congé or license character, and the trader was some favorite of the governor-general of Canada. Whoever he was, he filled the first civil official appointment, and with his associates, founded the first permanent white settlement in what is now the state of Kansas.¹⁸

As a military point, this post and fort named "Kanes" must have been of considerable importance, for its garrison was sent from New Orleans, and it had the honor of having a commandant in charge and was placed on the same basis as Detroit, Vincennes, Fort Chartres and the other noted French forts of that day.

This name "Kanzas" or "Kanes" had a place in French military, commercial and religious circles soon after Bourgmont's visit to the capital of the Kansa nation in 1724. In general it referred to the region where the permanent abodes of the tribe were located, to wit, the Grand village, now known to be the present site of Doniphan, and the Fort village, some twenty miles down the river—a little below Oak Mills and Cow island.

Bourgmont, in his account of his visit, fairly well described the Grand village, and the sites and ruins of both were observed by Lewis and Clark when they passed up the Missouri in 1804, and they have often been mentioned as old villages of the Kansa nation. However, I do not think Kansas historians have fully realized the importance of the latter locality, for it was evidently the first permanent white settlement in Kansas—the first center of activity in war and commerce established within the borders of our state.

It was Kanes, an outpost of the progressive French, and one of their frontier towns, where white men lived in houses and carried on business almost 200 years ago. Here was a depot for all the commercial supplies of that day, the merchandise from distant France and the valuable skins and furs which were here stored for sale and exchange. It seems that the annual output of this first mart of trade in Kansas was 100 bales or bundles of furs. When we realize that a bundle or bale of furs represented 100 otter skins, 100 wolf skins, or 100 badger skins, or it might be made up of 40 deer skins, or 500 muskrat or mink skins, we can see that the trade at Kanes was considerable.

It was Kanes, an important French military post and fort, with its strong garrison of brave soldiers, one of that wonderful chain of French defenses established from Quebec to New Orleans and along the Missouri river. It was here that the stirring morning drum-beat and the solemn echo of the evening gun marked the first permanent establishment of white man's authority, protection and enterprise within the borders of our state.

No one knows just when the Kansa established the Grand village, or the Fort village. The former was an old place in 1724. One of these sites doubtless was occupied by the tribe when Marquette marked the Kansa to the northwest of the Osages, in his map of 1673. Other maps of that period, like Franquelin's Map of Louisiana, 1679, show the Kansa on the Missouri above the mouth of the Kansas river. More than likely this locality was a stronghold of the tribe in 1602, when the Spanish explorer Oñate met the Escansaques on the plains and punished them for harrassing the Quivirans.

NOTE 18.—Bougainville on French Posts, 1757, in *Boundaries of the Province of Ontario*, 1878, pp. 81-85.

One of the great battles in which the Kansa were defeated by the allied forces of the Iowa, Sac and Fox tribes took place, according to Mr. Geo. J. Remsburg, near the present site of Oak Mills, in Atchison county. Vast quantities of Indian bones and implements of war have been found on this famous old battle-ground. It was this and many other conflicts that decimated this tribe and made them retire to the interior.

VILLAGES ON THE KANSAS RIVER.

It will never be exactly known when the Kansa Indians first lived on the river which bears their name. Their villages along that stream were occupied at different times, and their sites are found from its junction with the Missouri to as far west as the mouth of the Blue river. One of them at least is prehistoric, and can only be pointed out by archeologists, while the others were occupied by the tribe since its movements were known to the historian.

The Kansa were one branch of the up-stream people, and when, probably about 1500, they separated from the Omaha, Ponka and Osage, with whom they had come from the East, they took possession of the valley of the Kansas river, and became a distinct Indian nation.

Probably their most ancient village site in Kansas is that found in Wyandotte county, a little east of White Church, on the old William Malotte farm. The many relics recovered there by the late Geo. U. S. Hovey, and the extensive outlines of this village, prove it to have long been an important center, and it was probably while living here that the stream received from this people its name of Kansas.

A full history of this once great Indian nation, in its original conquest for the mastery of the Kansas river and its tributaries, its hundreds of years of occupancy, with all the thrilling incidents of victory and defeat, legends and lore, and then the final decadence of the nation and the cruel and unfair treatment on the part of the United States, which at last led to its complete abandonment of the Kansas valley, would make a thrilling and interesting chapter in the annals of American Indian life.

What point upon the Kansas river was first occupied by the Kansa? Where did they establish their first village upon this stream at the time they began to draw away from the Missouri? This question is partially answered by Lewis and Clark in the following quotations, though in a contradictory manner:

"This river [Kansas] receives its name from a nation which dwells at this time on its banks, and has two villages, one about twenty leagues, and the other forty leagues up. Those Indians are not very numerous at this time, reduced by war with their neighbors. They formerly lived on the south banks of the Missouri, twenty-four leagues above this river [the Kansas] in an open and beautiful plain and were very numerous at the time the French first settled the Illinois. I am told they are a fierce and warlike people, being badly supplied with firearms, became easily conquered by the Iowas and Sacs, who are better furnished with those materials of war. This nation is now out on the plains hunting the buffalo. They consist of about 300 men." ¹⁹

Their information was secured largely from the trappers and boatmen who accompanied them, and was of necessity inaccurate. The first extract would imply that the eastern village was still occupied in 1804, while the more

exact table speaks of the same village as "the old Kansas village," and in the case of the western village identifies it as "present village of the Kansas," at the mouth of the Blue. We are thus led to infer that the "old Kansas village," situated on the north side of the Kansas, between Heart creek (Soldier) and Black Paint (Red Vermillion), was their first Kansas river village after 1724, abandoned in favor of the Blue village. It is singular that the site should not have been identified by our early settlers. It was possibly near or on the site of that of Fool Chief, in 1830, near Menoken.

NAMES OF CREEKS, RIVERS, AND REMARKABLE PLACES. ²⁰			
	Distances from each other	Distance of each from the mouth of the Kansas.....	Width in yards
The three rivers near each other and about the same size.....		10	20
The stranger's wife river.....	5	15	35
Bealette's creek	3	18	22
Wor-rah-ru-za river.....	1	19	40
Grasshopper creek.....	2	21	25
Heart river.....	10	31	30
The old Kansas village	9	40	
Full river.....	5	45	50
Black paint river.....	27	72	38
Blue water river and the present village of the Kansas just below..	8	80	60
Me-war-ton-nen-gar creek.....	5	85	18
War-ho-ba creek.....	3	88	15
Republican river.....	15	104	200
Solomon's creek.....	12	115	30
Little salt creek.....	10	125	30

VILLAGE NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE SALINE RIVER.

According to the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, the Kansa had an ancient village at the mouth of the Saline, and the first treaty made with them by the United States, soon after the Louisiana purchase, 1803, was at this village, they having been forced back from the Missouri river by the Dakotas. The writer, Dr. W. J. McGee, says that at this time they numbered 1500, and occupied thirty earth lodges. His authority for this statement I have not yet found.

The first formal recorded treaty between the tribe and the United States was that of 1815, a treaty of peace and friendship, of forgiveness on our part for their leaning towards the British in the war of 1812. At that time their capital village was at the mouth of the Blue Earth river. This is usually known as the first treaty with the tribe. However, the first act of treating with them so far found was when Pike, on the 28th day of September, 1806, in his camp near the Pawnee Republic village, held a council with representatives of the tribe, and with them and some Osages smoked the pipe of peace. It seems impossible that they should have had at this time a village at the mouth of the Saline, for Pike, in spite of the cowardice of the Osage, would certainly have visited it on his route to the Pawnees, which ran northward through Saline county. A village of thirty earth lodges would have left an impression not easily effaced by the plow, and it is strange

NOTE 20.—Thwaites' Lewis and Clark, vol. 6, p. 36.

that the exact location of it has never been reported, letters of inquiry receiving no answer.

The description of the village is so like the permanent capital of the tribe at the mouth of the Blue river that possibly some of those early writers overestimated its distance up the river. The village at the mouth of the Saline, if it existed at all, was probably only of a temporary character during hunting seasons, a tributary village to the main town at the Blue, where they were visited in 1819 by the Long expedition. In some memoranda of the Lewis and Clark expedition, in disconnected notes, occurs the statement: "Their village is 80 leagues up the Kanzen river. They hunt high up the Kanzen and Arkansas." This would seem to name a spot as far up as the Saline. De'Lisle's map of 1718 shows the "Grande Riv. des Cansez" with two large tributaries from the far northwest, and a "Cansez" village at the mouth of the second one, far enough to the west to be the Saline. Jedidiah Morse, in his "Report on Indian Affairs," 1822, places the Kanzen village in his text at the mouth of the Grand Saline, though his map shows it to be at the mouth of the [Blue] Earth river.

VILLAGE NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE BLUE.*

A prominent capital of the Kansa nation, the exact site of which is well known, was the large village just two miles east of the present city of Manhattan, on the bank of the Kansas river. Its location is on sections 9 and 10, township 10, range 8 east, where the river touches those sections, the line between them passing through its midst. When the tribe established this as their capital is not exactly known, but it was probably in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

When the Lewis and Clark expedition passed up the Missouri, in 1804, they saw only the ruins of the old Kansa villages. At this time they stated that the Kansa villages on the Kansas river "are two in number, one about twenty and the other about forty leagues up from its mouth." One of these must have been close to the present site of Topeka, and the other was this one at the Blue, where a part of Major Long's expedition found it in 1819. This was their capital until about 1830, and its 120 lodges just back

* THE HOME OF THE KANSA INDIANS, FROM OLD MAPS, 1672-1819.

The earliest map pointing out the location of the Kansa nation was that of Marquette, 1673, and described locations as found by that intrepid missionary explorer and his companion, Joliet. A copy of this map will be found in this volume opposite page 80. On it the Kansa are placed west of the Osages and southeast of the Panis. Marquette did not visit them, nor any tribe west of the Mississippi, but had information from well-informed Indians who stood by while he made the map. At this time the Kansa were probably on the Missouri river in about the location where visited by Bourgmont fifty years later.

Parkman's map No. 5, in Harvard College library, "La Manitoumie, 1672-73," shows the Kanissi south of the Missouri river and between the Emissouri and the Paniassa. (Winsor's Narrative History of America, vol. 4, p. 221.)

Joliet's map, 1674, shows the Kansa southeast of the Osages and Pani. (Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, p. 86.)

Franquelin's map of Louisiana, 1679-1682, shows the Cansa on the Emissourittes river above the mouth of the Kansa river. (Margry, vol. 3; Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, vol. 63, p. 1.)

Thevenot's map of Louisiana, 1681, locates the Kemissi south of the Missouri and northwest of the Autre Chaha (Osage) and toward the Panissi.

De'Lisle's map of Louisiana, 1718, shows the Grande Rivere des Cansez and a village far out on that stream at the mouth of the second large tributary from the northwest, near the country of the Padoucas. It also shows a village of Les Cansez on the Missouri river, south side, near the mouth of a creek (Independence). (In French's Louisiana, part 2.)

D'Anville's map of Louisiana, 1732, locates the Kansez village at the mouth of Petite river des Kansez. This was the Grand village at the mouth of Independence creek. This map also shows the River des Padoucas et Kansez and a village of the Paniouassas on a northern branch. (Photo map.)

Bellin's map of Louisiana, 1744, marks the Pays des Canses (country of the Kansa) extending from the Missouri river almost to the mountains, being quite a part of the present states of Missouri, Kansas and southern Nebraska. The Canses village is placed at the mouth of the sec-

from the river, as reported by Professor Say, made an imposing appearance. Mr. Henry Stackpole's survey in 1880 represents 160 or more lodge sites of from ten to fifty feet in diameter.

Some time after the treaty of 1825, when the Kansa surrendered their claim to a large part of Kansas, they began to retrace their steps toward the east, and by 1830 had established themselves at villages near the mouth of Mission creek, west of the city of Topeka, and at other places, and this Blue Earth village was abandoned. A very full account of this village, as told in 1819 by Mr. Thomas Say, of the Long expedition, with an illustration and map, will be found in *Kansas Historical Collections*, volumes 1 and 2, page 286.

VILLAGE EAST OF TOPEKA, THE FIRST OFFICIAL AGENCY.

By the treaty of June 3, 1825, the Kanza nation bartered away their imperial patrimony—almost one-half of the state of Kansas—for a mess of pottage. For this they received \$4000 in merchandise and horses, an annual tribal annuity of \$3500 for twenty years, and a limited reservation along the Kansas river. They also received some cattle, hogs and chickens, and some half-breed allotments. The eastern boundary of their reduced country was sixty miles west of the Missouri state line, or what is now the western boundary of Soldier township, in Shawnee county. Twenty-three half-breed Kansas children were each given a section of land fronting on the north side of the Kansas river. The first of these allotments was made next east of Soldier township, and the twenty-third allotment, that of Joseph James, was down the river near the present Union Pacific station of Williamstown, Jefferson county. Here quite a settlement sprang up in 1827, composed of the agency officers and families, half-breed families and some Indians.²¹ This treaty of 1825 provided for a blacksmith and farmer for the tribe. These officials located on what was thought to be the most eastern half-breed allotment, but

and large tributary of the Kansas river from its junction with the Missouri. It shows also the Petite river des Canses (the Little River of the Kansa). (Shea's Charlevoix History of New France, vol. 6, p. 11.)

Sieur le Rouge's map, 1746, shows River des Canses correctly, and the Canses village on the Kansas river, quite a way from its mouth.

Vaugondy's map of North America, 1798, gives Les Canses on their river, and gives the Pays des Canses as extensive as that of other great Indian nations, or from the mountains to the Missouri river, over most of the present state of Kansas. (Winsor's Miss. Basin, p. 205.)

Le Page Du Pratz's map of Louisiana, 1757, with course of the Mississippi and tributaries, shows the river of the Cansez with the location of a Cansez village up that stream about sixty or seventy miles. It also shows the Grand village Cansez on the Missouri river quite a distance above the mouth of the Cansez river. This shows that they were again living on both streams, with permanent villages, as shown by De Lisle's map of 1718. (Photo map.)

Dunn's map, 1774, Source of Mississippi river, shows Kanzez at mouth of a tributary to the Missouri river. This was doubtless the old Grand village at the mouth of Independence creek. This copy of Dunn's map does not show the whole course of the Kansas river, omitting a village at the mouth of the Blue, and would indicate that as late as 1774 they were still occupying the above-described Grand village. (Winsor's Westward Movement, page 214.)

Carver's map of North America, 1778, shows Kanzez on the south side of the Missouri, northwest of the Osages. This is about the last map showing them lingering by the Missouri river. After this they seem to have entirely established themselves on their own old river, the Kansas. (Winsor's Westward Movement, page 104.)

French map of date prior to 1800, used by Lewis and Clark, 1804, marks the junction of Kansas river, upon which the Kansa nation lived at that time. (Map No. 1, Thwaite's Lewis and Clark.)

Spanish map of about 1800, used by Lewis and Clark, Map No. 2, shows Kanzez river with a village of Kanzez Indians on its north bank east of the junction with the Blue.

Pike's map, 1806, gives Kanses on the river of that name. (Coues' edition.)

Long's map of the West, 1819, shows Konzas village at the mouth of Blue Earth river, near the bank of the Konzas river. It also shows the site of the Old Konzas village on the Missouri river at the mouth of Independence creek, which had been abandoned by the nation many years before.

NOTE 21.—For some interesting incidents connected with this village, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 9, p. 195.

it seems that a mistake was made, and they really settled over the line on land reserved to the Delaware Indians by their supplemental treaty of September 24, 1829.

This village had become quite a settlement by 1830, and among the Indians who lived near the agency was that famous old Kansa chief, Wompa-wa-ra (he who scares all men), whose other name was "Plume Blanche," or "White Plume."

"The present chief of this tribe [1832-'33] is known by the name of the 'White Plume'; a very urbane and hospitable man of good portly size, speaking some English, and making himself good company for all white persons who travel through his country and have the good luck to shake his liberal and hospitable hand." (Catlin's Illustrations of North American Indians, 1876, vol. 2, page 23.)

The government had built for this dignitary a substantial stone house, but for some reason he refused to abide in it, preferring his old style wigwam lodge, which he usually erected in the dooryard of this official palace. The floors and woodwork of this building were destroyed, and White Plume once gave as an excuse for not using the house, "Too much fleas."

When Rev. William Johnson was sent as a missionary to the tribe, in 1830, his first two years of work seem to have been at this place, prior to his brief mission to the Delawares.

The trading-post of Frederick Chouteau was across the river, in the neighborhood of Lake View. Daniel Morgan Boone, a son of the Kentucky pioneer, lived at the settlement as government farmer to the tribe. In 1830 Frederick Chouteau moved his trading-post up to the Mission creek villages, and in 1835 Major Boone went there also and opened up two farms. By this time the Jefferson county village was abandoned and the interest of the tribe centered around the Mission creek villages.

Marston G. Clark was the government agent to the tribe most of the time that this village was the official agency. Irving describes him as "a tall, thin, soldier-like man, arrayed in a hunting shirt and an old fox-skin cap."

Mr. W. W. Cone, in the *Capital* of August 27, 1879, gives a good description of White Plume's house, and the exact location of this village, the old house being about fifty yards north of the present Union Pacific depot at the Williamstown or Rural station, Jefferson county.

MISSION CREEK VILLAGES, SHAWNEE COUNTY.

From 1830 to 1846 there were two Kansa villages near the mouth of Mission creek, in the western part of Shawnee county. American Chief had his village of some twenty lodges on the west side of the creek, about two miles from the Kansas river. This chief had about 100 followers.

The village of Hard Chief, whose Indian name was Kah-he-ga-wah-che-hah, was about two miles from the village of American Chief, and nearer the river. This chief had at that time 500 or 600 followers. This village numbered nearly 100 lodges, and was on a hill overlooking the Kansas river, a mile and half west of the mouth of Mission creek, and has been located on the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 28, township 11, range 14 east. This village deserves special mention, for it was here that Rev. William Johnson and wife labored as missionaries to this tribe for seven years. They came in 1835, and erected the mission buildings on the north-



Famous Kaw Chiefs.—1. Al-le-ga-wa-ho; 2. Kah-he-ga-wa-ti-an-gah, known as the Fool Chief; 3. Wah-ti-an-gah.

west corner of section 33, township 11, range 14 east. It seems that Rev. William Johnson had a wide influence with this tribe, and his death, in 1842, was a great loss, for the tribe never afterwards seemed to respond to the meager missionary efforts attempted.

In 1845 Rev. J. T. Peery, who had married Mrs. Johnson, was sent to this place to establish a manual-labor school. After a year's trial, it seeming to be a failure, the school was discontinued. Only a few children ever attended the school kept by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson at the mission, unless it was a deputation of children taken by Reverend Johnson to the Shawnee manual-labor school just before his death.

This seemed to end the missionary work with this tribe for many years, except that of a scholastic character. In fact, the seven or eight years' mission work of Reverend and Mrs. Johnson and Reverend Peery was the sum total of the resident religious effort among this tribe for a space of three-quarters of a century. Much of the missionaries' time was spent in acquiring the language, and it was an irreparable loss that, just as the Johnsons had become proficient both in the language and manners of the tribe, they were taken away, and no very extensive efforts were ever afterwards made to send resident religious teachers among them.

It was while Reverend Johnson was with the tribe that a book was printed in the Kansa language. No copy seems to have been preserved. Reverend Johnson does not mention it in any writings he has left, and I have found but little authority from old Indians or those who lived with the tribe regarding this alleged book. See more extended mention of this book under "Missionary Efforts with the Kansa," this article.

By the terms of the treaty of 1846, the tribe gave up their right to their lands on the Kansas river and were assigned a reservation twenty miles square in the Neosho valley, near Council Grove, to which they moved in the spring of 1847. This was the most disastrous step ever taken by the tribe, and really proved its complete undoing as an Indian nation of much importance. The old Mission creek buildings in Shawnee county were occupied for a time by Joseph Bourassa, an educated half-breed Pottawatomie, who had a Kansa wife. In 1853 he tore them down and moved the logs about one mile north, where they were used to build another residence.

For an account of this Mission creek village and the work of Revs. William Johnson and J. T. Peery, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, volumes 1 and 2, page 276; also volume 9, page 195.

"FOOL CHIEF'S VILLAGE" 1830-1846.

WEST OF NORTH TOPEKA.

An important village, and the largest of the tribe at that time, was that of old Kah-he-gah-wa-ti-an-gah, known as Fool Chief, which from about 1830 to 1846 was located on the north side of the Kansas river, just north of the present Union Pacific station of Menoken.²² This was the largest Indian village of importance near the present city of Topeka, and was about six miles west of the mouth of Soldier creek, on the southeast quarter of section 16, township 11, range 15 east. Until recent years the lodge-circle marks were visible and its exact location easy to be found. Recently visiting this spot, it was easy to see the wisdom of the Indians in selecting this place for a village site. During the great flood of 1903, when North Topeka



Kansa village of Fool Chief, 1841, near Menokin, Shawnee county.—From Father P. J. De Smet's Letters and Sketches, Philadelphia, 1843.

and almost all of the valley was submerged, the station of Menoken and quite a spot surrounding was high and dry as an island. During the great flood of 1844, which was of longer duration, and, from some accounts, even higher than that of 1903, this village was an island of safety, to and from which the Kansa plied their canoes over the waste of waters.

Old Fool Chief ruled here till about the time the tribe was moved to Council Grove. He was the hereditary chief, and for a long time head chief. When sober he was peaceable, but always felt his authority, and coveted the attention of younger braves, who brought him choice portions of game. The Methodists, who had a mission near the mouth of Mission creek near the other two villages of the tribe, once took him to the general conference at Baltimore, where he embarrassed them by appearing, as was customary at home, stark naked on the streets one hot, sultry morning. Afterward he fell still further from grace, and when under the influence of drink always became crazy. In one of these spells, while on his way over to Missouri with a band of warriors, he was killed by one of his own braves, Wa-ho-ba-ke, whose life he was attempting to take.

Father De Smet, on his great missionary tour across the continent, visited this village in May, 1841, and was received with much favor and formality. Two of the relatives of the grand chief came twenty miles to meet him, and helped the missionary cross the Kansas river near the mouth of Soldier creek, just below the present city of Topeka. Near this spot Father De Smet camped and was visited by the head chief and six of his council warriors. A council of friendship was held, the chief showed his credentials, and they all smoked the calumet. A guard was furnished for the use of the missionary during his visit.

Father De Smet, in speaking of the appearance of the village upon approaching it, says :

"At the first sight of their wigwams we were struck at the resemblance they bore to the large stacks of wheat which cover our fields in harvest-time. There were of these in all no more than about twenty, grouped together without order, but each covering a space of about 120 feet in circumference, and sufficient to shelter from 30 to 40 persons. The entire



Interior of a Kanza lodge, 1841, near Menokin, Shawnee county.—From Father P. J. DeSmet's Letters and Sketches, Philadelphia, 1843.

village appeared to us to consist of from 700 to 800 souls. . . . These cabins, however humble they may appear, are solidly built and convenient. From the top of the wall, which is about six feet in height, rise inclined poles, which terminate round an opening above, serving at once for chimney and window. The door of the edifice consists of an undressed hide on the most sheltered side; the hearth occupies the center, and is in the midst of four upright posts destined to support the rotunda; the beds are ranged round the wall, and the space between the beds and the hearth is occupied by members of the family, some standing, others sitting or lying on skins or yellow-colored mats."

Continuing, Father De Smet gives the following interesting description of the Indians of this capital of the tribe at that time:

"It would be difficult to describe all the curiosities we beheld during the hour we passed among these truly strange beings; a Teniers would have envied us. What most excited our attention was the peculiar physiognomy of the greater number of these personages, their vivacity of expression, singular costumes, diversity of amusement, and fantastic attitudes and gestures.

"The women alone were occupied, and in order to attend to their various duties with less distraction they had placed those of their papooses who were unable to walk on beds or on the floor, or at their feet, each tightly swathed and fastened to a board, to preserve it from being injured by surrounding objects. . . . How were the men occupied? When we entered, some were preparing to eat, this is their great occupation when not asleep, others were smoking, discharging the fumes of the tobacco by their mouths and nostrils, reminding one of the funnels of a steamboat; they talked, they plucked out their beard and the hair of their eye-brows, they made their toilette; the head receiving particular attention.

"Contrary to the custom of other tribes, who let the hair on their heads grow (one of the Crows has hair eleven feet long), the Kansas shave theirs, with the exception of a well-curled turf on the crown, destined to be wreathed with the warrior's plume of eagle's feathers, the proudest ornament with which the human head can be adorned.²³ . . .

NOTE 23.—"The custom of shaving the head, and ornamenting it with the crest of deer's hair, belongs to this tribe; also to the Osages, the Pawnees, the Sacs and Foxes, and Ioways, and

"I could not help watching the motions of a young savage, a sort of dandy, who ceased not to arrange, over and over again, his bunch of feathers before a looking-glass, apparently unable to give it the graceful finish he intended—Father Point, having suffered his beard to grow, soon became an object of curiosity and laughter to the children—a beardless chin and well-picked eyebrows and lashes being, among them, indispensable to beauty. Next come the plume and slit-ears, with their pendants of beads and other trinkets. This is but a part of their finery, . . . and but a faint specimen of their vanity. Do you wish to have an idea of a Kanza satisfied with himself in the highest degree? Picture him to yourself with rings of vermillion encircling his eyes, with white, black or red streaks running down his face, a fantastic necklace, adorned in the center with a large medal of silver or copper dangling on his breast; bracelets of tin, copper or brass on his arms and wrists; a cincture of white around his waist, a cutlass and scabbard; embroidered shoes or moccasins on his feet; and, to crown all, a mantle, . . . thrown over the shoulders and falling around the body in such folds or drapery as the wants or caprice of the wearer may direct, and the individual stands before you as he exhibited himself to us.

"In stature, they are generally tall and well made. Their physiognomy is manly, their language is guttural, and remarkable for the length and strong accentuation of the final syllables. Their style of singing is monotonous, whence it may be inferred that the enchanting music heard on the rivers of Paraguay never cheers the voyageur on the otherwise beautiful streams of the country of the Kanzas.

"With regard to the qualities which distinguish man from the brute, they are far from being deficient. To bodily strength and courage they unite a shrewdness and address superior to other savages, and in their wars and on the chase they make a dextrous use of firearms, which gives them a decided advantage over their enemies."

In another place, in speaking of the valor of the Kansa Indians, Father De Smet bears this testimony:

"The Pawnees are divided into four tribes, scattered over the fertile borders of the Platte river. Though six times more numerous than the Kanzas, they have almost on every occasion been conquered by the latter, because they are far inferior to them in the use of firearms, and in strength and courage."

Father De Smet closes his interesting account as follows:

"However cruel they may be to their foes, the Kanzas are no strangers to the tenderest sentiments of piety, friendship and compassion. They are often inconsolable for the death of relations, and leave nothing undone to give proof of their sorrow. Then only do they suffer their hair to grow—long hair being the sign of long mourning. The principal chief apologized for the length of his hair, informing us . . . that he had lost his son. I wish that I could represent . . . the countenances of three others when they visited our little chapel for the first time. When we showed them an *Ecce Homo* and a statue of our Lady of the seven Dolours, and the interpreter explained to them, that that head crowned with thorns, and that countenance defiled with insults, were the true and real image of God, who had died for the love of us, and that the heart they saw pierced with seven swords was the heart of his mother, we beheld an affecting illustration of the beautiful thought of Tertullian, that the soul of man is naturally Christian! On such occasions it is surely not difficult, after a short instruction on true faith and love of God, to excite feelings of pity for their fellow creatures in the most ferocious bosoms. . . . May the God of Mercies, in whom we alone place all our trust, bless our undertaking and enable us

to no other tribe that I know of. . . . I found these people cutting off the hair with small scissors, which they purchase of the fur traders; and they told me that previous to getting scissors they cut it away with their knives; and before they got knives they were in the habit of burning it off with red-hot stones, which was a very slow and painful operation."—George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*, London, 1876, vol. 2, pp. 23, 24.



Ah-ke-dah-shin-gah, Little Soldier, a typical
Indian brave.

to predict that our sweat, mixed with the fertilizing dew of heaven, will fall auspiciously on this long barren earth, and make it produce something else besides briars and thorns!"²⁴

It seems from the following that there was something noble and commendable in the character of the early Kansa nation, which was of such repute that it also received a tribute from an English writer who had visited America, and was discussing forms of government, etc. In a history of Connecticut, by Samuel A. Peters, printed in 1781 in London, on page 103, we find this complimentary observation regarding the tribe:

"The American Cansez, near Lake Superior, enjoy liberty complete without jealousy. Among them the conscious independence of each individual warms his thoughts and guides his actions. He enters the sachemic dome with the same simple freedom as he enters the wigwam of his brother, neither dazzled at the splendor nor awed by the power of the possessor. Here is liberty in perfection."

This writer only erred in the location of the tribe, but gives the name the same spelling as other French writers of that period.

NEOSHO VALLEY VILLAGES AT COUNCIL GROVE.

The Kansa made their home from 1847 to 1873 on the diminished reserve, surrounding that well-known spot in the Neosho valley, Council Grove. Here they established three villages, each governed by a chief.

Cahola Creek village was on a creek of that name south of the present town of Dunlap. For a long time Al-le-ga-wa-ho, the head chief, presided at this village, having succeeded the old Hard Chief, Kah-he-ga-wah-che-ha. This village was the largest of the three, and Hard Chief ruled here from the time the tribe came from the Kaw valley, in 1847, until some time in the '60's, when he died, a very old man. He was of ordinary intellect, but not a great warrior. Kah-he-gah means chief and wah-che-ha hard or severe, and this chief was said to be of that type.

Al-le-ga-wa-ho, his successor, was a remarkable character, long trusted as the wisest leader of the tribe. He was elected head chief when Kah-he-gah-wah-ti-an-gah the Second, Fool Chief the Younger, lost his position for having killed a noted brave without cause. Al-le-ga-wa-ho was tall and stately, about six feet six, and was long noted as the most eloquent orator of the tribe. He was considered safe and honest in his dealings, and one of the few noted Indians of his day who could not be bribed. He had three wives, one of whom was his special favorite, as will be seen by the following incident: It was always a disputed question whether she or the wife of his cousin, Fool Chief the Younger, was the finest looking. At one time she had been sick for weeks and at last was convalescent, but was very particular and dainty about her diet. She turned away from all kinds of fixed-up dishes for the sick, and longed for that prized Indian dish of dog meat. To gratify her appetite Al-le-ga-wa-ho came to Council Grove and begged for a fat dog, stating that it was the only thing that would satisfy and cure his wife. He found that one could be bought for two dollars, but having spent all of his annuity money, had to borrow the price from a friend, and hastened back rejoicing to his village with the doomed canine. Around Council Grove, when a fat dog disappeared, it was always known where it

NOTE 24.—De Smet's Letters and Sketches, 1843, p. 64.



Stone house built for Kaw Indians.

went. Al-le-ga-wa-ho lived to be a very old man, and died in the Indian Territory years ago.

Fool Chief's village was near the present town of Dunlap, in the valley. Kah-he-ga-wah-ti-an-ga Second, governed this village for a long time, having succeeded Ish-tah-le-sah (Speckled Eye), his uncle. Speckled Eye was a brother of Hard Chief and second in rank as a ruler. He was a man of strong and positive personality and was sober and alert. He was the famous orator of the old triumvirate, and was always put forward on important occasions when government officers visited the tribe, because of his ability to make a great speech. He died from eating too much "store trash" the same day he received his annuity money. He had been living on short rations and the change was too sudden. He was tall, spare of flesh and very dignified, and had a prominent Roman nose between very high cheek-bones. He had far more influence in tribal matters than his elder brother, Hard Chief. At his death, his nephew, Fool Chief the Younger, took his place and became head chief of the tribe, but lost the position by an unworthy act—killing a brave without cause, and came very near to suffering the death penalty. He was tried by the tribe and only saved himself by paying as a fine a large number of ponies, blankets, robes and other valuables, and assigning his annuity for a time; all of which went to the mourning widow, who at last was appeased and went away rejoicing with the abundance of her possessions. This incident took much from the former prestige of this chief and soured his later years. While most of the Kansa chiefs had several wives, he had but two. His second wife was his by custom, being his deceased brother's wife. His real wife was long considered the beauty of the tribe, which did not have many handsome squaws. She was noted for her intelligent countenance, was tall, of fine physique and a rich dresser.

Her family did not belong to that village, but he stole her by a shrewd and sensational elopement from the neighboring village nearer Council Grove. Fool Chief went to the Territory with the tribe, and was the last of the "Fool" chiefs, as the name died with him.

The third, or Big John, village was located near Big John creek, south-east of Council Grove, and was not far from the agency. At one time this village was situated within a mile of Council Grove, and the high ground where the old Allen farmhouse now stands was about the center of the village. This village used to make use of the lake on the Stenger farm in which to wash their ponies. Peg-gah-hosh-she was the first chief to rule at this village. He was a brother of Hard Chief and Speckled Eye, and one of the three big chiefs who came with the tribe from their home on the Kaw. He belonged to the old dynasty, the old crowd, and was a man of much force, stubborn and set in his ruling. Of the three old chiefs he was considered the most skilled and trusted warrior of the three brothers. He died about 1870, and was succeeded by his nephew, Wah-ti-an-ga, a son of Speckled Eye.

Wah-ti-an-ga was a cunning and rather tricky fellow, and was given to the use of liquor, much to his disgrace and the safety of those around him. Under one of these spells caused by pie-ge-ne (whisky) he followed Mr. Huffaker around all one afternoon, seeming to want to keep right at his side. Mr. Huffaker suspicioned nothing, but a friend by the name of Ching-gah-was-see (Handsome Bird) did a handsome thing by watching his chance and telling Mr. Huffaker that the drunken chief had made his boasts that he would not leave town till he had taken the life of Tah-poo-skah, that being the Indian name of Mr. Huffaker, meaning teacher. Wah-ti-an-ga claimed that it would be a great deed to kill so important a personage. It was fortunate that Handsome Bird informed him, for it is never safe to trust an Indian crazed or foolish with liquor, for sometimes they will kill their best friend. Wah-ti-an-ga was still a chief when the tribe went to the Territory, where he lived for a long time. Ching-gah-was-see was a good Indian and noted brave, and had the honor of having a spring named for him. This spring is a few miles north of the city of Marion and is noted for its medicinal qualities.

Three or four different schemes for improving the condition of the tribe were undertaken during the twenty-six years of its sojourn at Council Grove, such as the Methodist Indian mission; building houses for those who would live in them; instruction in farming and stock-raising; and the Quaker educational effort. For the most part these efforts were not of sufficient duration and energy to fully test them. While there were individual cases of improvement, the general condition of the tribe was influenced very little.

The Indian mission school was erected in 1850 by the Methodist Episcopal Church South, from funds furnished by the United States government. The teachers were T. S. Huffaker and wife and H. W. Webster and wife—Mr. Huffaker having charge of the school and Mr. Webster of the farming and stock-raising. This school was closed in 1854, the reason alleged being its large expense, amounting to fifty dollars per capita annually, and the government refused to increase the appropriation. The pupils were generally orphans and dependents of the tribe and were all boys, for the Indians absolutely refused to send any of their girls. The custom was to give away

the girls in marriage a long time before the ceremony. In fact, the marriage of the young Indian girls was nothing more than a consummation of a bargain and sale, and the bargain was made with their parents when the girls were quite young—usually before they were in their teens.

Mr. Huffaker says that he never knew but one Kansa Indian whom he considered converted to the Christian faith. His name was Sho-me-kos-se (a wolf). There was an interpreter at this school to assist the teachers, by the name of William Johnson, who was named after the first missionary to the tribe. This interpreter was fine-looking, intelligent, alert and withal a good man, although a full-blooded Indian.

This old Kaw Indian mission building is one of the most historic structures in Kansas, and at this date is in a perfect state of preservation. It is full two stories high, constructed of stone from the near-by quarry and native lumber from the original Council Grove. It has eight rooms, and in each gable are two large projecting stone fireplace chimneys; the walls are very thick; the general appearance of the structure is solid and quaint, and the surroundings are very romantic. It is still used as a residence, and, strange to relate, only a few months ago Judge Huffaker and his wife moved back to live again within its walls, which sheltered them over a half-century ago, when they taught the Indians before Kansas was even a territory.

It has been used for many purposes—as schoolhouse, council-house, court-house, meeting-house, and a fortress during the Indian raids and scares of frontier days, when it was a coveted stronghold to which the early settler often fled for safety. Governors and officers of the state and the army have been entertained in this building. Often it has been the retreat and welcome resting-place for explorers, travelers and tired missionaries on their way to Mexico and the far Southwest, when homes and places of entertainment were few and far between. Once Governor Reeder and party stopped here for two days on an expedition to select a site for the territorial capital, and probably Council Grove would have been chosen had it not been for the uncertainty of title to the Kansa Indian lands. This old structure stands on the bank of the Neosho river, in the north part of the present city, and is close by the ancient river ford. Years ago, at a near-by spot, an old foot-bridge was constructed for use during high water, and all the surroundings of this old Indian mission are both attractive and romantic.

It was unfortunate that the United States government did not spend more money in this educational effort with this tribe. This school should not have been closed simply because the cost per pupil reached fifty dollars annually, especially when we consider the rich domain along the Kansas valley and elsewhere which the tribe surrendered to the government for a mere trifle of its real worth. Many of the pupils were fairly quick to learn and succeeded along certain lines of literary work, but they did not represent the children of the best element of the tribe. The full-blooded, aristocratic type of Indian considered it degrading in the extreme to be taught the white man's education. They were honest in this, for they believed it would weaken them in all the elements which preserved the true Indian character. Few white men of their acquaintance were worthy of example. In this they were different from the emigrant Indians, some of whom advocated and encouraged educational and religious movements. Strange as it may seem, from 1854 to 1873 there was practically no missionary or religious ef-



In a wheat-field — "A Cabin of the Kaws."

fort made with this tribe. They were left to grow up in their old-time ignorance and superstition.

During the summer of 1855 over 400 of the tribe were the victims of smallpox.²⁵ Their burying-grounds are scattered along the Neosho valley and on the neighboring slopes. Cultivation has obliterated many graves, except where the lands have been used for pasture. There the scars on the earth are still visible, where the piles of stones or flat slabs are mute reminders of that dreadful scourge which has so often decimated the tribes of the West.

One peculiarity about the type of smallpox among the Kaws was that it did not seem to spread from the Indians to the whites. Mr. Huffaker and other whites who were with the Indians in all stages of the contagion never took it, and their observation was that it could not be transmitted from an Indian to a white man. The only white man in Council Grove who had the disease got it from a negro slave who took it from the Indians. This white man took care of the negro in his sickness and died, while the negro recovered. The negro was returned to his owner at Independence.

NOTE 25.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report, 1885, p. 434.

After the treaty of 1859, when the Kaw reservation was reduced in size to what was known as the diminished reserve, the agency of the tribe was moved from Council Grove to a point about four miles southeast of the city, near the mouth of the Big John, where some of the buildings remain to-day. The government constructed substantial buildings, consisting of the agency house and stables, storehouse, council-house, and two large frame school buildings. They were principally constructed from native oak and black walnut lumber sawed out of the forests along the river. The large school buildings were the most interesting, one of which was for the families of the people connected with the school and for training the young Indians in cooking and other domestic ways. The other building, a long, two-story structure, was for classes and school purposes. At about the same time that these agency buildings were put up the government also built some 150 small stone cottages or cabins along the valley on the reservation for the individual use of Indian families; the plan being to educate and civilize the tribe as much as possible, and to teach them to farm and care for themselves, as the best foundation and really the only means of improving them in a moral and religious way. The government erected these buildings from Indian funds, and the educational efforts were put in charge of the Quakers, with Mathon Stubbs as manager.²⁶

School was opened on the 1st of May, 1863, and continued until September, 1866, when the agent, Maj. Henry W. Farnsworth, reported that the effort had been a failure because of the lack of missionary work among both children and adults; that to have good results it was necessary that the children should be "better fed, better clothed and better cared for in every respect than the children at home." The school was resumed in 1869, and continued until June, 1873, when the tribe removed to the Territory. This last effort was more successful, the parents influencing the children to attend, and sending a larger proportion of girls.²⁷

Mr. Stubbs was the agent of the Kansa until they went to their present location in the Territory in 1873. Very few of the tribe would ever consent to live in the comfortable stone houses provided for their use, claiming that houses would breed disease, and were not as healthy as wigwams and lodges.

Prior to their going to the Territory very few learned to farm, and those few in an indifferent and careless manner, and so the Quaker effort with the tribe was as unsuccessful as that of the Methodist nearly twenty years before.

The Kaws never took kindly to the religion of the whites. They said: "It may be all right for you, we don't know, but ours is better for us." They were not as much given even to Indian religious ceremonies as many other tribes, and what they had and their beliefs they carefully guarded, and they were very reticent to express themselves. They believed in a Great Spirit they called Wau-con-dah, the Manitou of the other tribes, but had many grotesque superstitions bordering on polytheism, for there were in-

NOTE 26.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Reports, 1863-'66, 1869-'73.

NOTE 27.—United States Senator Curtis was a pupil at this school at one time. His parents lived in North Topeka, but his mother being a member of the Kansa nation (one-quarter blood) he was sent over to attend the tribal school. Senator Curtis and his three children are recognized allotment members of the tribe, and have been given their due proportion of the tribal lands at the Oklahoma reservation. Our senator's lineage runs thus: Charles Curtis, son of Capt. Orren A. Curtis and his wife Ellen Pappan; Ellen Pappan, daughter of Louis Pappan and his wife Julie Gonville; Julie Gonville, daughter of Louis Gonville and his wife, who was a daughter of the Kansa Chief White Plume or Wom-pa-wa-ra (He who scares all men).



Group of Kaw Indians, about 1870, in full dress. Wa-mun-ka-wa-sha, with shield; Sha-ga-in-ka, with horns; Margaret Ma-hun-gah, with papoose, belle of the Kaws.

ferior gods or spirits everywhere—in the seasons, in light, in darkness, in heat and cold, over the rivers, plains, woods, hunting, war, etc.; but they were all inferior to Wau-con-dah, the “Great Ghost of Heaven.”

Some thought that his home was in the sun, some in the moon. The sundance was originally a religious ceremony. Probably no tribe in the United States so close to the border of civilization was as little influenced by religious and educational efforts.

During the years they occupied the Council Grove reservation they jealously preserved many of their ancient customs—their religion and superstitions, and it is sad to relate that their contact with their white brothers was more of a curse than a blessing. The early traveler who visited them one or two hundred years ago found a far better, healthier and happier people than the insignificant remnant of a once great tribe that was hustled off to the Indian Territory in 1873. During these later years of contact with the whites the vices acquired far exceeded the benefits or virtues received. Teachers and agents might be ever so able and zealous for their welfare, but drunkenness and its kindred vices, which they learned from the mercenary white man and Greaser who cared nothing for them but the robes and pelts they traded, destroyed completely the influence of the missionary and teacher, and left the last estate of the tribe far more abject and deplorable than the first.

THE CHEYENNE RAID.

On the morning of June 2, 1868, there appeared on the hills west of Council Grove several hundred well-armed and mounted Cheyenne and Arapahoe warriors. Their coming, which had been heralded, was looked

for with much apprehension²⁸ until it was known that they only desired to fight the Kaws, against whom they had a grudge of long standing, intensified by a late encounter.²⁹ The Kaws had gone the previous October to hunt on the Arkansas, and were overtaken by a party of Arapahoes, who, while feigning friendship, stole thirty-four Kaw ponies, leaving the latter tribe so unhorsed that they could not recover their property. While in this condition, near Fort Zarah in December, they were attacked by a party of Cheyennes, whom they charged, and after a spirited fight of four hours, drove them from the field, leaving fourteen Cheyennes killed and many others wounded, losing themselves but two killed and several wounded.

The Cheyennes were led by their noted war-chief, Little Robe, and made an imposing display as they filed through the old town of Council Grove on their way to battle. The scattering white settlers along the Neosho, Cottonwood, Diamond creek and other streams hastened to the various frontier towns and ranches, and organized provisional companies of rangers for general protection. The Indian battle, the last one this far east in Kansas, took place near the agency, a few miles southeast of town. The Kansa warriors, assisted by several experienced whites, secreted themselves along the banks of Big John creek above the agency, and following the advice of their white friends refused to engage in battle out in the open bottoms. A number of Kansa Indians had seen service in the Union army and had learned the advantage of protected positions. The experience of the Kaws in the rebellion may have added to their prowess as fighters. Major Farnsworth, in 1864, reported that "nearly a full company of the young men are in the second year of their service in the Union army in the rebel states."

This turn of affairs discomfited the Cheyennes, who had come prepared for fighting on horseback in plains fashion, and after several ineffectual charges and failures to dislodge their enemies, they made a hasty retreat

NOTE 28.—Senator Charles Curtis, one of the United States senators from Kansas, was attending school at the Kaw agency at the time of the Cheyenne raid, and made a record-breaking race on foot from Council Grove to North Topeka, the home of his parents. The following, regarding this exploit, appeared in the *Topeka Capital* during his candidacy for the senate:

■ ■ ■ "Thirty-five years ago," continued Senator Morehouse in a reminiscent vein, "a little North Topeka boy of about seven summers was making his home with some relatives at the old Kaw Indian agency adjoining Council Grove, in Morris county. He was a lad of fine features, somewhat shy and reserved, and of delicate and diminutive physique.

"It was the day before the noted Cheyenne raid, when the hordes of picked and painted warriors of that noted tribe suddenly appeared from the pathless plains and filed down into the beautiful Neosho valley and through the streets of Council Grove to fight their old enemies, the Kaws. The plainsman, David Lucas, had just arrived after a daring ride of forty-five miles across country from Marion with the startling tidings that Chief Little Robe and his braves were coming. Great excitement prevailed, and the few settlers scattered along the creeks, warned by the outriders and the clanging peals of the old bell swinging from its high tower on Belfry hill, hastily gathered at Council Grove, the nearest 'city of refuge.'

"A council of war was being held by the chief braves of the Kaws and a number of their white friends, who were going to help them in their defense against the Cheyennes, now expected at any hour. This quiet little boy stood by, and, listening to the war talk of the elders and plans of defense, resolved that he would be the first to carry the news of the impending danger across the country to his folks at Topeka. On foot and alone, with that fearlessness and independence characteristic of the coming man, he took a short cut over the hills and prairies in the direction of his native city. Guided by instinct and 'night's candles,' the shining stars, he covered the fifty miles in a space of time that would do credit to a horseman. He demonstrated running abilities that have never known defeat.

"Years passed by, and that little boy worked up the ladder of success, round after round, with a pluck, energy and ability worthy of the highest praise and emulation. As newsboy, hack-driver, office-boy, student, lawyer, county attorney, step by step he developed qualities of the highest character and the serene self-reliance that have given him a national reputation during the ten years he has so ably represented the interests of his native state in the halls of Congress.

"From the time of that exciting frontier episode to the present our people have watched the expanding career of their little friend, and our old soldiers, old settlers, young men, and everybody—almost regardless of party—have taken pride in his success."

NOTE 29.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, p. 260.

back to their home on the plains. On their way back they committed a number of depredations, such as killing stock and robbing houses. While this raid was exciting, none were killed on either side, and the number of wounded was very light. Fought under other conditions, in the open, with both forces on horseback, it would probably have been a bloody affair, with the chances against the Kansa; for they never were as well mounted as the Cheyennes—the well-known “Bedouins of the plains.”

As long as the buffalo lasted the tribe sent annual hunting parties out to the buffalo country, and this going back and [forth wore a well-defined trail.³⁰ This trail, still visible in places, passed through the counties of Morris, Marion, McPherson, and into Rice county, where this tribe for a long time had been accustomed to establish their camp at the forks of Cow creek. This was right in the heart of the finest hunting country, and was a handy place to pitch their teepees, dry their meat, and cure their furs and robes. They went out in the fall and often stayed all winter, sending back, however, supplies of meat to those who had to stay at home. This finally became a well-worn road and was known as the Kaw trail.

THE KANSA ADMITTED INTO THE NORTHWESTERN CONFEDERACY.

The treaties under which the Wyandot, Shawnee, Delaware, Pottawatomie, Ottawa, Chippewa, Peoria and Miami Indians came to Kansas or the West provided that their lands should never come under the jurisdiction of any territory or state. When bills were introduced into Congress as early as 1844, looking to the formation of Nebraska territory,³¹ these emigrant tribes became much exercised, for they could see that their treaty rights were sooner or later to be violated. This led to a peaceful demonstration on their part—the reorganization of the northwestern confederacy of tribes and the calling of an Indian congress, which met near Fort Leavenworth in October, 1848. This confederacy consisted of the above-named tribes, which had been in league for a hundred years in their eastern home.

Two other tribes were admitted into this confederacy, the Kansa and Kickapoo. This was a prominent recognition of the Kansa, for all the other nine tribes forming this confederacy were emigrants from Eastern states, the Kansa Indians alone being natives.³²

In several ways the Kansa manifested enterprise in attempting to adapt

NOTE 30.—For a full description of this Indian highway, and numerous customs of the tribe while at Council Grove, see the author's article, “Along the Kaw Trail,” in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 8, p. 206.

NOTE 31.—In 1835, Rev. Isaac McCoy, in his *Annual Register of Indian Affairs*, refers to the establishment of a government for the Indian Territory in these words:

“Most of the tribes within the Territory have expressed a desire to become united in one civil compact, and be governed by laws similar to those of the United States. Should the United States provide for them a form of civil government, suited to their circumstances, a few among each of the emigrant tribes, and many among some of those tribes, would be found capable of filling responsible offices in the transaction of the affairs of their government.”

In the third number of the same publication, 1837, Mr. McCoy enlarges upon this theme, and copies from a report made by Horace Everett, May 20, 1834, on a bill for the establishment of a general government for the Indian Territory and its representation by a delegate at Washington. In April, 1837, Mr. McCoy, under instructions, selected a tract of land near the Ottawa mission for the seat of government of this anticipated territory, which was never organized. In the *Annual Register of 1835*, page 8, is the following description of the bounds of the Indian Territory:

“By the Indian Territory is meant the country within the following limits, viz.: Beginning on Red river, east of the Mexican boundary, and as far west of Arkansas territory as the country is habitable; thence down Red river eastwardly to Arkansas territory; thence northwardly along the line of Arkansas territory to the state of Missouri; thence north along its western line to Missouri river; thence up Missouri river to Puncnah river; thence westwardly as far as the country is habitable; thence southwardly to the beginning.”

NOTE 32.—W. E. Connelley, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 6, p. 99.

themselves to the advancing civilization of the whites, and it is a pity that they did not receive that degree of assistance from both state and church they would receive to-day could the scroll of history be turned back. Our present United States senator, Charles Curtis, has informed me that this tribe was the first to ask for a division of tribal funds and lands among individual Indians, and that it prepared and presented a bill in Congress to that effect.

THE KANSA NOT INCLINED TO AGRICULTURE.

Some have unfairly criticised the Kansa Indians because they did not take to agriculture and adopt other ways of the whites as readily as some other tribes. In such matters we should not hastily draw conclusions, but remember that the Kansa had fewer opportunities and more hindrances than most tribes.

Generally speaking, the squaws alone were the tillers of the soil, where any was tilled, and the bearers of all menial burdens. This was custom, handed down for ages, and was not considered any indignity heaped upon the women. They did not want the braves to work, never made complaints, and would scorn to object to their tasks. The duty of the braves was to hunt and to fight, and to consider those things which were for the general good of the tribe as a nation. According to their ideals of true Indian character, servile duties about the camp or village, or any labor of the white man's kind, were to them degrading in the extreme.

While this was not in harmony with the standards of the civilization the whites would thrust upon them, it was not improper from a wise economy in true Indian life. In a pure state of Indian society, where skill and prowess in hunting and on the war-path were at the very foundation of success, and even of tribal existence itself, it was necessary that the braves be as free as possible from the small details and toils of camp life, that they might become proficient along those lines which brought strength and renown to their tribe.

For years the Kansa, though few in numbers compared with the hostile tribes which beset them, maintained a proud standing as a nation of fighters. This could not be done with the braves following the cultivation of the fields. It was no idle excuse they once made for not devoting more time to agricultural pursuits, when they said they were afraid to work for fear the Pawnees would come upon them and kill them all off.³³

At different times the government appointed a farmer to instruct them along lines of agriculture. The Indians called this official Wah-gos-see, *the farmer*.

The first one appointed was Daniel Morgan Boone, son of the Kentucky pioneer, who opened a farm at the first Kaw agency in Jefferson county, in the fall of 1827, on the north bank of the Kansas, about seven miles northwest of Lawrence.³⁴ In 1835, when the tribe had become established in western Shawnee county, he cultivated two farms of 300 acres each in the Kansas valley, one of which was on north side of the river, about fifteen miles above Topeka, and the other near the Mission creek villages. John T. Peery was farmer during the years 1845-'46. At Council Grove some 300 acres of the richest Neosho valley bottom-land was prepared and some little success

NOTE 33. — Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report, 1842, p. 63.

NOTE 34. — Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 195. A full description of the agency and farm are here given.

made in raising corn; but very few of the braves would consent to work steadily in the fields, it being the work of the squaws. In 1863 T. S. Huffaker was the official farmer.

After the tribe moved to Oklahoma, in 1873, greater progress along the line of farming and stock-raising was made, and a number of them have done fairly well.

The following report of the farmer is worthy of notice, among other items stating that over eighty braves had enlisted in the United States army during that year:

"KANSAS AGENCY, September 15, 1863.

"SIR—I submit this as my report for the past year as farmer for the Kansa Indians. The Indians are still laboring under the same disadvantages mentioned in my last annual report, the same insufficient number of oxen, plows and other agricultural implements; but they have, notwithstanding these difficulties, been able to plant more than 300 acres of ground, from which they will gather some eight or nine thousand bushels of corn. They have devoted most of their time to the raising of corn, being better acquainted with the culture of corn than of other products. Many families have been unable to cultivate their farms as they should, owing to the fact that many of their able-bodied men have gone into the army, of whom more than eighty have enlisted in the United States service during the last year. The Indians are well pleased with their new mode of life, and say they do not desire to exchange their present mode for the former. They, to commence another year favorably, should be furnished with an additional number of oxen, plows, etc., say twice the number they now have.

T. S. HUFFAKER,
Farmer for Kansa Indians."

NEGLECT OF THE KANSA IN EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HELP.

One of the most pitiful failures of the whites in the educational and religious betterment of an Indian tribe is to be found in the illy directed efforts followed with the Kansa nation. It was so marked and far-reaching in its influences that I would not feel like leaving this subject without calling attention to it.

If the same wise and persistent energy had been used with this tribe by the United States and by church organizations as was used with the Osages, the result would have been far different. The United States commenced to take an interest in both these tribes about the same time, and began to treat with them regarding their lands, etc., but in some way the poor Kansa were cheated at every turn in the road; robbed of their richest lands without just recompense, and at last became beggars, when they should have been as wealthy as the Osage.

In 1825, the Kansa were induced to sell their right to about one-half of the richest part of the great state of Kansas for a mere pittance, that a lot of immigrant tribes might be provided with homes.³⁵ They surrendered their happy home and far-reaching hunting-grounds, the region occupied by their tribe for ages and which supplied all their wants, were driven from one diminished reserve to another, till they had to depend entirely upon the charity of Uncle Sam for daily sustenance, and at last accept as a refuge an inferior corner of the Osage lands in Oklahoma.

The government, after taking away its mighty domain, made only spasmodic efforts toward civilizing the tribe. From the date of the St. Louis treaty of June 3, 1825, when the tribe was despoiled of an empire, down to

NOTE 35.—Miss Abel's "Indian Reservations in Kansas," in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, pp. 75, 76, 98.



Wa-mun-ka-wa-sha, a brave.



Ma-ja-ho-ja, an Indian boy, about 1870.

its removal to the Indian Territory in 1873, nearly half a century, not to exceed a total of twelve years of educational advantages was provided for them, and that of a very ordinary and half-hearted character.

At Mission creek, Shawnee county, Rev. J. T. Peery kept a few Indian children at the mission house and taught them one year. Prior to this, a few Kansa children attended the manual-labor school at Shawnee Mission, in Johnson county. In 1847 the tribe was removed to their diminished reserve at Council Grove. Four years passed and nothing was done for them in an educational way. In 1851 the Kaw Indian mission school was started, but ran for only four years, closing in 1854.

Nineteen years elapsed from the close of this school to the removal of the tribe to the Territory, and yet, during this long period, not a thing was done for the tribe in a religious way, and in education only eight years, at most, when there was school at the agency near Council Grove, supported by the government and conducted by the Quakers. The tribe lived at Council Grove about twenty-five years in all, and during that time for only about twelve years was there any school opened for the training of their children, and that of such limited character that it reached but few.

But what seems strangest, during that entire quarter of a century no resident missionary or priest of the Gospel was maintained by the government or any church denomination to live with and labor for this tribe. In all this time, the only thing of an uplifting character was the mission and the Quaker school referred to, and it must be remembered that these were educational efforts and not religious.

During this period Council Grove grew to be a smart business town and one of the early centers of Kansas civilization, noted for its good schools, good society and good churches, but nothing of a religious character was

undertaken with this tribe. Two branches of the Methodist church were organized, besides Presbyterian, Congregational and other churches, all for the whites. These took an active interest in the heathen on the other side of the world, and collections for the support of missions among them, but nothing was done to carry the religion of the Cross to these benighted wards at our very doors.

It was not only a blunder on the part of the government, but it was criminal after cheating them out of their Kansas valley homes to remove them to Council Grove. Here they were placed near a trading center on the Santa Fe trail, where their contact with *piejene* (fire-water), the whisky of the whites, and other vices, proved far more injurious than any knowledge of civilization received could overcome. Here they were totally neglected in a religious way, and only experiments of a brief and ineffectual nature undertaken for their education.

Some have been inclined to make critical comparisons between the Kansa and Osage Indian tribes, and tried to explain the differences between them on the unfair assumption that these two tribes were of different types, different capacities, different languages. This is all erroneous and very unfair; the only difference to the credit of the Osages has been brought about because they were treated in a better manner by both state and church.

In language, there is no greater difference than exists between Northern and Southern state dialects. Originally they were the same people, and when the government first assumed to shape their future they were of the same class of Indians—having the same customs, habits and attire, and were the same physically, mentally and morally. No, the difference came from the neglect of one tribe and favoritism for the other.

Is it any wonder that their Osage brothers, who were always the recipients of patient and persistent educational and religious attention by devoted missionaries of the Catholic church, far outstripped the Kansa Indians in wealth, energy, business capacity in preserving their rights, and advanced further along educational and religious lines?

The Kansa, neglected by state and church, fell before an unfair contest with the white man's civilization, while the Osages, who since 1827 have been the favored ones in business bargains with the government, and the special charge of a devoted and continued missionary effort on the part of such devoted teachers as Fathers Charles Van Quickenborne, Shoemakers, Ponziglione, Mother Superior Bridget Hayden, and others, are now among the most prosperous of western tribes.

What a different tale to relate regarding the Kansa had they been treated honestly, their imperial home ground from Manhattan to Topeka and eastward been preserved for their use, and had they been given the same wise and continuous educational and moral advantages as were given the Osages. Instead of being the sorry remnant, destined to obliteration, they might have been filling the same important part in Kansas affairs now occupied by the Osages in Oklahoma.

No one should point the finger of scorn at the Kansa Indians and make unfair comparisons without considering these facts.

THE KANSA LANGUAGE NEVER REDUCED TO WRITING.

While there have been numerous publications in the Siouan tongue, covering as wide a scope as in any other linguistic group of North-American Indians, it is strange that nothing of consequence was ever attempted in the Kansa dialect. Other tribes of the Siouan family, such as the Omaha, Ponka, Iowa, Oto, Missouri and Osage, have had many school-books published, and several of them have had prayer-books and portions of the Bible printed in their dialects. If anything of this kind was ever done for the Kansa nation, it is not now to be found. When we realize the fact that while extensive scholastic and religious efforts were made among most other tribes the Kansa Indians were often entirely neglected for periods of from ten to twenty-five years, it is no wonder that they made such slow progress along these lines. Apparently the Kansa language was never reduced to an exact system of writing; that tribe had but little, if any, help from text-books, dictionaries, parts of the Bible, etc., as did the other tribes, and so very little has ever been done to preserve the features of the language of this once important nation, the early history of which is so interesting and important as a part of the annals of our state. While it has been generally understood that nothing was ever printed in this language, and the writer has always been so informed by old members of the tribe, their later agents and teachers, and the government authorities at Washington, I was very much surprised to run across recently the evidence that a small book was once printed in the Kansa language, although, as yet, a copy has not been found for placing in the collections of the Historical Society. The clew to the fact that there was such a publication was a mere mention on page 567 of McCoy's History of Baptist Indian Missions, 1840. Among the books given as being printed on the Meeker press at the Shawnee Baptist mission, it states: "In Osage, one; in Kauzau, one for the Methodists."

Afterward I found, in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* of June, 1839, in a report of the work of their mission printing-press at "Shawanoë, Ind. Territory (Shawnee Mission, Johnson county), considerable mention of this lost Kansa book. Report for 1839:

"The following works have been printed at the Shawanoë press, exclusive of the *Shawanoë Sun*, in addition to those printed last year:

"Harmony in Delaware.....	80pp.	Addit.,	16mo.,	40,000
"Hymns in Delaware.....	48pp.	"	24mo.,	19,200
"*Kauzas Book in Kansas.....	24pp.	"	12mo.,	7,200"

Another mention is made of the Kansa book in the report of 1840, viz.:

"Mr. Pratt had printed, besides completing the Delaware harmony and hymn book, a continuation of Matthew in Shawanoë, 32 pp., 16mo.; 500 copies the Epistle of John in Delaware; for the Methodist mission, 32 pp., 12mo., 500 copies and 600 sheet tracts.

"The amount of printing executed from February, 1838, to November, 1839, (exclusive of the *Shawanoë Sun*, in Shawanoë,) in Shawanoë, Delaware, and Kauzas, was 2500 copies, or 58,600 8vo. pp."

James C. Pilling, in his Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages, lists the books issued from the Meeker press, and says, "In the Kansas (Kanzan) or Kaw language, one book was printed for Rev. William Johnson, the Methodist missionary, probably in 1836 or 1837." It was probably printed for the use of William Johnson, who at that time was missionary to the

"* For the Methodist Episcopal Mission. The Indians manifest an increasing interest in the operations of the press."

tribe; whether it was ever used or not is not known. As will be seen by reference to note 8, page 102 of this volume, such books were short-lived. From the above account of the book, it appears that an edition of only 300 copies of a 24-page book was printed, or 7200 pages in all.³⁶

Rev. Wm. Johnson, who was with the tribe for seven years, never had a competent interpreter, and was thus much hindered in reaching the tribe through their own language, although before his death, in 1842, he became proficient in it. It is said that on his death-bed he advised against a further attempt to teach them through their own language, as he considered that it was deficient in words to properly present religious truth, and to try to teach by sign language was unsatisfactory. His idea was that they should first be taught the English language and instructed through that. Notwithstanding this gloomy view which Mr. Johnson took regarding the Kansa language, it must be remembered that our good Catholic brothers, under Fathers Van Quickenborne, Shoenmaker, Ponziglione, Mother Bridget Hayden and others, made considerable success along scholastic and religious lines in the use of the native tongue of the Osages during their forty years' steady labor with

NOTE 36.—The following statements regarding this matter have been received from Rev. Joab Spencer, sole surviving missionary to the Shawnees, and from Judge T. S. Huffaker, who was a teacher to the Kansa Indians and lived with them in various official capacities from 1850 to 1873. Both of these parties were well acquainted with missionaries and those working with the Kansa tribe prior to their time.

"Geo. P. Morehouse, Topeka, Kan.:

"SLATER, MO., July 16, 1907.

"MY DEAR SIR—Your letter received. The publication you mention was only a small text-book for use in the Mission school, as I understand. I was well acquainted with Mrs. Peery, who was Mrs. Wm. Johnson, and had charge of the school for the seven years they were in control of the Kansas mission, then located west of Topeka. Mr. Johnson had no competent interpreter, I am sure, at any time. In fact, his wife became interpreter for the mission, and also on different occasions for the government. You can rest assured that there never was a publication in their language. That printing office was a small affair. When I was with the Shawnees I found a few copies of the Shawnee New Testament printed by the Baptist brothers.

"Thos. Johnson told me it was a poor translation. The Shawnees were using a small hymn-book which had been printed by the Baptists, I think, but translated by our missionaries. I have a copy of that before me. I used it in all my services. Our missionaries to the Delawares also brought out a little hymn-book in that language. Rev. Mr. Meeker had charge of the printing business. Some time ago I had one of our pastors call on a daughter of Reverend Meeker in Kansas City for the purpose of obtaining anything that had been printed by her father, but she had nothing. The Johnsons have nothing, and Miss Gore (granddaughter of Blue Jacket, Shawnee chief,) made a search among the Shawnees in the Indian Territory, but found nothing but one hymn-book, the one I now have. As I am not well, you will excuse my rough letter.

Yours cordially,

JOAB SPENCER."

Judge Huffaker, who was visiting in Oklahoma, wrote as follows:

"Geo. P. Morehouse, Topeka, Kan.:

"FAIRFAX, OKLA., July 20, 1907.

"DEAR GEORGE:—Yours of the 12th instant received, and unanswered on account of sickness. As to the publication of a book in the Kaw or Kansas language by the Methodist Publishing House, I firmly believe to be without any foundation in fact. William Johnson was among them for seven years, learned their language thoroughly, and attempted to translate a religious song—intending to translate the New Testament if practicable. When I took charge of the United States government school, in 1849, at the old manual-labor school, now in Johnson county, Kansas, I met Mrs. Peery, who talked the Kaw fluently, and she often spoke of their effort (formerly she was Mrs. Wm. Johnson) to write the Kaw language, and stated that she and her husband decided that the twenty-six letters of the English alphabet could not spell the words of that language, and that they would have to use characters to represent words, and so they gave up the idea of translating the religious songs.

"They probably did print a small amount of matter to test it. I have no thought that there exists now or ever did exist any more than some manuscripts of this kind. Should there be anything of this kind in existence at present, it might be found in the Chick families of Kansas City.

Truly yours,

THOMAS S. HUFFAKER."

The chief of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, wrote as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1907.

"DEAR SIR:—I beg leave to say that the question of the book in the Kauzau language to which McCoy in his History of Baptist Indian Missions alludes, has been looked into carefully, but no trace of it has been found. It is not unlikely that a small religious work in the Kansa language was published at the Shawnee Mission, and that, having a purely local circulation, it did not find its way into eastern libraries at that time, but was practically consumed through use by the Indians. No such book is noted by Pilling, who is eminent for his completeness. Nevertheless I have instituted further search, and if any light can be thrown on the matter I shall be glad to inform you.

Yours very truly,

F. W. HODGE, Acting Chief."

that tribe. The language of these two tribes was really the same—only a slight difference in dialect.

Probably the efforts with the Kansa in their language would have been more successful had the good work of Missionary Johnson been subsequently continued and supported with the same zeal and patience used with the Osages and other tribes.

The Kansa language never had a fair test and should not be condemned along with the tribe as incapable of helping it to a higher state of civilization. It has always been the fashion for writers to belittle the character of this tribe and its language, and make unfair comparisons with other tribes whose advantages were far better, and whose language had been used extensively in various publications.

THE KANSA LANGUAGE.

While I have secured considerable material concerning the Kansa language, I will only make a few general observations in this paper on the subject.

There are some sixty different Indian languages in North America north of Mexico, which are as different from each other as French and German. These languages are divided into some eight hundred dialects.³⁷ Of the sixty distinct languages, five-sixths of them were found west of the Rocky Mountains, covering only one-tenth of the territory, while the others belonged to the tribes spread over the larger area of nine-tenths of North America east of the Rockies. Among the latter are found the great Siouan family, composed of sixty-eight tribes, of which Kansa is a member.

Five of these Siouan tribes form a group, speaking really the same language in four dialects: (1) Ponka and Omaha, known as Ponca, (2) Kansa, (3) Osage, and (4) Kwapa.

CHEYENNE INDIAN MASSACRE ON THE MIDDLE FORK OF THE SAPPA.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by WILLIAM D. STREET,¹ of Oberlin.

EARLY in the year 1875 a band of Northern Cheyenne Indians, numbering about seventy-five persons all told, whose homes were with the Sioux in the vicinity of the Black Hills of Dakota, left the country of the Southern Cheyennes, in the Indian Territory, to make their way back north.

They had been visiting their friends and allies in the South, and had probably assisted in raids on the Texas border and in skirmishes with the troops during the winter in that southland. They were proceeding in a tolerably orderly manner across the state of Kansas, about forty miles west of the frontier settlements, when, on April 18, orders were issued to Austin

NOTE 37.—Siouan Indians, by W. J. McGee, Fifteenth An. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 157; Handbook of American Indians, F. W. Hodge, pt. 1, p. 767.

NOTE 1.—For sketch of WILLIAM D. STREET, see page 33, volume 9, Kansas Historical Collections. In preparing this paper Mr. Street traveled 100 miles in a wagon to view the locality, and to verify some points. Lieutenant Henely's report varies in many particulars from the account given by Mr. Street, and Hill P. Wilson, then sutler at Fort Hays, in a letter to the Historical Society, says that at that time it was "understood that the least said about the affair the better for all concerned."

Henely,² second lieutenant Sixth United States cavalry, to intercept and turn back the fleeing band.

On the 19th the scouting party, consisting of forty men of company H, Sixth cavalry, with Homer W. Wheeler,³ post-trader at Fort Wallace, as scout and guide, an engineer officer, a surgeon, and two teamsters, a total of forty-six men, left Fort Wallace, Kan., scouting southeast. On the divide between Twin Butte and Hackberry creeks the Indian trail was discovered, leading northward. Pursuit was immediately commenced. The trail passed near Russell Springs, across the old trail of the Butterfield overland stage route, crossing the Union Pacific railroad at a bridge about three miles west of Monument station, in territory now embraced in Logan county. Thence the trail led northward.

On the hard lands of the plateau between the Union Pacific and Sappa creeks, the Indians apparently divided their trail, each lodge or family taking separate routes, to meet at some given point further north—a favorite ruse of the Indians to throw pursuers off the trail. After following a single trail for some distance it was lost entirely. The troops then marched northward toward Sappa creek with the hope of picking up the trail again. While on the march, April 22, a party of three buffalo hunters, Henry (Hank) Campbell, Charles Schroder, and Samuel B. Srach, were met who informed Lieutenant Henely that the Indians were encamped on the North Fork of the Sappa (more properly the Middle Fork of the Sappa).

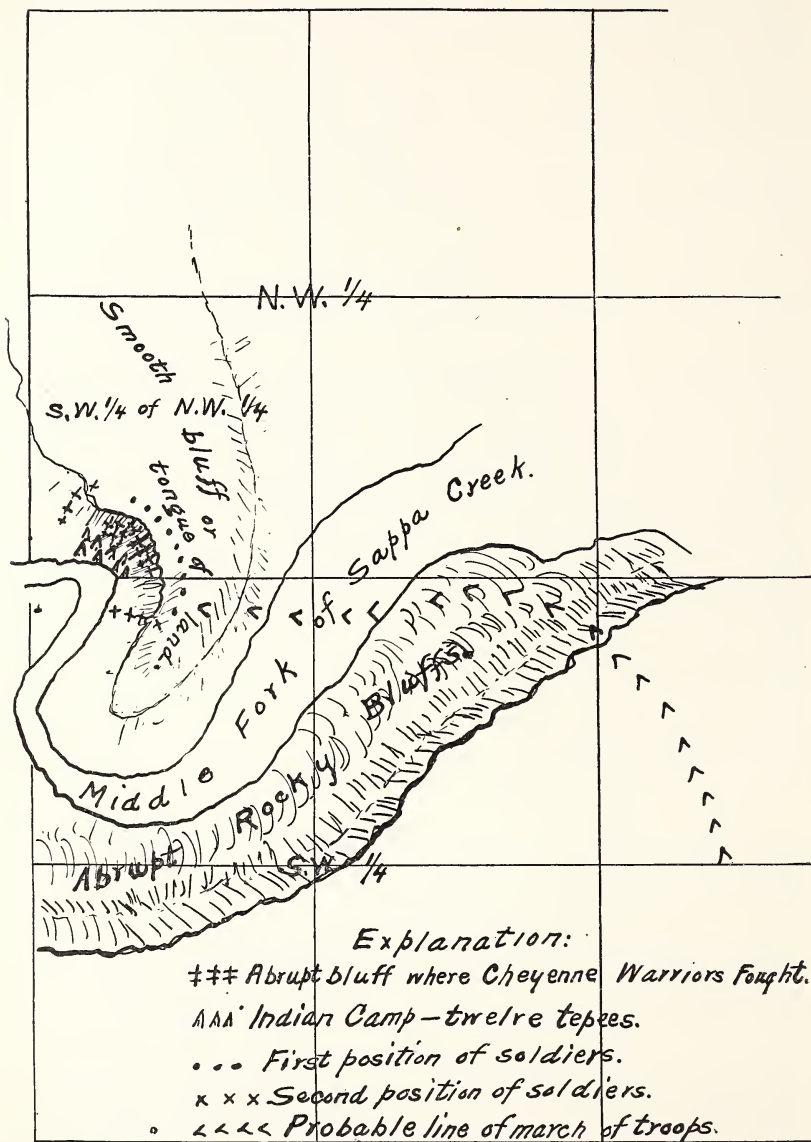
Under the guidance of the hunters the troops pushed forward a few miles and went into camp until after sundown, when the march was continued to within a few miles of the supposed location of the camp. A halt was then made, and the scout and hunters went forward to locate the Indians. Their efforts were successful, and in the gray dawn of the morning of April 23, 1875, the troops arrived at a point in the valley of the Middle Fork of the Sappa about three-fourths of a mile below the camp.⁴ Herds of ponies were discovered grazing close at hand. A small detachment of the command was detailed to kill the herders and round up the ponies while the main body of the troops charged the village, located on the north side of the creek.

The creek at this place was a wide, sluggish, marsh-like pond, several yards wide, probably caused by beaver dams, running almost due east, until about opposite where the teepees were pitched it turned rather sharply to the south and slightly toward the west, making a large loup, or horseshoe bend, and running back to the northeast, and then meandering away on its

NOTE 2.—AUSTIN HENELY was a native of Ireland, served in the army as private and sergeant, company D, and quartermaster's sergeant in the Eleventh infantry, from September 14, 1864, to September 14, 1867. He was a cadet at the United States Military Academy, West Point, July 1, 1868, and graduated thirty-fourth in his class in 1872. He was commissioned second lieutenant Sixth cavalry, June 14, 1872; first lieutenant, November 15, 1876, and was drowned July 11, 1878, in Arizona, while on duty.—Heitman's Historical Register, U. S. Army, p. 523.

NOTE 3.—HOMER WEBSTER WHEELER, a native of Vermont, enlisted in the Fifth United States cavalry as second lieutenant, October 15, 1875; was promoted first lieutenant October 13, 1884; captain, April 7, 1893; major of the Ninth cavalry, October 29, 1902, and was transferred to the Eleventh cavalry December 27, 1902.—Heitman's Historical Register, U. S. Army, p. 1024. It was currently stated that for his part in the fight Mr. Wheeler was given a commission as second lieutenant. He is now a major with the Eleventh cavalry, ranking ninety-three in line of promotion.

NOTE 4.—The camp and battle-ground were located on southwest quarter of northwest quarter and northwest quarter of southwest quarter, section 14, township 5 south, range 33 west, in Clinton township, Rawlins county, about thirty rods east of the west line of the section. The camp, with position of the Indians and soldiers, covered probably forty acres of land, the principal part of which is embraced in the forty acres described as the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter of the section.



Map of site of Cheyenne Indian massacre, April 23, 1875, on section 14, township 5 south, range 33 west, Clinton township, Rawlins county, Kansas.—W. D. S.

general eastward course. Within a few rods of the camp to the east and northeast was located a low and rather abrupt bluff of a semicircular formation, the southwestern edge of a long, regular tongue of land running down from the highlands and terminating with a gradual descent in the bend of the creek and further east and south. The abrupt formation of the bluff near the camp had been caused by the action of the flood-waters of the stream for ages past. Gullies had been furrowed out of the western face of this bluff, making admirable places for the protection of the Indian warriors, who soon took advantage of the location.

The troops floundered through the muddy creek; were dismounted and formed their line in the tongue of land just mentioned to the east and northeast of the Indian camp. While the ground on the south side of the stream was rugged and broken, the land to the northward sloped away with a gradual and fairly smooth rise. The troops occupied an exposed position on this smooth ridge. This position was abandoned after the loss of two men killed. The troops were then posted at each end of the semicircular flat in which the Indian camp was located. This was greatly to the advantage of the troops, as it enabled them to pour a raking cross-fire into the camp and the low bluff where the warriors had sought protection, without such great exposure as the level ridge first occupied presented.

The fight was furious from the start, and never ended while an Indian was left alive. Lieutenant Henely, in the report to his superior officers, says: "Nineteen dead warriors were counted; eight squaws and children were unavoidably killed by shots intended for the warriors;" making a total of twenty-seven reported killed. White hunters who visited the scene a few days after the fight told the writer that they counted between thirty-five and forty dead bodies, and later two or three others were found a short distance from the scene of the fray, bringing the total above forty, men, women and children lying promiscuously around the burnt remains of their camp, while a number of bodies, variously estimated up to twenty-seven, had been thrown into a shallow sandy gully and partially buried by the troops, bringing the number that were really killed up to nearly seventy, which is not far out of the way. Lieutenant Henely reported the destruction of twelve lodges; estimating five Indians to the lodge would be sixty. He also mentions a number of holes that were dug in the ground, which he thinks were for the protection of Indians who had no lodges. His report as to the number killed does not harmonize with conditions as found a few days later. He says: "From the war-bonnets and rich ornaments, I judged two were chiefs, and one, whose bonnet was surmounted by two horns, to be a medicine man.⁵ The Indians were nearly all armed with rifles and carbines, the Spencer carbine predominating."

NOTE 5.—Hill P. Wilson, in a statement concerning this fight, relates the following strange coincidence:

"Mrs. John Prower, of Las Animas, Colo., until recently the wealthy widow of John Prower, the pioneer cattleman of the Upper Arkansas, is a full-blooded Cheyenne woman. When Lieutenant Henely arrived at Fort Lyon, before leaving for Arizona, he had among his effects some of the paraphernalia of a medicine man of the Cheyenne tribe who had been killed in this fight. Medicine men are held in almost sacred consideration by all Indians. When Mrs. Prower saw these relics she 'took on' and went through the mourning ceremonies of the tribe. She kept up the crooning and wailing for three days and nights. Her mourning ended, she refreshed herself and made a prediction that 'the man who is responsible for the death of the medicine man will die within a year.' By a strange fatality her prediction was in part verified. Henely was drowned in Arizona July 11, 1878. Although not strictly within the limits of her prophecy, it would be hard to convince this untutored squaw that the Great Spirit had not intervened ultimately to avenge the death of the medicine man."

According to the report, the fight lasted about three hours. The camp, consisting of twelve lodges, together with the camp-equipage and plunder, was burned or destroyed, very little being retained. One hundred and thirty-four ponies were captured by the troops, buffalo hunters picking up several bands not rounded up by the soldiers.

Lieutenant Henely makes no mention of the escape of any of the Indians, and the inference would be that he thought he had completely wiped the band out of existence.

But one Indian, and one only, made his escape. A young man without a family in the camp, and another older one, made a dash for their lives toward the north, up the long, sloping hill. After getting a mile or more from the camp, and entirely out of the range of the big buffalo guns the hunters were using in the fight, they halted and gazed back on the field of carnage, when the one with a family said to the other: "You are safe now, go on. I am going back to die with my family," then wheeled his pony and rode back into the valley, and to his death. This information came to the writer several years after the fight, through Ben Clark, an interpreter for the Cheyennes, and at one time General Custer's chief of scouts. He said to me, "The Cheyennes continue to sing the praise of the hero who rode back to death with his family," in that little valley far out on the Kansas frontier. Such a deed of valor deserves more than passing notice, even if enacted by a child of the prairie.

The three hunters⁶ mentioned before rendered good service as sharpshooters, their long-range sporting rifles carrying much further than the soldiers' carbines.

It was a terrible tragedy enacted that April morning out on the Kansas plains, where women and babies met their deaths through the vicissitudes of war. One of the troopers told at Buffalo Park afterward that what was supposed to be a roll of plunder was carelessly tossed into a roaring fire of teepees and teepee poles, when an outcry told them that the roll contained a living human being, a little Indian papoose.

The writer has frequently visited the scene of this massacre; first within a short time after this fight. On several of these visits, in the early days, were plainly to be seen the evidences that Indians had but recently passed that way and paid their respects to their dead friends, leaving marks of various kinds to designate the names, rank, and place where their friends fell in the fight.

The annihilation of this band was a severe and bitter blow to the Cheyennes. Whether they deserved such a fate I am not prepared to judge; but three years later, on September 30 and October 1, 1878, a band of Northern Cheyennes, under the leadership of Chief Dull Knife, in endeavoring to escape from the Cheyenne reservation in the Indian Territory to their former home, up among the Black Hills of the Dakotas, and to their friends, the Sioux, swung eastward in their flight and wreaked fearful revenge on the innocent white people who had pushed their settlements out onto the Sappa

NOTE 6.—The report was circulated that ten or twelve hunters were engaged in the fight. Lieutenant Henely makes no mention of the fact in his official report. The writer has never been able to secure positive confirmation of the statement, but rather gives credence to the presence of the hunters. Several parties of hunters came into possession of herds of ponies, which they hurriedly drove east into the settlements, to prevent other bands of Indians from recapturing them. It was said that these ponies were given the hunters as their part of the loot in compensation for their participation in the fight. On the other hand, they may have found them straying around on the prairie, and drove them off as unclaimed property—the spoils of war. The writer is inclined to the former proposition that the hunters participated in the fight.

and Beaver creeks in Decatur and Rawlins counties, where nearly forty unsuspecting men were killed, women outraged, and a vast amount of property destroyed. So ended the last scenes of strife and carnage in the beautiful and famous Sappa valley. The massacre of the Cheyennes by Lieutenant Henely of the Sixth cavalry,⁷ and the massacre of the white settlers by the Dull Knife band of Cheyennes, always appeared to me to be closely connected in the annals of border warfare, now a closed book forever. Peace and quiet now reign in those beautiful valleys so given over but a few years ago, to scenes of bloodshed and death.

And the ways of peace are the better ways.

THE KAW OR KANSAS INDIANS: THEIR CUSTOMS, MANNERS, AND FOLK-LORE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by REV. JOAB SPENCER,¹ of Slater, Mo.

THE author of the following article lived among the Kansas Indians at their agency, about four miles from Council Grove, Kan., from the autumn of 1865 to the autumn of 1868, and was an eye-witness to all the things described except the funeral scene, and that he has from Judge T. S. Huffaker and a number of other persons who were witnesses. The tribe at that time was divided into three bands, or villages, as they were generally called. Ish-tal-a-sa's village occupied the northern part of the reserve. He was not only village chief, but head chief of the whole tribe also. Fool Chief's village occupied the central part of the reserve, and Al-le-ga-wa-ho's the southern portion. The latter became head chief after Ish-tal-a-sa's death. There were probably about 300 in each band. Their custom was for the entire band to camp together in some desirable locality, where wood, water and grass for their ponies were accessible, and remain until the pasture was eaten down, and then move to another site. Another reason for moving was to get away from the filth that always accumulated in an Indian village. Their tents, or teepees, were made of buffalo skins, dressed as described elsewhere. The lodge, as they usually designated their teepees, was easily taken down and removed to another place.

The Kaws are not very rich in folk-lore. They, like all Indian tribes, are very superstitious, and, like all red men, believe in the Great Spirit, Wah-kun-dah, the "All Powerful," and in the immortality of the soul. Their faith is not very clear on these points, it seems, but it was so strongly implanted in them that fifty years' contact with white men, and the teaching of the missionary and Christian teachers, failed to even modify their faith in the teaching of their old men.²

NOTE 7.—A lengthy report of this affair was made by Lieutenant Henely, accompanied by a table showing the itinerary, prepared by Lieutenant Hewitt, both dated April 26, 1875, and published in the Report of the Secretary of War for 1875, vol. 1, p. 88. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs does not mention this slaughter, nor does Manypenny in *Our Indian Wards*, 1880, though the latter does recount the reasons provoking the Dull Knife raid, and the fate of that band, pages 335-341.

NOTE 1.—For biography of REV. JOAB SPENCER, see *Kansas Historical Coll.*, vol. 9, p. 184.

NOTE 2.—See, also, various articles on the Kansas Indians in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vols. 1, 2, 8 and 9.

A DEBUTANTE.

When a girl arrives at a marriageable age, which is very young, twelve to fourteen years, the mother or guardian dresses the debutante in a bright blanket and skirt, with red calico waist trimmed with bright ribbons, beads and other ornaments. She then parades her through the village, the girl walking behind her mother or guardian. This means that she is ready for matrimony, or, rather, that her parents are ready to barter her for ponies or other property to any man not objectionable to them, that she may become his wife, or sometimes the second wife, which really means that she is to be a slave to some madam of the wigwams.

AN INDIAN MARRIAGE.

Word reached the agency one day that there was to be an Indian wedding, and that the ceremony was to take place in an open wood a quarter of a mile west of the agency. I went with some others to the designated place and found preparations for the event in progress. But as we were permitted to witness only part of the ceremony we gladly give place to the following description of the marriage custom as given by Judge Huffaker:

"The marriage ceremony is somewhat elaborate. The marriage contract is made between the relatives of the bride and groom, who are not consulted in the matter. It is simply a sale and purchase. The relatives of the man go to the relatives of the girl and agree upon the consideration. Often the girl is not more than five or six years of age. When the time for the conferring of the contract arrives, if the families live in villages the family of the groom moves his tent near the family of the girl. On the day fixed for the final ceremony the tent of the groom is vacated by the family. The presents of the groom's relatives are left in the tent, except the ponies, which are tied outside, and four women relatives of the groom remain in the tent. The bride is clothed in all the fine and costly things that her family are able to furnish. She is then placed upon the finest horse possessed by her family, it having been decorated with costly coverings. A gun is then discharged at her tent to notify the four women at the groom's tent that the bride has started for the groom's tent. The four women leave the tent to meet her. She is taken by them from the horse, wrapped in fine clothing and carried by the four women into the tent and seated upon the ground uncovered. The friends of the groom are then notified, and he is brought into the tent and seated near the bride, when they both partake of a wedding feast, seated back to back, 'sight unseen.' After the repast is ended the relatives and friends of both parties are admitted to the tent, a general feast is had, and the delivery of the presents. Thus the ceremony is ended. If the wife is not of mature age she becomes one of the family of the groom until she is old enough to take charge of her own house."

Polygamy was practiced among the Kaws, but not very generally. One case came under observation during my stay among them. Alic, a jovial, good-humored and honorable fellow, who lived near the agency, married, or rather bought, a second wife, a woman much younger than his legal wife. About the time of the marriage Judge John Martin, of Topeka, was on a visit to the agency, and learning of Alic's new venture, proceeded to interrogate him concerning it, and enjoyed Alic's relation of the affair greatly. He said his wife was getting old and could not do all the work, so he concluded to get some one to help dress the robes, raise the corn, and do other things that his wife was not able to do by herself. When asked how his old wife liked to have another woman in the wigwam, he said, "She no care, cause the new one strong, do work and let her rest." He told the judge what the new wife cost him, giving the number of ponies, robes, etc.

About a year later, when Mr. Martin was again on a short visit to the agency, he met Alic, and inquired of him concerning the young wife. Alic replied, "I no keep her. Me sent her home. Wife no like her." According to another time-honored custom Alic managed at both interviews to secure from the judge a substantial contribution.

I will add that the marriage of the second wife while the first was still living was a business transaction and devoid of ceremony.

A RELIGIOUS DANCE.

I once witnessed a dance that greatly interested and impressed me. It was conducted by women during the progress of a battle between the Kaws and Cheyennes. The battle took place in June, 1868, near the Kaw Indian agency, some four miles from Council Grove. The dance seemed to be in charge of Mahunga, an old woman whom I knew well, and was led by her. Judge Huffaker, of Council Grove, and myself passed near the dancers, and the old woman looked at us as we passed, recognizing us, but no halt was made by the participants. Such an expression of earnestness, reverence and solicitude I think I have never witnessed in any one. She was in this act of worship invoking the help of Wah-kun-dah, the Supreme Being, in the then raging battle, for her people's success. Her whole soul was enlisted in this act of worship. As her tribe was successful in the conflict she doubtless felt that her efforts had been crowned with success; that the Great Spirit had been pleased with her service, and had answered her intercessions.

I have never felt more respect for the religious devotions of any one than I did for that old heathen woman and her company of devotees. They were singing a solemn chant while dancing.

THE SCALP DANCE.

In the autumn of 1867 the Kaw Indians went off on their annual hunt into the buffalo country. They went into camp on the Arkansas river not very far from the present Dodge City, expecting to remain there during the winter, not only to live on the game, but to dry meat, render out tallow for future consumption, and to make robes for the market and for their own use. They supposed themselves at peace with all other Indian tribes, but in this it seems they were mistaken. Some time after they had gone into camp, probably a month or six weeks, some Cheyenne braves made an unlooked for and treacherous attack on their camp. Taking the Kaws wholly by surprise the Cheyennes expected an easy victory, but the Kaws rallied and not only put the enemy to flight but killed a young chief of note and several braves, with no loss on their side. Of course, they secured the scalps of their slain. But, owing to the great strength of the Cheyenne tribe, they knew it would be impossible to remain on their hunting-ground during the winter, and so made a forced march for their own reservation.

Some time after their return I learned there was to be a scalp dance at night at a village not far from the agency, and, with others decided to witness the performance. When I reached the village the dance was in progress. The scalps recently secured were hung on a pole erected in the midst of the village. Only men dance among the Indians. The dancers arranged themselves in a straight line, or in a circle, one just behind the other, assuming a stooping position, with the knees bent forward enough to balance

the body. The dance consisted of a kind of shuffling motion and a spring up of a few inches from the ground. This gave them a bobbing-up-and-down motion, but did not move them from their position. An onlooker would see a line of men shuffling and jumping but not changing place. Their dances were very serious affairs and continued far into the night. The dancers had a grave and serious look, and seemed to give close attention to their work. If a dancer tired he would step out of line. If another wished to join, he stepped into line at any time. How men could endure such exercise for hours without recess, is hard to understand. This dance, as well as all others, was a religious ceremony, and was really a thanksgiving service for their late victory, which they regarded as proof that the Great Spirit was not angry, but pleased with them. They danced to music, or rather with music. The musician's instrument was a drum made by stretching wet rawhide over the open end of a keg; when the skin dried the drum was ready for use. This he struck with a stick, like a bass-drummer, and kept very good time. These drums could be heard for quite a distance. The performer accompanied the drum with an improvised song, in which he recited the brave feats of the warriors in the battle in which the scalps had been taken. I took a position by the interpreter and he explained the words of the song as it progressed. Of course they were without rhyme or measure. We remained for some time before going home, but long into the night we could hear the monotonous drum-beat and occasionally a yell from some dusky son of the prairie.

War-dances were occasionally held on the reservation, but the writer never witnessed one. They were said to be of a wild and exciting character, but I saw nothing of this in the scalp dance.

SONGS AND MUSIC.

Their songs are generally improvised. The occasion which called out the song to which we listened was the scalp dance just described, and the song ran about as follows:

"The Cheyenne braves came into our wigwams;
High-e-ye-ye; high-e-ye-ye.
They smoked with us the pipe of peace;
High-e-ye-ye; high-e-ye-ye.
They said they were friends, but they were enemies;
High-e-ye-ye; high-e-ye-ye."

In this way the song would proceed until all of the incidents of the battle were described, or until singers and dancers were tired out.

Judge Huffaker, who was intimately associated with the tribe for nearly forty years, has this to say of their songs and singing:

"The expression 'high-e-ye-ye' in the Indian songs has no meaning. They use these syllables in all their songs. It is simply an interlude between sentences to keep the sound. Their songs have no meter. I have heard them sing a great many songs, all of them giving some narrative of some historical event. They do not express any sentiment or emotion. I have known them to sing a song and compose it as they sang, some one as leader, and the others following him, and at some other rehearsal they would sing the same story, using some parts additional."

A LULLABY.

"She-do-shin-ga pe-she-wal-ly,
 High-e-ye-ye, high-e-ye-ye; hi-hi.
 Hog-e-i he-wal-ly,
 High-e-ye-ye, high-e-ye-ye; hi-hi.

"Shi-me-shin-ga yol-la-o;
 High-e-ye-ye, high-e-ye-ye; hi-hi.
 Hog-e-i hun-kush-a,
 High-e-ye-ye, high-e-ye-ye; hi-hi."

The song may be made as long as the singer desires. The translation of the above is simply:

She-do shin-ga, *The little boy*—pe-she wal-ly is very bad.

Hog-e-i, *He cries*—he-wal-ly, a great deal.

Shi-me shin-ga, *The little girl*—yol-la-o, is good.

Hog-e-i, *She cries*—hun-kush-a, no or not.

Shin-gah or shin-ga, means a *small child* or *babe*, without reference to sex.

PUNISHMENT FOR CRIME.

In common with other Indian tribes they held to the doctrine of expiation. With them it was death for death, scalp for scalp; and other crimes were punished the same way—the old doctrine of an "eye for an eye." They knew nothing of the doctrine of mediation and atonement.

A MURDER AND WHAT FOLLOWED.

When the writer was living on the reservation near Council Grove, in 1867, he witnessed one of those murder trials unfortunately too frequent among them. Some one had smuggled a keg of whisky into the reservation. The result was a drunken carousal and a murder. Fool Chief, a prominent man in the nation, and chief of his village, fatally wounded a man—one of the most inoffensive men in the village. As soon as he realized what he had done he fled to the agency and sought the protection of the agent's residence, locking himself in one of the rooms. He knew if the man died he could expect no mercy from the friends of the murdered man. The man died during the following day, and I conveyed the news to Fool Chief. When I told him the man was dead a look of despair such as I have never seen was on his face. Through the mediation of the agent a conference was held with the dead man's friends, and they agreed to accept a ransom instead of Fool Chief's life. When this agreement was completed Fool Chief and his friends brought a horse, blankets, trinkets and other articles and deposited them at a given place. When all the offerings had been brought in they were examined by the wife and other relatives of the murdered man, who found them unsatisfactory. Thereupon they gave a shriek or yell—it was nothing else—that once heard could never be forgotten, and started for their wigwams. To Fool Chief this was a death sentence, and his looks indicated that he fully realized the gravity of his situation. By a promise of additional contributions the wife of the murdered man was prevailed upon to return and wait and see what could further be done. Besides offering additional presents, it was now agreed that Fool Chief should assign his annuity for one year to the widow of the murdered man and resign his claim to chiefship. Then came again the inspection. All was anxiety. Finally the bereaved wife took hold of the bridle of the horse and led it off, and friends began to gather up the other things. Then came such a

relief to Fool Chief and his friends as one must witness to comprehend. His life was spared, but to save it he had bankrupted himself and some of his friends as well. We will only add that many years afterward Fool Chief became head chief, and died not many years since at an advanced age.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

"When one dies the female relatives of the deceased take the entire charge of the dead, prepare the body for burial, dig the grave, take the body to the place of interment, and bury it without the presence of any men."—*Judge Huffaker.*

If the deceased was a brave or a hunter his gun, saddle, bridle, blankets and other articles, supposed to be necessary for his use in the spirit world, were placed in the grave with his body, and his best horse strangled to death over his grave and left lying on it. For three nights succeeding his burial a light was kept burning at the head of his grave to give light to the soul on its passage to the Indian land of plenty and happiness, the happy hunting-ground, and for the same length of time food was placed at the head of the grave, upon which he, in some mysterious way, was supposed to feed until he reached his new and eternal home.

MOURNING FOR THE DEAD.

When there was a death in the family the mourning was continued for a month or moon. During this period the females of the family and relatives of the deceased wore cakes of wet ashes on their heads, and the men blackened their faces with mud. These tokens of grief were worn constantly, except when partaking of food. If one offered them food they would remove the black mud or ashes before they began eating. If a man lost his wife he would give away or destroy all of her cooking utensils and other household goods as a mark of respect.

"Those who were able hired a mourner who visited the grave regularly for about two weeks, going early in the morning, about the break of day, and wailing for about an hour. I have listened to their wailing and heard the words used on some occasions. They were simply praising the dead, referring to their good deeds in life, etc., as we who are enlightened speak in praise of loved ones when they have left us. This hired mourner leaves his home and lives in the woods alone, eating one meal a day during the period of mourning. He does not communicate with any one during the time. The relatives of those who do not employ a mourner visit the grave for the same period and go through the same ceremony."—*Judge Huffaker.*

INDIAN MEDICINE.

In the summer of 1867 or 1868 the writer came as near witnessing the ceremony of medicine-making as is permitted to any one. I was living at the time in the agent's house, about four miles southeast of Council Grove. The house was on quite an elevation and commanded an extensive view to the southwest. One day a lone teepee was erected on the open prairie about a half mile or more from the agency. Later we learned that the teepee was for the use of Sha-ga-in-ke, the medicine-man of the tribe, and that he was going to make medicine. I do not remember why the ceremony was to take place, but it was probably to bring rain. He carried a small hand-bag that contained his charms or medicine. Of what the contents of this bag consisted I do not know. Some said it contained bones of birds or animals, and some special feathers which were supposed to have great power and enable the medicine-man to perform wonders and reveal future events. As to what

Sha-ga-in-ke did on this occasion, we only know that for days he occupied his tepee alone, and were told that he claimed to fast during the days of medicine-making. It is stated that the Indians of the Pacific have similar ceremonies, and after days of fasting and isolation the faster has dreams and sees visions. Perhaps the Kaws held the same views, and that Sha-ga-in-ke had his dreams, which he could reveal to his people, and which might influence their course in some pending events; as, for instance, going on a hunt or on the war-path. It would not be a strange thing for him, after a nervous strain of a week, to have dreams, and about the very things for which he was making medicine. If they were favorable the enterprises were carried out; if not, they were abandoned.

CONFERRING A NAME.

In the summer of 1867 I received word one day that Ka-ha would be at the agency soon to confer a name on our little boy, who was just beginning to walk. The ceremony was new to me, as I had never even heard of it till then. Soon Ka-ha made his appearance, leading a small calico or spotted donkey, and accompanied by a number of his friends. Through an interpreter he informed me of the object of his visit. He gave me the halter-strap attached to the donkey, saying, "This is a present for your son," at the same time stating that the Indian name that our little boy was to bear was Me-kah-shin-ga, meaning *Little Coon*. Me-kah (hard accent on kah) *coon*, and shin-ga, *little*. In their language the adjective follows the noun. I was given to understand that the gift was in some way to be regarded as sacred. Some time after, when I was in the act of disposing of the gift, I was reminded that I was not to sell it—that I was to retain it for the boy. I was not deluded by the apparent liberality of my red friend. I knew too well the motive underlying all acts of seeming generosity on the part of Indians. It was not that they expected as much in return in gifts, but much more. When it came my turn to be generous it required much more than the value of the donkey to satisfy the benevolent donor. I do not understand the full significance of this ceremony of conferring names. With the Indians the ceremony is binding, and the person thus honored is ever after known by his new name. As long as we remained among the Indians our little boy was known to them as Me-kah-shin-ga only.

HOW A BUFFALO-ROBE IS MADE.

As stated elsewhere, the Kaw Indians spent each winter in the buffalo country preparing meat for future use and manufacturing buffalo skins into robes for barter. When the time came in the following spring to return to their reservation they sometimes had on hand a few skins that they had not had time to dress. These were brought to the reservation and dressed after their return home. One day I came to a camp where I found the women engaged in the process of robe-making. The skin had been fastened by its edges with rawhide thongs to four stout poles which formed a quadrangular frame. These poles were bound together at the corners where they crossed each other at right angles. The hide thus arranged was drawn just as tight as possible. In short, it was fastened in this frame very much as our mothers fastened their quilts in old-fashioned quilting-frames for quilting. The hide thus fastened was ready for the process of transformation. The only tool used was made from an old-style farm hoe, the kind with a wood

handle inserted in the eye of the hoe. A blacksmith had cut away one-half or two-thirds of the blade, then ground it to an even sharp edge at a bevel of about forty-five degrees, the edge being in rounded form like the edge of an ax. It will be seen that, while the edge is sharp, it is too blunt to cut or mar the hide. The handle was inserted from the back of the hoe. In its operation it was pushed or thrust forward by a quick movement. The first thing was to remove the membrane adhering to the hide—the membrane by which it had been attached to the animal. The old-style tanners called this work *fleshing*; *i. e.*, removing the flesh from the skin. This being removed, the real work began, or rather continued, for the dressing consisted entirely of vigorously pushing this tool against the hide and over it, a few inches at each stroke. This work would continue for days until all hardness was reduced, and till the skin was soft and pliable, when the work would be pronounced finished.

The quality of a robe was determined by two things—the quality of the fur and the quality of the work done on it in the making. The Kaw robe was not of high quality, and commanded only a low price in the market. Either they did not know how to make a first-grade robe or they were too lazy to put the necessary work on it.

Buffalo hides taken in the summer were not made into robes because of the poor quality of the fur; but, the hair being removed, they were made into a kind of a leather, being dressed on both sides. The skins were used for moccasins and leggings, and for the walls or covering of their teepees or lodges, and for other domestic purposes. These dressed hides had little or no commercial value.

THE PEACE-PIPE.

The “pipe of peace” was not a pipe of any particular form or kind, but was so-called from its use on certain occasions. At such times a number of men would assemble for a talk or council. Seated in a circle, the head man of the group, before beginning the talk, would give his pipe to some one of the party, who would fill and light it. It was then handed back to the chief or principal man, who would give a few whiffs and pass it to the next, and he to the next one, until it had passed entirely around the circle. If any one refused to smoke, it was evidence that he was not in accord with some of the party, and as we remember he was then excluded from the council. The Kaws had red stone pipes, made from material found in a Minnesota quarry, which they prized very highly. They said they purchased them from the northern Indians; but these were not necessarily the “pipe of peace.”

VISITING CUSTOMS.

It is an Indian custom to make periodical visits to friendly tribes. The visiting tribe always received the presents, and the visited would reimburse themselves by returning the visits, and would lose nothing by their gifts.

A VISIT OF THE PAWNEES TO THE KAWS.

In June, 1872, the Pawnees visited the Kaws, who were then on their reservation near Council Grove, and the ceremony took place one or two miles south of that town. On reaching the vicinity of the Kaw reservation the Pawnees went into camp, and dispatched a messenger to notify the Kaws of their arrival. On receiving this message the Kaw chief Al-le-ga-wa-ho called a council, sent messengers to other camps, and began prepara-

tions to meet the visitors. The chief item in their preparation was painting themselves and their ponies to show they were on a mission of peace. When ready they marched in single file near to where the Pawnees were encamped. Coming up on foot, in solemn procession, they formed in front of and several rods away from the visitors, leaving their ponies in charge of Indian boys in the rear. They marched toward the visiting line chanting their song of peace until within a rod, and then retreated, stepping backward, keeping their faces always toward the Pawnees. The Pawnees followed, singing their song of friendship.

They executed this forward and backward movement several times, and finally stopped in drawn ranks facing each other only a rod apart. The chief of the Kaws then stepped forward with all the dignity of an old warrior, took from his belt a tomahawk pipe, stepped to the center between the two lines, and was met there by the advancing chief of the Pawnees. The Kaw chief took a whiff from his pipe, then handed it to the Pawnee chief who whiffed it and presented his own pipe, from which he had taken a whiff. Each chief then walked to the head of his column and passed the other chief's pipe to each man in the line, who took a whiff from it. As the pipe advanced from mouth to mouth down the line, the chief walked augustly along to keep it company. When the peace-pipe arrived at the end of the line of warriors, the two chiefs took another whiff from it and this part of the ceremony was over. All then mounted their ponies, and, with the Kaws leading, marched to the place of entertainment. A great feast followed. The Pawnees remained about ten days. When ready to leave for their own reservation many presents of ponies, guns and other valuables were made by the Kaws to their visitors. It was said that the demand on Kaw liberality was so great on this occasion that when their visitors had departed the Kaws were almost bankrupt.

THE ELECTION OF A CHIEF.

In the fall of 1865, just after the Indians had received their annuity from the government, Ish-tal-a-sa, the head chief, died very suddenly. He was quite an old man and had held the office of head chief for many years. He left no heir whose claim to the vacant chiefship would be undisputed. This fact, it was known, would bring several aspirants into the contest, and would probably create no end of trouble in the tribe. The agent, Major H. W. Farnsworth, of Topeka, decided wisely that, as there was no official business of interest to be transacted before the next annual payment, it would be better to defer the election of a chief for a year, and in this opinion Judge T. S. Huffaker and others connected with the affairs of the tribe concurred.

After the next annual payment had been made, in the fall of 1866, all of the Indians except fifteen or twenty head men left for the winter hunt. These head men remained to sign the receipt for the annuity, and of course the head chief must be elected before that could be done. In signing documents the head chief signs first; then follow the others according to rank. They are great sticklers for rank. After all the head men had met for the election, Major Farnsworth explained the manner of conduct for the election—that each one was to name his choice when his name was called, and the one receiving a majority of votes was to be their chief. He then proceeded to call upon them for their votes. Nearly every one, when called,

would make a short speech, in which he would set forth his own fitness for the place, and then vote for himself. My recollection is that two or three votes is the highest number received by any one. The second and subsequent efforts to reach a conclusion made little or no change, and it soon became apparent that no election could be had. Major Farnsworth then proposed that Al-le-ga-wa-ho, the only one really worthy of the place, be allowed to sign his name first, so that their business could be closed up, not as head chief, but only in his capacity as village chief, and that a head chief be elected at some future time. The proposition, after some parley, was agreed to, and the roll was signed. His name at the head of the list made him, in the eyes of the tribe, head chief, and his position as such was never called in question. He retained this place till his death. He was not a strong man intellectually, but he was honest, sober and truthful—the best man in the tribe. Physically, he was tall, straight, and in every way a typical Indian. Fool Chief, of whom we spoke in another part of this paper, was Al-le-ga-wa-ho's strongest opponent.

THE SHAWNEE INDIANS: THEIR CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS AND FOLK-LORE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by Rev. JOAB SPENCER,¹ of Slater, Mo.

IT is not my purpose to write a history of the Shawnees, but simply to place on record a few things concerning their habits and traditions which I have gathered through my intercourse with them, while it is possible for me to do so. Little additional can now be obtained from persons within my circle of acquaintance, most of the members of the tribe likely to have preserved their traditions having long since removed to Oklahoma. So far as I have been able to ascertain little or nothing of the folk-lore of the Shawnees has been preserved.

It is hardly worth while for me to discuss the common origin of the North American Indians. The theory which has had many supporters since the days of William Penn, that they descended from Israel,² because of the prevalence among them of similar customs, has given way to a more scientific method of determining their place in the human family by an investigation of their racial traits and language. That the red men of America should be descendants of the Israelites seems to us an impossibility, and it is absurd to contend that a colored race could descend from a purely white race. The history of the human family shows no such radical changes. The similarity of customs, ceremonies, etc., may indicate that both probably sprang from the same source in the far distant pre-historic past, but nothing more.

During my acquaintance with the Indians I have found that all believe in

NOTE 1.—A biographical sketch of Mr. SPENCER will be found in the ninth volume of Kansas Historical Collections, p. 184.

NOTE 2.—For a full presentation of this theory see "The Mound Builders," by Cyrus Thomas, in the Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. The Shawnees themselves were mound-builders, if nothing is found to disprove the very logical deductions of Professor Thomas in his "Story of a Mound; or The Shawnees in Pre-Columbian Times" (American Anthropologist, 1891), in which he gives his reasons for believing them to be the builders of the famous Etowee mounds in Bartow county, Georgia, and many smaller earthworks and burial-places in Tennessee, Kentucky, and other states.

the Great Spirit, the Giver of Life, our Creator, and that all pay him homage, and in their way worship him. They have no idols.³ In their council-houses they sometimes have representations of animals, cut in relief on posts of their houses, but they represent only certain divisions of the tribe, as that of the Turtle clan, etc.

SHAWNEE TRADITION OF THEIR ORIGIN.

I record here the Shawnee's own tradition of their origin, as told me by the Rev. Charles Bluejacket, while I was serving the tribe as their missionary in 1858-'60.

"Our tradition of the creation and the antediluvian period agrees in all essential points with the Mosaic record.⁴ The first real divergence is in connection with the flood. The tradition gives an account of the white man's great canoe and of the saving of a white family, just about as the Bible has it, but in addition it states that an old Indian woman was also saved. After the flood she lived in a valley, with a hill intervening between her and her white brother and his family, over which she could see the smoke rise from the white man's wigwam. When the sense of her loneliness and destitution came over her she began to weep very bitterly. There then appeared a heavenly messenger and asked her why she was so sorrowful. She told him that the Great Spirit had left her white brother his family, but she was just a poor old woman alone, and that there was to be an end of her people. Then said the visitor, 'Remember how the first man was made,' and then left her. From this she knew that a new creation was meant, so she made small images or children from the earth as directed, as the Great Spirit had made the first man. But when she saw that they had no life she again wept. Again her messenger appeared and inquired the cause of her grief. She said she had made children from clay, but that they were only dirt. Then said the visitor, 'Remember how the Great Spirit did when the first man was made.' At once she understood, and breathed into their nostrils and they all became alive. This was the beginning of the red men. The Shawnees to this day venerate the memory of the one they call their Grand Mother as the origin of their race."

According to Bluejacket's tradition, the Indians in coming to this continent crossed a narrow part of the ocean far to the north, being carried across the water on the back of a turtle.⁵ They wandered in a southerly direction until they reached the southern part of what is now the United States, and from there the tradition is that they were to go north, continuing their wanderings till they should reach the point where they first landed; then all would become extinct, or, as he expressed it, "all be gone."

NOTE 3.—If we could suppose that the absence of idolatry was because they had descended from the Jews, we should expect to find with them some sentiment of dislike to idol worship; but we perceive no such thing. They have no impressions about idols, either for or against them. They sometimes pay religious adoration to the sun, to the elements, or to a mysterious production of nature; such, for instance, as the curious salt spring on Solomon river [Great Spirit spring]; but the idea never enters into their heads that matter which is completely under their control is to be worshipped.—Rev. Isaac McCoy, in *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 14.

NOTE 4.—"Considerable stress has been laid upon the traditions of the Indians, some of which have been thought to favor the idea of their descent from Israel; but it is probable that none have ever become acquainted with the traditions of any tribe until after the tribe had derived some notions of Christianity from white men. They are, in their original state, so destitute of anything like historical knowledge that they would, with great facility, receive an impression from a hint respecting the creation, the flood, etc."—Isaac McCoy, in *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 14.

NOTE 5.—Another version of the tradition is that a being whom they knew not asked them to get in a small boat he was in, and that he would take them to a good and happy country. But it was so small that all were afraid to get into it. Finally one got in and the boat grew larger. Then others, the boat growing larger as each individual embarked. Finally, when no more would get in, the strange visitor brought the occupants to the other shore—America.

Bluejacket also related the following traditions relative to the coming of the white men to their country:

"Our old men [meaning the elders and wise men in the far remote past] used to tell our people that a great serpent would come from the seas and destroy our people. When the first European vessel came in sight, the Indians caught sight of the pennant, with its forked end darting and moving as the forked tongue of the serpent. 'There,' said they, 'is the serpent our old men have been telling us of.'"

"When the old men first tasted rum, tears ran down their cheeks. 'This,' they said, 'is what is to destroy our young men.'"

The serpent and rum seemed to be associated in their minds as in ours.

The following legend illustrates the greed of the white man for land, and his unfair methods in obtaining it:

"The white man asked us for a small piece of land—a piece that a string cut from a buffalo hide would reach round. We told him certainly, we would gladly make him so small a grant as that. Whereat the white man began to cut a very small strip from the edge of the hide, cutting around it. This he kept on doing, going round and round until the hide was all converted into a very long string that surrounded a large piece of land."

SHAWNEE ARROGANCE.

The Shawnees arrogated to themselves a superiority over the whites, as well as over other tribes of Indians. At the convention held at Fort Wayne, in 1803, one of their principal men set forth their views in the following manner:

"The Master of Life, who was himself an Indian, made the Shawnees before any other of the human race, and they sprang from his brain. He gave all the knowledge he himself possessed, and placed them upon the great island, and all the other red people are descended from the Shawnees. After he made the Shawnees he made the French and English out of his breast, the Dutch out of his feet, and the Long Knives (Americans), out of his hands. All these inferior races of men he made white, and placed them beyond the Stinking lake (the Atlantic ocean). The Shawnees for many ages continued to be masters of the continent, using the knowledge they had received from the Great Spirit in such a manner as to be pleasing to him and to secure their own happiness. In a great length of time, however, they became corrupt, and the Master of Life told them that he would take away from them the knowledge which they possessed, and give it to the white people, to be restored when, by a return to good principles, they would deserve it. Many ages after that they saw something white approaching their shores. At first they took it for a great bird, but they soon found it to be a monstrous canoe filled with the very people who had got the knowledge which belonged to the Shawnees. After these white people had landed, they were not content with having the knowledge which belonged to the Shawnees, but they usurped their land also. They pretended, indeed, to have purchased these lands, but the very goods they gave for them were more the property of the Indians than of the white people, because the knowledge which enabled them to manufacture these goods actually belonged to the Shawnees. But these things will soon have an end. The Master of Life is about to restore to the Shawnees their knowledge and their rights, and he will trample the Long Knives under his feet."—*Life Among the Indians*, by Rev. James B. Finley.

Reference has been made to the division of the Shawnees into clans or families. Such divisions are common to all Indian nations, though the number and name is peculiar to each tribe. The members of the Shawnee tribe whom I have recently approached on this subject have lost nearly all the folk-lore of their own people. In a letter from Bluejacket's oldest daughter,

Mrs. Sally Gore, now over sixty years of age, she says she has very little knowledge of the old customs and tales, and that although she had consulted her stepmother, could give very little information.

Indian clans usually, if not always, bear the names of the wild animals familiar to the tribe, and in some cases from which they claim descent.⁶ These animals were not regarded in a sacred sense, and within my experience were never worshipped, though the members of the clan bearing the name held the animal in veneration, refusing to kill or eat it, though pressed by hunger. Mr. William E. Connelley has given me the following sketch of the Shawnee nation, gathered from various sources, and embracing an account of the division of the tribe into clans and families or bands, which I am glad to insert here:

“THE SHAWNEES.

“The Shawnees belong to the Algonquian linguistic family of North-American Indians, and are very closely related to the Delawares and Kickapoos. This tribe is believed to have descended from the region northwest of Lake Superior with kindred tribes in the great movement of the family in prehistoric times to the seats occupied by them when first seen by Europeans. The Shawnees probably lived in southern Illinois, where they built the Cahokia group of mounds (see *The Shawnees in Pre-Columbian Times*, Cyrus Thomas, p. 88). When first known they were living in what is now western Kentucky. From that country they were dispersed by the Iroquois, migrating principally to the southeast, settling in Georgia and Florida. About 1692 they were pushed from their country in the South by the Spaniards, and they then migrated northward. They made peace with the Iroquois and English, and were given permission to return to their home land. Sixty families settled in the country of the Conestogas in 1698, where they had a village at Paxtang, Pa. About the same time they made a settlement on the Delaware, near Durham, moving later still higher up the river. They also settled on the Potomac at an early date, for in 1701 William Penn ‘ratified relations of friendship with the king of the Conestogas and the king of the Shawnees inhabiting at the head of the Potomac.’

“In 1728 some of the Shawnees moved west to avoid trouble with the Six Nations because of their actions towards the Conestogas. They moved to the Ohio, perhaps with the permission of the Wyandots, in whose country they settled, and put themselves under the protection of the French. The

NOTE 6.—We may not understand the full significance of these clan divisions, but we can assure the reader that they never became objects of worship. The Turtle clan seems to have occupied first place among numerous tribes.

The following legend, taken from William E. Connelley's Wyandott Folk-lore, will give the reader an idea of the origin of the clans:

“The Old Woman and her granddaughter lived in a lodge in the pine woods. From the best hunters and greatest warriors of the tribe the Young Woman had offers of marriage. She was haughty, and would speak to none of her people. These women were of the Deer clan.

“So it seems she (the Young Woman) was wandering about her lodge in the wilderness of the pine woods. She saw in the distance a fine-looking young man. He approached her with insinuating addresses. She desired him much. He carried her away to his own lodge. They lived there for some time. His mother lived in their lodge.

“One day she went into the woods. She left him lying down. She came back to the lodge and looked among the skins where he was lying. There was a great heap of snakes. When she looked again there was one snake—a big snake. She cried aloud and was terrified. His mother said to him: ‘Why did you do this’ [i. e., turn into a snake]?

“She turned about and fled for life towards the sea coast. When she reached the coast she found a man in a canoe, who told her to jump on board. When she had done so, he paddled at lightning speed for the other shore.

“When the man and the Young Woman in the canoe had gone some distance they heard the Snake-Man coming in pursuit, calling to his wife and entreating her to return. He came to the water, and waded in a way in his effort to follow her, always crying out to her to return. . . .

“When the Snake-Man went into the water in pursuit the Black Cloud rolled across the sky, and Heh-noh slew him with a fiery dart.

“The man with whom she embarked conveyed her safely to the other shore. Upon her arrival there she saw a man who said, ‘Follow me.’ He took her to a medicine-man. Her children were called Snakes. And from this is descended the Snake clan of the Wyandots.”—Wyandott Folk-lore, pp. 87, 88.

English sought the aid of the Six Nations in the effort to induce them to return to the vicinity of Paxtang, west of Susquehanna river. The treaties held with them between 1732 and 1739 secured the return of a portion of them; but in the latter year it was found that they were scattered from the Great Island to the Alleghany. Before 1750 their principal seat was on the Ohio about the mouth of the Scioto. They were friends of the French and enemies of the English. In the Revolution they were enemies of the Americans, remaining so until subdued by General Wayne. They were the scourge of the back settlements nearly a century; the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and even those of New York and the Carolinas, were constantly raided by Shawnee warriors. The Shawnees were the most restless and turbulent of the Algonquian tribes, and about the year 1763, as told me by the old members of the nation, they began to cross the Mississippi to what is now Missouri. In 1788 Manuel Perez became Commandant-general at St. Louis, and he found the Osages troublesome to the settlements of Upper Louisiana. He was unable to provide adequate protection, and the presence of the few Shawnees and Delawares living in his realm suggested the idea of increasing their numbers as a check to the inroads of the Osages. He sent emissaries to the Shawnees and Delawares to invite them to remove to his country, offering them a sufficient body of land in the vicinity of Cape Girardeau. The offer was accepted, and numbers of these Indians at once moved to the country, where they became the chief protection of the settlements from the Osages. It is said that one Lorimer, afterwards Commandant-general at St. Genevieve, negotiated this removal of the Shawnees and Delawares, and that he was allowed a grant of 30,000 acres of land for so doing. (See Edwards's *The Great West*, Richard Edwards and M. Hope-well, M. D., St. Louis, 1860, p. 273.)

"When the settlements began to increase along the Mississippi the Shawnees and Delawares became discontented in their settlements near Cape Girardeau, probably from the insolence and rough treatment at the hands of the pioneer settlers. The Delawares abandoned their villages there about the year 1815, and moved to the James Fork of the White river. In the course of a few years they were followed by most of the Shawnees. By treaty the latter tribe was given a tract of land on the south bank of the Kansas river from its mouth to its junction with the Republican. This was in 1825, in which year members of the tribe began to arrive in the new reservation, settling in what is now Shawnee township, Wyandotte county, Kansas. By 1828 most of the Shawnees had moved to the new home west of Missouri, and later (1831) the Fish band, including the families of Tecumseh and 'the Prophet,' to which band they belonged, moved from Ohio and joined the western division, practically uniting the Shawnee people.

"I have discussed these migrations with a Mrs. Jackson, grandmother of the wife of David De Shane, an intelligent Shawnee living a mile below Seneca, Mo., in the reservation of the mixed Senecas and Shawnees. She claimed in 1896 to be 125 years old, and was in fair health and in possession of her faculties, though wrinkled and shrunken to the appearance of a mummy, and, being feeble, compelled to keep to her bed much of the time. She remembered crossing the Mississippi, the life at Cape Girardeau, the abandonment of that country, the migration to the Delawares on the James Fork of White river, and the journey to the Kansas river. She arrived on the upland overlooking the site of the present village of Turner, Wyandotte county, Kansas, in 1828. She was then a widow with a number of children, on account of which she did not come with the first parties of her tribe, preferring to wait until farms had been opened and corn raised. She moved to the Indian Territory when the Shawnees sold their Kansas lands.

"What vicissitudes had she witnessed in following the migrations of her people, the red rovers of America, in that century and a quarter, during which time they had been pushed west step by step more than a thousand miles by the injustice and greed of the white man!

"The Shawnees were called Chaouanons by the French. They called themselves the Shawano. The tribe is separated into four divisions—the Megachake, the Chillicothe, the Kiskapoke and the Piqua. The Piqua is said to be the division last formed or instituted. There is a division into clans or

totemic families, which I found it very difficult to determine. The following list was given me by De Shane, and, while it may be correct, I am not convinced that it is absolutely so; but there is very little error in it, if any:

1. Pā-tūg'-ā-nā-thē'	Rabbit.
2. Thē-bā-tē'	Raccoon.
3. Sē-bā-sē'	Panther.
4. Kā-kē-lā'	Turtle.
5. Whā'-wā.	Wolf.
6. P' Sāke-thē', or 'Psake-the	Deer.
7. Bē-lā-wā.	Turkey.
8. Mā-nā-tē'	Snake.
9. P' quā.	Bear.
10. Pē-sē-wā'	Wildcat.
11. Pē-lā-thē'	Eagle.
12. Sēm-yāl-wā'	Owl.

"The Shawnees cling to their old customs, seemingly more reluctant to abandon their ancient rites than any other civilized tribe. They regard their religious ceremonies of much importance; and what is known of their primitive belief indicates that their religion was originally a form of sun-worship. Of all the Indian languages I ever heard, that of the Shawnees is most expressive, stately, eloquent and beautiful. They have a folk-lore of beauty and value.

"Perhaps no Indians were superior to the Shawnees in courage and prowess. The history of the Ohio valley abounds in instances of their daring. The greatest Shawnee was Tecumseh (by them pronounced Tē-cūmthā'). The Prophet was a remarkable man, by many believed to have been the moving spirit behind the schemes of Tecumseh. He died in Shawnee township, Wyandotte county, Kansas, and is buried there. While the Shawnees did not follow the war-path so persistently as did the Delawares after the removal of these tribes to the Kansas river country, they pushed their forays to a distance of more than a thousand miles. Gregg tells us (*Commerce of the Prairies*, vol. II, p. 275) that some of them 'spend the greater portion of their time on the prairies in hunting and trading with the wild tribes.' He relates (vol. I, p. 302, *Commerce of the Prairies*) the following:

"In the summer of 1837 a small party of but five or six Shawnees fell in with a large band of Yutas near the eastern borders of the Rocky Mountains, south of Arkansas river. At first they were received with every demonstration of friendship; but the Yutas, emboldened no doubt by the small number of their visitors, very soon concluded to relieve them of whatever surplus property they might be possessed. The Shawnees, however, much to the astonishment of the marauders, instead of quietly surrendering their goods and chattels, offered to defend them; upon which a skirmish ensued that actually cost the Yutas several of their men, including a favorite chief, while the Shawnees made their escape unhurt towards their eastern homes.'

"There were Quaker, Baptist and Methodist missions among the Shawnees in Kansas, for accounts of which see the general history of that state.

"In 1886 the Shawnees were distributed as follows:

Quapaw agency, Indian Territory	79
Sac and Fox agency, Indian Territory	640
Incorporated with the Cherokees (estimated)	800
Lawrence, Carlisle and Hampton schools	40
Total	1,559

"There has been, probably, some gain made since that, and we may safely put the number of the tribe in 1907 at 1750.

"As the Shawnees did not go to live in the Indian Territory until 1867 and later, the Santa Fe trail lay for a distance of some sixty miles through their country. Members of the tribe were engaged in the Santa Fe trade in various capacities, chiefly as herders for cattle and horses, and as hunters, scouts and guards. They were faithful and trustworthy."

Mr. James Mooney, of the American Bureau of Ethnology, has also prepared, and published in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau, a brief history of the Shawnees, and, as it differs in minor respects from that of Mr. Connelley, I give it here as probably adding something to the total of our knowledge. Both authors doubtless have documentary and traditional authority for their statements. The division of the tribe into four bands, often situated in widely separated parts of the country, and the tendency of both bands and individuals to rove, will account for the apparent difference in statements as to the relative location of the tribe at certain periods.

Mr. Mooney adds a thirteenth clan—the Horse clan. As this animal was not known to the tribe prior to the discovery of America, it is doubtless of comparatively recent origin.

“SHAWANO.—The Shawano or Shawnee were one of the most important of the Algonquian tribes. Their most noted chief was the great Tecumtha. The meaning of the name is doubtful. It is commonly interpreted ‘Southerners,’ from the Algonquian *shawan*, ‘the south,’ but may have come from another Algonquian word signifying ‘salt’ (*siutagan*, *sewetagan*, etc., from *sewan*, ‘sweet,’ ‘pungent’). Unlike the Southern Indians generally, the Shawano were great salt users, and carried on an extensive salt manufacture by boiling at the salt-springs of southwestern Virginia, furnishing the product in trade to other tribes. They have thirteen clans—Wolf, Loon, Bear, Buzzard, Panther, Owl, Turkey, Deer, Raccoon, Turtle, Snake, Horse, and Rabbit (Morgan), the clan of the individual being indicated by his name. They are organized also into four divisions or bands, perhaps originally independent allied tribes, viz., Piqua, Mequachake, Kiscopocoke, and Chillicothe. To the second of these belonged the hereditary priesthood, but the first was most prominent and apparently most numerous.

“The Shawano were of very wandering and warlike habit. Their earliest historical habitat appears to have been on the middle Savannah river, which takes its name from them, but before the end of the seventeenth century we find a portion of them, apparently the main body, occupying the basin of the Cumberland river, in Tennessee and the adjacent region of Kentucky. About the year 1692 most of those remaining in South Carolina moved northward and settled upon the upper Delaware river, with their relatives and friends the Delaware and Mahican. These emigrants appear to have been of the Piqua division.

“Up to about the year 1730 the Shawano still had a town on Savannah river, near Augusta, from which they were finally driven by the Cherokees. From their former intimate association with the Uchee, living in the same neighborhood, some early writers have incorrectly supposed the two tribes to be the same. A part of the Shawano joined the Creek confederacy, and up to the beginning of the last century, and probably until the final removal to the West, occupied a separate town and retained their distinct language. Those settled upon the Cumberland were afterward expelled by the Cherokee and Chickasaw, and retired to the upper waters of the Ohio under protection of the Delaware, who had given refuge to the original emigrants from South Carolina.

“With the advance of the white settlements the two tribes moved westward into Ohio, the Shawano fixing themselves in the vicinity of the present Piqua and Chillicothe about the year 1750. They took a leading part in the French and Indian war, Pontiac’s war, the Revolution, and the War of 1812. In 1793 a considerable band settled in Missouri upon lands granted by the Spanish government.

“As a result of successive sales and removals all that remain of the tribe are now established in Indian Territory, about one-half being incorporated with the Cherokee nation. In 1900 they numbered about 1580, viz.: In Cherokee nation (in 1898), 790; absentee Shawnee of Sac and Fox agency, 509; absentee Shawnee of Big Jim’s band, special agency, 184; eastern Shawnee of Quapaw agency, 93. There are also a few scattered among other tribes. For detailed information consult Drake, *Life of Te-*

cumseh; Heckewelder, Indian Nations; Brinton, Lenape and Their Legends; American State Papers; Indian Affairs, I and II; Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs."—Nineteenth Report of Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 494, 495.

TRADITION OF A WAR BETWEEN THE SHAWNEES AND THE DELAWARES.

The following tradition was narrated in the family of the Rev. Thomas Johnson, the Shawnee Indian missionary, over fifty years ago, by Lenexa, wife of Head Chief Blackhoof, of the Shawnees, and repeated to the writer recently by William M. Johnson, youngest and only surviving son of Rev. Thomas Johnson. I find the same story in Drake's *Life of Tecumseh*, which gives the date of the occurrence as 1754, and the scene as Wyoming, Pa.:

"Many years ago a band of Shawnee Indians occupied the country now included in the state of Virginia and contiguous territory, and the Delawares occupied territory separated from them by a river, possibly the Potomac. The tribes lived in friendly relations and often visited each other. One day some Shawnee women crossed the river to the Delaware side to gather some herbs or roots, or both, allowing their children to remain to play with the Delaware children while they were engaged in their work. The boys in their play found, as Mrs. Lenexa stated it, a 'purty grasshopper.' This a Shawnee boy succeeded in capturing, but a Delaware boy claimed it because it was caught on his territory. A quarrel followed by a fight was the result. The Delaware boys being more numerous, the Shawnee lads were soon forced to flee to their mothers for protection. The Shawnee women took up the quarrel of their sons, but were soon forced by the Delaware women to recross the river to their own territory. As soon as the Shawnee men heard of the trouble a number of their warriors crossed to the Delaware side to avenge their women and boys, but the Delawares were too strong for them, and they, like their women, had to flee for safety to their own side of the river. They were followed by a superior force of Delawares, and a battle was fought, in which the Shawnees were badly defeated. The Delawares followed up their victory with such energy and success that the Shawnees were compelled to abandon their country. They went westward, presumably to what is now the state of Ohio."

THE SHAWNEE COUNCIL-HOUSE IN JOHNSON COUNTY, KANSAS.

When I was making my home with Charles Bluejacket and family, in the fall of 1858, I noticed one day a large piece of squared timber lying in his barn-lot, having a turtle in relief on each of two opposite sides. They were the size of large land-turtles or tortoises. The work had been well done. I asked for an explanation, and Bluejacket told me it was a post from an old council-house of the Shawnees that had stood, as I gathered from him, on his land, where he was then living, in Johnson county, Kansas.

Rev. Isaac McCoy, in his history, gives an account of a Shawnee council-house, evidently the one to which this timber belonged, and the last council-house, as such, ever erected by them. After 1840 they met for council in their log Methodist meeting-house. Mr. McCoy says:

"Most of the tribes have each a council-house. That of the Shawnees is a hewn-log building, erected by themselves, about thirty feet wide and eighty feet long, and one-story high. It contains one apartment only, without either upper or under floor. There is a door in each end, but no window, excepting three small holes on each side, about as high as a man's head when seated, resembling the apertures for the use of small-arms in a block-house. Openings in the roof allow the smoke of the fires on the earth, in the center, to escape. The roof is a kind of very ordinary shingling with boards. The only seat is a continuation of hewn logs laid along the walls. The sides of the building are kept in place by cross-beams resting upon two rows of wooden pillars. On one side of one of the pillars nearest one of the

doors is carved in relief the figure of a rattlesnake about five feet long, and on the other side the likeness of a snake without the rattle. On two opposite sides of one of the pillars nearest the other door are carved, in relief also, uncouth resemblances of the human face, somewhat larger than life, partially painted, and with a twist of tobacco tied to the pillar crossing immediately above each figure. On each of two opposite sides of a pillar in the interior is carved as above the figure of a turtle, colored so as to increase its resemblance to the living animal. Metal is inserted for eyes; from which, on the late occasion, I discovered a person wiping the dust, and increasing their brilliancy by rubbing."—History of Baptist Indian Missions, p. 529.

THE CALLING OF AN ASSEMBLY OF CONFEDERATED TRIBES.

Often, if not generally or universally, two or more tribes of Indians were united in a confederacy for mutual protection, as for war or other purposes. Meetings of these confederate tribes when exigencies arose were necessary for the gathering of war parties or the consideration of subjects of general welfare. Any tribe could call a meeting when it appeared necessary. The following method of notification was explained to the writer by Bluejacket: "Sufficient messengers were selected, and a string given to each one containing a knot for each day intervening between the time of calling and the time of meeting. The first day the messenger passed through the tribe, to whom he bore the message, showing the string with the knots and giving the place of meeting. The next morning, before starting on his way, he would cut off one knot, and so on each day until his work of notification had been completed."

FEASTING OF GUESTS.

One of the ancient customs of the Shawnees, as well as of other Indian tribes, was to always place food before a visitor on his arrival. At any hour, day or night, as soon as a friend entered the wigwam the women would immediately set about the preparation of a meal for the guest. This same guest may have just feasted with another friend, but this would form no excuse for refusing to eat again. Among some of the tribes this custom worked both embarrassment and hardship on the early missionary, who was expected to eat with every family he visited in the rounds of his pastoral calls, and the more he ate the better was his standing with his host. Even after the people became well civilized they seemed to cling to this old custom. In the summer of 1860 I held a camp-meeting at the Shawnee Mission. One day I said to one of my leading members, "Brother Pumpkin, the meeting has been going on now for several days and you have not asked me to eat with you." He replied, "My brother, the meeting has been going on for several days and you have never come to my tent to eat with me."

On asking him if that was the custom, he said it was, that Indians did not ask people to eat with them, but that any one who came they considered a friend, and if he did not come he was not regarded as a friend. I then explained our custom to him, and also made an appointment to dine with him, which appointment I kept, and was rewarded with a most excellent meal and his friendship. It is the visitor who confers the favor and honor on him whom he visits.

WOMEN'S CUSTOM AS EXPLAINED BY BLUEJACKET.

During the menstrual period the woman withdrew from all associates and went into camp alone. Her tent was of the meanest kind, made of cast-off material, and her cooking vessels were the broken and worn-out of her house-

hold. In fact, the tent barely protected her, and she had barely vessels enough to cook sufficient food to subsist on. Her clothing was old and worthless. When her period was ended she bathed herself, put on good garments, and consigned everything she had used to the flames.

THE INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH IN THE MYSTERIES OF LIFE.

Mrs. Stinson said there was always chosen some good, straight old woman in each village whose duty it was to instruct the young girls of the families in regard to the mysteries of life. When a young girl had grown to a certain age the old woman would come to her lodge and say to her mother that she wanted to have a private talk with the girl. The rest of the family would then leave them alone together, and the old woman would instruct her in everything connected with her coming change of life, how she was to care for herself, about her relationship with men, the results to herself and friends of wrong doing, and explain to her about the care of herself and child in motherhood.

In each village there would be at least one little teepee in which a woman would go and stay while they were unclean, as they would say. Each woman would take her own food and kettle, and the material for striking her own fire. During this period she would eat very lightly, mostly soups, and become thoroughly rested. When she was ready to go out again she would burn all soiled clothing in the fire until the fire had burned out, and go to the creek or river to bathe. She would plunge right in and swim about like a duck, and would take no cold. Even if the men saw her going to bathe they would pay no attention. Real Indians were careful about such things. The grown women with families—hard workers—would go to this lodge and have their monthly rest. In this way they kept strong and well.

In each village there would be an old man selected to give similar instruction to the boys. The parents did not attend to this matter at all, but left the subject entirely with these old people to instruct their children.

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL.

Bluejacket is authority for the statement that the ancient custom was to keep a fire burning for three nights at the head of the grave of one just dead. A small opening was made from the mouth of the dead to the surface by inserting a long rod through the newly filled grave, then withdrawing it. Provisions were also kept at the head of the grave for three nights. They explained this custom by saying it took three days and nights for the spirit to reach the spirit land.

FEASTING THE DEAD.

One day Bluejacket told me that Morris Whiteday, one of my official members, was making a feast to the dead. As I had never heard of the practice I asked him to explain. He said the heathen custom to feast the dead was to keep off sickness. That if the dead were neglected they would become angry and return to earth and afflict their friends with various forms of disease in revenge for the neglect. He said that there had been quite an amount of sickness in Whiteday's family, and some visitors to Black Bob's village told some one of this sickness. The visitors were told that since Whiteday had become a Christian he had neglected his dead kinsfolk, and for that neglect they were made sick. On their return they told Whiteday what the heathen Shawnees had said. He then, according to the old custom, placed provisions in a secluded part of his house to appease the anger of the disaffected.

CORN DANCE OR FESTIVAL.

(From information obtained from Bluejacket.)

No one was allowed to use any corn, even from his own field, until the proper authority was given. When the corn was sufficiently advanced for use the one who had the authority fixed the date for the corn feast and dance. On this occasion great quantities of roasting-ears were prepared, and all ate as freely as they desired. After this feast all could have what they wished from the field. This was probably the most highly esteemed peace festival. Very properly it might be called the feast of first fruits. Another feast was held, but probably not so universally, in the fall—a feast of in-gathering—and one in the spring.

RELIGIOUS AND OTHER CEREMONIALS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SHAWNEES.

(As told by Mrs. Nancy Chouteau.)⁷

THE BREAD DANCE.—“In the fall of each year a certain number of men—five, I believe—are sent out on a hunt. They stay three days. On the third day, when they are returning, and are near enough to be heard, they fire their guns, and the men and women in camp go out to meet them. The hunters are taken off of their horses and sent to their wigwams to rest. The game is cooked and put in a pile on the ground, leaves having been spread on the ground first. They have also a pile of bread, which has been made of white corn pounded in a mortar for the occasion. The Indians then dance around the prepared provisions and sing, and then sit down. The meat and bread are then passed around. This ends the religious part of the feast. All is very, very solemn during this part of the ceremony. After this they can frolic all they please. The women have their petticoats decorated with silver brooches and wear all the handkerchiefs they can. [Mrs. C. refers doubtless to highly colored handkerchiefs that in an early period were very highly prized by all Indians.] The men are dressed in buckskin leggings and moccasins. They also wear a loin-cloth and blanket.”

“THE STOMP DANCE.—This dance is similar to the other, only instead of the meat and the bread they have piles of roasting-ears (green corn). In the spring of the year all of the Indians got together and planted corn. Some would drop the grains, others would cover them. When this was done they had their game of ball. It was played like our football, rather a combination of football and basket-ball; the men on one side, the women on the other. The women were allowed to run with the ball and throw it, but the men had to kick it. Before the game began a rope was stretched—each player had to put something (as a wager) on it, a ring, string of beads, handkerchief, etc. When the game was over all these things were given to the winning side, and each player got back his [or her] own [article] and the other man’s trophy. They always stopped playing before sundown. They were superstitious. They thought that if they played until after sundown someone would be crippled.”

“A RELIGIOUS CUSTOM.—Another religious practice they had, which

NOTE 7.—NANCY CHOUTEAU was born in Wapakoneta, Auglaze county, Ohio, in 1831. Her father, John Francis, was a hereditary chief. After his death the office of chief became elective. He always clung to the old beliefs and customs. He led a company to the Seminole war. She attended the Quaker school. Her mother died when she was a young girl. In her girlhood she united with the Methodist church, but after her marriage with Mr. Cyprian Chouteau she went into his, the Catholic, church. Since her husband’s death she has lived with her children. Her home is now with a daughter in Kansas City, Mo. She is a regular attendant at church. Last year, 1905, she made a trip to California and Arizona. She is in excellent health and in full possession of all her faculties.

was observed once a year, I think, was as follows : The women carried wood and made a big fire. At midnight the chief brought out a mysterious bundle and took from it some great long feathers. The men dressed themselves in these [putting them in their hair was the usual custom] and sang. If while they were singing they could hear 'the Mother Spirit' sing, that was a sign the world was not coming to an end that year."

"INDIAN FESTIVALS.—We have been referred to Indian festivals as bearing a striking resemblance to those of the Jews, particularly the festival of the Indians which occurs at the use of the first ripe fruits of the season. They have three festivals of this character in the course of the year, and each is evidently produced by causes perfectly natural, and need not be attributed to tuition. The first occurs in the commencement of the summer, when the people, after a separation from their villages, and after wandering in an unsettled condition during the cold season, commonly in small detached parties, return to plant their vegetables, and to commence the culture of their small patches. The second occurs at a time when their corn [maize], soft in the ear, becomes eatable; and the third takes place after they have gathered the fruits of their fields, at the commencement of cold weather, when they are again about to separate on their winter's wandering. They, like all other people, are social beings, and after a separation from kindred and acquaintances for eight months are happy to see each other at the common place of annual meeting; and from the same principle that festive parties would be induced in civilized society, under circumstances as nearly similar as we could expect to occur, the Indians collect to talk, to make speeches, to eat, beat their drums, rattle their gourds, sing and dance. Their feasts or dances [one appellation being about as appropriate as the other], or parties, as we would denominate them if they occurred among ourselves, happen frequently, and depend on the disposition of an individual to enjoy a social interview with his friends. But a festival at meeting in the spring season is observed as a national affair. A second regular national meeting is expected when, after the season of greatest scarcity, which is that between assembling at the villages and this time, they can gather enough from their fields for a plentiful feast; zest is given to this occasion, and the hilarity promoted by music, dancing, etc. In the autumn they again assemble for the parties to take leave of each other, and that a similar feast should occur is perfectly natural."—Isaac McCoy's History of Baptist Indian Missions, 1840, p. 11.

A SCRAP OF FOLK-LORE.

I once asked Bluejacket how friends and neighbors entertained each other when they were together—how they put in their time on such occasions. He said sometimes in telling jokes on each other. I asked him for a specimen, which he gave about as follows :

"A long time ago a wildcat pursued a rabbit and was about to catch him, when the rabbit ran into a hollow tree. The wildcat took a position in front of the entrance and told the rabbit that he would remain there until the rabbit from hunger would be induced to come out; that he need not think of escape. After a time the rabbit said he would come out and let the wildcat make a meal of him on one condition, and that was that the wildcat should make a fire in front of the tree, saying that as soon as a bed of coals sufficient to roast him had been prepared, that he would come out and be roasted; that he did not want to be eaten raw.

"The cat built the fire as directed, and when the sticks were burned into

coals, he settled himself on his haunches and notified the rabbit that all was ready. Whereat the rabbit gave a spring, striking all his feet into the coals and knocking them into the face and even over the breast of the cat, and then escaping. This burned the hair in spots in the cat's breast, and when it grew out it was white. This is why the wildcat has white spots on his breast."

The joke is apparent when it is understood that the Indians all belonged to different clans, such as the Turtle clan, Wildcat clan, Rabbit clan, etc. Of course, it was a member of the Rabbit clan, to which Bluejacket belonged, who told this joke or myth at the expense of a member of the Wildcat clan who happened on such occasion to be present.

ORIGIN OF THE KICKAPOOS.

(Repeated to me by WILLIAM M. JOHNSON.)

"In the early days ten Shawnees went on a bear hunt, and were gone many days. When the hunt was finished, they made, as was their custom, a bear's-foot feast. With the Indian the bear's feet, and especially the fore feet, are a great delicacy. When Indians went on a hunt the feet of the bears killed were carefully saved for the feast at the termination of the hunt. On the occasion of which I am telling, the feet, as was the custom, were put in a kettle and hung over the fire to cook for the feast. It took quite a time for them to cook, as it does hog's feet. While they were cooking the hunters lay down to sleep, three on one side of the fire and seven on the other. Some time in the night one of the seven men awoke and examined the feet to see if they were cooked enough to eat, but finding they were not lay down again and went to sleep. After some time one of the three awoke and examined the feet to see if they were sufficiently done, and he found they were. He roused his two companions and they ate all they wanted, and again lay down and went to sleep. Not long after one of the seven examined the feet, and when he found them ready to be eaten he awoke his friends and then the three on the opposite side of the fire, and told them to get up and they would have their feast. The three told him they had had what they wanted, and that the seven could have what was left. So they began to eat, but soon discovered that their companions had eaten the fore feet and had left only the small hind feet for them. This made the seven so angry that they drove the others from camp, forbidding them ever to return to the Shawnee tribe. So they went off to themselves, and from them originated the Kickapoo tribe."

WHY THE DEER HAS A SHORT TAIL.

(Told by Mrs. Julia A. Stinson.)

"Once there was a brother and sister who lived alone in their lodge. The brother said one morning, 'I want to hunt, for we must have some meat.' He put some water in a shell in a corner of the lodge and told her not to drink it, for if he was killed while out hunting the water would turn red, and thus give her warning. Then, telling her not to parch the little ears of corn, he went off into the forest.

"After her brother went away she began to think, What is the mystery about this corn that I should not pop it? But I am going to see. [When you tell a child that he must not do a thing he always wants to do that very thing.] So after a while she got down the little ears of corn and shelled the kernels off the cob, and began to pop the corn. It popped, and the little grains became large and white, and smelled good. She popped and popped, and the little lodge became fuller and fuller of the white corn, until finally when it was all popped she was crowded back against the wall. Then she heard the deer coming, for they smelt the corn. They crowded up to the door and began to eat. More deer came, little and big, and they ate and ate, and finally they had eaten all the corn. Then they looked around to see if there was anything else they could eat. She had hidden under a skin in a corner, but they saw the skin move, and they told her to come out, and then they put her on the horns of the big deer, and then they all went off together, the big deer first and they all following.

"When the brother came back he saw what she had done, and he called up everything, and two big black-snakes came to help him find his sister. He said, 'Put your teeth together and help me to find my sister.' They did so, and carried him fast to find his sister. They were the evil spirit. They knew the way the deer went, and followed all day and all night. And the next day they saw the deer. When the deer saw the pursuit they all gave up and stuck their heads in the ground, and the brother overtook them and got his sister. He then kicked the tails off of the deer and made them short. This was the punishment they got.

"Because his sister had disobeyed him he painted her legs red and she turned into a duck, and she went and swam in the creek. He turned into a wolf and went off hunting. They never turned back into people again.

"This is a story my grandmother told, and I recollect it because there was a little girl in it. She said this was how we were punished if we did not do well. She told us these stories when we lived among the Pottawatomies, down near Fort Scott."

OBTAINING REVELATIONS THROUGH THE PROPHET.

I have not been able to secure anything from a Shawnee source regarding the obtaining of revelations from the medicine-man or prophet, but have found the following article in a manuscript relating to the customs, traditions, etc., of the Ottawas, sent by Rev. Jotham Meeker to Rev. Isaac McCoy, July 18, 1831:

"When a person is sick and no one knows what ails him, they give a considerable present to the prophet, and he promises to answer any question they shall see fit to propose. In the evening they make a small enclosure, by standing up four poles in the ground to extend eight or ten feet high, and place them in a square form two feet by three. The prophet gets inside of this, when the Indians wrap blankets around the poles so as to enclose it perfectly tight all around, with no hole excepting in the top. The prophet commences by rattling a gourd and singing for perhaps an hour. When he stops, strange, unnatural sounds are heard within. The house begins to shake and reel very rapidly. Different spirits enter and hold a loud conversation with the prophet. They converse freely on the subject of the sickness of the person for whom he is now acting, and inform the prophet whether or not the person will recover. Some of the prophets seem to possess the power of ventriloquism. The spirits of many kinds of living creatures enter, and each holds a conversation with the prophet. The Indians surround the house and hear the various sounds at the top of the house eight or ten feet high, while the voice of the prophet is down on the ground. Almost every description of beasts, birds, insects, etc., are heard in the top of the house. There are but few of the prophets who possess the power of ventriloquism. They continue so, sometimes, one-half or two-thirds of the night. When the Indians know what ails the person, they also know what source to apply to for help."

THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF THE SHAWNEE INDIANS.

"Father of all; in ev'ry age,
In ev'ry clime ador'd
By saint, by savage and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove or Lord." — *Pope.*

To describe an all but extinct religion that has left us no altars, churches or history is no easy task, and at best must be very incomplete. We can only hope to give some features of the once universal faith of the red man that have come down to us largely through tradition.

The Indian religion was very simple and their creed a short one. They believed in a great first cause as the giver of life and the creator of all things, the Great Spirit, and that worship and adoration were to be paid to him.

They believed in the immortality of the soul; of a future existence in what is generally spoken of as the "happy hunting-ground." Their idea of the future abode of all Indians was that it possessed all that was desirable in this life with none of this world's evils; a land where there was to be no sickness, death or enemies, and where game was inexhaustible.

Their religious worship consisted mainly of feasts and dances. All stated or annual dances were acts of worship. We refer the reader to the feasts and dances given in another part of this paper.

In addition to these fixed feasts and dances, there was the dance preceding an attack on an enemy, and a similar one preceding a hunt. In these the aid of the Great Spirit was invoked and an omen of good anxiously looked for. If, instead of an omen for good, there was an omen for evil, the contemplated enterprise would be abandoned.

There were times in which a prayer was made to the Great Spirit, just as the devout Christian prays to his Father in heaven. Theirs was a somber and joyless religion. A religion without love, and one in which there was found no place for repentance. It had to do with this life only, and had nothing to do in determining the state of joy and misery in the world to come. It taught that all, regardless of character, would be received and made welcome in the next world.

As we have said, their worship consisted, as they expressed it, of feasting and dancing. We might add that all feasts and dances were of a religious character, if not in fact religious acts.

The spring feast was a thanksgiving service as well as to secure a good harvest. The summer, or green-corn, feast was strictly a thanksgiving occasion, and so was the fall dance or feast of ingathering or harvest. The feast and dance on the eve of war was to placate the Great Spirit and through his favor have success in battle. If victorious, the scalp dances which followed were really praise services; and if defeated, the dances were occasions of humiliation and of bemoaning their sins which had angered the Great Spirit. There were other dances and ceremonies, but all were of a similar spirit or character.

The Shawnee Prophet claimed that he often had direct communication with the Great Spirit and that through divine influence he could foretell events and perform miracles. The last three days of his conscious life his mind was absorbed in religious contemplation.

"Lo, the poor Indian whose untutored mind,
Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind,

"Yet simple nature to his hope has given
Behind the cloud-top't hill a humble heav'n."

—Pope.

BLUEJACKET, THE FAMOUS SHAWNEE CHIEF.

THROUGH the kindness of Mrs. Sally Gore, daughter of the late Rev. Charles Bluejacket, of Bluejacket, Okla., the following sketch of Chief Bluejacket and his descendants has come into my hands :

"SOME INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT A NOTED INDIAN CHIEF.

"It seems to have dropped out of the memory of the present generation of men, if indeed it was ever generally known, that Chief Bluejacket was a white man. He was a Virginian by birth, one of a numerous family of brothers and sisters, many of whom settled in Ohio and Kentucky at an early day, and many descendants of whom still reside in this state [Ohio].

"His name was Marmaduke Van Swerangen. I cannot now recall the given name of his father or the place of his nativity, except that it was in western Virginia. He had brothers, John, Vance, Thomas, Joseph, Steel, and Charles, and one sister, Sarah, and perhaps more. Marmaduke was captured by the Shawnee Indians when out with a younger brother on a hunting expedition, some time during the Revolutionary war. He was about seventeen years of age when taken, and was a stout, healthy, well-developed, active youth, and became a model of manly activity, strength and symmetry when of full age. He and a younger brother were together when captured, and he agreed to go with his captors and become naturalized among them, provided they would allow his brother to return home in safety. This proposal was agreed to by his captors, and carried out in good faith by both parties.

"When captured Marmaduke, or Duke, as he was familiarly called, was dressed in a blue linsey blouse,¹ or hunting-shirt, from which garment he took his Indian name of Bluejacket.

"During his boyhood he had formed a strong taste or predilection for the free savage life as exemplified in the habits and customs of the wild American Indian, and frequently expressed his determination that when he attained manhood he would take up his abode with some Indian tribe.

"I am not able to fix the exact date of this transaction except by approximating it by reference to other events. It is traditionally understood that Marmaduke was taken by the Indians about three years before the marriage of his sister Sarah, who was the grandmother of the writer of this article, and she was married in the year 1781. Although we have no positive information of the fact, traditional or otherwise, yet it is believed that the band or tribe with which Bluejacket took up his residence lived at that time on the Sciota river, somewhere between Chillicothe and Circleville.

"After arriving at his new adopted home, Marmaduke, or Bluejacket, entered with such alacrity and cheerfulness into all the habits, sports and labors of his associates that he soon became very popular among them. So much was this the case that before he was twenty-five years of age he was chosen chief of his tribe, and as such took part in all the councils and campaigns of his time. He took a wife of the Shawnees, and reared several children, but only one son. This son was called Jim Bluejacket, and was rather a dissipated, wild and reckless fellow, who was quite well known on the upper Miami river during and after the War of 1812. He left a family of several children, sons and daughters, who are now living in Kansas, with one of whom, Charles Bluejacket, the writer of this has long kept up a correspondence.

"I first saw Charles at the time the Shawnee nation was removed from Ohio to Kansas under the conduct of the national government, in 1832. He

NOTE 1.—Mrs. Hester Kelly Watson, of Belvue, Pottawatomie county, Kansas, has given the Kansas Historical Society a piece of a little jacket of blue linsey-woolsey goods, said to have been made of the same material as the jacket worn by Marmaduke Swerangen when stolen by the Indians. It came to Mrs. Watson through her mother, Maria Louisa Marsh (Mrs. John Kelly), a granddaughter of Sarah Swerangen, the sister of Marmaduke. At the same time the Society received as a loan from Mr. Howard B. Chamberlain Mrs. Kelly's loom, together with the old reeds, handed down in the family through many generations, and through which probably ran the threads as woven into the blue cloth which warmed the back of young Bluejacket.

is a well educated, intelligent and highly intellectual gentleman, and in all respects—feature, voice, contour and movement—except as to his darker color, is an exact facsimile of the Van Swerangens.

"Charles Bluejacket has been a visitor at my home in Ohio, not above eleven years ago, and exhibits all the attributes of a well-bred, polished, self-possessed gentleman. THOMAS J. LARSH (in March, 1877)."

Chief Bluejacket, Weh-yah-pih-ehr-sehn-wah, commanded the allied Indian forces that were defeated by General Wayne in 1794. This defeat was so crushing that the Shawnees sued for peace and never afterwards as a nation made war on the whites. His name is signed to the treaty of peace made with the United States by the Wyandotes, Delawares, Shawnees and others, in August, 1795.²

Chief Jim Bluejacket was a friend of Tecumseh, and one of his bravest warriors. He was in the battle of the Thames, in 1813, when his illustrious leader was slain. He was evidently a man of great bravery and ability, and had the full confidence and esteem of the great chief.

Charles Bluejacket was born in what is now the state of Michigan, on the banks of the Huron river, in 1816. Late in the year 1832 he came with his people to their new home in what is now the state of Kansas. He was educated at the Quaker mission school before coming to Kansas. At an early day he was converted from heathenism to Christianity and united with the Methodist mission. During his long life he was a faithful, consistent, and courageous Christian. I am sure I never knew a better or more honorable man. His brother Henry was also a member and an official in the Methodist church, but he died before I went to the mission and I have little information concerning him.

Charles Bluejacket moved from Kansas to the Indian Territory in 1871, and died there October 29, 1897, aged eighty-one years.

Jim Bluejacket was the father of four sons and three daughters: Nancy, George, Betsey, Henry, John, Kate, and Charles (born 1816).

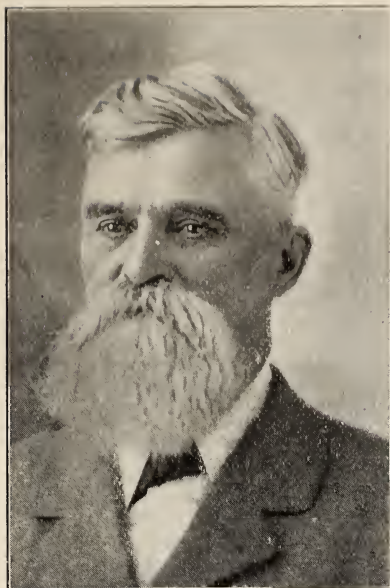
Charles Bluejacket had six sons and one daughter by his first wife, who lived to years of maturity, and four daughters and one son by his second wife, all living. His first children were Sally, born in Johnson county, Kansas, January 7, 1844; David L., born in 1846, still living; Price K., dead; Willis G., dead; Silas D., born in 1858, still living; Henry C., still living; Richard M., died at the age of nineteen years.

By his second wife: Mrs. Cora B. Hagerty, Mrs. Mary B. Sharp, Lucinda, Amanda and Lewis Bluejacket, all of Bluejacket, Okla.

Sally was married to Jonathan Gore, a young man from Kentucky, November 10, 1858, at the age of nearly fifteen years (14 years, 10 months, 3 days). She attended the Shawnee mission school for eight years, and was for a short time at Independence, Mo., college. She is still living in the town of Bluejacket, Okla. Her husband died July 12, 1906. She has had six children: A daughter, born July, 1860, died April, 1903; Hattie, a teacher, has never married; H. B. Gore, still living; Mamie, married and living in Bluejacket, a graduate of Haskell Institute; Daisy G., married, still living; Nat. S., died at the age of eighteen years.

Mrs. Gore, as will be seen, has raised a large family. Her children are well educated, well doing, and are honored by their neighbors. The trite

NOTE 2.—See proceedings of a council in April, 1795, in which Bluejacket took a leading part, in Harvey's *History of the Shawnee Indians*, ch. 16.



JONATHAN GORE.



MRS. SALLY BLUEJACKET GORE.

saying "blood will tell" has something of a confirmation in the Bluejacket family. The founder of the family was a Virginian—a Marmaduke—and from the character of his kin in Missouri, two of whom have been governors and others soldiers, he was of cavalier blood, and on his father's side, judging from his name, a Hollander. We are sure the Bluejacket family is today the most prominent of the Shawnee nation.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH PARKS, SHAWNEE INDIAN CHIEF.

JOSEPH PARKS was born in 1793. Where he was born we are not informed, but probably Michigan was his native territory. Of his parents we know nothing, and of his early life very little. According to his own account he lived in the family of Gen. Lewis Cass for some time, and it is probable that it was through the interest taken in him by General Cass that he obtained educational and other advantages not enjoyed by the average Indian youth. General Cass employed him as an interpreter when he was in the Indian service, and the office of tribal interpreter he filled for a number of years.

We first find him mentioned in the history of his tribe about 1831, where it is stated that he acted as interpreter to Commissioner James B. Gardiner, who concluded a treaty, in 1831, with the Shawnees, by which they sold to the government their lands in Ohio. By the terms of this treaty he was granted 640 acres of land in Ohio. This treaty not being satisfactory to the Indians, Mr. Parks was sent by his tribe to Washington with four of their

chiefs to secure desired changes. In the spring of 1833 Captain Parks was entrusted by the government with the removal of his band—the Hog Creek band of Shawnees—from Ohio to their new home in Kansas. This work he performed in the most satisfactory manner.

During the Seminole war in Florida the government recruited two or more companies of Shawnees. Of one company Mr. Parks was made captain, and after serving through the campaign with distinction, returned home with all his men, and with only one slightly wounded.

His next public service was rendered in the collection of a large claim against the government. It required years of constant and patient work, but he finally succeeded in his mission. He told the writer that his success was due in large measure to the friendship of General Cass, who in espousing his cause stated that Mr. Parks in his youth had made his home in his house and he knew him to be an honest and trustworthy man. Captain Parks was for years the leading spirit of his people, and during these years he made every effort for their improvement and civilization, and we may add for Christianity as well.

The writer made the acquaintance of Captain Parks in the fall of 1858, he found him a man of culture and of general information. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and had been for a number of years. He died April 3, 1859, aged sixty-six years, and was buried in the Shawnee Indian cemetery, near the old log church, in Johnson county. A fine monument bearing Masonic emblems marks his last resting-place. At the time of his death he was a member of the Westport Masonic lodge. Captain Parks once told the writer that there was among the Indians an order almost exactly like our Masonic order, with grip, pass-words, etc. But among the Indians the lodge selected from the worthy young men of the tribe its members. He stated that he had been so selected, and in that way became a member of the order. He said he had no knowledge that he was to be selected until he was notified of his election.

Captain Parks owned a fine body of land just inside the Kansas line, west of Westport, Mo., on which he erected a spacious and attractive home.¹ He was both wealthy and hospitable, and freely entertained all comers. Henry Harvey, who knew him well, says of him: "Joseph Parks was a sensible, intelligent man who had long been engaged in public business. He encouraged his people by his noble example in farming and stock-raising, schooling his children and advising and remonstrating against using strong drink.² His house has been the resort of all classes, and the sums of money he has bestowed upon his people within the last thirty years would make a fortune, and still he is wealthy." The thirty years referred to above was just prior to 1845.

Captain Parks died only a few months after the writer came to the mission as a missionary, yet we can freely indorse all that Mr. Harvey says of him. As a citizen he stood high with both the Indians and whites. He was not a full-blood Indian. In fact he was not, we think, more than one-fourth Indian, but in feeling and sympathy he was always fully identified with his

NOTE 1.—W. J. ANDERSON, of Kansas City, Mo., has recently published a folder containing, besides a sketch and portrait of Captain Parks, a copy of the author's pen-and-ink drawing of the old Parks homestead, built in 1845.

NOTE 2.—HENRY HARVEY quotes some sensible remarks of Joseph Parks, made in urging upon the Shawnees the adoption of a constitution and laws, in 1854. See his *History of the Shawnees*, ch. 48.

people. Captain Parks was survived by his granddaughters, Kate and Rebecca Donaldson. Their father was a white man, the government blacksmith. Their mother was a member of the Wyandot tribe, and a very worthy woman. Both granddaughters married worthy white men, but they and their husbands have been dead for many years. Each left two sons, and one a grandson who still lives and occupies the old Parks homestead.

REV. MACKINAW BOACHMAN, THE INDIAN DIVINE.

MACKINAW BOACHMAN was the son of a French Canadian by the name of Beauchemin, and a Chippewa Indian woman, and was born at Mackinaw, Mich., prior to the War of 1812. At the close of the war the father planned to take his two children, Joseph and Mackinaw, to Canada, but the mother fled with the two children to the Pottawatomies, with whom they were raised, their mother dying during their youth. But the promise of God was verified to young Mackinaw: "When thy father and thy mother forsake thee, then the Lord will take thee up." When he grew up he married a Shawnee woman and settled among that tribe. Much of his life was spent as a hunter and trapper with the American Fur Company. He spent some years in the Rocky Mountains trapping beaver and otter in the midst of wild savages, when his life was often in great danger. A short time before he went to the mountains the last time the Methodist mission was established amongst the Shawnees, and the missionary had already commenced preaching the gospel. It being something new, Boachman among others was induced to attend and listen, and under the preaching of Rev. Thomas Johnson was converted to Christianity. He soon began to exhort his Shawnee friends to forsake paganism and become Christians. He was subsequently employed as interpreter, and from 1845 was licensed as a local preacher, which means that he could preach whenever opportunity offered, but that he was not assigned to any special work. We first meet his name in the Journal of the Shawnee Mission for 1842 as class-leader. It is there spelled Bocheman.

In the fall of 1845 he was admitted on trial in the Indian mission conference. For two years he served as a preacher in the mission field so acceptably that at the conference of 1847 he was received into full connection, that is, admitted to all of the privileges of membership in the conference and ordained deacon. This simply means that his life was blameless and that he was now to be entrusted with all the responsibilities of the Christian ministry. That year he was appointed missionary to the Wea, Chippewa and Sac mission, an extensive field and a responsible position. This was his last appointment. In May, 1848, he was taken with pneumonia, and on the 12th of that month he passed away.

It is very difficult at this distance of time to correctly estimate his character. Those who knew him best say of him that he was a useful man; that he had peculiar gifts in procuring knowledge and acquiring languages. He was acquainted with most of the languages of the tribes in Kansas, and in several of them could preach fluently. His preaching was not learned from hearing others, but from a personal study of the Scripture, first in his native tongue and afterward in the English. When we consider what Mr. Boach-

man was, a pagan and a trapper, and, according to his own testimony, an ungodly man, and then note the great change that took place in him, and all within a very short time, we are constrained to say that he was no ordinary man.

Bishop Andrew visited the various Indian missions in 1848, and in a letter written to a church paper he says: "During the past year one who was probably the greatest and best of the Pottawatomies was removed from earth, the Rev. Mackinaw Boachman, a man of rare gifts and ardent and consistent piety."

In all the missionary fields in Kansas no other native Indian attained to the honorable position in the Christian ministry occupied by Mr. Boachman. Others had received local preachers' licenses and on a few occasions had done missionary work, but no other one had been received into the full ministry or had received ordination.

His wife was Polly Rogers, daughter of Henry Rogers and his wife, the daughter of Blackfish, chief of the Shawnees. She probably belonged to the small band of Shawnees which settled on the Meramec, near the lead-mines, in Missouri, about the beginning of the last century. Mrs. Boachman died a few weeks before her husband, at the old Pottawatomie mission, in the spring of 1848 or 1849. They had six children: Annie, the wife of the Rev. N. T. Shaler, who died before her parents; Washington, who died in youth; Alexander, whose allotment comprises the present Auburndale addition to the city of Topeka, supposed to be now a resident of Dowagiac, Mich.; Julia Ann, wife of the late Thomas Nesbit Stinson, born on the Shawnee reserve, Johnson county, March 26, 1834; William, who died near Fort Scott in the early '60's; and Martha, the youngest, the late Mrs. John Read, whose allotment adjoined Mrs. Stinson's, near Tecumseh, Shawnee county, Kansas. Some additional matter relating to Mr. Boachman's family will be found in the Kansas Historical Collections, volume 9, pages 170 and 212.

A BUFFALO HUNT WITH THE MIAMIS IN 1854.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by ELY MOORE, of Lawrence.

MY trip from New York city to the Indian country in southeastern Kansas, in July, 1854, was replete with novelty and pleasure—yes, pleasure real and true—for the enchanting panorama before me was something new to my city-bred eyes. It was then I first realized the unlimited amount of outdoors the West contained; her pure air, her rich soil, her unclouded sky, her sturdy and hospitable people and her flower-bespangled prairies. With these beauties and blessings before me the thought was instilled, the resolve approved, that here will I dwell; here and now do I link my fortunes with the destiny of those "beyond the Mississippi." And thus for fifty-four years have I withstood her shocks and rejoiced in her victories.

From New York, up the Hudson to Albany by boat, by rail to Buffalo, across turbulent Erie to Detroit by steamer, thence by rail to Alton, and from Alton down the Mississippi by boat to St. Louis. At this point I boarded the steamer Polar Star, bound up the Missouri for "Westport Landing," so my ticket read.

During a severe storm in crossing Erie—so severe that many were seasick

and badly frightened—I formed the acquaintance of Miss Mary Cass, daughter of Gen. Lewis Cass, of Detroit, nominee for President on the Democratic ticket in 1848. Upon reaching Detroit, I accepted an invitation from General Cass to take dinner with himself and family. I remained for some hours at his hospitable and handsome home, enjoying to the full an elegant dinner and a pleasing conversation with the general and his family.

A letter of introduction to Northrup & Chick, who were at that time in the commission and outfitting business on the levee of what is now Kansas City, Mo., secured for me kindly attention. Desiring to reach my destination as soon as possible, and even though in the night, they promptly furnished me a conveyance. I remained at Westport a few hours with that genial and painstaking host, Jack Harris, of the Harris House.

A conveyance from Westport to the Miami Indian mission, some sixty-five miles away, was of pressing necessity, as I carried important letters from Washington to that mission. I was informed there was but one vehicle in the town adapted to such a trip, and that was owned by Col. A. G. Boone,

“A fine old southern gentleman,
One of the real old stock.”

I soon roused the colonel from slumber, and, upon making known my wants, he acted promptly and efficiently, and at four o'clock that morning we were passing by Tommy Johnson's Shawnee mission into Kansas Territory.

I reached Miami mission late that afternoon, where I found myself surrounded by several thousand Indians, my father being the only white man among them. He was at that time special agent of the confederated Indian tribes, consisting of the Miamis, Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Piankeshaws.

As soon as the annual payment was made to the tribes, amounting to more than \$80,000 in gold, they went vigorously to work preparing for their yearly buffalo hunt. These hunts were not a slaughter for slaughter's sake, as was the almost universal custom by the white men in the '60's and '70's, but for the legitimate purpose of providing meat for the winter and coming spring.

A few days after payment I was requested by a chief of the Miamis (Mo-sep-ia) to attend a “friend feast” at his cabin that night. I attended, but with many misgivings, being ignorant of the meaning or purpose of the invitation, or that I was to be the subject of their incantations.

The “friend feast,” not the adoption dance, is quite an event with the Indians, but almost exclusively confined to the Miamis. You, a stranger, are to be made a friend by some one member of the tribe, which binds the whole tribe by the most loyal friendship, for any and all would most willingly give up life to shield the friend from danger or death. You are danced around by the squaws and braves, who are dressed in the most gorgeous attire in their possession—all this within a circle of fire to protect you from outside harm, and to give light so that all may see you, as well as for the purpose of adding a brilliant effect to the beautifully ornamented garb of the dancers. You stand erect in the center of the circle with your face to the east, and after being inspected by each of the dancers at close range, they point to your breast, place their hands over their hearts, and nod their heads to those present in token of friendship. You are then approached by

the chief, who turns your face to the north, the dancers continually circling, when another chief approaches and turns your face to the west, then the head chief turns your head to the south. This chief places your hands upon his breast and his hands upon your breast, making many gestures, and mumbling words which, interpreted, mean: "All have seen you; you have faced the four quarters of the globe; the Great Spirit has had light; none have condemned, so all is well." Then you are led to the feast. In passing the belt of fire the Indians form in two parallel lines, and as you pass they all kneel and touch their hearts, chanting the while: "Friend now, friend always." There is no oath binding the friend—only honor is asked and honor observed.

Then the Indian who has taken you to his heart presents you with something he holds most dear, the most valued of earthly possessions. This sacrifice is in conformity with the laws of the tribe. Until this point is reached you do not know to whom you owe the honor bestowed. My present was an elegant horse, saddle and bridle, given me by my new-found friend Gou-i-ne, or Quick Eye. A stancher friend or more honorable man never lived.

The next day I was invited to join in their annual buffalo hunt. There was no hesitation on my part, for I was eager for such an adventure. Our party was a strong one, able to cope with any of the hostiles on the plains. It consisted of 400 men and 50 squaws of the five tribes; 20 Shawnees and 30 Pottawatomies, all well armed. Our equipment consisted of about 100 wagons, two yoke of oxen to each, and 200 pack-ponies. All these were necessary to transport home our meat and robes. The main body left the agency for buffalo-land about the 20th of August, but Gou-i-ne and I were sent to Westport to secure extra revolvers, Colt's navy, with powder, caps and balls, for we had no shells in those days, and few luxuries on the side.

The first camp after leaving Westport was Mount Oread, upon which the State University, at Lawrence, Kan., is now situated. The next morning was a delightful one, and we were up with the birds, as the cardinal (red-bird), thrush and robin were giving voice to their morning orisons. Surely they were not the harbingers of spring, for spring had passed and summer was with us, so it is pleasant to believe that they were heralding the coming of the first house of education upon that hill.

To Gov. Charles Robinson belongs the honor and thanks for this mighty house of learning. The governor needs no obelisk to mark his last resting-place—his mausoleum bedecks the plateau on Mount Oread.

Our next camp was at "To-pe-ka," signifying, in the Kaw language, "a place to find small or wild potatoes." We camped near where the Shawnee mills now stand, from which point to the Indianola ferry, where the bridge now spans the Kaw, was a swamp or dry lake, and in this lake the wild potatoes grew in abundance. As we laid ourselves down to sleep that night our lullaby was the crunch of the wild hog as he masticated the wild potato, of which he was very fond. We camped at Topeka to await the arrival of our contingent of thirty Pottawatomies. They were with us the next morning with five wagons and a number of pack-ponies, and we took up our march for the main camp, which we overtook somewhere in the vicinity of what is now Dickinson county, Kansas. From this point we bore southwest, as the buffalo would soon be on their way to the Texas panhandle where they wintered.

On the night of the third day's march with the main body I requested to stand guard, going on at midnight. It was granted. My position was on the extreme southwest of our camp and my beat was on the brow of a sand hill. The night was a charming one, the moon at its full and the sky cloudless, enabling me to see the prairie-dogs scampering about their villages, at what appeared to be fully half a mile distant.

The wolf is considered to be the best picket-guard possible, for so long as they bark, snarl and howl all is safe from an outside enemy. And that night the wolves formed a close cordon around the camp. That the wolf was a guard of safety, I did not know. How should a lad from New York city know that the yelping and snarling of a hundred wolves proclaimed to the camp "All's well." Later I noticed that the wolves had ceased their din and vanished, but I attributed it to their disappointment of a warm supper. Just at this time I noticed my friend Gou-i-ne rapidly approaching me, holding his rifle ready for use, and exclaiming: "Down flat." And with this admonition he placed his rifle to his shoulder and fired. A groan followed the report of his weapon; then pulling his revolver, he sprang a step or two ahead of me and stopped, and turning his face to me, exclaimed: "Pawnee! Dead now!" Sure enough, it was a Pawnee. He had been shot through the head and death was instantaneous.

My friend Gou-i-ne had remarked the silence of the wolves, and knowing I was on guard farthest from the camp ran to see if all was right. He discovered the Pawnee before reaching me, with the result as above.

This Pawnee had crawled like a snake from a sand-hill fully half a mile distant, and I had not seen him. His object was to lie still until I had reached the end of my beat and then stampede our ponies, having attired himself in a long gown of thin-scraped dry buffalo hide, and carrying two dry bladders containing a dozen or two buckshot each. These bladders were attached to short sticks, and when thumped against the dry hide produced an alarming rattle. The Indian's plan is to rush into a herd of ponies or cattle, producing this noise, which will most invariably stampede a herd. The next morning it was discovered that this Indian had had mounted allies near by to aid in driving off the stock.

About three o'clock the next afternoon, when within a few miles of what was to be our permanent camp, we were side-tracked by an immense herd of buffalo on their way south. They were soon encroaching upon the head of our train, so that it became necessary to order out a strong guard to keep them from running over us. Against our will we were forced to camp without water, and were held in that plight until ten o'clock the next day. This herd of buffalo, the Indians insisted, was the largest herd they had ever seen. As far as the eye could reach was one moving mass of buffaloes. To protect our camp from invasion the guard killed thirty or more of the shaggy fellows that night. As good grass was near by our temporary camp, they soon came to a long feeding halt, and exhibited no fear as we passed by them to our permanent camp.

Our chief was something of a military man, and our train moved with the precision of a well-drilled command of soldiers. When within a half mile of camp an order would be given to the squaws, and instantly all would dismount, each having been provided with a gunny-sack, and commence collecting dry buffalo chips with which to cook our meals. Then fifty young bucks would slide from their ponies, and with an ax and short-handled spade

begin digging fire-pits. Each driver would then place his wagon in position, which, when all in, would form a perfect circle within which we all camped. A détail would then be ordered for culinary purposes, one for water-carriers, another for herders and guard duty.

The morning after reaching our permanent camp a hundred of us were ordered to commence killing, as thousands of buffalo were feeding near by. In an hour the killing, skinning, tanning of robes and jerking and preserving of meat was in full operation.

The killing is where the fun and danger comes in. The buffaloes soon took the alarm and started south. Thousands of them, however, were loath to leave the good grass, and, breaking from the main herd, commenced to circle about a mile from us. This was what we most desired, for the nearer camp they fell the better.

The Indian plan of killing is vastly different from that adopted by the white man, for the reason that when on the march the buffalo bulls invariably line the outside of the herd, with their heads down and outward, thus guarding the cows and calves from all enemies. The white hunter, disregarding this gallantry on the part of the bulls, would almost always kill the nearest thing in sight, and after the hunt would be in possession of bulls, and bulls only, whose hide, texture of meat and flavor is questionable.

The Indian's plan is this: As they approach the herd, always keeping pace with the buffaloes, they shoot down several bulls, and as a gap in the line is thus made they dash their ponies through the breach, conforming speed and direction with that of the herd, gradually working toward the center, where they find the cows, calves and two-year-olds, thus securing the finest robes and choicest meats. When their revolvers are empty, for only revolvers or bows and arrows can be safely used in this mode of killing, they gradually worm themselves out of the herd in the same manner as they had entered.

The great danger in this style of killing the buffalo is from a wounded bull, a timid horse, or a dog hole. However, we only had one man wounded and one pony killed during our hunt. Jimmie Squirrel, a Miami Indian, had the calf of his leg torn loose by the thrust of a wounded bull, the same blow disemboweling his horse. This was caused by his pony sinking his leg in a dog hole and so being unable to speedily recover his footing.

As stated, this mode of killing is coupled with some danger; but did you ever know of a real sport that was not? The risk but added spice to the hunt. It braced the nerves and caused the blood to ebb and flow with the speed and force of a trip-hammer. Imagine yourself shooting your way into a herd of buffaloes numbering thousands upon thousands, with their red glaring eyes and polished wicked horns menacing you at every step, your horse guided solely by the sway of your body to the right or left, alert to the spur, and obedient to the command "Sle," *slow*, or "Hi-o," *halt*, that you may the more accurately place the lead a little below and back of the shoulder-blade. Imagine yourself, I say, placed in this condition with three or four hundred shouting and shooting Indians bestride their nimble ponies, and bringing to the ground at almost every shot this noble but dangerous game, and then assert that it is not sport superb, far excelling all sports of the present day.

We killed more than a hundred buffalo in our first day's hunt, as the counting of tongues told us that night. The tongues are cut from all the

buffaloes that are killed, and then carefully dried, as they are delicious eating and serve also as a "tally-sheet," for upon reaching home they are counted, thus giving the exact number of animals killed.

During six weeks of hunting we moved our camp but once, and then for only a few miles, as buffaloes were constantly around us and water abundant in what the Indians called "Blind river." By digging two or three feet through a crust of sand we came to running water, which was both sweet and cool.

There is an enormous amount of work attached to such a camp and hunt, especially as we killed 1700 buffaloes (the number of tongues we had upon reaching home). All these animals had to be skinned, robes dried and tanned, and the hams cut into pieces similar to the smoked beef of the present day. The rest of the animal not eaten by the party was subjected to the "jerking" process—that is, pulled off the carcass in thin strips and dried; and when so properly dried it would keep for years. We generally had no blue-bottle flies on the plains in those days after August. The air was so pure that meat would cure in a few days.

A cyclone on the plains is something to be dreaded. You have no shelter and but little hope to survive its fiendish force. I herewith give my experience with a cyclone during our buffalo hunt :

One morning during the third week of our hunt it was extremely sultry and warm—so sultry that breathing was an effort—but soon after breakfast we started for an immense herd of buffaloes feeding near our camp. Upon reaching the herd I felt a want of enthusiasm in the sport before me, and noticed the same lack of vim in all the Indians as well as in our horses.

About noon, just as the enthusiasm of our sport began to assert itself, the signal to return to camp was given—a flag raised from the chief's tent, and three shots at short intervals. We promptly obeyed the summons, marveling much why the order. On the way to camp we noticed the wagons en route to the field over which we had hunted for the purpose of gathering up meat and robes, all returning to camp. I at once sought the reason for the order and the hurry and bustle that was noticeable on all sides. The chief, in answer to my inquiry, pointed to the sun, and then I noticed millions of insects, grasshoppers, winging their way east. So dense were they that the sun was obscured for minutes at a time. The chief, with gestures of foreboding evil, further explained: "They (grasshoppers) know. Devil wind come, kill all, may be. Great Spirit knows best!"

Many of us were put to work with ax and spade to sink our wagons, cutting a trench three feet in length, six inches wide and two feet deep. The wheels of our wagons were then placed in these trenches to more securely hold them against a heavy wind. The ponies were brought within the enclosure, the corral formed by the wagons. The cattle were herded close to our camp, and a double guard stationed around them to prevent a possible stampede. Then the wagon-covers were tied down with ropes of buffalo hides cut in narrow strips and tied together; all the hunting horses were ordered within the corral, and other preparations made for safety.

It was after five o'clock when all this was accomplished, and at that time could be seen in the southwest a dark, greenish-purple cloud hanging close to the horizon, revolving and bounding as it approached. This balloon-

shaped lowering monster had many laterals that were licking up the beasts, earth, water and air to satiate the ponderous maw of this fiend of might. Respiration was a struggle, the utter stillness most enervating, and the darkness impenetrable. Our awed cattle, with bewailing moans, lolling tongues, and nervous lifting and stamping of feet, were pitiable to see. The fear-shaken ponies stood huddled together, as if for mutual protection, with the head of one thrown over the neck of another, or with their heads close to the ground. Our head chief, mounted, occupied the center of the encampment. The squaws sought shelter in the empty wagons, and the hunters with their arms around their horses' necks—for the Indian loves his horse—stood and waited the result.

Just then a sound as of muffled drums reached us, and, as a rift in the clouds shot a glare of light upon the camp, I stole a hasty look around me. There stood the Indians, stolid, but in an attitude of supplication to the Great Spirit. Now the storm came on apace, descending with unmitigated violence upon the quaking, dusky forms, who seemed awaiting their doom.

"The speedy gleams the darkness swallow'd;
Loud, deep, and lang, the thunder bellow'd;
That night, a child might understand,
The deil had business on his hand."

We were literally cover-wrapped in an electric cloud. As electric sparks snapped from the tips of our horses' ears, the moaning, shivering creatures pressed close to their masters. The wheels of our wagons were circled by the electric fluid, and many bolts were drawn from our wagon-beds. Then came the wind, and with it hail of irregular shape and great size, descending with such force that many of our cattle had their eyes forced out of their sockets, and many of our ponies were badly lacerated on the back and flank, while some of our wagon-covers were tattered and torn into strips. At that time the cyclone proper appeared egg-shaped, and its points north and east were a mile or more in length. As it neared us it seemed to bound into the air some hundreds of feet. Just as one of the drag-nets or feeders of the parent dragon reached our encampment it was apparently struck by lightning, or was surcharged, for a downpour of sand, earth, grass, weeds and limbs of trees was deposited within our corral of wagons, amounting to many hundred tons. The breaking of this drag-net is all that saved us. The force was broken, and satiated its gluttonous intent by destroying a few wagons and filching some bales of robes.

After the destroying fiend passed over we gave thanks, and had a jolly supper. And what a transition! The faces that a short time before were blanched with fear and despair now wore smiles, and all joined in jests. Truly may it be said:

"God and the doctor we alike adore,
Just on the brink of danger, not before;
The danger passed, both are alike required;
God forgotten, and the doctor slighted."

The next morning was clear and cool, and after much labor in removing the debris deposited by the storm we went to work repairing damages. There was no game in sight, nor did any appear until the following morning.

The reader of the present day must not suppose that we wantonly killed the noble game. No party of hunters was ever more economical of the herd than we. Besides, we always followed up and killed the wounded animals

—a service foreign to the idea of the white hunters—thus preventing their starving or being tormented and finally eaten by the wolves.

Do you realize at that time the buffalo belonged to the Indians? So they believed. They looked upon them as their herds of cattle.

Judging from the number of buffaloes I saw during our hunt, I did not believe the united armies of the world could exterminate them in many years.

On our way home, and but a few miles from our deserted camp, we saw where the cyclone that jumped us had stripped acres of sod and soil from the prairies. We also found two dead buffaloes completely denuded of hair, and every bone in their bodies crushed. These animals must have been picked up by the cyclone, carried to a great height, and then dashed to the earth.

We had two fierce battles with bands of roving Indians during our hunt. No casualties on our side. We flanked the enemy in one engagement—result, three ponies added to our herd, but no scalps. Their mode of fighting is both novel and safe. The contending parties each form two parallel lines, and riding up and down the line at full speed, their bodies are protected by twining themselves around their ponies on the opposite side from the enemy and shooting their arrows from under their ponies' necks. It is a pretty sight to watch, for all are liberally painted and befeathered, with their different colored blankets flying around them as they shout defiance to the enemy.

We reached the agency before cold weather set in, and all in good shape. What robes we did not need we shipped to St. Louis, realizing \$3000 from their sale. The Miami-tanned robes were worth a dollar a piece more than any other tan shipped to that market. The pelts of more than 200 wolves were in our invoices.

THE BATTLE OF COON CREEK.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by JAMES H. BIRCH,¹ of Plattsburg, Mo.

ON the morning of the 19th of May, 1848, there were marshaled on the campus at Fort Leavenworth a body of recruits, seventy-six in number, under command of Lieut. Wm. B. Royall, who, having afterward entered the regular army, died a few years since, a retired brigadier-general.

They were mostly boys from the backwoods of Missouri, who had never been that far away from home before, but with their frontier breeding were well fitted for the service required. They had been recruited to fill up the decimated ranks of the Santa Fe battalion, then in Chihuahua.

As good fortune planned it, there had arrived at the fort a consignment from Germany of breech-loading carbines. They could be loaded and fired

NOTE 1.—JAMES H. BIRCH was born in Fayette, Mo., November 14, 1831. He is the son of James H. Birch, who was born in Virginia. The father was a judge of the supreme court of Missouri, an earnest Union man at the time of the war, and the largest slave-owner in northwest Missouri. He owned fifty-one slaves and a plantation of 2000 acres near Plattsburg. One son had just graduated from the University of Virginia, and at the age of nineteen raised a company of cavalry, which was a part of General Blunt's raid into Arkansas, sixty days without tents, baggage, or commissaries. This was too much for the college-bred boy, and ended in his death. The second son, the writer of this paper, was a colonel in the Union army until 1863, when he was taken prisoner. While his father was holding court he took the finest horse on the farm and went to Fort Leavenworth and enlisted. For this escapade he is now drawing a pension of twenty dollars a month from the Topeka office. He served in the stage senate of Missouri from 1869 to 1872, and built the asylum at St. Joseph. He is an extensive farmer near Plattsburg.

five times in a minute, and being a cavalry arm, our little squad was armed with them. They were a fearful weapon. Loaded with an ounce ball it emerged as a slug, and for 400 yards held up its force. In the hands of these backwoods boys, who had been raised on horseback with guns in their hands, they soon became a toy and a delight. We were the only soldiers in the Mexican war who were armed with breech-loading guns.

Saluting the old flag, we wheeled into line, and with buoyant hearts began to sing "Hò, for the Rio Grande," as we started on our long march.

Without special incident we passed through Council Grove, then established as a place of repair and blacksmith shop, and later camped on Cow creek. Here it was I killed my first buffalo.

I visited the magnificent cottonwood, then fully six feet in diameter, whose broad-spreading limbs gave sweet repose from the summer sun. It was under this tree where John McDaniel and his gang murdered and robbed the old Spanish merchant, Don Antonio José Chavez, in 1843. Chavez was making his yearly journey to the states to lay in his merchandise, when McDaniel intercepted him, and, after robbing him, shot him under the old cottonwood. He begged them to take his money and spare his life, but no—the human fiends were not so content.²

This incident created great excitement in Missouri, and especially in St. Louis, where he bought his goods. The federal government took up the matter and finally captured McDaniel and one other of his gang, and they were hung in St. Louis by my uncle, Weston F. Birch, who was then United States marshal for Missouri.

Passing Plum buttes,³ and crossing Walnut creek and Pawnee Fork, we proceeded up the river. The banks of these streams were so high that we were forced to attach ropes to the wagons in order to let them down to the ford. Pawnee Rock was covered with names carved by the men who had passed it. It was so full that I could find no place for mine.

On the evening of the 17th day of June Tandy Giddings, an old plainsman, rode forward and, doffing his cap, said, "Lieutenant, you should double your guards to-night."

"Why so?" asked the lieutenant.

"We haven't seen a buffalo for two days, and that is a sign there are Indians around."

Crossing Coon creek we spread our tents on the banks of the river, close by the present town of Kinsley. We were escorting Major Bryant, pay-

NOTE 2.—Authorities differ as to the locality of the Chavez murder. Gregg, in his *Commerce of the Prairies*, vol. 2, p. 167, published in 1844, says that it occurred "near the Little Arkansas," as does Helen Haines, page 163 of her *History of New Mexico*; while John T. Hughes, the historian of Doniphan's expedition, writing in 1847, says the murder occurred on Cow creek. This latter statement is also made by Theo. S. Case, in the *History of Kansas City, Mo.*, 1888. Gregg, from his long familiarity with the Trail, would naturally be considered the best authority. However, the murder did not occur on the road, but "a few miles south," where he and his baggage were conveyed by McDaniel's party. This murder was committed in either Rice or McPherson county.

NOTE 3.—The Plum buttes were sand-hills in Rice county, a little southwest of the present station of Silica, on the old trail between Atlanta, now Lyons, and Ellinwood, on the line between section 31, township 9, and section 6, township 20, range 10 west. The buttes reached an elevation of 120 feet above the level of the prairie, but only about 25 feet higher than the sand-hills which still form a prominent feature of the landscape. The buttes were covered with plum bushes (the common sand-hill plum), and two species of sand grass (*Calamovilfa longifolia*, and *Eragrostis pilosa*), the underground stems and roots of which bind the sand. Prof. B. B. Smyth, the authority for this note, formerly a resident of that locality, says that between the years 1865 and 1884 a gradual "blow-out" occurred, which resulted in leveling the buttes, three in number, and even creating a wide channel or valley in the hills upon which they formerly stood. These sand-hills cover the greater portion of townships 19 and 20, Rice county, and are occupied by productive farms.

master, and wanting to reach Fort Mann, about six miles west of the Dodge City of to-day, to pay off the troops stationed there. My mess, among others, was detailed to escort him. I was up early to give my horse grass, and took him out about a quarter of a mile west to a depression where the grass was not so short. I had already gotten back to camp before I heard the wolves howling on the south side of the river, which was answered by a similar sound from up the river, and repeated from the north, and further repeated from down the river. Attention being called to the wolves, old Tandy Giddings, who was up, said, "Look out, boys, I have heard them wolves many a time. It is Indians howling."

Of course we didn't believe it. Shortly afterward an immense herd of buffaloes appeared coming up the river. Some of the boys got their carbines, saying, "Let's get some fresh meat for breakfast."

Again Giddings put in, "Hold on, boys, the Indians are behind the buffalo."

The buffaloes were making straight for our camp, and there were many thousands of them, but they took a scare at our tents and passed up the bottom, and, sure enough, behind them were the Indians. On they came, and they were reinforced by their comrades from up the river and from the uplands.

It was then our long-range breech-loaders came into play. As it turned out later it was a war party, 800 strong, of Comanches and Apaches. They had attacked Captain Love's company of regulars, and, after killing a number of his men, took all his stock. Their mode of warfare, not having any guns, was under the protection of their shields, made from the neck of a buffalo bull, to draw the fire of the soldiers, and before they could reload their muzzle-loaders to rush up and lance them to death. Great was their surprise when, after drawing our fire, we were ready to shoot them again.

This fact astounded them, and they drew off, but, soon returning, were met with closer shots, and a number killed. They then drew off again about a mile, to ride in the bottom, and there had the first populist meeting ever held in Kansas.

We could easily hear them shouting or howling, and for a quarter of an hour they kept up their ferocious outbursts, angered no doubt at the loss of their comrades, and thirsting for revenge.

Suddenly they spread out in a line about a hundred yards front and eight to ten deep, and started for us. They set up the most unearthly yells, and came on shaking their shields and shouting. By this time the sun had risen, and we could see their lances flash in the sunlight.

In front of their line was a woman, who, Joan de Arc like, urged them on. On they came, determined to drive us into the river, and let their comrades, stationed there for that purpose, relieve us of our scalps. It was a square stand-up fight between 800 enraged savages and 76 boys. There was not a tree or a shrub in the way, and only the river behind us. On they came and the boys commenced shooting at 400 yards, then at 300, then at 200, and then at 100, and ready to shoot at closer range. Our shots seemed to have but little effect, for they were protected by their shields, and we could hear our balls strike their shields and sound like striking a board fence.

The woman was still in the front, and some of the boys were ungallant enough to say, "Shoot the d—n woman." It looked as though they were

determined to ride us down, for the front line was held in position by the rear lines. When they were within forty yards of us someone shouted "Shoot their horses." This was taken up down the line and every boy dropped his carbine to the level of the horses.

The effect of this was not merely astonishing, but instantaneous. A number of horses were killed on the front lines. Their fall was not only seen by those on each side, but those in the rear saw that the devil was to pay in front, and the whole crowd stopped, and then fled like the breaking of the waves on the seashore.

That it was a great relief to us to see them retreat can well be imagined. Another minute and we would have been beneath their horses' heels, with nothing to defend ourselves from their lances, for revolvers were not in use then. They retreated and crossed the river below us, and our lieutenant ordered us to mount and follow them. After crossing the river we ascended one of the numerous sand-hills on the south side and saw the Indians on the crest of the next hill. He led us down and up the next hill. When about half way up, the Indians came pouring around, and we saw we were being caught in a trap. The order for retreat came, and we began to get away, and they were not slow to follow us. One of my messmates, Smith Carter, dropped his gun, and in getting off to get it his horse threw him, and he was forced to follow on foot, with the Indians after him. He was a man and had sense enough, when the Indians dashed over him and attempted to lance him, to drop on the ground, and only received a bruise on the shoulder from the horse's foot.

In our party was a man named Dave Rupe, of Ray county, Missouri. He was a hunter, and kept his old Missouri rifle to kill deer and antelope with. Seeing Carter's danger he turned, and the Indian came at him with his lance. Rupe drew a bead on him and his rifle snapped. On the Indian came. Instead of having on a "U. S." belt, Rupe had on his hunter's belt, with a large iron buckle. The Indian's lance struck the buckle and the tongue held it. Rupe seized the lance with one hand and, drawing his holster pistol, blew the Indian's head off. The lance which he took was an officer's infantry saber.

Getting back to the top of the hill we halted, and were comparatively safe, as we could use our carbines. The Indians gathered on the surrounding hills and replied to our shots by shooting their arrows straight up into the air with sufficient incline to let them fall amongst us. One of them struck a soldier and went through the fleshy part of his thigh and into the saddle-tree, and held him there until we cut the arrow off and lifted him out.

We soon quit this long-range fighting, and made our way back to the river and to camp without further trouble.

When the Indians first appeared I started after my horse. Part of their tactics was to send out Indians with a crooked lance well sharpened. Our horses, tied to iron harpoons with heavy ropes, could not get away. Just as I got into the little hollow where my horse was picketed, an Indian on a little pony came around the bend with a crooked lance, and rode up to my horse and cut the rope. He did not see me until after he had cut the rope. He then dropped his shield so as to cover his body and looked at me, and I could see his eyes plainly. I dropped my carbine until the sight was below his shield and fired and tumbled him over, but he was tied to his pony and he took him off.

Our last shot killed a splendid iron-gray horse. The saddle and bridle plainly showed that it belonged to an Apache chief, who started to follow the Indians in their retreat, but turned and attempted to take off his saddle. This act cost him his life, for the boys shot him. Now, when this was done, a boy—say twelve to fourteen year of age—left the retreating party, and with the speed of lightning came dashing back, and as he reached the dead Indian, stopped instantly and went over the head of his pony with a lance in his hand, and, putting his lariat around the body of the dead Indian, remounted his pony and dragged him off the field. Strange to say, the men who had remorselessly killed the Indian never raised a gun against the boy. I have tried to analyze the feelings which possessed them, but can only come to the conclusion that it was pure admiration for the boy's courage.

We killed one Indian within twenty steps of our line. He was tied on his horse, and was shielding himself behind his horse and with bow and arrow in his hands was shooting at our men. The ball which killed his horse went through its neck and struck the Indian on the front of his forehead, taking the whole skull off. When found he was untied and one of the boys kicked him and he sat up. He took his hands and felt of his head. One lobe of his brain was badly torn, but the other was uninjured. After passing his hand over his wound he placed it on top of his head and felt to see if his scalp was gone. He then turned with a look of intense hatred, and said, "Kioombre, Kioombre," and then one of the boys shot him.

Reaching Fort Mann this story was related to an old Indian fighter, who said it meant "I'm a brave, I'm a brave."

Before leaving Fort Leavenworth I had gone over to Weston and bought me a fine bowie-knife, which I wore in my belt. We had no revolvers then. Mr. Giddings, whom I had known since I was a boy, said to me, "Jimmy, what are you going to do with that bowie-knife?" I replied, "I intend to scalp an Indian with it." "Oh! Jimmy," he replied, "you can't do that; your heart's too young and soft." Of course, I felt like resenting this reproach to my manhood, but I did n't. After the fight was over I went out to hunt for my scalp, and came across a splendid looking Indian lying on his back, and I then found out that Mr. Giddings had sized me up about right.

We got a late breakfast that morning and renewed our journey westward.

This is about all I have got to say about this fight, and I expect it is more than many people will believe, and yet every word of it is true, for it has laid on my memory for nearly sixty years.

I may be mistaken about the location of this episode, but I feel sure it was between where the town of Kinsley is located and the banks of the Arkansas river.

AN INCIDENT ON THE UPPER ARKANSAS IN 1864.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by COL. MILTON MOORE, of Kansas City, Mo.

AFTER the commencement of the Indian war on the upper Arkansas, in 1864, caravans were not permitted to proceed westward of Fort Larned on the Pawnee Fork, or the confluence of that stream with the Arkansas, near where the city of Larned now stands, on the river road, in parties of less than 100 men. In August two trains of Stuart, Slemmons & Co., who had the general contract for the transportation of government stores for posts on the Arkansas and in New Mexico and Arizona that year, reached the mouth of Pawnee Fork, and found awaiting them a Mexican train bound for some point below Santa Fe, also a small train of fourteen wagons under the direction of Andrew Blanchard, of Leavenworth. The name of the wagon-master of the Mexican train is not remembered, but he was either a Frenchman or Castilian. The S. S. trains were under the charge respectively of Charles P. McRea and John Sage, both of whom were men of experience and tried courage. The four trains, having a force of men numbering more than 100, were allowed to proceed.

A full train of the period was twenty-five wagons loaded with freight, and a provision wagon, commonly known as the "mess wagon," each drawn by six yoke of oxen. The freight of each wagon was from 6000 to 7000 pounds. There was one wagon-master, one assistant and one extra man denominated the "extra hand," who were mounted, twenty-six teamsters, and two night herders. In practice the night herders soon became teamsters, replacing sick men, or those who for some reason had turned or were turned back, and the slavish duty of night-herding cattle fell upon the teamsters.

Thomas Fields, of Jackson county, Missouri, route agent for the S. S. company, was elected captain of the combined trains. He was a man of many years' experience on the plains, and had been engaged in more than one contest with the Indians.

The rule of travel was: The train having the advance to-day should go to the rear to-morrow, and so on. Blanchard, having light wagons, which could be moved easily and rapidly, was dissatisfied with the rule, and refused at times to be governed by it, with the result hereinafter stated.

On Sunday, August 21, the trains, after a hard morning drive, reached the head of the "cut-off" road, which left the river some miles below the present Dodge City and ran over the hills to old Fort Larned, not touching the Arkansas valley again until the crossing of Walnut creek. McRea was in front, followed by Sage, the Mexican, and Blanchard, in the order named. The region was known to be dangerous by the wagon-masters, because near the great trail of the Indians in their journeyings from north to south and the reverse.

McRea went into corral just south of the road about ten o'clock A. M., and Sage and the Mexican in their order, but well closed up. The three first trains corraled so as to leave room for Blanchard's train, with its rear resting on or near a bayou in such a way that it would be practically impossible

for a band of Indians to sweep around it. Instead of camping at the place designated, Blanchard continued on and went into corral about half a mile beyond McRea. The cattle were placed south of the trains, near the river, and guards put out. The trainmen were armed with Minie rifles, and the order in force required that these be carried in slings on the left sides of the wagons—a rule but little observed. As a matter of fact, the muskets were usually in the wagons, and practically inaccessible when needed in an emergency, except as hereafter stated.

The teamsters of McRea's train were largely from Missouri, and a number of them had seen military service upon one side or the other in the civil war. They were, however, a well controlled and reliable body. The first mess on the right wing were white men, excepting the negro cook, Thomas Fry, who was afterwards a ragpicker in Kansas City, and died there. He was an honorably discharged soldier from the United States volunteer army, on account of the loss of the first two fingers of the right hand in battle.

The second mess was wholly of negroes, or "black men," as the Missourians of the period termed them. The negroes, possibly from the novelty of having far-shooting guns in their possession, habitually had their arms at hand when in camp, practicing at targets as far as allowed by the rules of the wagon-master. At about one o'clock in the afternoon the camp was quiet—many of the men asleep; one big fellow was lying on his back under his wagon singing "Sweet Eloise," and three men from McRea's train were out more than 100 yards towards the ridge, shooting at prairie-dogs.

Suddenly the cry of "Indians!" came from one of these. A glance at the ridge, not more than half a mile away, showed it to be covered with mounted Indians, and a dozen or more coming down the slope at full run, evidently intending to overtake the three men before they could reach the corral, and were in a fair way to do so, and possibly pass between Sage and McRea. The six negroes of the second mess, instead of running inside the corral and firing from behind wagons, as they would have been justified in doing, boldly opened fire on the advancing party and walked out to the road towards them. This turned the Indians, and the three men came in safely. Nevertheless, five of the Indians dashed through between the trains of McRea and Blanchard and very near the latter. Probably forty or more passed around the head of Blanchard's train and came in south of it.

The ridge was still covered with mounted men who had not then descended into the valley. When Blanchard saw the five Indians pass by the mouth of his corral he mounted his pony, drew his revolver, an ordinary .36-caliber, and rode out after them, evidently not noticing those who had passed around the front of his train. By the time he had gotten possibly 200 yards from his camp the Indians, who by that time had concentrated, divided into two parties, and one began to drive off his cattle, and the other to circle around him, lying on the sides of their ponies and covering their bodies with shields. By this time the train-men in the corrals of McRea and Sage had gotten their arms, and those on the south side opened fire, but at too great a distance to protect Blanchard or to do the Indians serious injury.

The Indians closed on Blanchard and either knocked him off his pony, or pushed him off, in an effort to get him onto one of their own ponies to take him out of the fire. As he fell, his fourteen teamsters and one night herder left their corral, and without a word of command formed a line and charged

the mass of Indians, firing rapidly as they advanced. The Indians hesitated before giving up their victim, but finally retreated. Blanchard was able to get on his feet and run to his men, who brought him to McRea's camp, where he died in an hour. He had been shot one or more times, lanced behind one shoulder, and an arrow had entered his back near the spinal column, and protruded about eight inches out through the stomach; this he pulled through himself before reaching his rescuers. When his pistol was found, which he had dropped, two chambers were empty, but there was no evidence that he had wounded any of the Indians.

We buried him by the side of the road, and upon our return in the fall it appeared that his grave had been opened, but whether by savage Indians, wolves or loving hands we never knew. After retreating some distance, driving the cattle of Blanchard's train, four Indians dashed back into McRea's herd and took out about one-third and a few belonging to Sage. This was done under a heavy rifle fire, but so far as we ever knew no Indians were hurt. They left two of their ponies down on the river bank which had probably been disabled. The Mexicans sustained no loss. After the skirmish was ended, a few well-directed shots dispersed the party that had remained on the hill; and one Indian, not exceeding 800 yards away, who seemed to be acting as a signal man, was directly fired at—the rifleman resting his piece on a wagon-tongue. So far as we knew no harm happened to him; but he galloped swiftly from his post and was not seen again.

The Indians drove the cattle so captured across the river to a point two or three miles away, then unsaddled their ponies and rested. About four o'clock in the afternoon another herd, consisting of horses, mules and cattle, the proceeds of other raids, were driven down on the south side of the river, and added to those taken from Blanchard's train and the S. S. trains. The combined herds were then driven southward over the sand-hills. We saw no more of this war party. It was anticipated that some might remain and watch for a messenger that must necessarily be sent back to Fort Larned. If any were left behind we had no evidence of it.

As all of Blanchard's herd except two oxen had been taken it was necessary to communicate with Fort Larned, the nearest military post. The distance was estimated to be about sixty-five miles. The night herder of Blanchard's train expressed a willingness to go upon this perilous undertaking. While making his preparations at McRae's camp he was asked if he wanted any money, that if so, a little might be found on the train. He replied that money would not "help" him "on a trip like this," but he would be glad to have a small bottle of whisky and some tobacco, as he might not get anything to eat before the afternoon of the next day. These having been furnished him, when it was dark, without a word of parting, he mounted the pony off which Blanchard had been shot, and rode away towards the hills, saying that it was his purpose to keep away from the road and travel under the "tops of the ridges." On the second morning after his departure, and just at daylight, a body of soldiers arrived, accompanied by the messenger, together with a long train of wagons. The commanding officer took possession of Blanchard's wagons, and within an hour McRea, Sage and the Mexican were moving on to their several destinations under an escort, commanded by Capt. John H. Butcher, Company H, Eleventh Missouri volunteer cavalry. The remainder of the journey was made by the three trains without incident—Indians having been seen but once, and

then a short distance below old Fort Lyon. The party disappeared rapidly, and was evidently traveling and not on the war-path.

Returning to the messenger: His courage and boldness stamped him as a man whose name should be preserved, if possible, in Kansas historical collections, but I never heard of him again, and do not remember his name—possibly never knew it. The plainsman of that period, like his successor, the cowboy, was never inquisitive. He might ask another where he was from, but rarely his name, never his business. The messenger was then of full middle life, rather stout, with sandy-colored hair and beard and brown eyes. He was simply a night herder, probably had no other occupation; but, like the trapper, the hunter and the plainsman, he has probably joined his class.

In 1877 I was at Dodge City several days taking testimony in a case growing out of the loss of a train of mules near the Cimarron crossing in the year 1864, and one afternoon, in company with a former member of the firm of Stuart, Slemmons & Co., drove down to Fort Dodge, and below, to identify, if possible, the place where Blanchard was killed, but could not. From the course of a bayou I was led to believe that the guard-house at Fort Dodge was located at or near the place where the rear of the Mexican train stood. However, there was no landmark by which the place could be reasonably identified. In years past I have made many inquiries to learn, if possible, what band of Indians made the attack, but have obtained no satisfaction. It was the opinion of our captain, Thomas Fields, judging from their mode of attack, that the Indians were Comanches or Kiowas, or both, and that Satanta led them, but we had no evidence of this. There was no shouting or yelling. The only command heard was in Spanish, and, translated, was, "Hurry off the cattle."

The leader of the five who passed between was apparently a young man, and rode a yellow pony. Our party awarded to him full credit for gallantry.

Since writing the foregoing I have received a letter from George Bent, and have presumed upon the friendship contracted when we attended the school of the Rev. Nathan Scarritt together, to publish the letter, which is as follows:

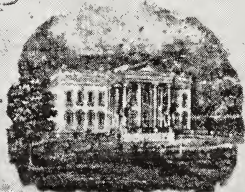
"*Col. Milton Moore, Kansas City:* "COLONY, OKLA., January 17, 1908.

"DEAR SIR—I have seen published in a western periodical, your paper, now in the archives of the Kansas Historical Society, relating to a battle your train had with a war party in August, 1864, near where Fort Dodge was. Cheyennes were camped on the Solomon river. Several war parties started from this village to make raids on trains. Most of these parties went to Platte river. The Sioux joined these war parties that went to Platte river. 'Little Robe,' now dead, was head of this party that your trains had fight with. There were twenty or thirty warriors in this party. The man you speak of as riding the yellow horse in the lead was 'Bear Man.' He was no chief; only grand warrior in battles. I was in the Cheyenne village when these war parties started out, and I knew this young man well. He died at Darlington agency several years ago from an old wound he got fighting Utes. He was about twenty-five years old when he led that charge through between the trains. The war party did not drive the cattle very far out when they left them. Just before this fight, in July, I think, the Kiowas and Comanches attacked a train or two at Walnut creek. They killed several teamsters. Brother Charles was at Charley Rath's place on Walnut creek at the time. He told me about it when he came to the village on Solomon river. The whites started this war in 1864. As I was with the Cheyennes at the time I knew what took place. The Kansas Historical Society ought to get the Indian side of the history of all these wars between the whites and Indians.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE BENT."

United States of America.



Headquarters Frontier Guard,

Washington City, April 27, 1861.

To HON. S. CAMERON, Secretary of War.

SIR: In consequence of the arrival of large numbers of troops in this city, I am satisfied the emergency has ceased that called our company into service.

If you concur in this opinion, I should be pleased to receive authority from you to disband said company, and to honorably discharge the members thereof from the service.

Very truly,

W. A. Lamb

Capt. Cavalry.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 27, 1861.

Gen. JAMES H. LANE.

SIR: In reply to your letter of this day's date, stating that, in consequence of the arrival of large numbers of troops in this city, the emergency has ceased which called the company commanded by you into service, and that you would be pleased, therefore, to have authority to disband your company, and have an honorable discharge from service for it.

Concurring fully with you, I readily grant you the authority asked for, and, in doing so, I beg to extend to you, and through you to the men under your command, the assurance of my high appreciation of the very prompt and patriotic manner in which your company was organized for the defense of the Capital, and the very efficient services rendered by it during the time of its existence.

Very respectfully,

Amasa Benson

Cherfully approved.

A. Lincoln

By authority vested in me as Captain of the Frontier Guard, I, JAMES H. LANE, do hereby certify that *Sidney Clarke*, a Member of said Company, served his Country in defence of the National Capital, at a time of great peril when threatened by hordes of traitors: said service commencing on the eighteenth day of April, 1861, and ending on the date hereof.

I also, by virtue of said authority, do hereby **HONORABLY DISCHARGE** the said *Sidney Clarke* from the service of the United States.

Given under my hand at the East Room of the Executive Mansion, at Washington City, this *third* day of May, 1861.

Attest

W. A. Lamb

W. A. Lamb

Capt.

V.

THE SOLDIERS OF KANSAS.

THE FRONTIER GUARD AT THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, 1861.

IT is generally understood that there were 120 members of the Frontier Guard, but the following names, numbering 51, are all that it has been possible for the State Historical Society to obtain. The Society has the original discharge of Sidney Clarke, a certified copy of the discharge of Cunningham Hazlett, and a photographic copy of the discharge of L. Holtslander, furnished by Hon. Eugene F. Ware, August 4, 1902, while Pension Commissioner. Mr. Ware says :

"I send herewith a photographic copy of a very strange military discharge which I have found here in Washington. I have the original in my possession, and I have gone to the extent and expense of having the document photographed so that it may be preserved, and that you may have a copy."

OFFICERS.

<i>Captain</i>	James H. Lane	Lawrence.
<i>First Lieutenant</i>	Mark W. Delahay	Leavenworth.
<i>Second Lieutenant</i>	J. B. Stockton	Leavenworth.
<i>First Sergeant</i>	D. S. Gordon	United States Army.
<i>Second Sergeant</i>	John T. Burris	Olathe.
<i>Third Sergeant</i>	L. Holtslander	—
<i>First Corporal</i>	John P. Hatterscheidt	Leavenworth.
<i>Second Corporal</i>	J. W. Jenkins	Lawrence.

PRIVATEs.

Henry J. Adams, Leavenworth.	Charles Howells, New York.
Daniel R. Anthony, Leavenworth.	William Hutchinson, Lawrence.
D. H. Bailey, Leavenworth.	M. H. Insley, Leavenworth.
T. D. Bancroft, New York.	J. B. Irvin, Doniphan county.
John K. Bartlett, Leavenworth.	George H. Keller, Leavenworth.
George Bassett, Lawrence.	Robert McBratney, Junction City.
G. F. Clark.	Marcus J. Parrott, Leavenworth.
Gen. John S. Clark.	Jared Phillips, Paola.
Sidney Clarke, Lawrence.	Samuel C. Pomeroy, Atchison.
D. A. Clayton, Leavenworth.	W. W. Ross, Topeka.
J. A. Cody, Doniphan county.	Turner Sampson, Lawrence.
Edward Daniels.	Phillip C. Schuyler, Burlingame.
A. Danford, Paola.	Thomas Shankland.
Charles F. De Vivaldi, Manhattan.	J. S. Smith, Philadelphia.
Jeff L. Dugger.	T. A. Syphers, Virginia.
Thos. Ewing, jr., Leavenworth.	Samuel F. Tappan, Lawrence.
Henry C. Fields, Leavenworth.	Chester Thomas, Topeka.
David Gardner, Fort Myer.	John C. Vaughan, Leavenworth.
S. W. Greer, Topeka.	G. F. Warren, Leavenworth.
Clark J. Hanks, Leavenworth.	A. A. Wheelock, New York.
Cunningham Hazlett.	A. Carter Wilder, Leavenworth.
James H. Holmes, Lawrence.	

STATEMENT BY ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

"After the 19th of April, 1861, when the Sixth Massachusetts regiment was attacked by the mob in Baltimore, there being but few troops in the city of Washington, the government accepted the services of a number of volunteer organizations of the District of Columbia. All of these companies were mustered in except the "Clay Guards," commanded by Casius M. Clay, of Kentucky, and the "Frontier Guard," commanded by Gen. James H. Lane, of Kansas, United States senator. The Frontier Guard was composed of citizens from Kansas and Illinois, and was doing duty at the White House, and it is no doubt the organization referred to by Judge Adams, of Kansas.

"Herewith are copies from articles published in the New York *Herald*, April 19, 1861, and the Washington *Evening Star* of April 19, 20, 24, and 27, 1861, relative to the Frontier Guard; also a copy of a discharge (from the original kindly loaned by Mrs. Hazlett), which is the best evidence that this company was doing duty at the White House in April, 1861.

"There is no roll of this organization on file in the adjutant-general's office.

R. C. DRUM, *Adjutant-general*."

There is also no mention whatever in the records of the Adjutant-general's office, state of Kansas, of such an organization as the Frontier Guard of White House service.

EXTRACTS.

From the Washington *Evening Star*:

April 19, 1861: "Beside the regular guard which has been stationed in the vicinity of the President's house for some time, a guard of sixty under the command of Gen. James H. Lane, of Kansas, occupied the east room and slept upon their arms last night. This company has been organized but a day or two, yet a large force is already enrolled, and the corps increasing rapidly. Late in the evening the President attempted to enter the east room, but as the sentinel at the door had received orders to admit no one without the countersign, Mr. Lincoln was forced to beat a retreat, to the no small amusement of the company.

"This company goes on duty at the Executive Mansion every night at 8:30 o'clock, and will continue to guard the White House until there is no danger of an attack upon the city."

April 20, 1861: "The two new companies organized by General Lane, of Kansas, and Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, noticed in the *Star* yesterday, are increasing in number very rapidly. The officers of General Lane's company are M. W. Delahay and J. B. Stockton, lieutenants; D. S. Gordon and J. T. Burris, sergeants; John P. Hatterscheidt and J. W. Jenkins, corporals.

"Last night General Lane's company was excused from serving on guard at the White House, and dismissed with orders to rally there at the first alarm. The other guards were on duty as usual."

April 24, 1861: "A squad of fifty men of Gen. James H. Lane's company of 125, Frontier Guard, were on parade Monday night on Pennsylvania avenue. This company is armed with Minie rifles, several bayonets, and navy-sized revolvers, and are among the most skillful marksmen connected with the present service."

April 27, 1861: "The Frontier Guard, commanded by General Lane, who have been stationed during the past week in the neighborhood of the Executive Mansion, waited upon the President yesterday afternoon in a body, at the White House. They formed at General Lane's headquarters, Willard's Hotel, numbering 120 men, and marched thither, making a formidable appearance. They were ushered into the east room where they were formed in line, and upon the entrance of the President were introduced by their commander. Colonel Vaughan, of South Carolina, a member of the company, then made some remarks, to which the President replied."

From the New York *Herald* of April 19, 1861: "Arrangements for the defense of the capitol.

"The mustering of men is going on briskly to-night. All the northern and western men in the city are organized for active service.

"General Lane, United States senator from Kansas, commands about 100 men, Kansas, Illinois and Massachusetts men. His colleague, General Pomeroy, is a lieutenant in the same company."

A KANSAS SOLDIER.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by EDWIN C. MANNING, of Winfield.

ON the morning of October 22, 1862, about five thousand Union troops under command of Gen. James G. Blunt emerged from the woods and appeared upon a prairie of irregular circumference (varying from one to three miles in diameter) adjoining the line between Arkansas and the Indian Territory. The locality was about ten or twelve miles south of the southwest corner of Missouri, near the site of old Fort Wayne. As the head of this army, which had marched all night, appeared upon the prairie near the little burg of Marysville, the main body was strung back into the woods several miles. It was known to the commanding officer that somewhere on or near this undulating and grove-dotted prairie about three thousand Confederate troops commanded by General Cooper were camped, on their way north to invade Kansas.

General Blunt had selected the Second Kansas cavalry as having the mettle for any emergency, and he rode at its head in advance of the main body of troops. At that time ex-Gov. Samuel J. Crawford was captain of company A of this regiment, and Blunt, knowing his man, had selected him to ride by his side. As soon as the enemy's pickets were discovered, Blunt directed Crawford to take a battalion of the Second Kansas and advance upon the enemy for the purpose of disclosing the location of the main force. Rapidly following the retreating guard for two or three miles, Crawford came in full view of Cooper's army in line of battle, with a four-gun battery of artillery stationed in a little field at its center. Crawford dismounted his men and advanced in the face of the enemy's fire. The remaining companies of the Second had taken positions on the enemy's left and right front. The enemy's bullets and cannon shot were coming so thick and fast that it was a case of either retreat or charge with Crawford. Upon his own initiative he ordered the charge, unknown to General Blunt, who was some distance in the rear.

At the time of the charge the writer hereof was at the immediate left of the charging line, and in full view of the gallant affair. Crawford, who is over six feet in height, led the charge, and with saber held high above his head advancing upon those blazing cannon he looked to be twelve feet of warrior. The charging party consisted of about 150 men, and was strung out about 200 yards in length. The men advanced rapidly, firing their carbines. After pushing their way through the persimmon bushes in a little valley, and climbing over a fence, an open field about 100 yards wide lay between them and the battery at the further edge of the field, supported by the enemy in the edge of the woods. Without a waver in the line the boys advanced rapidly upon the enemy, and Crawford was the first man at the

battery. Striking one of the guns across the muzzle, he exclaimed, "You are ours, damn you!" The guns proved to be twelve-pound, smooth-bore brass pieces, formerly belonging to the regular army, but turned over by General Twiggs, a Federal officer, to the rebels down in Texas, when that state adopted the ordinance of secession.

The bold and unexpected action of Crawford and his men was so sudden that Blunt was unaware of the situation, and as Crawford's men were cheering and moving the cannon by hand back towards the Federal army, which by this time was rallying into position, their movements with the battery were mistaken for a rebel battery going into position, and Robb's Indiana battery of Blunt's command was ordered into action to silence the captured guns; but before a shot was fired a messenger informed General Blunt of the situation, and the calamity of firing upon our own soldiers was averted.

Major Van Antwerp, a West Point regular officer of mature years, was inspector-general on Blunt's staff, and happened to occupy a part of the field where he could see the charge from start to finish. He was personally unacquainted with Crawford. When the battery was sent to the rear, he rode over to General Blunt and inquired, "Who is the officer that led that charge?" Blunt replied: "That is Captain Crawford, of the Second Kansas cavalry." The major then said, "Do you know, General, that if that man had been with Napoleon at Lodi, and had done what he did here to-day, he would have been made a marshal on the field?"

Upon the field of battle it is the man with an intuitive military initiative to instantly comprehend a strategic situation, and who, without waiting for orders, has had the nerve to strike, that has settled the issue of bloody struggles and unsettled the crowns in history.

Such was Crawford—bold, brave, comprehensive and dashing! No more gallant soldier ever unsheathed a sword. At the close of that engagement Crawford had been two nights and three days in the saddle, except for a few hours at Bentonville, Ark., and had not slept a moment during that time.

What he did in that encounter was incomparable to other charges made by him on later occasions. On the 28th day of the following month, November, at the battle of Cane Hill, Ark., his battalion rolled up the rebel General Marmaduke's left flank for nearly a half-mile, and forced it to retreat. From Thursday evening until Saturday night preceding Sunday, December 7, the day on which occurred the battle of Prairie Grove, Ark., Captains Crawford and Russell, with a battalion of the Second Kansas cavalry, held Hindman's army in Cave Creek valley, south of Cane Hill, while Herron's division of the Federal army was making forced marches from Springfield, Mo., to join Blunt's division on the morning of the day the Prairie Grove battle was fought; and then his weary troopers galloped across the mountains, and were in the thickest of the fray on that hard-fought field. Crawford commanded five companies on the left wing that day. Captain Russell, brave among the bravest, received his death wound in that engagement.

At the battle of Jenkins' Ferry, Ark., April 30, 1864, Crawford, then colonel of the Second Kansas colored infantry, made the bloodiest charge of the day, broke Parsons' division on Kirby Smith's left, and captured a Confederate battery and a number of prisoners. Out of the thirty-six horses in the battery there were but two left standing when he captured the guns, and these

were so badly crippled that they were left upon the field. He lost over forty men in that charge, and every mounted officer in the attacking column had his horse shot from under him, but his men brought the battery off the field.

When the rebel General Price marched upon Kansas from Missouri, in October, 1864, Colonel Crawford was temporarily on General Curtis's staff. At the battle of Westport, Mo., Sunday, October 23, he commanded a charge upon Price's advance-guard on the open prairie, and drove them back into the timber. On the following Tuesday he ordered and led a cavalry charge on the open prairie on Price's army, three miles south of Trading Post, in Linn county, Kansas, and captured Generals Marmaduke and Cabell and 500 other prisoners, and eight pieces of artillery. He ordered and made this charge with two brigades of Pleasanton's division, those of Philips and Ben-teen, when Pleasanton himself was with General Curtis, three miles in the rear. It was all done and the guns and prisoners secured before the Federal generals knew anything about it. Pleasanton got the military credit of the impetuous and daring assault, and a town was named in his honor.¹ As an illustration of Captain Crawford's faculty of being equal to unexpected emergencies in perilous circumstances, I must relate an incident of personal experience.

In November, 1862, Blunt's division of the Army of the Frontier was in camp at Camp Babcock, a few miles west of what shortly afterwards became the Prairie Grove battle-field. His command was short of rations. Somewhere on the long road from Fort Scott, Kan., and the camp, a commissary train of 300 wagons, drawn by four- and six-mule teams, was creeping through the hills and little valleys of western Missouri, on its way south, harassed and delayed by bushwhackers. Captain Crawford was sent with a detachment of 100 picked men to its relief. The writer was in charge of ten men thereof, acting as rear-guard. Lieutenant Moore, of the Second, commanded the advance-guard. On our way north we had several skirmishes with bushwhackers. At Carthage, Mo., our pickets were fired upon in the night by Livingston's band. The next day we came upon the immense train with an escort, apparently in winter quarters. Major (Peg Leg) Morton was in charge as quartermaster. Regardless of the urgent need of supplies at the distant camp he was taking his own easy time, and had informed the officer in command of the escort, who had urged haste in movements, that "he would move at his pleasure."

Upon arriving in camp, Crawford, being the ranking officer, took command of the whole escort, and made a proper distribution of his forces to protect the camp for the night. Before retiring he notified "Major" Morton that he must have his train ready to move at daylight the next morning, and explained to the gentleman the urgency of the situation. When sunrise came the train showed no signs of moving. Crawford sent word to "Major" Morton urging immediate action. An hour passed. Crawford had his troops mounted, ready to move. The writer accompanied Captain Crawford on horseback to the big tent of the major-quartermaster. There he sat, surrounded by three or four women and a lot of servants, leisurely enjoying his breakfast with wine and hilarity. Captain Crawford demanded to know why the train was not in motion. The "major" haughtily replied

NOTE 1.—In his report of this engagement Pleasanton says, October 26, in a dispatch to Gen. E. R. S. Canby: "I attacked General Price yesterday on the Osage, and captured Major-General Marmaduke, Brigadier-General Cabell, 10 pieces of artillery, 4 colonels, and about 1000 men."—*Rebellion Records*, 1st ser., vol. 41, pt. 4, p. 274.

that he outranked Captain Crawford, and that the train would move when he got ready. Captain Crawford unsheathed his saber and pointing to the "major" said, "You damned scoundrel, this train will move at once, and if you and your harem get ready in time you can march in the rear with the guard, or you can take your chances with Stanwaitie's and Livingston's bushwhackers, and if you attempt to put on any airs with me I will tie you behind a wagon until we reach Camp Babcock and there have you shot before breakfast!" It is needless to say that the train made good time from then and there on, and Morton found his master.

Briefly summarizing ex-Governor Crawford's military career, it reads: "Mustered into United States service as captain of company E, Second Kansas infantry, in June, 1861, and participated in all the engagements encountered by that regiment during the summer of 1861, including the battles of Wilson Creek, where the two Kansas regiments lost so heavily in killed and wounded. In October, 1861, the regiment was reorganized as cavalry, and Captain Crawford was made captain of company A, serving with that regiment until, in December, 1863, he was appointed colonel of the Second Kansas colored infantry. While with the army in the field, in September, 1864, he was nominated as the Republican candidate for governor of Kansas, and very reluctantly severed his connection with the army in December after his election, retiring with the rank of brevet brigadier-general."

Had fate decreed that Crawford should have drawn his sword in command of a regiment serving under Grant he would have won a major-general's star or filled a soldier's grave. Only those familiar with the political feud and jealousy which prevailed in the Lane-Robinson period of Kansas history, coincident with war days, can understand how political lawyers got to be brigadier-generals, while others, who were inspired solely by patriotism and a brave determination to suppress the rebellion and save the country as quickly as possible with the least loss of life were denied opportunities and promotion.

Now, as then, Crawford is too modest to contribute to Kansas history his altogether remarkable career. I am sure that "Kansas Memoirs," by S. J. Crawford, would be interesting reading for present and future generations, and he should be persuaded to prepare it for the press and preservation.

As a soldier in every phase he has no superior. Brave, earnest, and patriotic; cool and undismayed under fire; kind to his soldiers; humane to his prisoners; devoted to his country; he was the living evidence that—

"The bravest are the tenderest,
The loving are the daring."

The following communication, signed "A Kansas Soldier," recently appeared in the *Topeka Capital*:

"I understand that the boys of the Twentieth Kansas are soon to receive 'medals of honor,' on account of having served in the Philippines beyond their term of enlistment. That is a graceful recognition of the services of those men, and no veteran of the civil war should feel aggrieved by reason of the act; but is it not drawing an unjust line of distinction between the soldiers of the two wars?

"During the civil war many regiments and soldiers not only remained for a time in the service after their terms of enlistment had expired, but they participated in battles involving the life of the nation. If the soldiers of the last war are thus singled out and honored by the Congress of the United

States, why not likewise honor the soldiers of the civil war? Is it because they failed in the performance of their duty, or faltered in the face of the enemy; or, is it because they are growing old and considered by the powers that be as back numbers and of no further use, politically or otherwise?

"A soldier's honor is all that he has. The pittance of money that he received or may receive, whether fiat, worth fifty cents on the dollar, or gold worth par, is but as chaff in comparison, but his record, and the evidence that he was a soldier, are to him as dear and precious as life itself. The brave men of the Spanish-American war, whether shot from the hills of San Juan, or stricken in the jungles of the Philippines, are entitled to all that their state and government have done for them. But, Mr. Editor, are not the veterans of the civil war entitled to equal treatment? It may be true that some of us are growing old, but as yet none are so old as not to know the difference between justice and ingratitude.

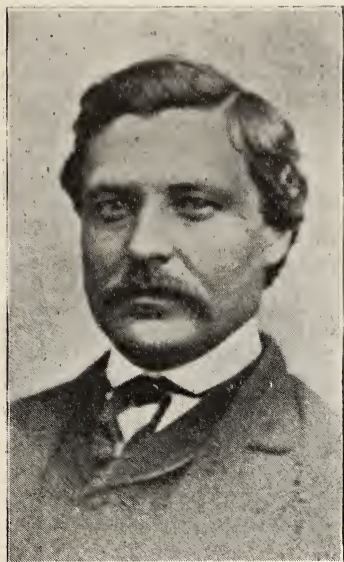
"Many years ago a law was enacted by Congress, granting a medal of honor to officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves on the field of battle or in the line of duty. But does any one know of anybody who served in the volunteer army west of the Mississippi who has ever received such a medal? If so, they are few and far between. And yet, in proportion to numbers engaged and battles fought, there never were more heroic deeds performed and gallantry displayed in civilized warfare.

"Of the many gallant officers and soldiers who came under my observation, or whose heroic deeds of daring and gallantry are well authenticated, I beg to mention the names of a few as a fair example of the many.

"Take, for instance, Vincent B. Osborne,² a soldier in the Second Kansas infantry, and afterwards a sergeant in the Second Kansas cavalry. This young man, at the battle of Wilson Creek, on August 10, 1861, was wounded by a Minie ball in his thigh early in the morning. He remained in line and fought until the battle closed in the afternoon, when he used his gun as a crutch to enable him to go back to an ambulance. From the battlefield he was taken to the hospital in St. Louis, where he remained until November, when the ball was extracted; and as soon as he was able to leave the hospital, he returned to Leavenworth and reenlisted in the Second Kansas cavalry. In this regiment he served three years, and then reenlisted as a veteran and served to the end of the war.

"When the last dim lights of the Confederacy were flickering, Osborne was sent by boat from Fort Smith to Little Rock to be mustered out of service. Lee had surrendered; Jeff. Davis was a prisoner, and the remnants of his devoted armies throughout the South were sheathing their swords and

NOTE 2.—VINCENT B. OSBORNE was born in Massachusetts, and settled in Ellsworth county in 1866. It seems impossible to get a complete biography of him. He died at Ellsworth December 1, 1879. According to the adjutant-general's report he enlisted in company E, Second Kansas infantry, July 10, 1861, from Clinton, Mo., and was discharged October 31, 1861. He reenlisted in company A, Second Kansas cavalry, February 19, 1862, and was discharged for disability May 8, 1865, for wounds received on the steamer Anna Jacobs. Gov. Samuel S. Crawford, Osborne's captain in the army, wanted Secretary of War Stanton to appoint him sutler at Fort Harker, and when told of Osborne's military daring the secretary of war remarked, "He is my man." When this service closed he settled at Ellsworth, July 9, 1867. He was one of the commissioners appointed by Governor Crawford to organize Ellsworth county. He was an active, useful citizen until his death. Osborne county was named in his honor.



VINCENT B. OSBORNE.

For whom Osborne county was named.

yielding to the inevitable. However, when the boat, in charge of an escort of troops, and loaded with government stores and sick and wounded officers and soldiers,³ of whom Osborne was one, left Fort Smith, a few detachments of the Confederate cavalry in Arkansas were still in the saddle. When the boat was approaching Clarksville, one of these detachments, under the command of General Brooks, opened fire upon it with a battery of artillery. His purpose, no doubt, was to capture the boat as his last trophy of that great war. The bend in the river and the position of his artillery were such that if he could dislodge the pilot the current would carry the boat to his side of the river. The shells flew thick and fast, crashing through the boat from end to end. The pilot stood like a Spartan at the wheel, and threw the boat onto a sand-bar at the north bank, when the escort and all the able-bodied men on the boat took shelter in the woods near by, except Vincent B. Osborne, of the Second Kansas cavalry, and Sergeant Edwards, of the Eighty-third United States infantry. These two gallant soldiers, instead of abandoning the boat, walked forward as the rear end was swinging around into the current, took the cable, waded ashore, and while fastening it to a tree a shell burst over their heads and took off Osborne's unarmored leg and an arm from Sergeant Edwards; but they saved the boat.

"Again, Powell Clayton,⁴ of the First Kansas infantry, at the battle of Wilson Creek, was ordered with his company to dislodge a Confederate de-

NOTE 3.—SAMUEL S. MCFADDEN, one of the soldiers on this boat, was born in Center county, Pennsylvania, February 12, 1843. He is the son of James S. McFadden and Julia Ann Adams. The family came to Kansas May 1, 1858, and settled in Franklin county. In May, 1861, he enlisted in the Second Kansas, and served through the Missouri campaign with Lyon and Seigel. He was mustered out in October, and in November reenlisted in the same regiment which was soon changed from infantry to cavalry. He served as a private soldier from the beginning until April, 1865, and has two honorable discharges. He participated in the battles of Wilson Creek, Dry Springs, Shelby, Old Fort Wayne, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove and Van Buren, and was brevetted captain for "meritorious services during the war." He settled in Topeka, and was a clerk for two years in the adjutant-general's office, two years in the state treasurer's office, and chief clerk or assistant for the state auditor for a term of nineteen years, resigning November 16, 1892. He was then city clerk of the city of Topeka for several years, and of late has been employed in the United States pension department at Topeka. Under date of May 11, 1908, he writes the Historical Society as follows:

"Referring to an article published in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, March 18, 1908, signed 'A Kansas Soldier,' I desire to make a few remarks: The steamboat Annie Jacobs, left Fort Smith, Ark., in January, 1865, loaded mainly with refugees, a few sick soldiers, and a number of officers and enlisted men who had been on detached service and were on their way to Little Rock. Col. Thomas M. Bowen, Thirteenth Kansas infantry, Lieut.-Col. Owen A. Bassett, Second Kansas cavalry, Vincent B. Osborne, Charles Wagner, Josiah B. Dickerson and myself were on board. The steamer Chippewa was a short distance in advance of us. The rebels captured and burned it without firing artillery. As we saw the smoke and flames we thought the boat was taking on rails from a plantation for fuel, but soon discovered that the boat was burning. All on board were captured. Just then a small force of the enemy was discovered on the south bank of the Arkansas river, and at once opened fire on our boat, the Annie Jacobs, with artillery but no shell; only cannon-ball was used. About seventeen shots struck the boat, and the pilot-house was struck in two or three places, tearing it to pieces. Fortunately neither the pilot nor the machinery was disabled. Incidentally, one thing occurred there that I have never seen in print: Charles Wagner, company F, Second Kansas cavalry, when the boat was fired upon, ran up to the pilot-house, and, it is said, with revolver in hand, ordered the pilot to stay at his wheel and head the boat to the north shore. This he did, and the boat ran aground in about three feet of water near the shore, when all the deck hands jumped into the river and left the boat. A spar having been let down, many of the women slid down into the water and waded ashore. It was at this time that Vincent B. Osborne, seeing the boat about to drift, handed me his belt and revolver, and grabbing the cable jumped into the water and made for a tree on the river bank, to tie up the boat, and just as he wrapped the rope around the tree he was struck by a small ball fired by the enemy across the river. This all occurred at Ivy's Ford, about six or seven miles from Clarksville, Ark., where Osborne was taken the next morning and had his leg amputated, an ambulance having been sent from Clarksville where some of our troops were stationed.

"Osborne was one of the bravest soldiers that I ever knew, and a gentleman. I am now in possession of the belt he wore; have also a small photograph of him, taken probably in 1865, both of which will be turned over to the Society should you desire the same.

"The steamboat Clara Jacobs came down the river at the same time our boat came, but being warned by the artillery, took the hint, and ran ashore far enough away to be out of reach of the enemy.

"It seems to me the man who signed that article, 'A Kansas Soldier,' was not on board the Annie Jacobs.

Yours truly, S. S. MCFADDEN,
Late company E, Second Kansas infantry,
Company A, Second Kansas cavalry, and
Stover's Mounted Howitzers."

NOTE 4.—POWELL CLAYTON was born in Delaware county, Pennsylvania, August 7, 1833. He had a military education. He settled in Leavenworth, and entered the Union army May 29,

tachment on his left. He made the charge and was driving the enemy before him, when suddenly a Confederate regiment dashed in between him and his regiment, and for a time he was surrounded by the enemy. But it was Powell Clayton, and he did not surrender. On the contrary, he leveled his pistol at the commanding officer close by, and told him to order his men not to fire. Then Clayton ordered his own company to fall back, and when out of danger, he released his prisoner and rejoined his command. That incident for cool courage and daring was seldom equaled. In 1862 Captain Clayton was appointed colonel of the Fifth Kansas cavalry, and the history of that regiment under his command is a record of brilliant deeds.

"Again, Cyrus Leland, jr.,⁵ of the Tenth Kansas infantry, is another soldier who won the admiration of his fellows on the field of battle, and richly deserves a 'medal of honor.'" In fact, every officer and soldier of that regiment should have been so honored. Generally in the western army the cavalry would open the battle, and sometimes they would have it red-hot until the infantry and artillery reached the field. All Kansas regiments always did their duty, and could be relied on under any and all circumstances; but when the old Tenth would swing into line, with her usual steady step, and open upon the enemy, everybody within hearing of her guns knew that somebody was getting hurt. Cy Leland was then a young officer in that regiment, and though modest as a school girl he was brave as a lion. At the battle of Prairie Grove, especially, he distinguished himself and won the admiration of his men and superior officers. Later he was on General Ewing's staff, and when Quantrill made his raid on Lawrence Leland was sent with a small detachment of cavalry to overtake and reinforce Major Plumb. He anticipated the direction that Quantrill would take on leaving Lawrence, and instead of following Plumb he moved across the country and struck Quantrill at the crossing of Ottawa creek in Franklin county. At once they were fighting, and Leland, with his troop of about thirty men, hung on Quantrill's flank and rear throughout the afternoon and prevented him from murdering the farmers and burning their houses and barns. The people of Kansas, and especially the settlers along Quantrill's line of retreat, never fully realized the debt of gratitude they owe to Cy Leland. For six long hours he fought with a handful of men against tremendous odds, and saved the lives and property of many people.⁶ Yes, he is entitled to a 'medal of honor,' both from the state and the United States.

"And also Captain Crawford, of the Second Kansas Cavalry, and for a while colonel of the Eighty-third United States colored infantry, who participated in most of the battles west of the Mississippi, from Wilson Creek to Red River. He entered the army in May, 1861, and served until December 1864, having been elected governor of the state.

"At the battle of 'Old Fort Wayne,' October 22, 1862, he was directed by General Blunt to form in front of the enemy's center and engage them until

1861, as captain of company E, First Kansas infantry. He was made colonel of the Fifth Kansas regiment March, 1862, and brigadier-general August, 1864. At the close of the war he settled in Arkansas as a planter. He was elected governor of the state in 1868, and served in the United States senate from Arkansas from 1871 to 1877. In 1896 President McKinley appointed him ambassador to Mexico. He is still living.

NOTE 5.—CYRUS LEELAND, JR., came to Kansas with his father's family in the spring of 1858, and located in Doniphan county. He was born in Sauk county, Wisconsin, June 15, 1841. He entered the Union army as a private soldier in August, 1861, being assigned to the Fourth Kansas. In 1862 the Third and Fourth regiments were consolidated, and became the Tenth Kansas. He was made a first lieutenant, and at Prairie Grove commanded his company, being then one of the youngest officers in the army. In 1863 he was detailed as aide-de-camp on the staff of General Ewing. In 1864, while still in the army, the people of Doniphan county elected him a member of the legislature of 1865. On the first of January, 1866, Mr. Leland opened a small store in Troy, which has greatly expanded, and is still conducted by him. For twenty-one years he was chairman of the board of county commissioners of Doniphan county. For sixteen years he was a member of the Republican national committee. Under President Harrison he served four years as collector of internal revenue for Kansas, Oklahoma and Indian Territory, and under President McKinley he served four years as pension agent. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1865, 1903, 1905 and 1907. He married Miss Mattie Stout, at Troy, in 1868, by whom he had eight children, five of whom are still living. Mrs. Leland died in 1894. He has been in public life for forty-seven years, and at this writing is a candidate before the Republican primaries for governor.

NOTE 6.—See the account of the pursuit of Quantrill as told by Dr. Richard Cordley, in his *History of Lawrence*, page 234.

the remainder of the army reached the field. While Crawford was forming his line the Confederates opened on him with musketry and a battery of artillery at close range. It was a red-hot fight from the beginning. The enemy, seeing the remainder of Blunt's army rapidly advancing over the prairie some two miles distant, made every effort to dislodge Crawford before they arrived. Seeing that he could not hold his men against such odds, Crawford determined to charge the battery, and, if possible, break the enemy's line of infantry. Immediately the charge was sounded and his battalion dashed forward in the face of shot and shell, captured the battery, and drove the enemy in confusion from that part of the field. The guns thus captured were afterwards used on our side until the close of the war, and were known as 'Hopkins' battery.'

"On November 1, 1863, Captain Crawford was promoted by President Lincoln to a colonelcy and assigned to the command of the Eighty-third United States colored infantry. And in the battle of Jenkins' Ferry, April 30, 1864, between the Seventh army corps, under the command of General Steele, and the Confederate forces under Generals Kirby Smith and Dick Taylor, Colonel Crawford made a bayonet charge under a galling fire of musketry and canister, and captured another battery, artillery horses and a number of men. In this charge Crawford lost forty men, killed and wounded. His horse was shot from under him; also those of his adjutant and two orderlies. Two of the sergeants bearing the regimental flag fell, and a third carried it in triumph from the field.

"Again, at the battle of Westport, October 23, 1864, while temporarily on the staff of General Curtis, Colonel Crawford ordered and led a cavalry charge against the Confederate cavalry, and after a terrific fight in the open field routed and drove them back in confusion.

"And again, at the battle of the Little Osage, on October 25, 1864, Colonel Crawford ordered and led a cavalry charge on the open prairie which resulted in the capture of the Confederate Generals Marmaduke and Cabell, 500 prisoners and eight pieces of artillery.

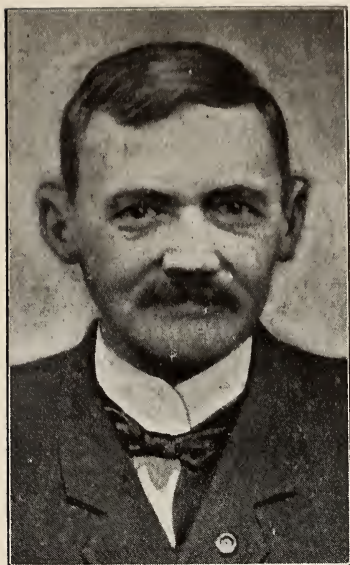
"This is but a brief sketch of what these men did in defense of the grandest government under the face of the sun. But for the courage and patriotism of such men, and their names are legion, this government, proud and powerful as it now is, would have gone glimmering through the dream of things that were. When a soldier in battle, bleeding from his wounds, stands for hours face to face with the enemy, returning blow for blow, or when in battle he swings his sword and, at the head of his troops, rushes forward amid the crash of shot and shell and up to the cannon's mouth again and again, is he not entitled to something more than a paltry pension--something that will commemorate his deeds of daring?"

THE NINETEENTH KANSAS CAVALRY AND THE CONQUEST OF THE PLAINS INDIANS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by JAMES ALBERT HADLEY,¹
of Indianapolis, Ind.

ALL summer, previous to the council of 1867, the plains Indians had been unusually active. Raids and outrages were constant. The Seventh regulars and the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry swept back and forth, to and fro, in that vast uninhabited empire between the Platte and Arkansas rivers, but rarely caught their enemies. The Eighteenth was but a single squad-

NOTE 1.—JAMES ALBERT HADLEY was born April 11, 1848, at Pleasant Hill, in Highland county, Ohio. His father was the second James Hadley, of Fairfield, one of the originators of Earlham College, and for over twenty years presiding clerk of Indiana Select Yearly Meeting of Friends. His mother was Sara Huff, whose father built the first brick house in northern Highland county, Ohio, the first mill and the first carding and woolen factory. Ample educational opportunities were neglected, owing to the unsettled influences of the civil war. In May, 1866, he came to Kansas and joined Levi Woodard, a brother-in-law, of Hesper, in Douglas county. In April, 1867, he was able to go to the plains as a subsistence agent for the army. July 14, 1867, he enlisted at Fort Harker and served as a corporal in company A, Eighteenth Kansas regiment.



JAMES A. HADLEY

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Kansas Regiments, Indianapolis, Ind.

forty years since Moore's hard-riding squadron marched by day and by night, fought cholera, Indians, and alkali water, and though its veteran commander still lives, the youngest of its members is approaching sixty years of age.

To secure the necessary force for the main cavalry column the governor

ron of four troops, commanded by Maj. Horace L. Moore, of Lawrence.² The four captains were Henry C. Lindsey, of Topeka, company A; Edgar A. Barker (not Baker), of Junction City, company B; George B. Jenness, of Ottawa, company C; and David L. Payne, of Atchison, company D. In four months this squadron marched 2200 miles, was nearly wrecked at the outset by cholera, fought Indians several times, lived chiefly on buffalo, lost about ten per cent. of its members by death—two out of thirteen officers—and at the end of four months its muster-rolls were seventeen per cent. short of its original strength. Its services were substantial if not distinguished, and both Sheridan and Custer commended it highly. Its history abounded in dramatic and tragic elements, and if told would fill a volume. The ghost of its long-faded trail haunts almost every county west of Ellsworth. It is unfortunate that so interesting a story should remain untold and its landmarks be lost. It is

He was mustered out with the regiment November 15, 1867. He spent the winter of 1867-'68 on Buffalo creek, about twenty-five miles from Ellsworth, with three other men, and in the spring they had \$500 to divide, the proceeds of the winter's game. October 13, 1868, he again enlisted, as a private, in company A, Nineteenth Kansas cavalry, and was captain's clerk till promoted first sergeant, January 5, at Fort Cobb—official date March 23. He was mustered out April 18, 1869. He continued on the plains, with things going quite calmly, until July 27, 1871, when he had a desperate encounter with Indians at Sand creek, in Bent county, Colorado. Five of the party were killed outright, while Hadley and another, named Richard J. Winans, were so desperately wounded that neither ever fully recovered. At a Philadelphia surgical sanatorium in 1875 Hadley was partly cured, but in 1895 he underwent an operation to save a foot, and the same year his skull was trephined to prevent total blindness from optical paralysis. In 1875 he became an editorial writer on the *Philadelphia Press*. In 1882 he was associated in founding and publishing the *Evening Item*, at Richmond, Ind. In 1892 he became editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*. In 1900 he went to Indianapolis as a writer on the *Sunday Sentinel*, and later took editorial charge of the *Farm and Home Sentinel*. Mr. Hadley was married, September 30, 1875, to Miss Lydia Fulghum Thomas, who died September 5, 1890. He was again married, June 27, 1906, at Indianapolis, to Mrs. Margaret Powers Nossman. He lives at Indianapolis. Mr. Hadley is engaged on the manuscript of a book entitled "The Last Five Years of the Primeaval Plains." In a note to the secretary, Mr. Hadley says: "The Eighteenth Kansas, with its days and nights of marching, night alarms, living on buffalo, attacked by cholera, almost dying for water, fighting Indians, sometimes at desperate odds, constantly in the midst of mirages of incredible splendors—and all this in a country now all settled up, was full of the dramatic and tragic, as well as romantic. It is a pity to let all this, the hunting days, the buffalo, etc., fade." The late Col. Fred W. Benteen, of the Seventh cavalry, retired, wrote Mr. Hadley as follows: "You are the only one left who not only can write it all, but can make a word painting of it as it was. With your unflinching memory I believe it is your duty. When I remember the great number of gallant young men left on the plains with nothing between them and the now nameless clods but their bloody blankets, I always think of you, and I honestly believe it will be a sin to hold your peace."

NOTE 2.—The roll of the Eighteenth cavalry, officers and men, has been published in the Thirtieth Biennial Report of the Adjutant-general of Kansas, and reprinted under the title: "Roll of the Officers and Enlisted Men of the Third, Fourth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Kansas Volunteers. 1902."

of Kansas was asked to furnish a full regiment on a war footing. Samuel J. Crawford, then governor, published his proclamation calling for the organization of the Nineteenth Kansas Regiment on October 11, 1868, in the *Topeka Record*.³ Henry C. Lindsey, late captain of A troop, Eighteenth Kansas cavalry, (since colonel of the Twenty-second Kansas infantry), received his commission Monday, and began recruiting in the office of the adjutant-general in the old Kansas capitol. Monday morning, October 19, 140 recruits had been passed by the examining surgeon, Dr. Mahlon Bailey, of Topeka, afterward regimental surgeon. The same morning the men learned that Captain Lindsey was not to receive the appointment of major, as they had expected, and were angry. Many of the best men, practically all who had served with Lindsey, announced their determination not to muster. Captain Lindsey himself persuaded them not to carry out their threat. He was a fine officer, energetic, capable, thorough, and exceedingly popular with his men, who had unbounded confidence in his judgment. Tuesday afternoon, October 20, 108 men were selected from these recruits and mustered into the United States service as "A troop, Nineteenth Kansas cavalry." The original officers were: Allison J. Pliley, captain, Benjamin D. Wilson⁴ and Raleigh C. Powell, lieutenants.

NOTE 3.—

PROCLAMATION.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, October 10, 1868.

With scarcely an exception all the tribes of Indians on the plains have taken up arms against the government, and are now engaged in acts of hostility. The peace of the exposed border is thereby disturbed; quiet and unoffending citizens driven from their homes, or ruthlessly murdered and their property destroyed or carried away. In fact, children have been carried into captivity, and in many instances barbarously murdered; while many women have been repeatedly violated in the presence of their husbands and families. Besides these instances of individual suffering, great public interests are being crippled and destroyed by this savage hostility. The commerce of the plains is entirely suspended. The mail routes and the great lines of travel to the territories and states beyond us are constantly being blocked, and are sometimes completely closed for the space of several days.

Longer to forbear with these bloody fiends would be a crime against civilization, and against the peace, security and lives of all the people upon the frontier. The time has come when they must be met by an adequate force, not only to prevent the repetition of these outrages, but to penetrate their haunts, break up their organizations, and either exterminate the tribes or confine them upon reservations set apart for their occupancy. To this end the major-general commanding this department has called for a regiment of cavalry from this state, as will be seen from the following communication:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI,

IN THE FIELD, FORT HAYS, October, 9, 1868.

"His Excellency, S. J. Crawford, Governor of Kansas, Hays City, Kan.:"

"GOVERNOR—Under directions received through Gen. W. T. Sherman, commanding military division of Missouri, from the honorable Secretary of War, I am authorized to call on you for one (1) regiment of mounted volunteers, to serve for a period of six (6) months, unless sooner discharged, against hostile Indians on the plains. I therefore request that you furnish said regiment as speedily as possible, to be rendezvoused and mustered into the service of the United States at Topeka, Kan. The regiment to consist of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, twelve captains, twelve first lieutenants, twelve second lieutenants, twelve companies of one hundred (100) men each, including the requisite number of non-commissioned officers specified in the United States Army Regulations (1863). The pay, allowances and emoluments of officers and men to be the same as that of the United States troops. The men will be rationed from the time of their arrival at the rendezvous, and will be furnished with arms, equipments, horses and clothing from the date of muster into the service of the United States.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

P. H. SHERIDAN, Maj.-gen. U. S. A."

Now, therefore, I, Samuel J. Crawford, governor of the state of Kansas, do call for volunteers from the militia of the state to the number set forth in the foregoing letter from Major-general Sheridan, to be mustered into the service of the United States, and to serve for a period of six (6) months unless sooner discharged. It is desirable that the regiment shall be organized at the earliest possible moment, and with this view recruiting officers will be appointed in various portions of the state. The adjutant-general will issue the necessary orders to carry this proclamation into effect.

S. J. CRAWFORD.

NOTE 4.—Wilson's name was Benoni, but through mistake he was mustered as "Benjamin," and probably had to adopt that name, as did General Grant and many others for the same reason. Wilson was a quiet, modest, upright man, and through all the fierce experiences of that terrible winter he bore himself right manfully.

Captain Pliley⁵ was at that time one of the most romantic figures in Kansas. He was fresh from his hard-won honors at Arickaree Fork, where, with Jack Donovan, he had crawled out into the darkness, among the swarming warriors, to make his way afoot, if he could elude the alert Indians, to Fort Wallace, over a hundred miles away, to bring help to the otherwise doomed scouts. Their only food for the trip was decayed horse-flesh. Jack Stillwell and Trudeau, who started the first night, happily reached Wallace, and Colonel Bankhead started to the rescue. Pliley and Donovan encountered Captain (now General) Louis H. Carpenter with his troop of the Tenth cavalry, who at once moved swiftly to Beecher's Island, reaching Forsyth a day before Bankhead.

Recruits from outside points soon began to arrive at Topeka. The recruits of Lindsey not needed for Pliley's troop were used to fill up others. All these men were quartered in the two legislative halls in the old state-house on Kansas avenue, north of Fifth street. Wednesday morning, October 21, Camp Crawford was established and named for the governor. Two farms were rented in the bottom between the river and the Shunganunga for this purpose. Supplies, clothing, camp and garrison equipage and arms were soon arriving from Fort Leavenworth, train-load after train-load, and the camp was soon a city of white. On the city side the guard-line of Camp Crawford was parallel to and about 150 or 200 yards east of the main track of the Santa Fe railroad built a year later. The camp extended north and south approximately from Second street to Fifth, though there were no buildings in the bottoms. The headquarters tents were about 250 yards northeast of the first Santa Fe passenger station. The horses soon began to arrive. A strong and high fence had been built on the Shunganunga, opposite the end of Sixth street, and into this the horses were turned when inspected and branded. They were from the stables of Kansas, Iowa and Missouri, and were as fine a body of cavalry horses as ever were collected on such short notice. Restless and excited, they broke out one night, and about 300 stampeded through the city to the prairie beyond. In the silence of the night the ringing of the

NOTE 5.—ALLISON J. PILEY was born in Ross county, Ohio, April 20, 1844. His father was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, and his grandfather came from Germany. The grandfather was a soldier of the Revolutionary war, serving under General Greene. His mother was born in Edinburgh, Scotland. The family moved from Ohio to Iowa in 1849. In 1858 they came to Kansas, settling three miles northeast of Topeka on a quarter-section of land that the father had purchased at the Osawkie land sale. In 1862 Allison J. Pliley drove four yoke of oxen, with a prairie schooner, loaded with flour, to Denver. In 1863 he made a similar trip loaded with bacon, all raised on the home farm near Topeka. On his return from this trip he enlisted in company F, Fifteenth Kansas, serving two years and two months, mostly on the plains of Kansas. In 1866 he settled down to the study of law with John Martin, of Topeka. During the spring of 1867 the Indians broke out on the frontier, and he abandoned his law books and went to Fort Harker, where he was employed as a scout. He preferred this sort of service to a commission in the Eighteenth Kansas regiment, because he saw greater latitude for reckless adventure. He continued scouting for several years, being associated with many of the most thrilling adventures in the history of the plains. He became captain of company A, Nineteenth Kansas regiment. About 1876 he settled in Kansas City, Kan., and engaged in the sand business, managing several sand barges on the Kansas river, and delivering to contractors. Mr. Hadley says: "Mr. Pliley was one of the most effective scouts and one of the best cavalry officers of that day, but he is very modest, and never would push himself forward nor toot his own horn. I know Pliley was a tremendously prominent figure at that time. He began to study law after the civil war, but the plains and the buffalo called. He chucked his books in the corner, and thereby lost a profession he was fitted for. He is one of the gentlest, most unselfish and least calculating of men, simple-minded and frank, a man of great intelligence and common sense. Forty years ago courage was unnoticed—it was taken for granted on the plains; but Pliley's courage was noticeably different from that of his fellows. He delighted in a desperate situation. He was a natural leader. Pliley gave his time to the plains. He never could or would tell of things about himself. Captain Jenness and Winfield Freeman are the only ones mentioning Pliley's scouting days who have given anything near a picture of what this quiet, low-voiced man did or was. Pliley always took the hard end of a job."

innumerable iron-shod hoofs on the hard streets was heard miles away. They were all recovered.

Horace L. Moore, of Lawrence, assumed command as lieutenant-colonel. His experience as a field officer of cavalry was large from the civil war, and his record as commander of the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry was fine. He could lead men for a longer period without rest, on a single ration of cheerful good humor, than any other officer. Though not given to jokes, he was the reputed author of as many astonishers as the great Lincoln. Late one night he was heard in the darkness of the tent calling his orderly. The man, who slept on the floor, was finally awakened, when the colonel, in a voice of mingled curiosity and solicitude, said, "Now, orderly, be honest and tell the truth; did you ever hear it actually *thunder*?" The soldier in surprise said, "Yes, sir." "What a h—l of a clap it must have been!" exclaimed Moore, hopelessly lost in wonder and admiration at the bare thought of so tremendous a noise. Another time, on the march, he sent an orderly with a message to an officer at some distance. Before the man was out of hearing Moore shouted, "Hey! Orderly! Come back here!" He came galloping back, sitting limply in the saddle. "Sit at attention! Give the proper salutation!" shouted the colonel, and as the trooper came to "attention" Moore dropped his voice, and, assuming a half-confidential manner, inquired: "Orderly, in the course of your life have you ever seen a snail?" "Yes, sir," said the astonished orderly. "You met him then, for you'd never overtake one!" These are only specimens. Moore himself never smiled, and this, with the rasping, nasal voice he kept in stock strictly for such occasions, made his short dialogues irresistible.

The work of organization, drill and discipline went on rapidly under the experienced eye of Colonel Moore. Probably no like body of men, before or since, was so quickly whipped into shape. This was due to the large number of officers and men who had recently served in the civil war—many of them in the cavalry.

The first few days, before hard work began at camp, the streets were thronged with recruits, mostly sober and well behaved, a gang of Leavenworth hoodlums and street pirates being the only exception. These spent the time hunting down Topeka negroes. When one was caught alone the gang gave him a vigorous beating. The day camp was established James M. Conwell and myself started to the adjutant-general's office, and found this gang had the negro porter of the Gordon house at bay against the state-house wall, and were threatening him. He was covered with blood, and we gathered that he had sought refuge in the state offices, but had been dragged out and punished. The leader of the hoodlums, a blasphemous young ruffian, called on an older man to prove that they two had served four years in the rebel army together. "I'm a rebel yet," said the younger man. "I hate and spit on this country of damned nigger-lovers, and never see the flag that I don't want to tear it to pieces." After the regiment had been on the march over a week I saw this young ruffian, and was astonished indeed to see that he was an officer in the Nineteenth Kansas. Inquiry developed the fact that he was Charles T. Brady, lieutenant in E troop. How he got there is still one of the unsolved problems of life. Three days after he came to Topeka he never dreamed of such a thing. It was the very opposite of all his tastes and ambitions. He was often selected to serve as adjutant the first three months, and surely must have believed in the fairy godmother.

Hé was by nature quick-witted and cunning, and though I do not remember seeing him after Fort Cobb, he was mustered out with the regiment. He immediately returned to the tastes and companions of former days, and three days later was shot to death by the men of Hays, his body tossed into a freight-car, and there found a few days later in the Kansas City yards.

The officers of the Nineteenth, as a whole, were the equals, mentally, morally and socially, of a like number of like rank anywhere. Many were exceedingly capable. A number were as fine officers as ever drew sword, and those of the "so different" variety could only slightly lower the average and exasperate the commander. The regiment's fortitude in a winter so severe that it swept off the entire mount in less than three months proves that officers and men were of substantial material.

The Nineteenth was uniformed, armed, mounted, drilled, and so far disciplined as the brief time allowed, at Camp Crawford. Urgent necessity brought marching orders, and the night of November 4, the two troops of Capt. J. Q. A. Norton, of Lawrence (D), and Capt. Richard D. Lender, of Fort Scott (G), were embarked on a special train by the way of the then Kansas Pacific railroad, with all their horses and equipment, for Fort Hays, for escort duty between that point and another field depot, Camp Supply, Indian Territory.

At ten o'clock Thursday forenoon, November 5, 1868,⁶ the remaining ten troops moved out of Camp Crawford on their overland march to Camp Supply. The column entered Kansas avenue at Fourth street, turned south, in platoon formation, filling the broad avenue from curb to curb. The twenty-one buglers, in the showy uniform of that era, riding abreast as one platoon, followed Colonel Moore and his staff, and following them platoon after platoon, troop after troop, a steady stream of horsemen a mile in length poured along the street, while sidewalks, doors, and even housetops were black with people to see the last of the men who were to be pitted against that hitherto unconquered terror—winter on the plains. The column soon left the little city behind. During that day's march on the prairie south of Topeka six or seven houses were seen, mostly from one to three miles from the road.

Mid-afternoon camp was made on the Wakarusa not far from the crossing of the Burlingame road. Here Governor Crawford⁷ overtook us on horseback. The boys of the regiment now learned for the first time that Samuel J. Crawford, serving his second term, had resigned as governor of Kansas to become their colonel. He now assumed command. An hour later a carriage approaching from the city over the lonely prairie road attracted considerable notice. At the guard-line the two occupants proved to be Adjutant-general McAfee, and "Jake" Smith, a wealthy and popular citizen of Topeka.

NOTE 6.—The Topeka *Record* of Friday, November 6, 1868, makes this statement: "The Nineteenth Kansas regiment broke up its camp in Topeka about noon yesterday and moved south. Two of its companies left the night before for Fort Hays, where it is to perform escort duty. It made a good appearance as it moved through the city, a thousand strong besides field officers, with Colonel Crawford at the head. It was followed by fifteen camp wagons, each drawn by six mules. The regiment is well supplied by all that is necessary to make it effective, and the state and nation hopes to have a good report from it."

NOTE 7.—S. J. CRAWFORD, who for nearly four years has been governor of the state of Kansas, yesterday laid down his authority, and was immediately appointed and mustered in as the colonel of the Nineteenth Kansas regiment. At the time of his election four years ago he was colonel of a colored regiment, having served from the commencement of the war to that time with distinction. That he will make a good officer for the new regiment there are none who doubt.—*State Record*, Topeka, Thursday, November 5, 1868.

Next morning the regular and persistent bugles had the regiment in column and on the road by the gray light of the early dawn, headed southwest. During two hours' steady marching that forenoon not a settler's house was seen—near or far. The Santa Fe trail was entered and followed through Burlingame. Again the route was southwest. It now began to rain as only Kansas knows how, and all were quickly wet to the skin. We crossed the great prairie where Osage City was built later, and if there was a house near it was out of sight. At dark, tired, wet and sore from the long march, camp was made in the heavy timber of the Neosho, two miles east of Emporia. The blankets from the wagons were nearly as damp as the soaked clothing. Great fires failed to dry them, for the rain turned to snow, and the wall-tents of the officers were no better shelter than the dog-tents of the men. It was a wet, melting snow, and an epidemic of hoarseness and sore throats resulted.

On the 7th, when the column emerged from the heavy timber, it encountered a piercing wind that set both men and horses aquiver. Though the rain and snow were stopped, the mud—the long, ropy, stringy, sticky, Kansas mud—clung affectionately to man and horse. What a bed of black mortar was left behind those 1150 horses and 110 mules.

The head of the column entered Emporia from the east about nine o'clock A. M. It was a town of about 800 people. The day was cloudy and cold, and the place looked so discouraged and homesick that the soldiers floundering through the miry streets felt sorry for it. Three men stood in front of the office of the *Emporia News*, published by Jacob Stotler, then speaker of the Kansas house of representatives—the biggest crowd we saw. There were scattered settlers in the edge of the timber all the way to Cottonwood Falls. Scarcity of wagons had limited the rations carried to five days between Topeka and Fort Beecher, while all forage was bought on the line of march. To regulars or veterans this subsistence would have been ample, but our new regiment nearly starved. Food was bought by the men on the route, but the kind people along the Cottonwood rarely would take pay. Five miles west of Emporia lived John Moon, one of the very first settlers in all that region. His wife, born Lavina Burnside, was a famous cook. As she was my mother's own cousin, I had reason to be thankful that her hospitable and kindly heart was on the line of march.

Again the camp was in thick timber, near Cottonwood Falls, and the clothing and beds were dried out. The morning of November 8 the march was south over the high prairie to the head waters of the Walnut. Along that rich valley were settlers near the timber, but the high prairies, as elsewhere, were as nature left them. The night of the 8th the camp was again and for the last time in heavy timber. Camp Four was near El Dorado. Here we left the settlements, though there was one house between El Dorado and Fort Beecher. Here we camped on the 9th, and it was the last house seen till the members of the Nineteenth began to see them from the car windows homeward bound late the following April. This solitary homestead was "Towanda," the place of Doctor Graham, and was in the neighborhood of our fifth camp.

The column marched out into the great valley of the Arkansas about three miles above the mouth of the Little Arkansas, whence, turning south, the route was straight to the Fort, crossing as it did so the ground on which the heart of Wichita now stands. There was at this time a very thin fringe

of cottonwoods along the smaller stream, but none on the banks of the big river except at their junction. The surface where the city stands was broken by the most remarkable network of buffalo wallows I ever even heard of.

Fort Beecher was a collection of huts and tents, with one company of infantry as a garrison. It stood on the banks of the Little Arkansas not half a mile above its mouth. The cavalry camped below the fort, between the rivers, a flank resting directly on each. It was expected that Crawford would be able to secure ample transportation, subsistence and forage here to carry his command to the base in the field. This proved to be a snare. There were not enough commissary stores in the whole place to feed so large a force a week, while there was practically no forage, and a wagon was not to be had. The five days' rations from Topeka had been eked out by private purchases on the way. When the command crossed the river here it not only entered a desolate and uninhabited land, but one to a large extent unexplored. Hence the food for man and beast must be carried by wagons. November 12 was spent in camp shoeing horses and tightening the screws that always work loose in the trial run of new machinery. Letters were also written, for Uncle Sam had no dickerings with "that land across the river whence no traveler had returned."

Up to this time the United States had, as a settled policy, kept the white man out of the country now known as Oklahoma. Few army officers had of late years crossed its mystic boundaries. Hunters and plainsmen had kept studiously to the north of the Arkansas. Those only directly connected with the Indian service, including traders, were permitted to enter. Communication between Texas and the states north must be made by Arkansas and Missouri. All of Kansas southwest of the Arkansas river shared the same fate. Not an officer or man in Crawford's command had ever been south of the Arkansas river. Even Simmons (Apache Bill) and Jack Stillwell, whom Sheridan had sent as guides, had never entered the forbidden land.⁸ Their general knowledge of the great plains, the lay of the land, of signs and of watercourses, were relied on to find the way. This was often the case with guides in that untracked region, and it would have answered well under ordinary circumstances. But conditions unforeseen and unprovided for—conditions that would have confused anybody—were met. The very maps were wrong, and added to the confusion. If in such cases a commander proves impatient and demands immediate information the confusion is apt to be increased. It is the cold, hard fact that the weather and the absurd lack of stores were the causes of the catastrophe that followed. The universal ignorance of that country, including that of Sheridan himself, was at the bottom of it all.

At Fort Beecher Colonel Crawford was confronted with a grave danger, and he knew it. He could only secure five days' rations and three days' forage with which to march through a desert land for what was supposed to be 160 miles. With 1100 partly-disciplined men and nearly that many horses, untrained and unseasoned, his officers and men scarcely knowing each other's faces, and at the beginning of a season hitherto regarded as fatal to man—it was enough to sober the most reckless officer. But his orders were peremptory. He had no choice. With what stores he could get he manfully

NOTE 8.—See page 13 of this volume, relative to experienced guides offered by Jas. R. Mead for the use of the regiment.

did his best, and left the worry and swearing to the general who gave the orders.

November 13, early, Crawford began to transfer his command to the south bank of the Arkansas. Though very wide, the whole river-bed was not covered with water at the time. Vagrant currents ran here and there, alternating with sand-bars, the whole a quaking, shivering quicksand. Horsemen had already surveyed and marked a winding route, avoiding the deepest water and worst quicksand. The cavalry column crossed with little difficulty, but the train was not so easy. The "leaders" and "swings" were taken from each wagon, leaving only the "wheel" mules. A rope cable was then attached and carried forward between two lines of mounted soldiers, who seized it with their hands and "snaked" the wagon over the route to the distant shore with a swiftness and vigor that left the two mules nothing to do but guide the tongue. In a land of broad and bridgeless rivers this was very effective.

Safely on the south bank, Crawford wasted no time. The horses were now grazed, groomed and nursed with persistence. Every grain of the pitiful forage procured at Beecher was of vital import. When the column was well on its way in this land of silence and desolation a change was noticed in the horses. They were uneasy, and there seemed a smoldering excitement among them. John Linton, Captain Pliley's farrier, a fine horseman, said the night of the 13th: "If I was superstitious I would look for something terrible to happen, the horses act so queer. I believe there is something this side of the river that makes them homesick." Something did happen! Those horses all perished within two months! Though carefully husbanded, the last forage was fed to the horses the night of the 16th. Discreet officers afterwards sent out a double force of men with them to graze.

A little before sundown on the 18th the column swung into position for camp on Medicine Lodge creek, somewhere near the place now located on the map as Kiowa. Although six days had elapsed since beginning on the five days' rations the men had fared reasonable well—buffalo having been killed daily. It was different with the horses. Out of forage for three days, the tasteless grass, bleached by rains, holding no nutriment, they were starving. Here the troopers had dismounted and unsaddled, when a belated man of Capt. Roger A. Elsworth's troop (I) came galloping in and hurriedly threw off his saddle. Against orders, he had folded the picket rope, on his saddle and left the end around the animal's neck. While removing his accoutrements the horse stepped backward, and, seeing the saddle move, took fright and ran amuck among the thronging men and horses, the saddle following and receiving a resounding kick at every leap. The effect on the horses was electrical. The mounts of troop after troop, in a frenzy of excitement, tore away and were carried off in the storm. The same jarring, grating roar as when a cyclone hurries along within a few miles was in the air. The horses of five troops were swept away, heavily loaded ammunition wagons were overturned, and hundreds of men narrowly escaped death. By a miracle no one was seriously hurt. Systematic effort was at once inaugurated to recover the runaways, for time was too precious to lose in hunting them during marching hours. Fortunately the silent desert, or other mystery, brought the fugitives back, and before "boots and saddles" next morning 450 had been recaptured, and less than eighty horses were at large, and Governor Crawford says all but six of these were brought in later.

The morning of the 19th was very warm, and I left my overcoat in a wagon. Before noon it began to rain, and rained steadily all day. During this day's march we crossed the southern Kansas line into the Territory. Toward night the wind changed and it grew cold. The train was far in the rear and deep in the mud. A bivouac was made just before dark on a crooked, sluggish stream, probably Salt Fork. Soon after the wind increased to a hurricane, the temperature lost its grip and fell to zero and under, and the wet clothing stiffened and whitened with the frost. Not a stick of wood was found and the buffalo-chips were saturated with water. The wind was so furious that fires were impossible except in holes, and spades as well as axes were with the train. The night was moonless and very dark. Every available man was clinging to the horses. These, still excited by the late stampede—nervous, frightened, starving, freezing, confused by the darkness and the roar of the storm—were well-nigh frantic. All night they were led up-and-down, up-and-down. The sudden lurch of a horse, or an unexpected movement of a man, would have carried every animal out onto the plain a fugitive—trampling men to death as they went.

Personally, I was in a sad plight. My overcoat back in the wagon, my saddle-blanket used to keep my quivering horse alive, clothes wet and frozen, without fire or hope of fire; my only wrap, a light cloak, served the same purpose as a streamer at the top of a flagpole. About eleven o'clock that night some restless spirits of troop A found the end of a big log protruding from the river bank, two miles from camp. Some old flood had floated it down, time had covered it deep with alluvium, and the mutations of channels had brought one end again to the light. With infinite labor it was dug out, and on the shoulders of many men was carried through the darkness to camp. Attempts were then patiently made with knives and swords to split off pieces for a fire, but it was not until after three A. M., when the train arrived, that a pit was dug and a good fire started safe from the rude storm. These men remembered my predicament of the night, and though I had a dry overcoat they sent for and placed me in a snug corner of the "portable cellar," as "Jack" Curtis, of North Topeka, scornfully called it. Overcoat and fire put me to sleep, and I was only roused by a hand on my shoulder and the shout: "Kirby's dead—wake up!" The buglers were recklessly getting off the accompaniment to that ancient and disreputable cavalry doggerel:

"Come all that are able
And go to the stable,
To give your horses some corn and some hay;
For if you don't do it
The Colonel will know it,
And you'll go to the guard-house this very same day."

Such expectations could no longer be realized by the horses, and it was base to mock them. It was now light enough to see, and the storm had somewhat abated. One tent had been erected at headquarters, and a number of fires had been started in holes, behind screens, and other shelter.

A ford had to be found, and on account of my horse being a good swimmer I was ordered to investigate the river above camp. I found the stream bank full, a swift current running thick with mush ice, the water too salt to solidify. My horse suddenly stepped off into deep water, and we both went under. Just as this happened the cloak of my overcoat was

wrapped around my head by the wind. As the horse came to the surface the cloak stuck to my face. The sudden cold and surprise caused the horse to plunge and struggle, while I, disconcerted by the ducking and blindness, was not for the moment sitting firmly in the saddle, so was easily thrown off into deep water. Wearing very high boots, my overcoat buttoned and belted outside with two pistols, I came very near sinking. Being only twenty years old, and knowing that I was being introduced to death, I was full of panic, but had sense enough not to try to reach shore or struggle in any way. I finally got my face clear, the alarm was given, a rope was thrown to me, which I caught at last and was pulled out. When I reached the fire I was sheathed in ice. This was soon melted off, and I kept my place in the column all day without ill effects either from the ducking or the bitter experience of the night before. My clothes dried during the day in spite of the cold.

This was the 20th of November. On the 21st no buffalo were found. This was the first day that nothing was killed. We had now been marching eight days since leaving Fort Beecher. In spite of buffalo, the four days' rations were exhausted; the two days' forage had been forgotten, and a tobacco famine raged. The situation was critical, for we knew no more about our objective than the day we crossed the Arkansas. The morning of the 22d the usual hunting parties were sent out. No meat was left from the kill of the 20th. All the forenoon the mountainous hills of the Cimarron loomed high far in our front. Though marching steadily, hour after hour, toward them, they apparently approached no nearer. About two P. M. the overhead dome was lined with low clouds, and the hills were no longer there. A little later snow began to fall, silently, steadily and copiously, restricting the vision to a radius of twenty yards and changing landmarks like magic. The column marched on in the gloom, suddenly appearing and disappearing, men and horses moving silently and white, like the sheeted ghosts of a long dead cavalry. About dark camp was made, with about five inches of snow on the ground. Here we were sheltered by timber, and built big fires. This stream was Sand creek. Much anxiety was felt for the buffalo hunters. In the snow they were like men blindfolded, and it was not likely that any of them had a compass. All reached camp however during the night.

At camp on Sand creek November 22 the crisis was reached. No buffalo had been seen for two days. The only food in camp was six barrels of coffee sugar in the officers' stores. Colonel Crawford ordered this issued. The sergeants of messes counted out to every man his share of the little cubes. One of the hardest fights of the winter was between two men of troop L (Capt. Charles H. Finch's) over a few extra cubes of this sugar. They were powerful fellows and smashed each other beautifully till the guard interfered.

About ten o'clock that night Capt. A. J. Pliley left camp in the snow and darkness in search of General Sheridan and relief. His escort was Lieut. Jesse E. Parsons, of troop C, with fifty picked men and horses. It was a difficult and dangerous errand, but the safety, perhaps lives, of the command depended on his success in finding Camp Supply. This was to have been located "somewhere near the forks of Beaver creek and the North Canadian," but as a fact it had not been established when Crawford left Topeka. If it was hard to find in good weather, Pliley's difficulties in a snow-storm were in-

finitely multiplied. The snow was ten inches deep when he marched out, and coming down steadily, though without wind.

The morning of November 23 found a foot of snow on the ground. The blinding snow was still falling. Though there was not a scrap of food in the camp it was impossible to move. All sense of direction was lost. All the cottonwood trees in reach of camp were cut down during the day and the starving horses quickly stripped them of every twig and inch of bark, but among so many horses it was not much. There was much anxiety about the wind. If the snow should begin drifting the command would be forced to live on its expensive mounts, thereby defeating the object for which the regiment was raised. On the 24th the snow had ceased. The command moved out in a foot and a half of snow, the men leading the now weakened horses. Each troop took its turn breaking the trail. It was cloudy and nothing could be seen more than a mile or two in advance. Thus floundering through the deep white carpet, in about five miles we came to the Cimarron hills. Here the gloomy, crooked cañons added greatly to the difficulties, but the grim march continued. A little before the sundown hour, the advance came upon a bunch of buffalo bulls. They could not run in the deep snow and all were killed. Camp was made about dark, ten miles from Sand creek, in a snow field surrounded by high hills and deep ravines. Buffalo for supper! How good it was! Few of these men had known hunger before. Hackberry trees grew on the hillsides, and, though the fruit was all seed, at best, and now dried on the tree, it was sweet and agreeable, and was eaten, seeds and all—appendicitis not yet being fashionable. The camp was officially named "Camp Hackberry Point," but became "Camp Starvation," and has never been alluded to otherwise by members of the Nineteenth. The train did not reach camp until the morning of the 25th. It was now seen that further march was impossible. The buffalo bulls proved that a little game might be found in these mountains. In order to reduce the number of men to feed it was decided to divide the command. The sun now shone brightly and the white landscape glittered and glistened. In pursuance of this decision, the strongest and hardest men and horses were selected to the number of nearly five hundred, and placed under the command of Lieut.-col. Horace L. Moore. These were to march out of camp without tents, bed or food and make their way to Supply, living as best they could. The remainder of the regiment, over 600 men, was placed under command of Maj. R. W. Jenkins. These included the sick, partially frozen, the dismounted, those weak physically from any cause, and the train, and were to remain in Camp Starvation, subsisting as they could till rescued. Colonel Crawford, of course, remained with Jenkins. It was hoped that Captain Pliley might reach camp early and send relief.

At eleven A. M., November 25, Moore led his column out of camp into a cañon leading to the Cimarron. The river here is 200 yards wide, running through a gorge 500 feet deep. There is no approach to the water except through equally deep tributary cañons. When the detachment debouched at the river it was confronted by a lofty precipice opposite, offering no egress for half a mile up and down stream. The clear water looked black to the snow-dazzled eye, but the white cliff beyond loomed up like a gigantic wall. Marching down stream at the foot of the cliff, a narrow cleft was seen opposite whereby the uplands could be reached. Crossing here, the

water was found of uniform depth, about three feet. Entering the mouth of the cañon noticed, a little after noon, and marching in single file, the head of the column emerged from its rocky walls on the uplands just at dark. A full moon was rising, and lighted up as desolate a landscape as this planet affords. A bivouac was made on a prairie brook, where big fires were built. We afterward learned that the temperature was twenty degrees below zero toward morning. Trees were cut for the horses wherever found. In their absence the snow was dug away for two or three square feet and the horses ate the frozen grass. Some one in troop A killed a deer, and a quarter was sent to Lieutenant Wilson, "Joe" Beacock and myself, for which our souls salaamed and kotowed all night. Next day, the 26th, was Thanksgiving, anyway, but we didn't know it then. The sun thawed the snow on the 25th, and the cold nights made a crust that added to our tribulations. On the 26th the horses began to die of starvation. That night the bivouac was on a high prairie stream with wooded banks, and again the night was bitter cold. There was no food of any kind that night, so men literally "hung on hackberry trees." The finest racer was never nursed and coddled as were those starving troop-horses. Men sat all night over fires to give their only blankets to the horses. The whole of the 27th was a struggle through the deep, crusted snow of the hilly prairies, and more horses perished. The trail of Captain Pliley was crossed during the day.

Camp on the 27th was in the timber of a large stream with wide forest-covered bottoms. Oak and walnut trees were seen. This was undoubtedly the North Canadian. Camp Supply was still further west. The bivouac among these giant trees was encouraging. Besides big fires there was venison and turkey enough to give everybody a fair taste. It was beginning to look like Camp Supply was no myth after all. Sheridan expected the regiment to make the march in four or five days, and it had marched straight on for fifteen days now, except the one day in camp on the 23d, and this was the first sign that there ever was such a place as the Canadian river.

The march of the 28th was for the most part up the river bottom in the edge of the timber. About mid-afternoon a roar broke out in the column and followed back to the guard. When it faded a little, it broke out again, clearer and louder every time. It was good, hearty, old-fashioned cheering too. The occasion for the men having a conniption fit just there was, first, a stump whence the tree had recently been cut by the white man's ax; second, a wagon track since the snow-storm; third, some fresh chips on the snow! The fourth and last cheering was due to a messenger from the advance who informed Colonel Moore that Supply was in sight not five miles away.

The trail now cut across the uplands, and just at sundown we reached the bluff overlooking a broad valley covered with timber, where two large streams evidently converged. There, almost at our feet, were the white tents of the long-lost cantonment, not a mile away, and there was the most beautiful of all inanimate objects, the flag, silently floating in dignified power over the garrison. Even as we looked a puff of white smoke appeared, the flag came fluttering down like a wounded bird, and in a moment or so the boom of the evening salute filled the whole valley. This was our objective.

This detachment of the Nineteenth made the march from Topeka in twenty-four days on nine days' subsistence and seven days' forage. In

twenty-two days of actual marching it averaged over sixteen miles a day. Captain Pliley had arrived three days before, and General Sheridan had at once sent a suitable relief expedition to Camp Starvation. As soon as Sheridan heard Pliley's report he set a large force at work clearing the snow from the level ground north of the garrison, had tents erected, with hay for bedding, and everything prepared for the sorely tried officers and men of the Nineteenth. This was luxury!

Generals Sheridan and Custer had waited long for Crawford, but hearing nothing, Custer had gone out alone with the Seventh. This was a great disappointment to the Kansas men, for they feared the enterprising Custer would strike so vigorously that the Indians would roar for peace. General Sheridan had a good round period of anxiety before he heard from the Nineteenth, and suspense isn't edifying.⁹

On the 29th, the day after our arrival, a scout reached Camp Supply with news of the battle of the Washita, on November 27, and the death of old Black Kettle, Little Rock and most of their warriors, also the capture of the women and children of the band, accomplished at a loss of two distinguished officers—Maj. Joel H. Elliott¹⁰ and Maj. Louis McLane Hamilton

NOTE 9.—General Sheridan's report of this campaign is published in the annual report of the Secretary of War for 1869, pp. 44-51 (serial No. 1412).

NOTE 10.—The following letter was written to Robert M. Peck, of Whittier, Cal., who favored the Kansas Historical Society with this copy. Mr. Bent has been invited by this Society to write a statement of the Indian side of the controversies happening in Kansas. See, also, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 72, note 3; also the article by Mr. Robert M. Wright, pp. 71, 72. The Bureau of Ethnology is indebted to Mr. Bent for much data regarding the history and customs of his tribe. She-Wolf's account of the death of Maj. Joel H. Elliott, as told to George Bent, is as follows:

"Your letter of December 7 received. First, I will tell you what Cheyennes say about killing of Major Elliott and his men at the battle of Washita.

"She-Wolf, Cheyenne Indian, Little Rock, Cheyenne, and a Kiowa Indian were running down Washita river with squaws and children after Custer's attack on Black Kettle's village. She-Wolf, who is here now living, tells me this. He says they all came to a very deep hole of water, and high banks on each side of it, so they all had to get out of the creek bottom into open place to get around this deep hole. Soon as they came up in open view, Elliott and his men seen them, and charged towards them. Little Rock told the squaws and children to run back for the creek. These three men stayed behind the women and children to fight for them. Elliott and his men charged upon them, and commenced firing into them. Here Little Rock was killed. The Kiowa Indian, now living, ran to Little Rock and picked up his arrows (this Kiowa only had two arrows left), he picked up six arrows of Little Rock. Understand, these people were running from Black Kettle's camp or village. A Cheyenne woman called White-Buffalo-Woman, now living with her sister, had been running so long the girl gave out here. One soldier rode up to them and made motion to them to walk back towards the camp. The soldier got off his horse and walked behind them. Just in front of them a lot of warriors running from Black Kettle's village, rode up out of the creek timber. The soldier fired at the Indians as they were charging toward them [him]. This soldier, White-Buffalo-Woman says, shot at them warriors two times, and then got cartridge fast in his carbine. Bob-Tail-Bear rode up to the soldier and tomahawked him.

"Elliott and his men were still chasing She-Wolf and the women and children down Washita river when these warriors cut him off from Custer. Bob-Tail-Bear and his warriors pushed Elliott and his men right into a lot of warriors that were coming up from the big village of Cheyennes and Arapahoos. When Elliott saw he was surrounded they [he and his men] turned all their horses loose, then himself and his men got in among high grass and were all lying down when the Indians rode around them. Touching-the-Sky tells me he got off his horse and crawled up towards them in small ravine and could see them lying down. When he motioned to Indians to bring their guns he says several came running, stooping down. These opened fire on Elliott and his men and must have hit several of them as it was very close. Those Indians on horses commenced to close in on Elliott, and those in the ravine kept shooting at them [him]. In a little while Roman-Nose-Thunder, Cheyenne, now living, was first to ride over Elliott and his men. Then the Indians all made charge on them. Elliott and his men did not do much shooting for some reason, and Elliott and his men were all killed inside of two hours. She-Wolf and squaws then went to where Elliott and his men were killed. They had stopped in the creek soon as Elliott had left them, to rest up. The warriors after killing Elliott and his men went on up to where Custer's command was, and fought him again."

"Ben Clarke, now interpreter at Fort Reno, was with Custer at the battle of Washita. He told me that Custer's officers told him that Custer ordered Major Elliott to take some of his men and drive those Indians out of the creek [Washita] that were firing at his men. Over 200 Cheyennes and Arapahoos are now living that were in that fight with Elliott and his men. Only one Indian was killed in this fight with Elliott; several were wounded. Black Kettle's village was further up Washita river. Other villages were down the river. Indians in these villages heard the firing, so the men ran for their herds of ponies and ran them into the villages. Meantime,

—and nineteen soldiers of the Seventh cavalry, including Sergt.-maj. Walter Kennedy, and the severe wounding of Col. Albert Barnitz. Nearly a thousand Indian horses and vast quantities of property were destroyed.

December 1 Custer reached Supply and his column was given the distinction of a review by the general commanding. About ten A. M. the head of the column reached the top of the hill southwest of Supply and marched diagonally down the slope in view of the entire cantonment. Though it was thirty-nine years ago, and though most of those gallant fellows have lain in their bloody graves for three decades, I can yet see that striking and dramatic parade as if it were yesterday; men and horses in bold relief against the glittering snow. First came the Osage scouts and trailers under Hard Rope and Little Beaver, in all their gaudy and barbaric finery, galloping in circles, discharging firearms in the air, chanting war songs, and at intervals giving shrill battle-cries. Then came the silent citizen scouts of Pepoon, now recruited from their terrible losses at Beecher's Island, marching in two platoons. Next came the splendid band of the Seventh, playing "Garry Owen to Glory," riding abreast as one platoon, their instruments flashing and scintillating as they proudly rode by. Next in column, escorted by the whole body of the regiment, came the prisoners, the widows and orphans of the murderous Black Kettle's band, riding their own ponies, grouped and huddled as Indians always travel. Closely following these were the two platoons of Cook, the forty sharpshooters. After these in platoon formation came troop after troop, their lines perfectly dressed, intervals properly observed, marching with the precision of long service and perfect discipline—a splendid regiment—

Indians from Black Kettle's village began to come to first village next to Black Kettle's village. Of course they told what took place. Most all women got on horses and carried the news to other villages. All the men, fast as they got on their war horses, rode for the battle-field. They met men and women and children of those that had got away. She-Wolf and Little Rock's party were last ones coming down the creek, and Elliott and his men lost their lives by following them too far down.

"I knew Major Elliott and Captain Hamilton. Hamilton was also killed in Black Kettle's fight. I met both these officers in 1867, at the treaty in Medicine Lodge creek. They were there with four companies to guard the annuity goods. Fourteen months afterwards they were both killed. I was camped south side of Medicine Lodge creek at that time. They were on the north side. Both these officers and Doctor Ranick, whom I went to school with in St. Louis, used to come over to my lodge every day and smoke with Black Kettle. I was then married to Black Kettle's step-daughter. She died some years ago. I suppose you saw my picture in the *Frontier Magazine*. She had elk teeth dress on.

"Ben Clarke told me that at the Black Kettle fight, a Mexican that used to live with my father, came up with a little girl in his arms to give her to some one to save. A sergeant took the little girl, then told the Mexican to run, then shot him in the back as he ran. Ben Clarke says this was a cowardly act. He said he would have stopped this or else had a fuss over it, but did not see it done. He was told of it by teamsters or packers. Ben Clarke has Indian wife and has large family of half-breeds. I was talking with some old Indians to-day.

"They tell me that your Lieutenant Long used to show a wound in his breast that he got in that fight on the Solomon in 1857. Chief Young-Wolf was the Cheyenne that shot him with gun. Long and Chief Young-Wolf became good friends for this. These old Cheyennes say in this fight Chief Young-Wolf was very brave. He stayed behind and fought very hard until he saw his war horse was getting to play out, then he rushed on ahead.

"Little Raven, Arapahoe Chief, now dead, bought that ambulance you spoke of from officer at Fort Larned, I do not know just when. He left this ambulance on the Cimarron. He took off the wheels and hid it in a canon in 1868, when General Sully was following the Arapahoes across the Cimarron in the fall of 1868. When I came down here in 1869 the old man had the ambulance. I do not know whether he went and got this one or not. I always understood Pawnee, Kiowa chief, was held as prisoner, and made a break to get away on horse and was shot. I think Santa killed Peacock afterwards at his ranch on Walnut creek. You speak of D. B. Dyer. He was agent at Darlington in charge of Cheyennes and Arapahoes over twenty-one years ago. I was his interpreter.

"Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Caddoes and Wichitas are all under one agent at Anadarko, Oklahoma. Blackmore was their agent. He died lately. I have not heard the man's name who was appointed in his place. Cheyennes and Arapahoes have three subagencies—Darlington, Cantonment, and Colony. A superintendent is in charge of each place. Rations and annuities were done away with some years ago. Every six months they get annuity money paid to them, and lease money also is paid to them. Every six months their lands are leased out to white men. Some Indians get good deal of lease money. Some Indians are heirs to good many lands, what we call dead allotments. Of course, when one dies his heirs get the land. I will be glad to hear from you any time.

Respectfully,

GEO. BENT.

"To ROBERT M. PECK, Whittier, California."

the train and the guard bringing up the rear. Five of Custer's troops lost their overcoats and overshoes during the battle. These men were wrapped in many-colored blankets with their feet tied up in grain sacks.

At the head of the column was a young man of medium height, slender, wearing buckskin hunting-shirt and leggings much befringed. A worn hat with broad brim surmounted a tangle of curling yellow hair reaching below his shoulders. Across his saddle he carried a long rifle, with which he was expert. This was Custer at the age of twenty-nine, and this was about the last time he appeared in this garb on a public occasion. The next year he sacrificed his curls and with them the dress of the old-time frontiersman. There was nothing in either figure or bearing to indicate the great physical strength and iron nerve that made him one of the most expert shots and horsemen in the whole world. Thus the Nineteenth Kansas was introduced to its general.

The week that followed was a busy one. Colonel Crawford and Major Jenkins arrived December 1. The Nineteenth had made its march of 355 miles from Topeka without losing a man, and having lost only seventy-five horses. Under the circumstances this was remarkable. The march from Camp Supply to Fort Cobb and thence to Fort Sill has been well described by Colonel Moore in volume 6 of this series, by General Sheridan in his "Memoirs," and Custer in his *Galaxy* papers.¹¹ All three speak of incidents and movements largely from the economic and strategic view-point, as seen at headquarters, while those who were "down in the troop" saw only the "human interest" part. There was no time for the Nineteenth and Seventh to recuperate after their respective strenuous experiences. December 6 all the dismounted, the sick, wounded, frost-bitten and broken-down men of both regiments were detached from their several troops to be left as a garrison at Camp Supply. Maj. Charles Dimon and four line officers were also detached. Capt. J. Q. A. Norton, with troop D, having arrived that day with a train from the railroad, was ordered to the regiment, and Capt. Sargent Moody, with troop M, took his place on escort duty.

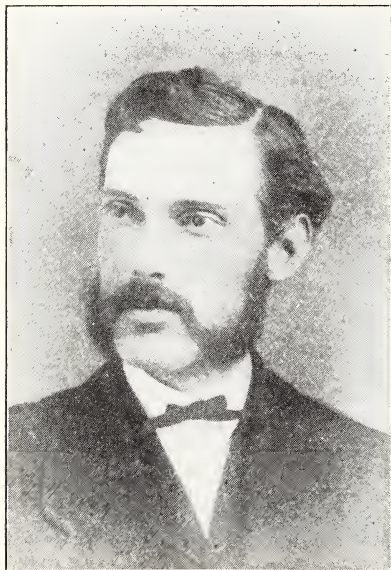
The Nineteenth and Seventh regiments and nearly 100 Indians and white scouts composed the column of Custer—about 1800 effective horsemen. This was much the most formidable force ever sent against the plains Indians. General Sheridan and his staff accompanied the column. There were over 300 six-mule wagons in the train. The Mexican "Romeo,"¹² was the principal interpreter. Custer also carried two captive squaws, Mah-wis-sa (Black Kettle's sister), and Mo-nah-se-tah (Little Rock's daughter). These women had already exposed the secrets of the chiefs and knew yet much of value to the commanders. They knew all the secret hiding-places, also. The snow had now settled a good deal and a troop of the Tenth cavalry had been out on the trail two days' march to smooth the road.

Thus was the command hurled into the Indian country. The march December 7 was twelve miles. A special commissary guard had been detailed for the train, all picked men from the Seventh. The men of the Nineteenth chose to regard this as a reflection on the regimental integrity, and decided

NOTE 11.—The series, commenced in the issue of the *Galaxy* of January, 1872, under the title "My Life on the Plains," was concluded in October, 1874.

NOTE 12.—This man's name was Romero, but he was derisively called "Romeo" on account of his successful love-making. Though ugly as a millionaire's morals, this dried-up specimen of manhood had a squaw, sometimes several, in every tribe on the plains, or so it is said.

to "teach Custer a lesson." The snow had been so tracked by men and horses that the scheme was practicable. That night when the midnight guard at the train had been on post long enough, the relief approached and gave the countersign, and excused relieved sentinels from "falling in" in the rear. Then hidden confederates approached, emptied three or four wagons, and all silently disappeared in the darkness. When the real relief made its rounds five posts were found vacant, the men sleeping calmly at the guard tent and a number of wagons emptied. The Nineteenth was paraded at daylight and their camp searched. All the messes were well supplied, some unusually well, but the stores had been so skilfully divided that no evidence was obtained. A year later, at Topeka, a soldier, late of troop A, gave me the history of this raid on the train. It originated in troop A, though "safe" men from others were taken in, chiefly from D and L, the troops of Norton and Finch. The night was so bitter cold that horse guards in each troop kept up big fires. All incriminating packages were burned there and the darkness prevented the police guards seeing anything wrong. The best joke of all was that a generous supply of contraband food reached the headquarters mess. "Why," said my informant, "while the colonel was swearing, spitting blue vitriol and jumping stiff-legged around camp, he was picking the stolen rations out of his own teeth, and everybody knew that you fellows at the captain's mess lived on it for a week. Pliley, Norton and Finch never knew why their stores lasted so confounded long." Lieutenant Charley Hoyt said one day: "It begins to look like the five loaves and two fishes business lately up our way." In the good-humored badinage between the men of the two regiments the way the Seventh shut up at mention of the commissary guard proved that it was a delicate subject with them.



JOEL H. ELLIOTT,
Major U. S. A.

The night of the 8th began that remarkable series of storms described in Sheridan's "Memoirs." Each was followed by zero weather. In a day or so it suddenly grew warmer, followed by another storm within an hour. The South Canadian was forded with the temperature eighteen degrees below zero. The river was over half a mile wide, with four feet of water, covered with ice three or four inches

thick, and the bed a dangerous quicksand. The ice was chopped out with axes, making two channels for column and trains. The night of December 10 the command camped in the Washita timber near Custer's battle-field of two weeks before. Elliott and his men were found where they fell fighting. Major Elliott's body was carried away with us, as were those of Mrs. Blinn and her little boy. This young woman was the daughter of W. T. Har-

rington, of Ottawa, Kan. Her husband, R. F. Blinn, was killed when she and the child, "Willie" Blinn, were captured on the Arkansas, in Colorado. They were wantonly murdered to prevent their rescue by Custer. The names of Mrs. Blinn and Major Elliott¹³ will always be synonyms for tragic death in the region once known as "the plains."

The column forced its way down the Washita. The first twelve miles was over ground whence the wild tribes had fled in frantic haste the night after the battle. Teepee poles were left standing in places; everywhere wood was stacked around the dead camp-fires. Knives, revolvers, moccasins, bows and arrows overlooked in the flight were found by the soldiers. One trooper found a carefully wrapped package to contain nearly \$400 in greenbacks, another a buckskin bag with \$182 in gold coin. On through storm, deep snow and arctic cold the column grimly marched, arriving at Fort Cobb December 18. By threatening to hang Lone Wolf and the infamous Satanta, Sheridan got the Arapahoes, Kiowas and Comanches to camp under the carbines of the cavalry. The Kiowas met the command with a letter from General Hazen, of the "Indian Bureau," telling what good, peaceable folks the Kiowas were. Yet the dead girl and her baby in the wagon were captured by these same Kiowas not two months since, her husband killed and she and the two-year-old baby sold to the Cheyennes. A band of vagabond Comanches and Dog soldiers ran away and were making for their desert stronghold in Texas, when, on Christmas day, 1868, they were struck by the auxiliary column of General Evans from New Mexico and practically exterminated. The Cheyennes got away to Texas in safety.

The time between December 18 and January 6 was spent comfortably camped in the heavy timber at Fort Cobb. Food was plentiful and forage fairly supplied, though the bad roads between Cobb and Fort Arbuckle made the hauling difficult. Christmas was a real, if rare, holiday. Eastern papers were received here, raking the army for making war on the "poor, peaceful Indians." One or two church papers were exceedingly bitter, and demanded the "punishment" of Custer and all the officers and men of the Seventh cavalry for "deliberate, premeditated and brutal murder of inoffensive and peaceful people."

Fort Cobb was to be dismantled and abandoned. Three days' march over a beautiful country brought us to Cache creek, in the Wichita mountains. Here Fort Sill was established, twenty-eight miles south of Fort Cobb. Though Crawford had made the march from Supply to Cobb with a loss of only 150 horses, and though the weather greatly moderated about the first of the year, horses lined the trail to Sill with their carcasses. Captain Pliley was the only officer in both regiments who brought all his horses through the late storms. Every morning after going into cantonment at Medicine Rock, large numbers of horses were dead or dying at the cables. The vet-

NOTE 13.—JOEL H. ELLIOTT was born at Centerville, now a suburb of Richmond, Ind. His family, like many eastern Indiana Quaker families, has held a high place in the state's history. He enlisted in 1861 in the Second Indiana cavalry and served over a year as a soldier. Was headquarters orderly for Gen. Alex. McD. McCook through the battle of Stone River. At the battle of Perryville he so distinguished himself that he was commissioned a lieutenant in the First Indiana cavalry and soon promoted to captain in Indiana's Seventh cavalry. He was wounded and his horse killed under him in battle with Forrest; and at Guntown, Miss., in a desperate effort to turn back the tide of disaster he was shot from his horse—one ball through his shoulder, another through both lungs—and was left on the field for dead. Partially recovered, he commanded 200 picked men in Grierson's great raid. He left the army in August, 1865, as a captain, but his rare merit had so attracted the attention of the War Department that he was appointed one of the majors on the organization of the Seventh cavalry, March 7, 1867, and served continuously as Custer's second in command till his death. Both Sheridan and Custer pronounced him an officer of great enterprise and rare judgment—one of the best in the whole army.

erinary surgeon, George Davidson, of Topeka, "English George," exhausted his skill. The cold and starvation of the overland march was too much for these fine creatures, and though they received now a ration of grain, and grass was growing green, they died. At last the scattering survivors were turned in to Capt. Luther A. Thrasher, the quartermaster, and taken to Fort Arbuckle.

It is a pity that I have not the space to tell the events at Medicine Rock, officially known as "Camp Twenty-one in the Field"; of the battle of cart-ridges, and the great four-days storm that wrecked the camp and drove the regiment behind the river bank and into holes and improvised caves; a storm that changed so quickly from summer heat that in four hours it froze up a rapid mountain stream!

General Sheridan, at Camp Supply, received orders on the 2d of March to proceed to Washington, and on his way, near Fort Hays, received notice of his appointment as lieutenant-general of the army. Colonel Crawford resigned the command on the 12th of February¹⁴ and soon left for the railroad, and Lieutenant-colonel Moore commanded the Nineteenth from this on.

Many stirring things happened here. The park-like country was alive with deer and turkeys—very tame. Chester Thomas, sr., of Topeka, visited camp. He was "Uncle Chester" to all the Topeka men. The Nineteenth had a battle with rattlesnakes, but never dared tell the real truth about it, for fear their friends would put them in asylums. Lieut. Charles H. Champney, of troop B, told a mild and abridged edition to a party at the old state-house at Topeka the following summer. His auditors maintained a shocked silence till Archie Williams, then attorney-general, kindly but gravely said: "Champney, for your friends' sake you should value your health and avoid taking large quantities of liquid nourishment at a time." I entered, and when I confirmed his statements they "laughed us both to scorn," mentioned "conspiracy," "collusion," and other unwholesome and unseemly doings.

March 2, 1869, the now dismounted cavalry marched out of its pleasant camp near Fort Sill, and, skirting the southern base of the Wichita mountains, was on its way to stir up the Cheyennes. Mud was deep between Forts Sill and Arbuckle, so that, though there were plenty of wagons, it was impossible to collect any considerable surplus of subsistence. The field column therefore started out with only five days' rations. The Seventh still had left about 200 of the seasoned horses, but these and the train mules had little forage. There was always plenty of ammunition. Though marching as infantry was new to these men, they made a pretty fair stagger at it from the start. Custer's official report says the "Nineteenth put to the blush the best regular infantry." The second night out the camp was at old Fort Radziminski, a distance of forty-six miles in two days. Here, be-

NOTE 14.—Governor Crawford makes the following statement regarding the paying off of the Nineteenth Kansas: "I left Fort Sill about the 15th of February with an escort consisting of Capt. George B. Jenness and Capt. Roger A. Ellsworth, and I think three men. We came due east through the Chickasaw country, past Paul's Valley, crossing the Washita there, through the Seminole and Creek countries to Fort Gibson, and up the valley of the Grand to the Neosho, through the Cherokee country, entering Kansas on March 1 at Chetopa. The object of my journey was to make arrangements to pay off the Nineteenth before they should be mustered out at Fort Hays, for if not paid before they were dispersed it would be a very difficult matter to find them later. On reaching Washington I found that no money had been appropriated by Congress for the payment of the regiment, but with the aid of General Sherman and General Grant, who had just been inaugurated as President, arrangements were made with the secretary of war whereby the regiment was paid in full at Fort Hays, when the men were mustered out of service, April 18, 1869. The money used for this purpose was taken from the contingent fund of the War Department, and later reappropriated."

fore the civil war, Earl Van Dorn, later of the Confederacy, wintered a squadron of the old Second dragoons, now the Fourth cavalry. Blistered feet and sore muscles were fashionable at this camp. Next morning the column crossed Red river. It was a bed of red sand, almost without banks, over which ran here and there creeks and brooks of very red water, some deeper and some more shallow, but all lazily seeking the lowest and easiest places. The same pace was kept up the next day, the men standing it pretty well.

On the 6th the column crossed Salt Fork and all day marched through a level, silent, desert country. Rations had been cut down twice already, and the men were getting hungry. This day the pace increased and the trail for several miles behind was marked with a fringe of men hobbling along, doing their best but unable to keep up. The train and the guard were miles in the rear, so some of these hungry soldiers tried to shoot prairie-dogs, though against strict orders. One of these stray shots struck and killed William Gruber, chief bugler of the Nineteenth, who had been unable to keep up. The body was brought in by the guards, and just before "taps" that night was wrapped in his blanket and buried in the sand. Since then I have never heard "taps," whether bugle, piano or the human voice, without seeing that desolate grave in the Texas sand. The shots over the grave awakened derisive yelps from coyotes, and I was aroused some time in the night by the snarls of quarreling wolves in the direction of the grave. A trail of the runaway and defiant Cheyennes had been struck that day, and though over a month old Mahawissa knew where they were going, and asserted that they honestly believed no soldiers could cross these desert wastes. This was confirmed by the broad trail they left behind.

March 7, when the command began its weary march, it was less by many men. From the Nineteenth nearly 300 had been taken. These were the footsore, those crippled by the four days' march, and the barefoot, of which there were many. These reported to Captain Bell, of the Seventh, who, with about 450 men and a large part of the train, including all the camp-equipage and stores, aside from subsistence and ammunition, turned to the right and made straight for Major Inman's camp on the Washita.

After leaving this camp at Gypsum creek, Custer literally "camped on the trail" of the Cheyennes. This turned slightly to the north until the Salt Fork was again reached, which it followed from that on. Here the scanty rations remaining were again cut in half, which, though preventing absolute starvation, was the same as no food at all. The silent march went grimly on. The level country was now so desolate and dreary that the prairie-dog was its only inhabitant. Not a bird was in the air—not even a raven. Rattlesnakes and gray scorpions avoided it scornfully. It was a vast stretch of desolation. About four blades of coarse grass grew to a square yard and between them the dry sand crawled tirelessly back and forth with the wind.

The pace was now that of the forced march of light cavalry. From the first dawn till dark, with a few minutes' stop two or three times a day, the march was steady. Always scores of men hobbled in the rear, staggering into camp during the night only to limp off with the others at early dawn. The mules were starving, but, having been in fairly good flesh at the start, they kept their feet pretty well till the 10th. As long as one could be got into the next camp its life was sacred—none might touch its tempting quar-

ters. On the 10th, coffee and sugar, met at rare intervals hitherto, disappeared from society. Tobacco was a dream. On the 12th the worst calamity of all befell—the salt gave out. Day and night it was bitter cold. A piercing wind penetrated the threadbare and ragged clothing, while an increasing number became barefooted daily. The short sleep at night was broken by cold.

At last the mules began to fall. Every morning, when it became evident that rest had not restored an animal, its throat was cut and it was used for food, while the remaining mules were "doubled" into complete teams, and the extra wagons and all belonging to them were burned. At first awakening the fatigue, soreness and cold of the night made it seem impossible to move. As there was no breakfast to cook, the command moved out at once. Everybody limped and staggered along the first mile, after which they warmed up, their legs got limber, and they fell into the long, swinging stride of infantry, forgetting their sore feet and legs in the more noisy clamor of their stomachs. At this time some complained that the front lining of their stomachs was chewing the rear lining. George Davidson, the veterinarian, said one morning, "I just now saw a strapping young fellow crying like a baby. I inquired, 'What's the matter?' 'Civil war,' says he. 'What's that?' says I. 'In my insides,' says he. 'Yesterday I sent down a piece of mule. It was a stranger an' ever' organ inside leaped on it an' tore it to pieces. Now they're all fighting because one got more'n the rest, an' it hurts my feelin's.' 'Aw,' says I, 'brace up an' quit cryin'—be a man.' 'I will,' says he, determined like, an' reached down an' pulled up the skin of his belly to wipe his eyes, an' when he did I seen where it was all wore into holes rubbin' against his back-bone."

In his string of service horses, Senior Major (afterwards lieutenant-colonel) William C. Jones,¹⁵ of Iola, a fine officer, had a racer, Old Lightning, which he had brought along with the generous view of augmenting the regimental amusements, and doubtless with the thought of relieving the heathen of other commands and places of their superfluous shinplasters. Old Lightning now placed Jones in strong pickle, for he couldn't afford to lose the horse, and had no way to separate him from the fate of the starving mules. He was surely sincere in his efforts to bring the horse through alive. The rest of his horses had gone to the land of spirit steeds, so Jones devoted his energies to Lightning so assiduously that the men who knew not Jones were puzzled. It was at last decided that the major was afraid to trust the treasured equine to an orderly for fear the latter would be overcome with curiosity to see if there was not a trace of meat on the too openly

NOTE 15.—WM. CLARK JONES was born in Broadhead, Racine county, Wisconsin, August 11, 1840, and moved to Kansas in June, 1859, settling at Cofachique, in Allen county. On the breaking out of the war he enlisted, July 24, 1861, and was commissioned first lieutenant of company F, Third Kansas volunteer infantry, under command of Col. James Montgomery. When the Third and Fourth Kansas infantry were consolidated into the Tenth Kansas, he was promoted to captain of company I, on July 23, 1862, and promoted major April 25, 1865, but was not mustered for reason that the regiment was reduced at the storming of Fort Blakely, Alabama, below the minimum for which a major could be mustered. He was mustered out with the regiment August 30, 1865. He was appointed major of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry volunteers October 26, 1868, and lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment March 8, 1869; and major and aide-de-camp to Gov. James M. Harvey, February, 1869. He fought with his regiment in every engagement from the time he was mustered in to the end of the war, and in several battles he was in command of the regiment. With the Nineteenth Kansas he made a winter campaign against the Indians in the extreme western part of the Indian Territory and Texas. He was warden of the Kansas State Penitentiary from 1883 to 1885, and was United States marshal for Kansas, 1886 to 1890. He was married at Iola, Kan., October 24, 1871, to Miss Mary Etta Davis, to whom were born five children—four sons and a daughter. Two sons died in infancy; his wife, daughter and two sons survive him. He died at Iola, September 24, 1895, from injuries caused in a runaway accident.

exposed framework of the racer. It was feared that Jones's own hunger had made him suspicious.

Jefferson Cohee, of Topeka, had been one of A troop's cooks, and had hidden away a little salt, to which he clung like sin to a swollen fortune. Selecting the fattest piece of mule he could find, Cohee wrapped it, well salted, in mud, and sat up all night to bake it. With a warning for secrecy, he gave a haversack containing the undivided half of this to Captain Pliley and myself. It was a life preserver and one or the other wore that haversack all day and night. Seeing Major Jones and Lightning sauntering along together at the right of the column, looking so destitute and friendless, it was decided to divide with them. Jones and Pliley got into a wagon, fastened the curtains down, and made the transfer in whispers. It was reputed to be "beef," and the major seized it as does a squirrel a nut, with both hands, tearing it and swallowing the last morsel. Licking his fingers he said: "Yes; but that's not beef, and Lightning's never eaten anything 'common or unclean.'"

Day after day the rapidly perishing mules left much property to destroy. By the 16th only a few wagons remained. Men bivouacked where the column halted. The meat was held in the fire in absence of cooking utensils, and afterwards eaten, burned outside and raw inside. In a few minutes the smell of burning meat was all over camp. Ever since this odor—even the chance smell of a broiling steak, makes me ill. As soon as it was light, sometimes before, the march was resumed in much the same order as before. The route was westward, right up the Salt Fork. Approaching its head waters we entered a "chico" country. Near streams and on hillsides the mesquite grew, but on the uplands the scant grass of the Red plains still held sway.

Here the trail turned sharply to the north and followed along the base of the famous table-land, "El Llaño Estecado" of the early Spaniards and "The Staked Plain" of the American soldier and freighter. At the angle of the trail we were about twenty or twenty-five miles from the Texas-New Mexico line. Many streams of good water flowed out of the great plateau. On the 18th of March an accidental development was seized on by the line officers and men and treated as a joke. The weather was so cold, the marching so severe, and the mules were dying so rapidly, that laughing had somehow lapsed recently. This event, though an accidental discharge, was fired off so like a gigantic siege-gun that it tickled the men immensely, and after a general laugh everybody felt better. For ten days the rations issued were so rare and ethereal that ninety per cent. of the men had long since ceased to look for them and had placed their affections solely on the mule. Thus they were not exasperated by a thimbleful of anything. Gradually they ceased to remember that there were rations. There being no officers' stores, the officers shared with the men and all lived alike. On this date, therefore, when it was announced that the rations were exhausted—as if it made a particle of difference—after seeking to keep it secret, too, it raised shouts of laughter. It certainly was like shooting at a mosquito with a heavy cannon. These five days' rations had lasted through seventeen days of hard marching, which might have been worse.

On the 17th another event had had a decided effect on the column. In the forenoon a fresh trail was discovered—of a few lodges only—which came

n from the North Fork of Red river and joined the big trail we had been following for nearly two weeks. Later the same day camp-fires were discovered with live coals in them. Though marching for twelve days at the limit of endurance, after this the column pushed on practically without rest. We had now left the "chico" country and were again on the Red plains headed northeast. All brightened up. "Somebody has left a valuable package on our doorstep," is the way private Marmaduke Lazelle expressed the general rejoicing. There was to be soon a settling of old scores.

The night of the 19th I fell asleep from fatigue where I halted, with my boots on and without covers. Next morning my feet were badly frosted, and marching was doubly painful. About two P. M., March 20, while silently marching on over the level plain in what is now Wheeler county, Texas, a bunch of Indian horses was discovered in our right advance, not over a mile away. At the same moment Indians were seen running toward them right across our front. Colonel Moore led the column, and, leaving the ponies and running bucks severely alone, turned toward a low hill or mound from which they had emerged. The pace was so increased that the rear of the column was constantly on the double-quick. The regiment was apparently approaching a watercourse, and this chain of slight eminences indicated the bluff just beyond which the village was located, out of sight from the plain.

The order was now given, "On left front into line," and was executed with such promptness and vigor that the troops on the left came into position on the dead run. There, almost at the feet of the Nineteenth, were teepees representing from 1200 to 1500 Cheyennes.

As the thought of cold and hunger, of the hardships of the winter, passed before these men, and the ample causes they had for reprisals on these enemies, there was one picture that loomed before all else and eclipsed all else in the heart of every man in that long, ragged, faded line from Kansas; the picture of a young mother lying dead on an army blanket, and in her arms a pretty little boy but two years old; the blue spot in the forehead of the one and the crushed head of the other telling how they died at the hands of the people in yonder camp—butchered out of malice that was more than devilish. Widowed first, then tortured for months, suffering every horror, and then killed with the cheers of her own people in her ears. Every officer and man thought of that picture as they saw it in the deep snows of the Washita. "Now is the time and this is the place!" They could hardly believe their good luck.

As the men gripped their repeating carbines and saw that each had a cartridge in the barrel and seven others in the magazine, an officer came from Custer with the order to Colonel Moore: "Don't fire on those Indians." The men, stupid with wonder, hardly realized what it meant, before another aide brought Moore the orders for his position. The Nineteenth was marched into the valley at the upper end of the village and halted in column of troops to "rest in place." The men of the Nineteenth, not knowing the reason for this, and fearing their general had been tricked, as had so often been the case, were angry. Neither Custer nor Moore ever knew what a critical time it was for about ten minutes. It looked, at one time, like they could not be restrained. The line officers argued, begged and cursed. The accidental discharge of a carbine, or the shout of a reckless soldier, would have precipitated a killing that could not have been stopped, and would have entailed consequences impossible to estimate. Nothing was known along the

line of captive white women, and at general headquarters nothing but what Mahwissa had told them. This, however, was seized as a diplomatic potion and administered to the men, who knew that if those young women were in that camp the first shot would be their death signal.

The Nineteenth was at the upper end of the town and the Seventh at the lower, every soldier silently clinging to his arms. Having learned all the secrets of the tribe from the captive squaws, Custer had the upper hand. He was soon in the village with Romeo to interpret, the principal warriors around him. He listened diplomatically to their falsehoods till he could discover their real chiefs and fix their respective identities, meantime sending word to the officers of both regiments to arm themselves well and walk down unconcernedly as if to hear the powwow. About a dozen or fifteen from the Nineteenth and a like number from the Seventh strolled down, and as soon as the general saw them crowding around him he suddenly stood up and said: "Arrest those men!" They struggled, but struggled in vain. In a minute or two armed guards were over them.

Then ensued a dramatic scene. Warriors swarmed like angry bees! On their bony ponies hundreds of them raced around their village and the two regiments in the most threatening manner. Around and around they galloped, brandishing their fine rifles, screaming with rage and baffled hate. Though taken by surprise they were now already dressed for battle. Their gorgeous war-bonnets, brilliant battle pennants, new, long-fringed leggings (stolen from some freighter's wagon, doubtless), were all in sharp contrast to their sheet-iron colored skin, for, cold as it was, few wore blankets. It seemed that they were in such a frenzy of hatred that they must throw themselves in sheer insane fury on "Yellow Hair" and his officers. But there was something ominous in the perfect silence of



GENERAL GEORGE A. CUSTER.

the motionless soldiers, their clothes faded and ragged, their faces almost black from camp-fire and storm, their eyes deep-sunken, their teeth protruding, and their fleshless cheeks like lines of skeletons. More impressive still to the superstitious Indian was the fact that these soldiers had crossed what the Indians all regarded as an impassable desert—had crossed it without horses, tents or food, and, suddenly, in daylight, swooped down on them, captured their village and made their chiefs prisoners.

The council went right on, but "Yellow Hair," who had only listened before, now "made talk" himself. He told the chiefs that he wanted the two captives, alive and unharmed. He coolly ignored their protestations that they had not even heard of white squaws among the tribes. He greatly disconcerted them by talking and acting as if they had not spoken, whenever

they lied. As their statements had all been false, except in minor matters, they now began to tell the truth. In the face of the recent denials, they now admitted that two women were held by their tribe, but said the captives were at a camp fifteen miles down the river (the Sweetwater). Custer told them to pack up at once and move down to that camp and he would come the next day and get the women. In an hour the last warrior galloped away to overtake the squaws and pack-ponies. The chiefs seized as hostages were Dull Knife, Medicine Arrow, Fat Bear and Big Head.

That night hunger and cold were self-invited guests. In addition, suspense was there—a new visitor. Next morning, the 21st, the column was early in motion. The Indian trail was broad the first five miles, then, as expected, began to fade away until, in another five miles, there was no trail at all. The Indians secretly laughed at Custer for letting them out of the trap so easily. “Yellow Hair big fool like all white men—believe Indian—never learn!” But Custer had been with Hancock when this same trick was played, and was prepared. At the end of ten miles was a camping-place, but it had not been used since the year before. The chiefs were then taken to a cottonwood tree, and Dull Knife was drawn up with a rope around his neck till his toes barely touched the ground. In that position Custer told the three that he would not stand their tricks; that they must produce the women next day an hour before sundown, or all three should be hanged till they were dead. Word was sent to the tribe, and thus matters rested during the night of the 21st. Again cold and hunger controlled camp.

On the 22d a number of warriors visited camp early, but none after eight A. M. Preparations for the hanging went on and it was evident that the chiefs were getting anxious. That afternoon, as the arrangements for the execution were all complete and the sun was dipping low, word came from the hilltops that the watchers there saw something unusual going on. A solitary Indian appeared on a distant hill and halted long enough to beckon some unseen person forward, and then rode to a hill nearer and repeated the signal. A second figure came in sight and beckoned as did the first and the third figure appeared, until quite a little chain of bucks was in sight. Then a group of a dozen appeared in the distance, among them two persons on one horse. These proved to be the women. The Indians all stopped on top of a low bluff overlooking the valley, where they were met by Romeo. The women both dropped to the ground and the interpreter told them to go on toward headquarters, which he pointed out to them.

General Custer requested Colonel Moore to go forward and receive them as the representative of Kansas. He did so, and was accompanied by Majors Jones and Jenkins. The officers met them at the foot of the hill as the two came slowly down, clinging to each other as if about to be separated by force. Here was a drama rarely excelled in tragic interest in American history. It was in plain view of over 1000 men, among whom was one citizen, brother of one of the women, who was temporarily under guard to prevent him spoiling the only chance to save his sister by insanely killing Indians out of revenge for her sufferings. Moore has placed on record what was said, as the distance was too great for the breathless spectators to hear (see vol. 6, page 46). The older, when asked if she was Mrs. Morgan, replied in the affirmative, and said her companion was Miss White. Her next words were, “Are we free now?” On being told that they were, she said: “Where’s my husband?” The colonel explained that Mr. Morgan was at Fort Hays,

not yet recovered from the wounds received at the time she was taken the previous summer. She asked next: "Where is my brother?" She was informed that he was with the column, but was not told that he was under arrest for her sake and his own. Miss White asked no questions. She had seen her people all killed at the time she was carried away.¹⁶

They were now conducted across the bottom to where Custer was awaiting them. Their dresses were made of flour sacks and they wore leggings and moccasins. As the fact of their scanty clothing became apparent officers hurriedly threw off their great coats and the girls were quickly wrapped in the two nearest. As they approached the general, still clinging together in a dazed, bewildered manner, the band of the Seventh played a suitable air, which was changed softly to "Home, Sweet Home," as they arrived at headquarters, received by General Custer and surrounded by the officers and men of both regiments. This was repeated a little later as the rescued women looked on with interest at the retreat guard-mount, dressed in more suitable clothing supplied by General Custer's cook, a white woman. Chance had placed a lot of calico, needles and thread with the command, and with these they soon came out in attire more feminine than the folds of the coats, in which they were almost lost. Custer had brought along a single "A" tent to cover necessary records. This was given to the girls for their home, and they could have had for the asking anything in the command to be had.

Mrs. Morgan was about twenty-five years old and Miss White seventeen, and yet their bodies bore the marks of more hard and cruel usage than a century of ordinary hardship entails. Heavy burdens had been carried on their bare shoulders till the skin was as hard and callous as the palm of a laborer's hand. The jealous squaws, with their barbaric rawhides, had covered their backs with scars. Some of the more recent lashing left unhealed gashes as wide as a man's finger. At first they had been sold back and forth among the bucks for fifteen ponies each, but their last owners only paid two. For five or six months these tender plants of the American home had borne distress, homesickness, grief, abuse, cold, hunger and loss of hope, and still lived.

Maj. Henry Inman, with a large train and heavy escort, had established a supplementary supply depot on the Washita near Custer's battle-field of November, in order to be in reach of the field column at the earliest possible moment. When the latter left Fort Sill, March 2, with only five days' supplies, it was not regarded as possible that it could remain out later than the 12th. Inman was already becoming anxious when, on the 14th, Captain Bell, of the Seventh, arrived with most of the train and 400 foot-sore and barefooted men from Gypsum creek, all nearly starved. As the days dragged on anxiety turned to fear. The absence of all news was reported to the War Department on the 18th, by way of Fort Hays, and on the 22d an eastern newspaper published the letter of a correspondent giving as a probable, if not necessary fact, that the whole column had perished in the unknown wastes of north Texas. Every day added to the anxiety in official circles,

NOTE 16.—Mr. Hadley's story of the rescue of Mrs. Morgan and Miss White is in the main the same as that told by General Custer in the *Galaxy*, vols. 17 and 18. The harsher features may have been omitted by the general because of the criticism likely to follow. Things had come to such a pass between the Indians and ourselves, that harsh measures seemed necessary to secure a peace first broken by the whites.

and by the 24th the most hopeful began to fear that the long silence could only mean a great calamity.

The morning of March 23 the column started for Inman's camp. There was no time to lose, for the horses and mules were nearly gone and the men growing weaker. That night for a few hours the column bivouacked in its tracks. The march began at two A. M. of the 24th. As men staggered along in the dark talk was scarce. About the only words heard were the frequent low-voiced orders along the column: "Close up, men! close up!" Nothing but the grim discipline of necessity was now required. At daylight there was no halt. At 2:30 P. M. of the 24th the column halted on the open plain; no water in sight, and every man off duty fell to the ground. Mule meat was now a rare article. I now suffered anguish at every step from my frozen feet. The marching aggravated the burns, and Doctor Bailey had little to work with. I had not slept, from this cause, for two nights. During the march from 2 A. M. to 2:30 P. M. we had covered thirty-six miles. While lying here a few horsemen were discovered hovering in the distance, evidently regarding us with curiosity and suspicion. After many attempts they were finally tolled within hailing distance, and proved to be scouts left back at Supply in December, wounded or partly frozen. They were from Inman's camp that morning on a trip to the Salt plains buffalo hunting. It was about forty miles to the camp from here. General Custer mounted a messenger on one of these horses for a rapid ride to Inman, ordering a rescue train sent at once to his relief with some empty wagons for the men who could march no further, of which there were many.

Though General Custer himself and the entire Seventh would wait for relief, he left Colonel Moore free to decide whether his regiment could bear further marching or not. Moore knew that it could not, but offered troop commanders permission to go separately if their men were able. It was now four P. M., and in ten minutes the irrepressible men of troop A were "falling in" for the march. I happened to be lying a few feet in front of the right center, my feet screaming with pain, and while they counted fours Lieutenant Wilson asked what I was going to do. On my replying that I would lay in that spot till I died or was lifted into a rescue wagon, a number of the men cried out: "That won't do! Where troop A goes, you go too! A troop's going in to-night, and so are you, if we have to carry you every step of the way!" I finally staggered to my feet, and all night and till noon next day those worn and starving but generous and loyal men took turns in helping me along the weary trail.

All that moonless night Captain Pliley led his troop over that black and desolate plain, the polar star for his compass. At daylight the troop struck the Washita river about eighteen miles above Inman's camp. The river was frozen over except a narrow strip in the center. This ice was broken with poles and the men bathed their swollen and inflamed feet in ice-water. Of the troop, now reduced to sixty, twenty-six were without boots. All such had their feet wrapped in blouses, shirts and blankets torn up for that purpose—for the feet must be covered, whatever the man suffered otherwise. The halt was short. About eleven A. M. we marched across Custer's late battle-field, and at the bend below Black Kettle's village site forded the river waist deep, the ice being broken by poles.

About noon, rounding a point of timber, a sentinel was encountered, and in the river bend beyond were the tents, horses, wagons, mules and men

of a big camp. In the eyes of the pilgrims that sentinel, personally, was a monstrosity. His body appeared to be swollen, his cheeks were puffed, his eyes bulged, his face was white, his lips were large, loose and covered his teeth altogether, while his clothes were a gaudy blue. He had a sickly, bloated and dropsical look generally. I was astonished to see that all the men at Inman's camp had the same peculiarities, and it was some time before I understood that this was the normal man. We did n't realize that it was our appearance that had changed. It had come about gradually, and as all were alike there was no contrast to attract attention. When we turned the left of the first line of tents and saw the bright mess-fires with clean cooking utensils at the side, hard-bread boxes partly filled, and sides of raw bacon banking them around, the ranks were broken without ceremony, and officers and men without a word began to eat hard bread and raw bacon.

Inman's men stood gaping in silent astonishment while their rations were consumed. Among those looking on were at least thirty men of this troop, some of whom had left it only nineteen days before at Gypsum creek, Texas, but not one recognized a face among us—not even their captain's and first sergeant's. They supposed it was a party of starving Mexicans, wrecked somewhere on the plains. As the clothing was black and brown and hanging in rags and tatters it was little wonder. Though Custer's messenger had arrived in the night and a relief train was already gone, none looked for any part of the command to make the march. I was suffering with fever due to my frosted feet, and was delirious much of the first twenty-four hours in camp, so remember little that occurred there. Another troop of the Nineteenth marched in, about six hours after Pliley's, but I do not know whose.

This ended the forced marching of the Nineteenth Kansas and the Seventh cavalry. On the 27th the rear-guard arrived, and with it the last member of the famous expedition. The command had lived nearly a month on five days' rations and had accomplished all its objects, recovering the captives without ransom, and bringing away Dull Knife, Fat Bear and Big Head to be held as thumb-screws on the treacherous Cheyennes. It had marched twenty-two miles for every day out, the weather always freezing, without tents, cooking utensils, beds or salt—its sole subsistence two-thirds of that time mules that had starved to death.

Camp Supply was reached by easy marches, and there both regiments picked up the last of the men detached the previous December. One member of troop A had died at Supply. Joseph Larama, a half-breed Pottawatomie, had broken down under the hardships and exposure of the overland march from Topeka and soon died.

Though two-thirds of both regiments had but just returned from a 445-mile march, when the column moved out from Camp Supply on its 200-mile march to the railroad the Nineteenth was cheering and whooping as if going to a picnic. The column forded the Arkansas at Fort Dodge, and headed straight for Fort Hays. Two years before, when the Eighteenth Kansas marched up and down, to and fro, in this part of the country, it was a trackless waste between the two forts. Now the column marched all the way over a smooth, well-traveled wagon road.

April 10, a week out from Supply, the Nineteenth went into camp on Big creek, just below the Fort and a quarter of a mile below the town, and opposite. Here at once began the work of making out the necessary rolls,

officers' reports, invoices and receipts, and all the business incidental to turning in military property and getting the six months' pay due to officers and men.

At last, on the 18th day of April, 1869, the Nineteenth Kansas passed into history. Few regiments of such short life have had so conspicuous a part in such decisive movements. Though no bloody battles were fought, the two short campaigns conquered the five wild tribes of the southern plains. The Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches and the plains Apaches were forever pledged to peace. The homes of Kansas, Nebraska, Texas, Colorado and the Indian Territory were for the first time made as safe as those in Ohio or Indiana. For nearly forty years these Indians have been free to learn the ways of peace, and the strides they have made in that period seem almost incredible to an old soldier who knew them both before and during that terrible winter.

Lieutenant-general Sheridan, in discussing this winter's work privately four years later, said that for the difficulties surrounding it, and for the hardships and suffering involved, there was no parallel in the history of our army. Montgomery's advance through the northern wilderness on Québec, and Arnold's later retreat in winter, were in a sheltered country with plenty of fuel and abounding with game. He mentioned several of the worst cases in history and compared them with Custer's march in the desert, to show that in all the other cases there were natural resources that would have been luxuries to the Seventh and Nineteenth regiments. He said also that by means of this "tremendous drubbing" the Indians would settle down and in half a century become self-sustaining, and in less than a century would become Christian citizens. Sheridan's dream is realized in less than forty years.

In spite of these hardships and sufferings the mortality record of the Nineteenth is surprisingly small. Out of 50 officers and 1300 men, but four men died of disease, the result of hunger and cold. One was killed and one seriously wounded on duty, and one killed by accident. The troops of Pliley and Lender (A and G), had not a single deserter, and in all the regiment, in spite of their sufferings and privations, there were but ninety deserters. Kansas has no reason to be ashamed of her Nineteenth cavalry, and the work it left for succeeding generations to enjoy.

VI.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

THE WAKARUSA WAR.

A paper written by MRS. SARA T. D. ROBINSON and read by Mrs. Hill P. Wilson before the State Federation of Women's Clubs, May 17, 1905.

WE now know that when the Kansas-Nebraska act was passed it was the purpose of its leading supporters to make of Kansas a slave state, and that Missouri, by the methods subsequently adopted, should accomplish it, with the aid and sympathy of the administration, then controlled by the slave power. That provision of the act which gave to the people of the territory the power to decide whether it should be slave or free invited and forced a contest between the friends of freedom and the friends of slavery for the possession of the territory.

Societies and companies to organize emigration and give to it aid, comfort, convenience and cheapness were organized in the North. The New England Emigrant Aid Company, whose leading spirit was Eli Thayer, was chief among these organizations.

Missourians, with characteristic barbarity, offered a reward for the head of Eli Thayer, threatened to welcome his emigrants with the bowie-knife and revolver and to eject all persons coming to Kansas, by the agency of northern aid societies, from the territory. Nevertheless, in August, 1854, a party sent out by Thayer's company settled and named the town of Lawrence. From that time until the freedom of the territory was assured it was the nursery of the free-state cause, the originator of its policy and of means to sustain and defend it. The hostility of the pro-slavery party to it, its threats against it, and the often expressed belief that its destruction would give victory to slavery, testified to the devotion of its people to freedom and of what importance the place was in the struggle.

The territorial legislature elected by the invading hundreds of Missourians on the 30th of March, 1855, met and enacted in bulk the statutes of Missouri as the laws of Kansas, passed a slave code and laws to prolong the rule of Missouri, and, by requiring offensive test oaths, deprived free-state men from holding office, from juries, and from voting. Two of the judges of the territory, appointees of the President, volunteered an extrajudicial opinion that these laws were valid. Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, who had been appointed as governor by the President, in place of Governor Reeder, said, in an address to the people of Kansas City, Mo., soon after his arrival: "Your laws shall be enforced, and I understand your judges have declared them legal."

The course of events in Kansas up to that time shows that the provision of the Kansas-Nebraska act giving to the people of the territory the right to

regulate their institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States, was construed by those in power to mean that Missouri should regulate the institutions of Kansas as it pleased, subject to the consent of the President. Against this lawless invasion of their rights the members of the free-state party protested, as American citizens should, and declared that they owed no allegiance to laws thus forced upon them, and asked Congress to set them aside, or supersede them by the admission of Kansas into the Union as a state, under a constitution already prepared.

The slave power, unwilling to yield the advantage it had gained by the election of March, 1855, and the recognition of the laws as valid by the President, proposed to enforce, and suppress opposition to, them. Lawrence was the place selected for the first effort in that direction.

On the 21st of November, 1855, F. M. Coleman, a pro-slavery man, shot and killed C. W. Dow, a free-state man. Dow was unarmed and passing by Coleman's house on his way to Jacob Branson's, with whom he lived, when Coleman came out and shot him.

On the night of November 26 sheriff Jones and a party burst open the door of Branson's cabin, found Branson in bed, and, with revolvers in hand, arrested him on a peace warrant sworn out by H. H. Buckley, who, with one Hargous, was, according to evidence before the congressional committee, an accomplice in the murder of Dow.

While Jones with his prisoner and posse were on their way to Franklin and approaching Major Abbott's house some free-state men came out and faced them. The posse halted. Branson, being requested to ride over to the free-state men, did so. Jones, after threatening to bring 1500 men within ten days to retake him, rode away to Franklin, where he sent a message to Colonel Boone, of Westport, Mo., for men, and then, at some person's suggestion, a message to the governor, at Shawnee Mission.

The rescuing party, with Branson, went to Lawrence, calling up Doctor Robinson on the way, who advised calling a meeting, as it might be made a pretext for destroying the town.

People to-day cannot imagine or realize how law and the rights of men seemed to be, and were, inverted in those days. There were constitutional rights belonging to the settlers in Kansas, and rights under the organic act; but Missouri had captured the machinery of their government and was striving to use it so as to make them appear traitors while they were loyal to those instruments, and the President was sustaining Missouri in its usurpation.

Sheriff Samuel J. Jones was a resident of Westport, Mo. He had made himself conspicuous as a ruffian at the Bloomington precinct, in Douglas county, at the election of March 30, 1855. There he, in border style, had drawn his revolver and his watch, and said to the judges of election he would give them five minutes to resign, and when that time expired and they had not wavered, he extended the time one-half minute more. He had also been engaged with others in burning the cabins of free-state men. He said he had the murderer Coleman in his custody; but he allowed him liberty to go and come as he pleased, accepted his statements as to the murder as true, and never caused investigation to be made in regard to it. His spectacular descent on old Mr. Branson's cabin at night, with his armed posse, was to arrest him on a complaint he knew to be false, and done only to aggravate and persecute.

Governor Reeder, by giving certificates to the persons elected on the 30th of March, had given such judges as the President had appointed in Kansas an excuse for saying that it was in fact the legislature of Kansas; that the laws were valid and the supreme court that announced the Dred Scott decision would no doubt ratify that opinion. *Bona fide* citizens of Kansas could not fight for the rights given them by the constitution without being liable to the charge of treason against it.

All these and other grave questions the people of Lawrence considered at their meeting on the morning of November 27, 1855. They chose a committee of safety, of which Doctor Robinson was made chairman, to represent and guide them in the difficulties that might beset them. General Lane, who was on the committee, was authorized to form the men into companies and command them.

Whatever Jones might be willing to do, it was believed that Governor Shannon, as Doctor Robinson said in an address, would not dare to allow Lawrence to be attacked without some pretext that would justify it, knowing as he did that the world was looking on and would hold him responsible. To harbor the rescuers and invite their attempted arrest there and then, by the posse, might give the pretext; so the rescuers and rescued went elsewhere. This served to make the issue between Lawrence and Governor Shannon depend, to justify an attack by his force, on whether he had the right to shoot its people for what other people had done and of which Lawrence knew nothing until after it was done.

Governor Shannon feared the men were getting beyond his control, and he sent for Colonel Sumner, at Fort Leavenworth. He did not come, even at his second appeal, having no orders to act from the President. Governor Shannon came to Lawrence and made an agreement with her people which resulted in the dismissal of "his posse." He had good reason to fear they would not go home peaceably, and to save us from continued trouble he signed the following paper:

"To Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane:

"You are hereby authorized and directed to take such measures and use the enrolled forces under your command in such manner, for the preservation of the peace and the protection of the persons and property of the people of Lawrence and vicinity, as in your judgment shall best secure that end.

(Signed) WILSON SHANNON.

"LAWRENCE, December 9, 1855."

This was the first attempt to enforce the laws, and it was made against Lawrence because it was the parent of opposition to them. The free-state party gained strength and sympathy in the country, while its opponents were weakened. Hostility to the laws and those who sought to enforce them, became more bitter. From the time of their enactment until the free-state men secured the territorial legislature they were a dead letter, and outside the federal offices the territorial government had hardly a loyal subject.

There are some incidents connected with the Wakarusa war which were of interest in the passing, and they may not lack interest now.

NOVEMBER 27, Tuesday morning. It was four o'clock in the morning when the hurried tramp of a swift rider awakened me. A loud knock upon the door soon followed. Recognizing the voice under the window, Doctor Robinson asked, "What's wanted?" S. C. Smith replied, "Sheriff Jones,

with a party of Missourians, has taken from his home a Mr. Branson. He has been rescued by a party of free-state men, and they are now on their way here. Runners have gone to Missouri, and there will be a battle fought this morning." The simple question asked was, "Where?" and the brief reply, "Down here on the plain," was but a trifle startling.

Hardly had Mr. Smith rode away before we heard the sound of the drum and the quick words of the captain of the little band of rescuers as they came upon the brow of the hill south of us. Scarcely had a fire been built before the simple word "Halt!" in a tone of command, was spoken, and a line in front of the house quickly formed. The slight form of the leader stood a little nearer the door, and when his peculiarly dry manner of speech fell upon the ear in his brief inquiry, "Is Doctor Robinson in?" S. N. Wood's identity was known. Doctor Robinson opened the door and invited them in. The fact of the rescue was stated, and Mr. Branson was asked to step forward and tell his story, which he did with true feeling.

I shall never forget the appearance of the men in simple citizen's dress, some armed and some unarmed, standing in unbroken line, just visible in the breaking light of a November morning. This little band of less than twenty men had, through the cold and upon the frozen ground, walked ten miles since nine o'clock of the previous evening.

Mr. Branson, a large man of fine proportions, stood a little forward of the line, with his head slightly bent, which an old straw hat hardly protected from the cold, looking as though in his hurry of departure from home in the charge of the ruffianly men he took whatever came first.

The drum beat again, and the rescuers and the rescued passed down to Lawrence. After saying to Emily she had better take another nap, that she might be prepared for any emergency, I again fell asleep, leaving my husband thinking over the matter as he sat by the parlor stove. I waked when the sun was rising and the coyotes screaming in the valley. The first thought was the Missourians had come. Early on the morning of the 27th the drum-beat calling the citizens together was heard in the little town of Lawrence. Doctor Robinson saw at once that it would not do for Lawrence to take any action in regard to the rescue or harbor and defend the rescuers against the force called out by Governor Shannon. To do so would give pretext for an attack which the President and his party would sustain, and all free-state men engaged in the fight would be liable to arrest for treason. By avoiding that issue Doctor Robinson believed Governor Shannon would not dare permit an attack and the cause would gain a great and bloodless victory. History shows this belief to have been right. Mr. Branson said at the meeting he had been requested to leave Lawrence that no semblance of an excuse could be given to the enemy for an attack upon the town. With tears stealing down his weather-beaten cheeks, he said that he would go home and die there and be buried by the side of his friend. This statement touched the hearts of the men, who felt they too might soon be battling for their own hearthstones, and cries of "No! No!" resounded through the still room.

G. P. Lowry then proposed a committee of ten should be appointed to advise for the common defense. Mr. Lowry's remarks met with a warm response. Mr. Conway said, "We must have a care to take every step properly. We must move with prudence, and, having settled upon the true

course, maintain it fearlessly." S. N. Wood did not hesitate to say he was in the rescue of the night before; he knew the importance of the step. He was unable to express his feelings when the clicking of the gunlocks sounded, telling the hour had come for a deadly conflict. He was equally unable to do so when, without firing one shot, these men who had boasted so much gave up the prisoner, declining to fight a number less than their own and with fewer arms.

NOVEMBER 28. A beautiful morning dawned upon us. Our people, having decided upon their course of action, are again at their places of business; the warlike aspect of yesterday has given place to the busy, enterprising spirit of the past daily routine, which has characterized our people and made the little city of a year give good promise of its future. There are rumors that a large force is gathering at Franklin, also another at Lecompton, fourteen miles above here. There is a rumor at evening that an attack is threatened from Lecompton. The night is dark. Emily and I are alone. About nine o'clock some gentlemen call for a few minutes, who have been looking around on the hill beyond us, but saw nothing. It was almost eleven o'clock, and no one came from town. Emily fell asleep in her chair. I went out upon the hill alone and listened, but I heard nothing. I nearly dropped to sleep upon the lounge when there was a loud knocking at the door and three young men, Earl, Searle, and Mack, with Sharps rifles and a cheerful "Good evening," entered. They came as a guard, to see that no forces should come in from the Lecompton road. What a happy thought it was that our house should be headquarters. I set out a hasty lunch for them on the dining-room table, a custom I never failed to follow as long as the "war" lasted. I carried in extra candles and blankets, and gladly went upstairs for a little sleep.

The next morning the white flag, the sign of invasion, was run up on our house. It was Thanksgiving day in Massachusetts as well as here. They will think of us as enjoying milder skies and not dream of the dire visitations of the ruffianly horde gathering on our borders and thirsting for our lives. The home circle, now sadly broken in upon by life's changes, the revered head having passed onward through the dark portal, will think of her who in young girlhood made one of the number around the bright hearthstone and having entered upon the responsibilities of life's drama finds her post of duty in this far-away land.

A friend came in at evening and reported quite a camp at Franklin, four miles from us. There never has been such excitement in the border towns. A box of provisions, some shotguns and a jug complete the outfit, and, coming with ox-teams, as many of them do, there must also have been embarked for the journey a good supply of patience.

The following extraordinary document, sent by Secretary Woodson to General Easton, of Leavenworth, has just appeared:

"(Private.)

"DEAR GENERAL: The governor has called out the militia and you will hereby organize your division and proceed forthwith to Lecompton. As the governor has no power, you may call out the Platte Rifle Company. They are always ready to help us. Whatever you do, do not implicate the governor.
DANIEL WOODSON, *Secretary.*"

General Easton was appointed by the Shawnee legislature general of the territorial militia. The following was sent from Westport:

"*Hon. E. C. McClaren, Jefferson City:* "WESTPORT, November 27.

"Governor Shannon has called out the militia against Lawrence. They are now in open rebellion against the laws. Jones is in danger."

DECEMBER 1. Saturday night has come again. Messengers have been sent to the other settlements at different times notifying them of the threatened attack. Last night a friendly band of armed men came in from Ottawa creek. With flag flying, a company of mounted riflemen have come in from Palmyra. The Delawares and Shawnees have offered their services for our defense.

Several gentlemen from Lawrence have been down in the enemy's camp to-day. They found some of the men very communicative. "A good many are on the way." "They are coming to help the governor." One very surprising thing is that the governor has never been into the territory. He was escorted by a company of pro-slavery gentlemen from Kansas City the day he arrived there to Shawnee Mission, four miles from Westport, and there he has been content to remain.

"WESTON, Mo., November 30.

"Four hundred men from Jackson county are now en route for Douglas county, K. T. St. Joseph and Weston are requested to furnish the same number. The people of Kansas are to be subjugated at all hazards."

DECEMBER 2, Sunday. Last evening a public meeting was held, at which many spoke. Doctor Robinson having been called for several times, and having been called from the hall several times, at last said in a plain way that it was time for acting rather than speaking; that Governor Shannon had placed himself in a bad situation. At his bidding these Missourians had come to help him to enforce the laws, but when they come to Lawrence they will find nobody has broken any laws, for the people of Lawrence are a law-abiding people. Their real object was to destroy Lawrence, but it was a question whether they would attempt it without some pretext, and before the American people Shannon would be responsible for their conduct. Fearful of some atrocious act upon the part of his drunken rabble, he has been compelled to remove the most of them to the camps on the Wakarusa. They really were in a predicament, etc. "Men of Lawrence and free-state men, we must have courage," the Doctor said, "but with it we must have prudence. These men have come from Missouri to subjugate the free-state men, to crush the free-state movement—their pretense that outrages have been committed. They are sustained by all the United States authorities here, and, while they do not think it essential that a good cause for fighting be given them, the authorities will wait at least for a plausible excuse before commencing to shed blood. This excuse must not be given them. Each man must be a committee of one to guard the reputation as well as lives of the free-state men. If the Missourians, partly from fear and partly from want of a sufficient pretext, have to go back without striking a blow, it will make them a laughing-stock and redound fearfully against Shannon. This is the last struggle between freedom and slavery, and we must not flatter ourselves that it will be trivial or short. The free-state men must stand shoulder to shoulder with an unbroken front, and stand or fall together in defense of their liberties and homes. These may be dark days, but the

American people and the world will justify us, and the cause of right will eventually triumph." The enthusiasm with which these remarks were received evinced the deep feeling and determined spirit of the meeting.

Emily and I were sitting alone last evening when loud shouts in the distance told of some new arrival. We opened the door and could see nothing but the friendly lights in the humble dwellings on the prairie, but they burned more brightly yet in the hall, and in the hotel, whose upper rooms are used for the committee and council rooms. Though half a mile from town, and a quarter of a mile from neighbors, the lights show that no one will be "caught napping." Even at this late hour we have no fears of danger. We feel sure the shouts are not those of invaders, as *their* yells are most unearthly. Again in the distance we hear the cheerful sound go up to heaven and reecho among the hills. We know instinctively that it is the spontaneous burst of welcome to some new relief company.

The guard came up ere long. To our query, "What news?" they replied, "The Bloomington boys are in." "We've had a grand meeting." "We are going to protect ourselves." Last night one picket-guard was fired upon. Two of our guards were sitting together, when a party of Missourians approached and fired six shots at them. Our men had strict orders not to fire unless the emergency was desperate, and so bore the insult with remarkable prudence and obeyed orders. Our people are acting strictly on the defensive, and these provocations are continually offered us to provoke a collision. They are endeavoring to draw them from the position which all the world will justify, that they may have a pretext for the destruction of Lawrence, which is really the whole cause of the invasion.

A clergyman, Mr. Burgess, was with us last night. With the few who came with him to Lawrence he was attending a meeting some miles from home, but hearing that Lawrence was in imminent peril, without going to his home or being sure that the word he sent his family would reach them, he put spurs to his horse and came to our relief. He has been a resident of Missouri for twenty-seven years; knows well their cruel and desperate character. Another clergyman, from Vermont, with others, came in this morning to breakfast. So the time has come again when men whose vocation is to preach the word of truth, and to battle heroically in fierce struggles with error, have girded on another sword than that of the spirit; and if the victory is to be won by sharp fighting, while they "pray and watch," they work too; the working evincing the spirit of the prayer.

Another event happened last night, which occasioned uneasiness, viz., the appearance of McCrea, an escaped prisoner, in Lawrence. His presence, were it known to the enemy, would be a new source of difficulty and at once cause an outbreak. Few of the citizens knew he was here, and he is already on his way to a land of safety.

A friend, Col. William A. Phillips, has sat here all day, quietly writing for the eastern press. He has brought back "notes of travel" from the border ruffian camp. As he tells of his adventures, with a slight brogue and a quick, rapid utterance, enlivened by his sense of the ridiculous, we can easily imagine ourselves surrounded by Governor Shannon's half-tipsy militia, or listening to music drawn out of an old violin by some fierce disciple of Paganini, or see the gaping crowds of men armed with bowie-knives and pistols nodding their admiration.

The weather has become much cooler, and I imagine there are some in

the camps who would be glad were they home again by a cheerful fire. They have come with an apparent reluctance, but the offer of a dollar and a half a day and a land warrant is said to be the successful inducement in this infamous invasion.

DECEMBER 3. So many citizens of the near settlements have come in arrangements were made for the companies to go into barracks. The large dining-hall in the new hotel being fitted up with stoves, several of the companies will occupy it; while others have a "soldiers' home" in the hall which has been used for schoolroom, church, etc. The quartermaster and commissary-general have been appointed. Beef and corn have been brought in in large quantities, and preparations are being made for a siege.

The soldiers are drilling out on the prairie, under the command of Colonel Lane. There is young manhood in the ranks, and some who have not counted their score of years; but the mantle of discretion and prudence has fallen upon them. The blood of '76 runs in their veins, and the fires of its unquenched love of liberty sparkle in their eyes.

Last evening the governor's proclamation, issued on the 29th ult., was received. It is one mass of falsehoods and misstatements, and an incendiary appeal to the bad passions of the border men to come to assist him in our destruction. Sheriff Samuel J. Jones goes to him with most malignant untruths of a rescue from his hands of the prisoner by a band of forty men. It is now stated that Coleman was with the posse, and armed himself at Franklin with pistols and bowie-knives to act with them. A Mr. Newell, of Vermont, is just in. He will make our house his home. He brings news of our pleasant Scotch friend who left us this morning on another tour of observation in the enemy's camp. They recognized Colonel Phillips as some one from Lawrence, he having been so frequently in their camp. They disarmed him at first, but on his threatening them with proceedings they returned the pistol, and he is now on his way to report to Governor Shannon the conduct of his militia. As they kept him a good while in camp he learned much of their method of proceeding. Sentries are posted at all the fords on the Wakarusa, with strict orders to search and disarm any one attempting to pass. An old gentleman from Lawrence is a prisoner in their camp. They keep him bound. Colonel Phillips tried to persuade Mr. Newell to go further up the river before attempting to cross, it being utter folly to try to pass the camp at that point, but by a most skilful maneuver he blinded the enemy in gallant style and came through bearing important dispatches.

Mr. Newell has a very military air, and as he reined in his horse for a moment, then dashing in among the rough outposts at the crossing, and, in a stern voice, said, "Why don't you demand the countersign?" they looked astonished, and he passed through. They evidently supposed him to be an officer. Coming as they have from several different counties, the majority of the men and officers are unknown to each other.

In the camp Mr. Newell gave the military salute, and began an easy, off-hand talk with the men. One of the unshaven apologies for manhood asked, "Did you see any of our boys coming?" Mr. Newell replied, "No, I saw more returning," as he in fact met fifty whose faces were set homeward, their patience being worn out with waiting for the gathering together of their sheriff's posse. The questioner, with downcast look, then said, "Then we may as well give it up, for the Lawrence boys will take us like mice."

When some of the men very blandly asked if they should take care of his horse, his reply that he thought he would look around a little first satisfied them, and he pursued his journey. He soon reached Franklin. It seemed at first a matter of doubt whether he would be able to pass the fifty men loitering about the groceries there, but with his military salute and graceful bearing he went on unmolested and reached us in safety.

Another fact of some moment, learned to-day, is that as the invaders pass the Shawnee mission they are all enrolled by the governor. One's indignation would exceed every other feeling were it not for the wonder that any man can be guilty of such consummate folly.

Our fair-weather friends are now obliged to show their true colors. Dr. John P. Wood is in the camp of the enemy. The young man who opened his house for the storage of provisions at the time of the first invasion, now complains of illness; neither comes into town nor goes down to the enemy's camp. A Mr. Cox, who has been strong in his expressions of sympathy with the free-state cause, has posted on his store a sign telling who he is, and asking that his property may not be destroyed. Eighty men have arrived from Topeka. The force now gathered against us is 800 strong. Our guards are now fired upon nightly. I watch the guard upon the hills and stationed at different points in the prairie, foot guard as well as mounted. Some are standing quietly, while the two hours of some others have expired and they are going through a rapid change of position. There are horsemen, also wagons, passing up over the California road to reenforce the border men at Leecompton, and swift riders are going in and out of town. While we were at dinner two men, evidently in authority, rode out on the point of the hill to take a survey of the town. They rode very slowly past the house, examining the whole premises, and looking backward until they reached the summit of the hill beyond. It looked like a silent threat, coming at the hour too when they supposed we should have company to dine, and the leaders of the defense.

Just before noon one of the staff, Grove P. Lowry (just appointed) came up, and, upon my opening the door said, "Good morning, Mrs. Robinson, the doctor sent me for his horse"; and as he vaulted into the saddle, with a ringing laugh he said, "Excuse me, Mrs. Robinson, I meant the general"; so I suppose that the quiet doctor, who has always been remarked for the meekness of his bearing, is metamorphosed into a general. He was appointed last evening. To the never-failing question, "Is there anything new?" he tells me the men are anxious to form companies of riflemen and go down to Franklin; that "with one round the Missourians would fly like frightened hares. The people are getting impatient, and nothing but giving up their position of acting strictly on the defensive keeps them from driving the Missourians out of the border."

DECEMBER 5. I was awakened about four o'clock this morning by a loud knocking at the door. Gen. Samuel C. Pomeroy and Colonel Phillips have had narrow escapes from the enemy and an escape less fearful from a grave in the Kansas. They were dripping-wet and so chilled with the water and the cold air that the stove heat did little good, and they soon tried a warm bed, leaving me to dry their clothes, papers and money, which were all thoroughly soaked.

Colonel Phillips, not finding the governor at Shawnee Mission, had gone on to Westport, hoping to find him, but he was not there. He learned there

that Governor Shannon had received instructions from Washington authorizing his proceedings, and that many more are going to his aid from Westport, large numbers having already congregated there from the border towns. He heard many of the plans thoroughly discussed as he sat by. "There shall be a war, the rescuers shall be given up, the leaders lynched, and the others driven from the country." He heard men high in authority say that "now is the time"; the river was just about to close; no reinforcements could arrive for the free-state men; there were only some 3500 of them in the territory, and if they were not cut off now they never could be; that slavery must and should go into Kansas; that they would have Kansas though they have to wade to their knees in blood to get it; that they should fight and let the Union go to the d—l. Judge Johnson and a young man who recently came with him from Ohio had been arrested, and the threats were not few that they would be lynched in a few days.

Learning that the governor was not in Westport, Colonel Phillips pursued his journey to Kansas City, and when about half way there was arrested by a band of armed men. To one of the men who wore the emblem of an Odd Fellows' lodge he made the sign of distress, and he was bound to protect him. He said the life of Colonel Phillips had been saved at his own peril. The next morning he took his hand at parting and asked pardon.

Word came this morning from Franklin that wagons loaded with freight for our merchants had been overhauled at the camp on the Wakarusa. All powder and ammunition were taken from them, while the wagons loaded with apples, potatoes and flour were not allowed to proceed. So they mean to starve us out or make us surrender. A dispatch must be sent to Washington, and General Pomeroy accepts the mission. He is to go through Iowa, but says he must go to Kansas City first. We try to dissuade him, telling him of the dangers of the route. He is arrested in the Delaware reserve and taken into the camp at Franklin.

As we looked out into the chilly night we saw the great fires blazing around the forts and the men busily plying their shovels. Night and day, taking turns by fifties, with unabated ardor the work goes on. There will be five strong forts commanding the river and all the entrances to the town.

As the faithful timepiece says the night is fast waning towards its mid-hour there is a welcome knock at the door, and, opening it, I find our Scotch friend (Colonel Phillips) is standing close to the door, with long rifle by his side. I had tried to persuade him not to go down-town after so much excitement and weariness of the last two days and nights, but his enthusiasm in the cause will not let him rest—besides, he is one of General Robinson's aides, and has been attending the council of war held this evening. He says, "It is decided to send messengers to Governor Shannon to ask him what is the meaning of this armed body of men quartered near our town; why he allows them to commit robberies upon our people and harass travelers, disarming them and taking them prisoners; requesting him also to order their removal."

There is danger in the undertaking, but Lowry and Babcock are going. They are acquainted with the governor, and they know the pass-word.

DECEMBER 6. We were awakened again long before daylight. S. N. Wood, S. C. Smith and S. F. Tappan have had a long journey from the country four miles above Topeka. They had heard that Doctor Robinson and fifteen others had been killed; and thinking that the war had fairly

opened they had walked thirty miles in the last few hours, that they might, with their friends, "strike and die for liberty." Doctor's greeting could not have sounded very pleasantly to them as they stood under our west windows. "What are you here for?" "You must go directly out of town." There were strangers sleeping in the front of the house, and they must not know that Wood, Smith and Tappan were in Lawrence. They stayed one day in E. D. Ladd's cabin, then Smith and Tappan went across the Wakarusa, and Wood went to Ohio.

The guard are again fired upon, and more of our messengers to different parts of the territory and to the states are taken prisoners. Horsemen in companies of five and six are continually riding over the hills. They are the leading men in the ranks of the enemy; and we hear their design is to plant their artillery on Mount Oread and to take this house for barracks. They have a new camp on the Wakarusa south of us, only about four miles from town. Our supplies are cut off. People are turned from their homes at midnight, and their corn-cribs and hay-stacks burned.

A gang of men have been prowling around S. N. Wood's house on the claim all the morning, but not in one body. Finally this scouting band of the governor's militia all at once started in the direction of their headquarters, and our friends immediately came over the hills, seeking a safer place. Our messengers fly back and forth to town, and upon serious consultation it was decided that S. N. Wood shall go to Ohio for a while.

The men were at work on a part of the forts, while some were complete; intrenchments were being thrown up on each side of Massachusetts street, and the soldiers were drilling through the center of the broad street. D. R. Atchison, with twenty-five men, was said to be crossing the reserve toward the camp on the Wakarusa. The men were anxious to go out and bring him in a prisoner; but General Robinson was firm: "We are acting only on the defensive." The howitzer has just arrived and several men are guarding it in one of the rooms of the hotel. I go in with others to look at the grape and bombshells.

The twelve-pound brass howitzer¹ was brought in by a ruse evincing tact and skill as well as bravery. The council, having heard of its arrival at Kansas City, decided, if possible, it must be brought up. Mr. Buffum and Mr. Bickerton, from Massachusetts, offered their services. Young Sumner, cousin of Charles Sumner, wished to go with them. They found the boxes in which it was packed consigned to one of our merchants. The proprietor of the warehouse suggested there might be rifles in them, and to quiet all suspicions Mr. Buffum, with an axe, raised a board from the largest box, saying, "Let's see what there is." As they looked in and saw only wheels, he said, "It's only another of Hutchinson's carriages." Everything was satisfactory. The board was replaced. The boxes were loaded on the wagons, with mattresses and furniture on the top, and they left Kansas City by the ferry route across the Kansas river. The wagons getting set as they went up the steep bank on the opposite side of the river, Mr. Buffum called upon a band of Missourians standing by "to give him a lift at the wheels," which they did, and without difficulty they reached Lawrence, where they were received with loud acclamations by the citizens. The little

NOTE 1.—Frederick Law Olmstead some years ago gave the Historical Society the subscription paper circulated by Maj. James B. Abbott in the East in the fall of 1855, for the purchase of this howitzer.

besieged town received it with cheer, hope and courage. Mrs. S. N. Wood has offered her little "shake" cabin next the hotel for the general use. Daily and nightly the ladies meet there in the one room, with its loose, open floor, through which the wind creeps, to make cartridges; their nimble fingers keeping time with each heart-beat for freedom, so enthusiastic are they in aiding the defense.

At evening Colonel Phillips, with the long rifle, came in. He looked sedate, as, seating himself upon the lounge, he said, "The war has begun. They have shot a man about five miles from Lawrence—a Mr. Barber, who came to our assistance from Bloomington." He said, besides, "It is almost impossible to restrain the men to-night. Their imprecations of vengeance are loud and deep, and General Robinson has something to do to restrain his own feelings. A guard has gone out to bring in the body."

The messengers sent to the governor have returned, and they come with a promise that he will be here to-morrow.

Colonel Lane has received a small limb of a tree with a bullet in it, and hemp bound around it, with the compliments of Col. James N. Burnes (since member of Congress from Platte county).

DECEMBER 7. The murdered man was brought into town last night, and in his usual dress was laid upon a table in the hotel. His look was one of perfect repose, with the pallor of the death-sleep. The circumstances of his death show more clearly than anything which has previously transpired the malignity, the utter heartlessness of the foe with whom we have to deal. No mercy will be shown any who fall into their hands.

Mr. Barber, hearing that the lives of the people of Lawrence were in peril, had come, with others in his neighborhood, to lend his aid in making good our defense. Yesterday he mounted his horse, and, bidding his comrades "good-by" saying he would be back in the morning, wholly unarmed started for his home. Doubtless as he sped over the prairies he thought of the glad surprise his coming would give his wife, with whom, on leaving for Lawrence, the bitterness of the parting, her sorrow at his going, seemed but a foreshadowing of his sad fate. A little after he had left the main road, with his two friends who had accompanied him, two horsemen rode out from a company of twelve on the California road, Doctor Wood being one of the twelve. In reply to their questions, he said he had been to Lawrence, was unarmed, was going to his home, and putting spurs to his horse rode on; but the deadly bullet of the foul creature, the tool of the administration, entered his back, and saying, "O God! I am a murdered man!" he never spoke again. Gen. George W. Clarke, the Indian agent, went on his way to meet Governor Shannon at the Wakarusa headquarters, and there declared, with horrid oaths, "I have sent another of these d—d abolitionists to his winter quarters."

Mrs. S. N. Wood and Mrs. G. W. Brown went out six miles beyond the Wakarusa and brought in a keg of powder and some lead.²

The hour approaches for the arrival of the governor, who is coming to treat of peace. Can these men, whose murdered companion now lies within these walls, make peace and he be unavenged? Their feelings revolt at such a proposal, but the magnanimity of their leaders calms the troubled

NOTE 2.—The story of this expedition which was made to the home of Mrs. James B. Abbott, is given in the fifth volume of the Society's Collections, page 74.

waters, and they realize that peace is better than war, though the hot blood, crying "revenge," still chafes.

The carriage passed in through the soldiery to the door, and General Robinson and the governor went through the halls and up the unfinished stairway to the council chamber.

As the eyes of the governor fell on the rigid limbs and the death-pallor of the young man, who yesterday was so full of hope and strength, he gave a perceptible shrug of the shoulders. The governor's suite also entered, and as they passed the silent dead Colonel Boone, of Westport, said: "I did not expect such a thing as this."

They were introduced to the committee of safety. Then the governor and Colonel Boone, and General Robinson and General Lane, talked over the whole matter. The governor asked that the arms be delivered up. He was soon satisfied, however, that such conditions of peace would never be complied with, and he said at last that "such a demand was unreasonable."

The enemy have now nearly surrounded us. The camp on the Wakarusa just south of Lawrence cuts off communication with the southern settlements. There are strolling bands of men all through the Delaware reserve, while quite a body of them are camped in the woods just opposite Lawrence, preventing people passing to and from Leavenworth and other colonies north. They still have camps at Lecompton and below Franklin. Several days ago Mr. Edward Clark went to Osawatomie to notify the people Lawrence was in need of their help. His delay in returning causes us much anxiety. About three o'clock on the 7th the governor and suite, Colonel Boone, of Westport, Colonel Kearney, of Independence, and Colonel Strickland, also of Missouri, and General Lane dined with us. Knowing she could find General Robinson at home near the hour set for dining, Mrs. Clark came up to see what he could think of Mr. Clark's long absence. The death of Barber had added to her fears. My husband felt very little hope of his return, but he suggested his horse might have given out, and so it proved. Mr. Clark came in that evening, having walked a good share of the way home. He was fortunate in crossing the Wakarusa where there was no guard of the enemy. Many of our messengers were taken prisoners.

DECEMBER 8. Governor Shannon was in town again to-day. He made a speech to the soldiers, telling them he had been laboring under a mistake; that if there were Missourians here they came of their own accord; that he had called upon none but the people of the territory. They would now disperse. He believed the people of Lawrence were a law-abiding people; indeed, he had learned that he had misunderstood them, and that they were an estimable and orderly people. He was glad to find that no laws had been violated, and no occasion for an attack upon the town. Cheers were attempted, but the muffled sound was little like the spontaneous out-gushing gladness of a satisfied people. The officers in command also made addresses, which more heartily called forth the expression of the people, and, with the governor, Generals Robinson and Lane went down to Franklin to meet the officers of the invading army. The governor had desired them to do so, for many of the leaders in his army were determined upon the guns being delivered up, and he wished some other convincing arguments than his own to be used with them.

The night was exceedingly tempestuous. The wind raged with unequalled

fury and was full of driving snow and sleet. The whole of the afternoon it had been so strong and furious that boards ten or twelve feet long lying in a pile back of the little barn had been blown end over end in every direction. The night had added violence to the storm. Colonel Phillips had just come in with ears almost frozen. We pity the guard who faithfully watch for our safety in such a wild night as this. The pass-word for the night, "Pitch in," given by our gallant adjutant-general, George W. Deitzler, who has command in the temporary absence of General Robinson, was in strange consonance with the wildness of the storm. A double guard was put on that each man might be oftener relieved from the watch. The anxiety felt for the safe return of the officers from Franklin is intense, so little faith have our people in the honor of the plighted word of the invaders.

At Franklin Generals Robinson and Lane met thirteen captains of the invaders in a little room. Governor Shannon made a long statement of the existing state of things. He told them that a misunderstanding had occurred; that the people of Lawrence had violated no law; that they would not resist any properly appointed officer in the execution of the laws; that the guns would not be given up; and concluded by advising them to go home to Missouri. Generals Lane and Robinson followed briefly. The captains asked Jones if what was said was true, and he said "Yes!" Then they said, "We have been damnably deceived."

My husband had not been at home for several days, save to dine on Friday with Governor Shannon and his suite. Towards evening of Sunday he sent a carriage and a request that I should come down-town. I sat in the carriage while a messenger notified him of my arrival. He returned, bringing the word, "The general says, 'Come up to the council chamber.'" I passed through a file of soldiers guarding the door, through halls similarly guarded, and up the rough staircases, until I reached the further end of the third story, when upon a slight knock the door was opened, and with ceremony I was ushered into the presence of, and introduced to, General Robinson. When this was through with I noticed several ladies, friends and acquaintances, sitting by, and when a few more gathered together we were informed by General Robinson that "The war is over. The hatchet is buried." That the late enemy had expressed a desire to cultivate a conciliatory and friendly spirit with their neighbors in Lawrence; that it is better to bridge over past difficulties by the kindly, pleasant offices of good will and friendship. As a token of our willingness to accept and give any pledges of our good offices in the future, we will to-morrow invite Governor Shannon, and any of his friends from Missouri who will remain, to a social gathering; the ladies were also informed that to them they would look for the necessary refreshments for the evening.

Another reason for the meeting on the morrow's evening is that Governor Shannon might see that the people have neither the look of "paupers nor rebels." The ladies found time amid the arrangements to speak to the governor an occasional word, and to one and all he was free to say, "This is the happiest day of my life." He stated also that he liked the people of Lawrence so well he should come to live among them. Governor Shannon did come to Lawrence to live. He was a most worthy man, a fine lawyer, and our firm friend. He died August 30, 1877, respected by every one.

DECEMBER 10. The making of seven loaves of bread and five loaves of

cake, with other necessary work, left only a few stray minutes in which to finish a letter, which is to be a messenger of good tidings to friends far away under the home roof. It is already three and a half o'clock, and the ladies were to meet at four o'clock, so, pressing into the service as bearers of burdens two young men who called opportunely, I went down town and was soon astonished by the huge baskets of provisions that were provided. Had the Missourians looked in upon the well-filled tables, prepared on such brief notice, they would have given up the idea of starving us to terms; and had New England added her presence among the welcome guests, with her well-filled pockets and stocks in trade, she would have realized that, in the open-heartedness and freedom from conventionalities of her frontier children there is much of the real, true enjoyment of life.

At this peace meeting many of the incidents of the last four weeks were recalled and those of the war recited. A "compromise measure" afforded a good deal of merriment. Doctor Davis, of Leavenworth, had asked General Robinson what would be his reply to Governor Shannon to his demand that the arms of the people of Lawrence should be given up? His reply was brief: "I would propose a compromise measure; keep the rifles and give them the contents." Doctor Cutler, a young Kentuckian, one of the released prisoners, was here last night. He had suffered everything but death at the hands of sheriff Jones. One of the guards reasoned with Jones upon his treatment of the prisoners until he desisted. The rope with which they threatened to hang an old man was repeatedly shown him, but heedless of their threats, and above the raging of the storm on the night of the 8th of December, his voice was heard, "Send it a little colder, O Lord!" And amid the fearful oaths and increasing threats of evil there was the same earnest plea, "O Lord, send it a little colder!"

DECEMBER 12. The different companies were drawn out in lines yesterday, and farewell addresses were made them by their officers. The Lawrence companies then escorted those from the other settlements a little way out of town.

At Douglas, Stringfellow informed his motley gang that "the thing is settled;" that they were sold; that "Shannon has turned traitor;" "he has disgraced himself, and the whole pro-slavery party."

The war is over; for a little time, at least, it was a time of sore trial. The forbearance of the people during the siege has been beyond all praise, owing to the persistent commands of their loved and trusted commander-in-chief, that they "act only upon the defensive."

PADILLA AND THE OLD MONUMENT NEAR COUNCIL GROVE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by GEORGE P. MOREHOUSE, Topeka.

IN approaching the quaint old town of Council Grove, whether overland or by rail, the traveler is almost sure to notice and inquire about a strange pointed monument crowning the summit of a prominent hill near by.

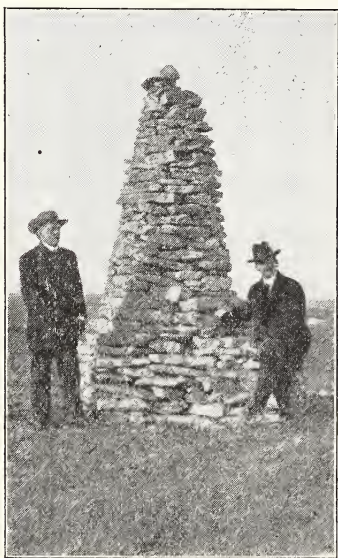
From certain directions it can be seen for several miles, for the top of the hill is several hundred feet above the lower bottom-lands of the Neosho valley. If we take the trouble to climb to the top, we are richly repaid; for we behold a magnificent scene of hill and valley, timber and prairie landscape, and realize that one of the most picturesque of Kansas views is spread out before us. We can range our vision for twenty miles or more up and down the valley; and toward the west the higher levels of the uplands—

“Stretch in airy undulations far away.”

Below us the darker shades of heavy timber line make a winding trail of green along the river valley, and the good old town of “The Grove” is snugly tucked away in the shelter of that famous body of timber that gave its name. By consulting a map we find that we are standing near the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of section 22, township 16, range 8 east, on the top of Mount Padilla.

Yes, here is the monument, rough, ancient, though symmetrical, which probably marks the sacred resting-place of America’s first Christian martyr, Father Fray Juan de Padilla. In the year 1542, near this place, this pioneer missionary of the Cross gave his life at the hands of those he had come to serve and save.

The monument is about ten feet high, and is made of rough, uncut limestone. The base is about six feet square, composed of large stones, while the column is of smaller ones and gradually tapers to the top.



The Padilla Monument.

Formerly near the monument was a large pile of smaller stones of all kinds, colors and shapes, which had evidently been brought from a distance and reverently deposited as an offering or tribute to some noted personage or revered character. To one accustomed to primitive shrines and memorials it is evident that long, long ago, these simple offerings were brought to that which was regarded as a most sacred spot. Various causes in mod-

ern times have robbed this stone offertory and scattered its fragments. Unfortunately, many stones, great and small, have been carted away some of which had inscriptions of odd letters and hieroglyphics, the mystic symbols of the past. This custom was once followed by modern visitors, who have at times left their initials, but the ancient ones are gone. Located on the summit of this high elevation, its neat outlines projected against the sky, no matter from which direction approached, this crude shaft presents an imposing appearance.

Not far from the foot of the mount the clear waters of a never-failing spring start from the head of a winding ravine, forming a small rivulet. At certain seasons of the year the stream below the spring is hid beneath a thick mesh and luxurious growth of savory watercress, which is kept fresh, cool and green by the running waters. No one visits this spot without a desire to return and again experience the magic spell of the delightful scenery and sacred associations of this historic spot.

Notwithstanding its exposed position, this monument has withstood the grinding wear of time and the storms of centuries. In nature's effort of obliteration the elements have beaten relentlessly but hopelessly against it, and only vandal hands have at intervals desecrated its interesting features. At times a part of the top has been disturbed, but only to be replaced by kindly hands, that its original proportions might be preserved as they were when it was first viewed by the earliest traveler through that region.

There it stands—stands, like some lone sentinel of the ages—connecting the misty past with the living present, and is probably one of the oldest of American landmarks.

Who was this early Christian martyr, this herald of the Cross, who offered up his life, away out here in the interior of the continent, nearly two hundred years before our Pilgrim Fathers, as a—

“Band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore”?

From whence came this heroic saint, and what are the known circumstances of his venturing, in that early day, so far from civilization, to labor in his Master's cause?

Father Fray Juan de Padilla was a native of Andalusia, Spain. He was young and vigorous when he joined Coronado's expedition. His talents were of a high order, and he had occupied several important positions in Old Mexico. At one time he was guardian of a convent in Jalisco. He occupied this station when he became a missionary to the Indians in the far unknown North, the “terra incognita” of that day. This change caused much personal sacrifice on his part, for it involved giving up high positions in the church and turning his back on influential ecclesiastical offices and subjecting himself to hardship and death among the ignorant savages he longed to save. In faith he looked far beyond, to a time when the aborigines of the great American desert would become educated and converted to the religion he humbly taught. He was one of the four Franciscans who accompanied Coronado in his attempt to colonize New Mexico in 1540. The other three either returned to civilization or remained with tribes of Indians in New Mexico who were fairly friendly to their labors. While Fray Padilla was kind and gentle in his demeanor, yet he was full of energy, and punished all moral evil-doers who tried to make things unpleasant in Coronado's camp.

An iron constitution and impetuous soul greatly assisted him in stamping his influence upon all around him. At first he labored among the Moqui Pueblos, and they seem to have received him gladly. It seems that he also went among the Zunis, but rounded up at the winter quarters of Coronado, on the Rio Grande river, where the army rested before continuing the historic journey to the fabled Quivira.

It seems that the incentive to this adventurous expedition was furnished by the reports of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, the survivors of the ill fated Narvaez expedition. At Pecos Coronado became interested in certain stories of a captive Indian prisoner held as a slave who claimed that he was born on the far eastern border of the great plains. The Spaniards called this odd individual the Turk. This was on account of the method of dressing his head and hair, it being closely shaven, except a small tuft of hair left growing on the top of his head. In other words he had left his scalp-lock, after the manner of the Osage, Kansas and two or three other tribes, who dressed their hair in that manner. He probably belonged to one of those tribes. He represented to the Spaniards that far away in the east there was a rich country called Quivira. He told them that this people was rich in gold, silver and other precious metals, and had other elements of wealth. His representations made an impression upon the minds of the Spaniards, who believed all he said. It is now considered that the Turk, after he had observed that they placed reliance upon his statements, connived with the Pueblo Indians in a scheme to get rid of the Spaniards, by sending them far into the desert, where they would perish. The Turk was also planning for an opportunity to return to his tribe. The Spaniards believed his statements and expected to find a rich and wealthy country with cities and great stores of precious metals, and a class of half-civilized people. They had found the Mexicans using gold for ornaments and also knew of the reports of wealth from Peru. When the Turk pointed to gold, which he seemed to recognize as valuable, they thought that he was truthful; but he might have been mistaken, not knowing the difference between crude gold and copper and pyrites of iron—the latter frequently giving a valuable appearance to rocks. When the Pueblos observed their unwelcome guests departing they probably induced the Turk to misguide and lead them, if possible, to destruction. The expedition started out early in 1541 [on the 3d of May]. It is not the purpose of this paper to give an extended account of Coronado's expedition, except in so far as it is necessary to set forth the movements of the famous missionary Padilla. Coronado met with little opposition as he journeyed eastward.

Somewhere in the western or southern great plains he left the main body of his men, and with thirty horsemen went northward in search of Quivira, reaching the Kansas plains in the later days of June. Of course, to the Spanish, the expedition was a great disappointment. However, with what a limited vision did those historic gold-seekers view things? They little knew that the region they then passed over, although it might have looked like a great desert, was in many ways the garden spot of the West. They traversed what is now the richest portion of Oklahoma and the great wheat belt of Kansas, where, although precious metals form a small part of the wealth, yet the aggregate value of the millions of bushels of golden grain annually produced far outstrips the gold and silver productions of any state or country and the wildest dreams of Spanish avarice. It may be interest-

ing to gather and work out from the full reports just where Quivira was located. Several educated men were with Coronado and published accounts of their movements and all that they observed. These accounts are not only interesting in showing the condition and products of the country at the time, but are historically important, as they set forth things so minutely that the location of Quivira has been reduced to a certainty.

Padilla went with Coronado on his farthest wanderings to Quivira, and back to the Spanish settlement. The year following, 1542, he returned to Quivira to continue in the missionary work he had commenced. On these trips he always walked. On his last trip, after he had labored among the strange people for some time, he met his death, and thus became not only the first missionary of the Cross in the great Mississippi valley, but the first Christian martyr in what is now the United States of America. The fact of his work and his death in this then far-away wilderness is undisputed; but there may be some question as to just where he was killed and the exact location of his grave. After one studies all the different accounts of the Coronado expedition to Quivira and what is known of Fray Padilla's subsequent return to labor among that people, and his tragic death, it is easy to mark the borders of that country, and also substantially prove that he met his death near Council Grove, and that the before-mentioned memorial stone or monument on Mount Padilla probably marks his grave. The writer realizes that another place (Herington, Kan.) is claimed to be in the neighborhood of his last resting-place, and that his memory has been honored with a monument there. This is well, but they bring forth no proof of the claim.

Coronado, considering his expedition a failure, after resting for a time on the banks of the Rio Grande, left for Old Mexico; but Fray Juan Padilla and Fray Luis remained at the river with Andrés Docampo, a Portuguese soldier, two Donados, named Lucas and Sebastian, and some Mexican Indian boys. Padilla's zeal and courageous temperament urged him to return again across the waste of distance to the far-away Quivira. It was no concern to him that that country and its people did not possess the elements of wealth to satisfy the avaricious dreams of the Spaniards. These simple, primitive heathen had souls to save, and he remembered them and longed to return and establish the religion of the Cross in their midst—but what an undertaking it was for a lone priest and his three companions! Some time during the fall of 1542 he prepared for the journey of over 1000 miles, and taking with him the needed effects for saying mass, in company with his three companions, he set out on this unique trip. They were probably guided back to Quivira by some Indians who had accompanied Coronado the year before. Their course was more direct than Coronado's first route. They started from Bernalillo, on the river above the present Albuquerque, and passed through Pecos and to the northeast, probably entering our state near the southwest corner and proceeding on to the land of the Quiviras. They reached their destination in safety, and were well received by the Indian tribe they had visited the year before. Coronado had erected a cross at one of the villages, which is supposed to have been in the Smoky Hill valley, somewhere near where Junction City now stands. Padilla, from this starting-point, began his labors, and seems to have had great success and influence among those primitive people. However, after a time he decided to depart and work among some other tribes, or at least to visit them temporarily. This has always been considered an imprudent act on his part and came from

his not being skilled in the suspicious and jealous nature of the Indian. It has been said that "A missionary who has been well treated by one tribe always makes a mistake and is regarded with suspicion when he goes to another." The Indian nature regards the missionary who attains influence over them with great reverence, really superstition, and believes him to be a great Medicine man, and whatever good he brings departs when he leaves them.

Castenada says: "A friar named Juan de Padilla remained in this province, together with a Spanish-Portuguese and a negro and a half-blood and some Indians from the province of Capothan [Capetlan], in New Spain. They killed the friar because he wanted to go to the province of the Guas, who were their enemies. The Spaniard escaped by taking flight on a mare, and afterwards reached New Spain, coming out by way of Panuco. The Indians from New Spain who accompanied the friar were allowed by the murderers to bury him, and then they followed the Spaniard and overtook him. This Spaniard was a Portuguese named Campo."¹

It seems from other accounts that after leaving the Quivirans to labor among other tribes, and after more than one day's journey, Padilla met evil-disposed Indians of the nation he was leaving. They had probably followed him for a double purpose: First, they were jealous because he was going to other tribes who were enemies of the Quivirans; and, second, the curious ornaments and belongings Padilla had with him excited their cupidity. They desired to possess them, believing they had mysterious powers (good medicine), and they disliked all of this to be transferred to their enemies.

It is fairly well established that the center of Quivira was near the present site of Junction City or Enterprise. More than one day's journey would bring Padilla as far as Council Grove, about thirty-five miles distant.

The enemies of the Quivirans (Pawnees) in those days were the Escansaques (Kansa), according to the account of Oñate, who met them during his expedition to Quivira in 1601. He says they were hereditary enemies.

The Kansa lived to the southeastward of Quivira, and Padilla would naturally leave the valley along which that nation lived and could easily reach the headwaters of the Neosho, and that valley would present a plain route upon which to travel. Doubtless he was on his way to the early ancestors of the Kansa nation when he was killed. But—strange circumstance—when followed and killed by the jealous Quivirans, he had reached a spot which afterwards became the long-occupied home of the very tribe he was trying to reach, the Kansa.

May it not be that this is the reason this tribe always regarded this spot, his grave monument, as sacred to the memory of some great white medicine man, "Nic-kah-ma-kah-tan-gah-skah"; that in some way they knew of his mission; that he had been cruelly slain by their enemies, the Quivirans (Pawnees), while on his way to scatter the blessings of his saintly life along the pathway of the Kansa nation?

But it was not to be, and the good father never lived to see the faces of that nation he was seeking to serve and save.

While there are different versions of just how Padilla met his death, I think that the weight of authority shows that he was killed by the Quivirans, although they might have tried to make it appear that their enemies killed him. It is said that when he saw the evil intentions of his murderers

NOTE 1.—Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 529.

he urged his companions to escape, while he serenely faced the charging savages, and met his death in the attitude of prayer. One of the accounts speaks of his body being covered with a pile of "innumerable stones." This surely corresponds with the place near Council Grove, and these "innumerable rocks" were finally formed into this crude but picturesque monument. After much inquiry and search during many years past, I know of no artificial pile of stone in the state as large as this one, which dates back of the memory of man and is known to have been in existence long before white men or Indians of modern times visited or occupied this part of Kansas. To even the casual observer it appears to be an ancient memorial of some kind, an old sacred spot, with an almost hidden history. It has been understood that he was killed near some springs. Near the foot of this mount, in the ravine near by, are the well-known Watercress springs above described.

The following is a fragmentary account of this missionary expedition of Father Padilla as told by the writer, Moto Padilla.*

"He reached Quivira and prostrated himself at the foot of the cross, which he found in the same place where he had set it up; and all around it clean, as he had charged them to keep it, which rejoiced him, and then he began the duties of a teacher and apostle of that people; and finding them teachable and well disposed, his heart burned within him, and it seemed to him that the number of souls of that village was but a small offering to God, and he sought to enlarge the bosom of our mother, the Holy Church, that she might receive all those he was told were to be found at greater distances. He left Quivira, attended by a small company, against the will of the village Indians, who loved him as their father.

"At more than a day's journey the Indians met him on the warpath, and knowing the evil intent of those barbarians, he asked the Portuguese that as he was on horseback he should flee and take under his protection the oblates and the lads who could thus run away and escape. . . . And the blessed father, kneeling down, offered up his life, which he had sacrificed for the winning of souls to God, attaining the ardent longings of his soul, the felicity of being killed by the arrows of those barbarous Indians, who threw him into a pit, covering his body with innumerable stones. . . . It is said that the Indians had gone out to murder the blessed father in order to steal the ornaments, and it was remembered that at his death were seen great prodigies, as it were the earth flooded, globes of fire, comets and obscuration of the sun."

General Davis in his *Conquest of New Mexico*, page 231, gives the following translation from an old Spanish manuscript at Santa Fe:

"When Coronado returned to Mexico he left behind, among the Indians of Cibola, the father fray Francisco Juan de Padilla, the father fray Juan de la Cruz, and a Portuguese named Andres del Campo. Soon after the Spaniards departed, Padilla and the Portuguese set off in search of the country of the Grand Quivira, where the former understood there were innumerable souls to be saved. After traveling many days they reached a large settlement in the Quivira country. The Indians came out to receive them in battle array, when the friar, knowing their intentions, told the Portuguese and his attendants to take to flight, while he would await their coming, in order that they might vent their fury on him as they ran. The former took flight, and placing themselves on a height within view, saw what happened to the friar. Padilla awaited their coming upon his knees, and when they arrived where he was, they immediately put him to death. . . . The Portuguese and his attendants made their escape, and ultimately arrived safely in Mexico, where he told what had occurred."

The Portuguese and the boys wandered for years before reaching the Span-

* Mota Padilla, cap. XXXIII, secs. 8, 9 and 10, p. 167, quoted by Winship in *Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau Ethnology*, pp. 535-536.

ish settlements, and it is unfortunate that more is not known of their history. They must have returned prior to 1552, as their arrival at Tampico on the Gulf is mentioned by Gomara in his *Conquest of Mexico* published that year.²

Much more would be known about Padilla and those early expeditions into Kansas, had it not been for the foolish destruction of great piles of invaluable historical manuscripts at Santa Fe a few years ago, where they were used to kindle fires and the remnant finally sold for junk.³

As before suggested, I believe that there was a lingering idea in the mind of the Kansa to pay some tribute to the monument and the place it marked—a kind of traditional reverence or homage for something they did not quite understand, but to some one whom they knew had been a would-be benefactor. While they buried many of their dead on the second-bottom slopes below the monument during their many years' stay at Council Grove, yet it must be remembered that this monument existed long before the Kansa Indians moved from the Kaw valley to their Council Grove reservation; and that they never claimed that it was their monument or marked the grave of an Indian chief; but that it was the marker for a great white benefactor or medicine man.

The first white traveler across the plains took notice of this high prominence and its curious monument. Approaching the famous old crossing of the Santa Fe trail over the Neosho from either direction, it could be seen for several miles. Some old-timers used to call it a guide, although it was a mile or more from the trail. This tended to give it rather a modern aspect, but it is known that it antedates anything pertaining to that noted highway. When a boy I thought that it possibly had a trail significance; but when I found that it was there before trail days, and before the Kansa Indians were moved there, and that it had a mysterious influence on the Indian mind, I could see that it marked the grave of some noted character who had been lost to modern historians.

Years afterwards, reading about Coronado and his expedition, and especially regarding the saintly Padilla, who had been with Coronado and then returned upon that first religious mission to the Indians of our great central plains, I began studying the matter, and the more I read and studied the Spanish translations and comments upon Padilla and his mission, I became convinced that there is no other reasonable hypothesis than that the first Christian martyr of our country was killed near the present Council Grove, and that this curious old monument marks his grave.

It may be asked, How could the Kansa Indians have any traditions reaching back to the time of Coronado or Padilla?

They had legends that related circumstances of the flood over the whole earth. They told of a time when their ancestors came from "the great sea near the rising sun," from whence came their mysterious sacred shells, although this migration was doubtless long prior to 1500.

NOTE 2.—Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 14, page 401.

NOTE 3.—Gen. W. H. H. Davis, former governor of New Mexico, stated in reply to an inquiry that when he revisited Santa Fe, a few years ago, he learned that one of his successors in the post of governor of the territory, having despaired of disposing of the immense mass of old documents and records deposited in his office by the slow process of using them to kindle fires, had sold the entire lot—an invaluable collection of material bearing on the history of the Southwest and its early European and native inhabitants—as junk.—Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 535.

The translations of Spanish manuscripts is proving beyond doubt that the Kansa were here in our state long prior to 1601, when met by Juan de Oñate, who called them Escansaques, the troublesome people, for they at that early day were making their annual raids on the Quivirans, they being hereditary enemies. If they were hereditary enemies of the Quivirans in 1601, they were doubtless their enemies fifty or sixty years before that time, or at the time that Padilla went on his mission to the Quivirans, when he lost his life in attempting to carry the story of the Cross to their enemies. As has been suggested before, it may be reasonably presumed that these enemies were the Escansaques, or, as later known, the Kansa Indians, to which Padilla was going when the jealous and disappointed Quivirans killed him.

What a change it might have wrought in the general character of the Kansa had Padilla reached them and labored in their midst for years. Even the thoughtless Quivirans, after killing this holy man, seemed to have repented when they remembered his kindly acts in their behalf. While their cruel act would prevent his going to erect crosses among their enemies, it would not bring him back to perform services in the shadow of those he had set up in their midst.

One account says that the Quivirans even permitted his companions to bury his body in a decent manner. What an impressive scene it must have been to these savages of the plains, when the two oblates, Lucas and Sebastian, his faithful pupils, clad as they were "in friar's gowns," tenderly laid away their devoted teacher in that lonely martyr's grave midway between the great oceans! What a subject for the brush of an artist, as they perform a brief service according to the rites of their church and place the first courses in that crude monument which has lasted to this day! Sorrowfully these religious youths hasten from the scene, overtake the Portuguese, and together they commence that remarkable period of several years' wandering. Part of the time they are thought to have been in captivity, but finally they reach the Gulf of Mexico. It is said that during all of this journey they were followed by a faithful dog, and the rabbits and game he caught often saved their lives.

During this trip they made a rude cross of wood, and took turns in carrying it, faithfully observing the religious admonitions of their superior they had left behind, "trusting that in such company they would not go astray."

Sebastian died soon after their return; Lucas became a missionary to the natives of New Mexico.

It is well to preserve the history of first things in Kansas, to note the ancient landmarks, and above all to dwell upon the bold, heroic characters who first trod our borders. Let us not infer that the life of Padilla and his tragic death was without its powerful influence for good, or that this crude monument is without its lessons. Let it ever remind us of the devoted and consecrated life of America's first Christian martyr, and also of the lines of Owen Meredith:

"No stream from its source
Flows seaward, how lonely so e'er its course,
But some land is gladden'd. No star ever rose
And set without influence somewhere. Who knows
What earth needs from earth's lowliest creatures?
No life
Can be pure in its purpose, and strong in its strife,
And all life not be purer and stronger thereby."

THE WORK OF JOHN SPEER.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by SIDNEY CLARKE, of Oklahoma City, Okla.

JOHN SPEER is dead. This announcement, which comes from Denver, where he had resided with his daughter for several years, will touch the hearts and memories of the surviving pioneers of Kansas with unfeigned sorrow. Among all the noble men who fought and sacrificed and suffered that Kansas might enter the Union as a free state, none were more faithful and vigilant than John Speer. With voice and pen, and with undaunted courage in repelling the armed invasion of the border ruffians in the early days of the territory, he stood among the foremost of free-state leaders. No history of Kansas would be complete that failed to record his long and conspicuous identification with all that is good and true in building up the progressive institutions of that great commonwealth.

From the time of my first settlement in Kansas he was my intimate friend. In public and private life he gave me his loyal support and unwavering confidence. There was no reserve in his generous nature. His intellect was keen, his sympathies as broad as the world in which he lived, and his love of justice the guiding force in all the affairs of his busy life. In the dark hours of the free-state struggle, when all seemed lost and the armed pro-slavery invaders were confident of victory, his courage was superb. While some others faltered he was at all times confident that freedom would be triumphant in the last analysis of the controversy. No man saw with clearer vision that in attempting by force and fraud to establish slavery on the soil of Kansas the slave power invited a national conflict which might result in its own destruction.

Mr. Speer was born at Kittanning, Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, December 27, 1817, and was of Scotch descent. He could trace his ancestry back to Donald Cargill, a leader of the last desperate struggle against the religious persecutions of Charles II, at Bothwell Bridge, and who was hung and beheaded for high treason at Edinburgh in 1681. His father, Capt. Robert Speer, died only a few years ago on a Pennsylvania farm but two miles from where John was born, having almost reached the century mark. He was a man of strong mind and good judgment and a devoted member of the Presbyterian church. The mother was a superior woman and her memory was greatly revered by the distinguished son, although she died when he was quite young.

Mr. Speer's newspaper work commenced as an apprentice for three years in the office of the *Indiana Register*, Indiana, Pa. His biographer tells us that he commenced the business without knowing the difference between a noun and a verb, and a very imperfect knowledge of the rudiments of spelling, although he had read the works of Franklin, *Pilgrim's Progress*, book of Martyrs, and had been a very great reader of the Bible. Here he studied grammar, applied himself with great earnestness to reading, tried his hand at paragraphing, and surreptitiously to get some of his articles into the paper. In 1839 he commenced the publication of the "*Mercer and Beaver Democrat*" at New Castle, Pa., a weekly paper, supporting General Harrison for President. From 1840 to 1843, he was connected with several papers

in Indiana and Ohio. In the fall of 1843 he established the *Democratic Whig* at Medina, Ohio, which he published for eleven years. He was active and prominent in the Whig party. Being opposed to slavery, in 1853 he declared that the Whig party had outlived its usefulness and severed his connection with that party. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill turned his attention to Kansas, as it did thousands of others, and September, 1854, found him on the town site where Lawrence now stands.

At that time there was only one small log cabin on the site and the town was unnamed. From that hour the battle between freedom and slavery commenced on the soil of Kansas, for it will be remembered that all the power of the national administration was invoked to fasten slavery upon that territory. With the foresight of a statesman, Speer foresaw the magnitude of the conflict and lost no time in preparing, in connection with his brother, Joseph L. Speer, to start a free-state paper at Lawrence. He made a contract with a Kansas City paper to print a specimen copy, but when the owners found out that the proposed paper was to advocate a free state they repudiated the contract, declaring that any such incendiary paper should not be printed on their type. Another contract with a Leavenworth paper shared the same fate. It was boldly declared that no paper could be issued, and its proprietor would be mobbed. But the brothers were not to be baffled. They returned to Ohio for material, and on October 15, 1854, issued the first number of the *Kansas Pioneer*, dated at Lawrence, and printed at Medina, Ohio. The salutatory pronounced against slavery in the new territory in the strongest terms. This paper was followed, in January, 1855, by the *Kansas Tribune*, and in December, 1860, he bought the *Lawrence Republican*. He revived the *Tribune* in January, 1863, which was destroyed by Quantrill's band of bushwhackers at the massacre at Lawrence on the 21st of August, 1863. Though two of his sons were murdered by the guerrillas and his property destroyed, the able and intrepid editor was in no way discouraged. The *Tribune* was reestablished as a daily and weekly publication. The weekly edition was an elegantly printed forty-column paper, and the daily a paper of thirty-two columns, both of which had an extensive circulation. Mr. Speer continued in the editorial harness until 1877, when he retired to engage in literary pursuits.

During his life in Kansas he was very frequently called to fill important positions. In 1864 he was a delegate to the national convention that nominated Lincoln for President. He was elected state printer under the Topeka constitution, was a member of the house of representatives of the first free-state legislature, 1857, and in 1865 was a member of the state senate. He also held the position of internal revenue collector under General Grant's administration.

Mrs. Speer was a relative of the Hardins and the Wickliffes of Kentucky, and was one of the noblest and best among the pioneer women of Kansas. When the cholera was epidemic in and around Lawrence she entered the cabins of the sick and dying when stout men quailed in the presence of the fatal disease. When Quantrill's murderers had robbed her home and set fire to the house and left in the certainty that it would burn, she broke down two burning doors, scraped the fire into the cellar through a hole burned in the floor, and saved the house. Twenty men sought the assassination of Mr. Speer after the brutal murder of his two sons, but

failed to discover the place in which he was concealed. On one occasion when the border ruffians sought the hiding-place of a fugitive, she clapped her hand on her infant son's mouth to prevent the innocent child from communicating, and thus saved his life. She died in 1876.

I could further summarize from the history of Mr. Speer's eventful life many incidents illustrating his sturdy character, and the unselfishness of his long and useful career, did space permit. But there was one act of his life which ought to crown his memory with immortal honor. In 1855 the first pro-slavery legislature passed a law making it a penitentiary offense to deny the legal existence of slavery in Kansas. That party had been elected by armed invaders from Missouri, who had marched over *en masse*, and then returned to their homes.

It was an hour when all was dark for the cause of freedom. Uncertainty existed on every hand. The excitement was intense, both in Kansas and in the states. The authorities at Washington sided with the pro-slavery outlaws. The federal officials in the territory encouraged the invaders, excused the fraudulent elections, and tolerated the outrages committed against free-state men. Brutal murders were unpunished and a reign of terror was inaugurated in all parts of the territory. It was such a time as this that John Speer published on the third page (15½ x 20 inches) of the *Kansas Tribune*, September 15, 1855, a document,¹ a facsimile of which appears on page 483, and known in Kansas history as "John Speer's Defy."

NOTE 1.—FRANCIS B. SWIFT was the compositor who placed this page in type. He is still a resident of Kansas, and is at work in the office of the *Press*, at Girard, where he has been for about twenty years. He was born in Brunswick, Me., January 24, 1834, the son of Dean Swift and Nancy Swift. He married Miss Tyner, in and of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory. In territorial days Swift was captain of the "Stubbs," the free-state military organization at Lawrence. He enlisted early in the civil war, and was mustered in June 13, 1861, as captain of company D, First Kansas regiment, and was badly wounded at Wilson's Creek. He resigned May 26, 1862. He was one of Harvey's men captured at Hickory Point in October, 1856, and with about twenty others sentenced to the penitentiary for five years—pro-slavery politics; no crime attached to any of them. Captain Swift writes the Historical Society as follows: "Here is the route by which I made Kansas: From Brunswick to Boston, where I joined Governor Robinson's party (about 300), then through Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York to Canada, at the famous Niagara bridge; through Canada to Detroit, Mich.; across Michigan by the Michigan Southern to Chicago (then as large as Topeka is now); thence to Alton; from Alton to St. Louis by boat; and from St. Louis up the Mississippi and Missouri (seven days poling up stream) to Westport Landing (now the village of Kansas City); thence by hoof to Lawrence. We first entered Kansas on or about March 25, 1855. Two days later we started on foot, with James French and his father and ——— Emerson, and tramped to Lawrence. We were two days "hoofing it." The first night we camped in the midst of 700 Missourians who were making for Lawrence, Clinton and other points, to vote in the first election for members of the territorial legislature. We got to Lawrence in time to give the people there the first news of the invasion. I found work with Charles Garrett in John Speer's *Tribune* office, then a log cabin, lighted with a window of one sash and an open door. The type forms were toted across town to the *Free State* office, to be worked off on Miller & Elliott's hand press. Shortly afterwards both printing-offices were moved onto Massachusetts street. The *Tribune* had no job-printing apparatus; the *Free State* had. When Speer concluded to shake his fist at the bogus legislature and its laws, he arranged with Miller & Elliott to allow me to set up the page in their office. I did that duty and thus made connection with the declaration of independence, a mighty close second to the Philadelphia document. It had some results, or at least contributed to results. Speaking of old printers, there were among the 7000 inhabitants of Kansas, when I arrived, in Lawrence alone, C. F. Garrett, John Speer himself, Jos. Boyer, ——— Atwood, Peter Conner, Wm. Soule, ——— Richardson, ——— Roberts, and one or two others: in Leavenworth, in Topeka and in Atchison several more. But none of us have publicly celebrated our antiquity. E. P. Harris slid across the Nebraska line in August, 1856, and is a pretty old one, too; dates back to within a year and a half of me, and within some two years of others I have named. I have received, just a week apart, notifications of the death of my two sisters, one more than eighty years old and one nearly eighty, leaving me sole survivor of eight brothers and four sisters."

Mr. R. G. Elliott writes the Historical Society, under date of Lawrence, May 31, 1908, as follows:

"In reply to your note of the 25th I will verify the statement of Frank Swift in regard to his setting of the John Speer defiant issue of his *Tribune*. The photograph of the page in his Life of Lane, now before me, with Frank's statement of his connection with it, recalls the minute incidents of that eventful period. The type was of my personal selection from the foundry of Ladew, of St. Louis, and was greatly admired by Captain Swift, who made taste an essential

JOHN SPEER'S DEFY.

THE DAY OF OUR ENSLAVEMENT!!

To-day, Sept. 13, 1853, is the day on which the iniquitous enactment of an illegitimate, illegal and fraudulent Legislature have declared *repeal* the prostration of the Right of Speech and the curtailment of the **LIBERTY OF THE PRESS!!** To-day commences an Era in Kansas which, unless the sturdy voice of the People, backed, if necessary, by "strong arms and the sure eye," shall teach the tyrants who attempt to enslave us the lesson which our Fathers taught to kingly tyrants of old, shall prostrate us in the dust, and make us the slaves of an Oligarchy.

Worse than the veriest Despotism on Earth!

To-day commences the operation of a law which declares: "Sec. 12. If any free person, by speaking or by writing, asserting or maintaining that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of Felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years."

Now we **DO ASSERT** and we declare, despite all the bolts and bars of the iniquitous Legislature of Kansas, that

"PERSONS HAVE NOT THE RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY."

And we will emblazon it upon our banner in letters so large and in language so plain that the infamated invaders who elected the Kansas Legislature, as well as

THAT CORRUPT AND IGNORANT LEGISLATURE

Itself, may understand it—so that, if they cannot read, they may **SPELL IT OUT**, and meditate and deliberate upon it; and we hold that the man who fails to utter this self-evident truth, on account of the insolent enactment alluded to, is a poisoner and a slave worse than the black slaves of our persecutors and oppressors.

The Constitution of the United States, the great Magna Charta of American Liberties,

Guarantees to every Citizen the Liberty of Speech and the Freedom of the Press!

And this is the first time in the history of America that a body claiming Legislative powers has dared to attempt to wrest them from the people. And it is not only the right, but the honorable duty of every Free-man to spurn with contempt and trample under foot an enactment which thus basely violates the rights of Freedom. For our part we **DO** and **SHALL** **CONTINUE** to utter this truth so long as we have the power of utterance, and nothing but the brute force of an overbearing tyranny can prevent us.

Will any citizen—any free American—brook the insult of

AN INSOLENT GAG LAW!!

the work of a Legislature elected by bullying ruffians who invaded Kansas with arms, and whose drunken revelry, and insults to our preachers, missionaries, and comparatively unarmed citizens, were a disgrace to manhood, and a baroque upon popular Republican Government! If they do, they are slaves already, and with them Freedom is but a mockery.

There were many noble men who fought and suffered in the ranks of the free-state pioneers, men of conspicuous ability and exalted courage. Lane and Robinson and Conway and Johnson upheld the standard of freedom with unerring fidelity until the final victory was won. Impartial historians will award to each the high honor he so well deserves, but it is not too much to say that John Speer, who wrote and published the document I have quoted, showed a courage equal to that of Hancock and Adams and Warren when they denounced usurpations of the British crown. The Kansas of to-day, rich and prosperous, should not forget how and by whom it was saved to

freedom. The state could do no greater act of justice than to erect monument to the memory of Speer and engrave upon it his defiance of the "illegitimate, illegal and fraudulent legislature of 1855."

of good printing. The history of the first issues of the *Tribune* you will find in the accompanying clipping from the *Lawrence Journal* of January, 1908.

"On the arrival of Speer's press, in the spring of 1855, he built a house on Winthrop street, near Massachusetts, where the *Tribune* was published till its removal to Topeka, after the meeting of the constitutional convention and his partnership with W. M. Ross.

"The *Free State* was first printed in a rented house built of hewed poles for studding, weather-boarded and covered with shakes, with sawdust floor, on lot 10, Kentucky street, and in June removed to a house of its own on lot 12, Massachusetts street. It was here that the page of illuminated defiance was set by Captain Swift. The job was after Frank's own heart. I can yet see the exultation with which he selected the type to give the boldest expression to Speer's indignant defiance.

"On the approach of cold weather the *Free State* was removed to the more comfortable and commodious hall above Duncan's store, at 34 Massachusetts street, where the office was destroyed May 21, 1856

"The quartering of two companies of the defenders of Lawrence in the office, by order of the committee of safety, during the invasion of Jones's posse in December, compelled the suspension of the paper during that strenuous period."

THE WAKEFIELD COLONY.

A contribution to the local history of Kansas, by WM. J. CHAPMAN,¹ Ph. D. (University of Halle, 1904), and member of the Kansas State Historical Society.

To the old settlers of Wakefield and the surrounding country this narrative is dedicated in heartfelt appreciation of the interest they have taken in the author's efforts to recover the history of pioneer days.

* The English settlement at Wakefield, Clay county, was one of four European colonies that came out to Kansas nearly forty years ago. The following pages recount the story of its beginnings. Doubtless fuller information might be gleaned by one who had time to devote to the task.² The writer has had access to the following sources of information:

1. Addresses delivered by Mr. J. B. Quimby, Doctor Burt, and Rev. Richard Wake, at the Old Settlers' Reunion, October 10, 1894. The two first named addresses appeared in the *Wakefield Advertiser*, October 25, 1894. Rev. Mr. Wake's address was published in the same paper November 8, 1894.

2. The *Wakefield Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871. (By the courtesy of Mrs. Wm. Sparrowhawk.)

3. Miscellaneous printed matter, including a copy of the *Star of Empire* (now unfortunately lost).

4. Three maps belonging to Mr. J. P. Marshall, of the Wakefield Coöperative Association. The earliest of these is entitled "A Map of Junction City, Kansas, and Adjacent Country," page 526. It shows the area of settlement shortly before the coming of the English colony. The other two are maps of Wakefield and vicinity, pages 530 and 531. The earlier of the two was made in the year 1874, and has been invaluable in determining the location of the settlers and in furnishing clues in the search for oral information.

NOTE 1.—WILLIAM JOHN CHAPMAN was born at Stoke-sub-Hamden, near Montacute, Somerset, England, on November 15, 1869. His early childhood was spent at Wakefield, Kan. His parents returned to England in the autumn of 1874, where he received his education at boarding-school and by private tuition between the years 1875 and 1884. He came back to Kansas with his parents in 1884 and lived on the old homestead, in the vicinity of Wakefield, for eight years. After a course of preparatory study, he was licensed to preach in the Congregational denomination by a council which met at Wakefield on November 26, 1894. He was acting pastor at Wakefield from February, 1895, till September, 1896, and at the Congregational church, Nickerson, Reno county, 1898-'99. In 1897-'98 and in 1899-1901 he studied at Chicago Theological Seminary, and upon his graduation received the E. W. Blatchford fellowship for two years (1902-'03). On the expiration of the fellowship, he remained abroad for an additional year of post-graduate study under Prof. Alois Riehl, of Halle, and in December, 1904, received from the University the degree of Ph. D. *cum laude*. He has written on the following subjects: "The Geography of History" (Great Bend, 1894); "The Religion of the Dakota Indians" (Baccalaureate Dissertation, Chicago, 1901); "Die Teleologie Kants" (Halle, Germany, 1904). In 1906 he compiled the bibliography to the Gould Prize Essays, "Roman Catholic and Protestant Bibles Compared," (New York, Scribner's, 1908), edited by Prof. M. W. Jacobus, of Hartford Theological Seminary. More recently he has assisted Prof. E. C. Richardson, of Princeton University, in the production of "An Alphabetical Subject Index and Index Encyclopedia to Periodical Articles on Religion."

NOTE 2.—The material contained in the following narrative was, for the most part, collected during the autumn and winter of 1905. An article on the English settlement at Victoria, Ellis county, from the pen of Mr. R. T. Batchelor, which appeared in the *Wakefield Advertiser* January 21, 1898, first suggested the idea of a history of the beginnings of Wakefield. In the year 1899 the writer corresponded with several of the older residents of the town, but was not successful in getting them to record the story of pioneer days. In consequence the plan was laid aside for three or four years. The history in its present form does not claim to be exhaustive, although every care has been taken to render it accurate. (HOSMER HALL, HARTFORD, CONN., October 26, 1906.) This account of the Wakefield colony was first published serially in the *Clay Center Times* in 1907, and then reprinted as a pamphlet. (Clay Center, Kan., 1907.) So much new material has come to light during the year 1907 that I have found it desirable to revise the "History of Wakefield" throughout, and to incorporate the additional facts in the body of the narrative (HOSMER HALL, HARTFORD, CONN., March 12, 1908.)

5. The Plat-book maps. These are contained in a subscription work entitled "An Historical Plat-book of Clay County," published by the Bird & Mickle Map Company, Chicago, Ill., 1881.

For the use of much of the printed material my especial thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Lumb, of Wakefield.

Official Records.—It is a matter of great regret that none of the official records of the Wakefield Colony have been available. In a letter addressed to the writer and dated Salt Lake City, February 1, 1899, Rev. Richard Wake says: "The records of the company were retained by Mr. Maitland when he removed to Washington, and I presume were destroyed in the great Seattle fire which consumed his property a number of years ago."

Oral Information.—Information has been gathered from all the old settlers with whom I have had the opportunity of conversing, but especially from the following persons: Messrs. William Guy, John Chapman, R. T. Batchelor, J. P. Marshall, H. S. Walter, T. C. Roscoe, E. R. Hawes, E. Eustace, T. Beldham, H. W. C. Budden, Mrs. Wm. Sparrowhawk and Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Lumb. For additional particulars I am indebted to Messrs. Wm. Seal and A. R. Goffin, and also to the Rev. R. O. Mackintosh, rector of St. George's church, for his kindness in securing information concerning the English settlers in Union township. In addition to the persons above named, I desire to thank Rev. Richard Wake, of Los Angeles, Cal., for several important corrections, and likewise to express my indebtedness to the secretary and department of archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, as well as the librarians of the State Library and the Library of the Connecticut State Historical Society.

I.—REPUBLICAN TOWNSHIP BEFORE THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

THE earliest American settlers in this neighborhood came in the years 1856 and 1857. In April of the former year Moses, William and Jeremiah Younkens and John P. King, from Somerset county, Pennsylvania, settled on Timber creek, in what is now Grant township. The following year, 1857, was marked by the coming of the first New England settlers, when Messrs. J. B. Quimby and W. E. Payne settled in the southeast part of Republican township. Persons belonging to the Pennsylvania colony say that the population of Somerset county was of mixed origin, containing both Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania Dutch elements.³ They believe the date of settlement to go back to the close of the colonial period. The New England settlers were colonial Americans of English descent. In the autumn of 1857 came another group of settlers. Lorenzo Gates, John Gill, and William Mall located higher up the river, where the names of Gatesville and Mall Creek commemorate them. The Mall family were natives of Baden, in South Germany.⁴ In 1858 the New England colony was reenforced by the coming of Rev. Wm. Todd, formerly a missionary at Madura in southern India. The first actual settler on the site of Wakefield was James Gilbert, who came in 1858.

NOTE 3.—S. S. Gaston, J. Faidley. Somerset county, Pennsylvania, "is composed of a high and rather level table-land between the great Alleghany mountains and Laurel hill. It abounds in what are called glades—level wet lands about the head waters of the numerous streams that rise in the county. The climate of this elevated region is too cool and the summers too short for raising corn, and the land is generally too wet for wheat. Oats, rye, hay and potatoes are the principal crops. The glades, when properly managed, form productive dairy farms. The well-known glades butter bears the palm in Baltimore and Washington."—(Hist. Coll. of the State of Pennsylvania, Phila., 1843, pp. 615, 616.)

NOTE 4.—Plat-book, pp. 23, 89; Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 1312.

"In the summer of 1858 James Gilbert and family took up their residence there (*i. e.*, the 'eighty' south of Wakefield), he filing on it. He made rapid progress in improvements, and in many respects was a model pioneer. They remained about two years, and during that time built a larger and better house a few rods north of the present site of Wakefield, which was occupied by them in 1859, making them the first settlers actually living in what is now Wakefield. In the spring of 1860 he very suddenly left the country and his family soon followed."⁵

The earliest settlements were determined exclusively by natural conditions. Of these the most important were the presence of wood and water, and the possibility of defense against Indians or outlaws. None of these conditions were to be found upon the high prairie. Along the banks of the river there were very few trees and only at the opening of the creek valleys was there a fairly dense growth of timber. For this reason the high prairies and the open river valley long remained unoccupied, but wherever a large creek flowed into the river there one would find the cabin of a settler or, if conditions favored it, the homes of a group of settlers. To this fact we owe many of our older place names. Thus Quimby creek, Mall creek, and Caine's creek preserve the names of their pioneer settlers. Milford grew up in the Bachelor creek neighborhood, and if the little stream which bounds Wakefield on the south had been sufficiently important as a landmark it would doubtless have been called Gilbert's creek.

The settlers, few as they were, were much depleted by the troublous times of the civil war.

"In 1860 there were eleven families in the Quimby neighborhood. In 1863 J. B. Quimby and Ed Kirby were the only men left there. John Butler, Lorenzo Gates and Jacob Mall were the only ones left on Mall creek."⁶

In a very real sense Kansas formed a part of the seat of war, being on the one side exposed to the attacks of guerrillas from Missouri, and on the other to the depredations of the plains Indians.⁷ In every community all the men who could be spared bore arms. Fort Riley was the military headquarters. Henry Avery, of this city, recollects having been on picket duty near the ruins of the old Pawnee state-house when the news of the burning of Lawrence, August 21, 1863, came to the frontier settlements. The Indians continued to be a source of danger for several years after the close of the civil war. The battle of Arickaree,⁸ sometimes called the battle of Beecher's Island, was fought September 17 to 19, 1868, just a year before the coming of the English settlers. At a later time one of the Wakefield colonists fell in Custer's last battle on the Little Big Horn.

NOTE 5.—*Wakefield Advertiser*, October 25, 1894, address by J. B. Quimby, October 10, 1894.

NOTE 6.—Plat-book, p. 15.

NOTE 7.—"The next object of interest called to our attention," says Mr. R. T. Batchelor, in his account of Victoria, Ellis county, "was Union Pacific cemetery, just west of town and on the right of way, containing about twelve graves. The plot of ground is neatly and substantially fenced, and kept in excellent repair by the railway company. There are seven graves in a row, with a rough undressed stone at the head and foot of each. On one is carved the words 'In Memory' and the commencement of another letter; the others are unmarked, excepting the foot of the south grave, which is roughly inscribed as follows: 'In Memory of Hry McDonney of Cambridge, Mass., and five others, to me unknown for their memory. I've carved this stone. Killed by Indians in the year 1864. Dock Williams, carver.'"—(*Wakefield Advertiser*, January 21, 1898.)

NOTE 8.—The Battle of Arickaree, by Winfield Freeman, Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 6, pp. 346-357; Hugh O'Neill, in the *Kansas City Star*, November 29, 1905.

Doctor Burt, who came to Kansas in the spring of 1868, has thus described the area of settlement:

"In coming from Bachelor,* now Milford, the first house after leaving Mr. Hopkins's, this side of the river, was Mr. Quimby's log cabin, then Mr. Todd's stone house, then an old-fashioned log cabin where Mr. Payne's house now stands, then a log house in what is now Wakefield. . . . The next house to the north was, I think, Harvey Ramsey's, and the next ones were in the Avery district, which seemed well on toward Clay Center. . . . There was a cabin at the river where Mr. Manuel now lives, then occupied by Mr. North, of pleasant memories (we used to hunt wild turkeys from there). To the west Mr. Kirby's, also of logs, was, I think, the only house between us and Chapman creek—we had to go half way to Junction City before finding a house. The first public improvement I heard of after I came was to finish schoolhouse No. 8, so it could be used as a meeting-house."⁹

The following gives an estimate of the unoccupied area:

"In January, 1870, there were no houses between Clay Center and Fancy creek, between Clay Center and Chapman creek, nor between the head of Chapman creek and Wakefield."¹⁰

The accuracy of this statement has been called in question, but perhaps it may be interpreted to mean that before the coming of the English settlers in 1869-'70 the high prairies of Clay county remained for the most part unoccupied.

II.—THE ORIGIN OF THE KANSAS LAND AND EMIGRATION COMPANY.

The Rev. Richard Wake,¹¹ to whom the first impulse toward the formation of an English colony in this neighborhood was due, came to the United States in 1854, settling at first near New York. In 1860 he removed to Illinois. Soon after the close of the civil war he began to advocate through the English press the advantages of colonization on the western prairies. Two parties of Englishmen were in this way settled in the vicinity of Lincoln, Neb. Mr. Wake subsequently returned to Illinois, and, as he tells us, did not anticipate further experience in colonization.¹² At least three separate factors may be traced in the formation of the "company" that colonized Wakefield. Mr. R. H. Drew was a land-agent in London, and Mr. Wake was also widely known in Great Britain through his advocacy of the prairie states as a field for immigration. At the same time Mr. John Wormald, of

* The act incorporating the town of "Bachelor" is contained in the Private Laws of Kansas Territory, for 1858, p. 303; Bradley E. Fullington, Samuel D. Houston, Moses Younken, Abraham Barry and Martin F. Conway, incorporators.

NOTE 9.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 29, 1894.

NOTE 10.—Plat-book, pp. 15, 16.

NOTE 11.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 12.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894: We quote from Rev. Richard Wake (Los Angeles, Cal., December 18, 1907): "Leaving England at a time of great business depression, I was requested by a number of friends to report on conditions here, with a view to encouraging emigration from England. Settling near New York, I found things not sufficiently in advance of England to advise removal to the states. In 1860 I removed to Illinois, and on its wide and fertile prairies saw opportunities full of promise to the industrious working man—and especially to the small farmer of England. But while I was collecting facts the civil war broke out. By the time the war closed the price of Illinois land had taken it out of reach of the class I had in view. I then visited Iowa and eastern Nebraska, reporting the result of my investigation to the *Christian World*, of London, and also writing a pamphlet on the subject. In 1866 I visited England and brought out a small colony to settle on government land in Otoe county, Nebraska. I had no intention of proceeding further in emigration movements, but later R. H. Drew, of London, who had been directing migration to Australia, wrote, urging me to aid him and others in promoting emigration to the West. Though unwilling to further turn aside from my work in the ministry, I yielded, and the Wakefield settlement resulted."

Wakefield, Yorkshire, was anticipating the formation of an English settlement in northern Missouri.¹³ By what chain of circumstances these gentlemen were led to merge their respective purposes in a single plan the writer confesses himself uninformed. Those of their number who were in England seem to have realized the advisability of enlisting the services of Mr. Wake, and, with this in view, to have opened correspondence with him.¹⁴ The correspondence at first took the form of a request for information concerning government lands in Kansas and Nebraska.¹⁵ How the first inquiries developed into a colonial enterprise may best be told in Mr. Wake's own words:

"Later a scheme was proposed for the purchase of a large tract of land for coöperative farming, and, asking my advice on the merits of the scheme generally, I discouraged the coöperative feature of the plan, but was in favor of associative immigration on a plan which would give to each settler individual ownership of land and absolute control of the products of his own labor, and proposed the plan, adopted later, of the purchase of a large tract of land by a few, who should sell it again in quantities to suit, at a slight advance over cost, to first settlers, depending upon later sales for profit on the investment. Late in June, 1869, I received a cablegram saying, 'Select 100,000 acres in Kansas for colony,' and on the 8th of July I arrived in Topeka on that errand. I inspected a certain reservation which had come into the hands of the Santa Fe company, but the price was too high. I came west to Junction City with a letter of introduction to Capt. A. C. Pierce. July 12 we took a team to view the land lying between the Republican river and Chapman creek, taking the divide west of Junction City and following it to the head of Chapman creek. We saw but one house between the two points. The year 1869 was a fruitful one. Grass in the ravines would meet above the backs of the horses, and on the high land was knee high or more. Reaching on our return the present site of Wakefield, I thought, as I looked down the valley, I had never seen a more beautiful landscape.

"Securing the withdrawal of the land from the market, I reported to London, and in August Messrs. Wormald, Maitland, Batchelor and others arrived, Messrs. Wormald and Maitland being empowered to purchase the land if it met their approval."¹⁶

The purchase of the land was ratified by Messrs. Wormald and Maitland and steps were immediately taken to organize the colony. The land that was purchased is thus described by Mr. Quimby.¹⁷ "Their tract of land consisted of the odd sections in the vicinity of Wakefield and held by the Union Pacific railroad, from whom they purchased it." On the same subject, Mr. Wake says: "Contracts were made with the Kansas Railroad Company and the National Land Company for 32,000 acres at a cost of \$102,000, one-fifth being paid down at the time of purchase."¹⁸

The following list of the pioneers of Wakefield was furnished by Mr. R. T. Batchelor:

"The pioneer party, consisting of Messrs. Wormald, Maitland and others, sailed from England on the steamship *Main* (North German Lloyd) on August 3, 1869, and arrived in New York the 13th, reaching Junction City about the 21st of the month. The party included Mr. John Wormald, of

NOTE 13.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 14.—*Wakefield Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 15.—*Wakefield Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 16.—*Wakefield Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 17.—*Wakefield Advertiser*, October 25, 1894.

NOTE 18.—*Wakefield Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

Wakefield, Yorkshire; Mr. Alexander Maitland, of London, afterwards secretary of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company and one of the directors of the colony; Mr. Spence, the agricultural director of the proposed coöperative colony; Mr. R. T. Batchelor, Mrs. R. T. Batchelor and two children, of Fareham, Hampshire; Mr. Martin; Mr. Stone, who afterwards removed to Topeka; Mr. James Gibbons, the first proprietor of the "eighty" adjoining Wakefield on the southwest, known as the Allaway farm."

Another member of the party was Mr. James Marshall, of New Alresford, Hampshire. He was the first business man in the town, having put up a carpenter's shop on the lots afterwards owned by Mr. Thomas, corner of E street and Second avenue. He likewise made the first filing on the land subsequently owned by my father, and, in partnership with James Woodward, erected many of the earliest buildings in Wakefield and vicinity.¹⁹

August 25, 1869, the founders of the colony were incorporated as the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, and on the following day the town site was formally laid out. A cairn of stones was raised on the slope of Cedar Bluff and in it was deposited a parchment certifying the founding of the town and naming the parties therein concerned.²⁰ The cairn stood near the present site of Doctor Hewitt's residence.²¹ The plat-book makes the following statement about the beginnings of Wakefield:

"The town was laid out by the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, consisting of Richard Wake, John Wormald, Alexander Maitland, Colonel Loomis, C. Wake, R. H. Drew and J. D. Bennett. The four first named of these selected the town site of Wakefield August 26, 1869. Colonel Loomis named the town Wakefield, partly in honor of the president of the company and partly because Wakefield, England, was the former home of John Wormald, the secretary of the company."²²

Colonel Loomis, who named the town, was president of the National Land Company, and, like Rev. Richard Wake, a citizen of Illinois. His connection with Wakefield was due to the fact that the English colony acquired a part of their land from the National Land Company.²³ On October 6 the first large party of colonists arrived, and on the 12th of the same month the stockholders of the company met for permanent organization in the Hale House (now the Bartell) at Junction City.²⁴ The new corporation henceforth appears as "The Kansas Land and Emigration Company, incorporated August 25, 1869."

In the former edition of this narrative it was said that Mr. Wormald invested a fortune of \$72,000 in the Wakefield colony. The statement certainly calls for revision. As a matter of fact popular tradition does credit Mr. Wormald with a fortune of \$72,000, but in any case that was many times the amount of his actual investment in the stock of the company. Since the original narrative was composed the following more definite information has been obtained:

"Mr. Wormald certainly did not invest more than about \$10,000 in the stock of the company, and I think it was only about \$8000. He owned one-third of the stock, and, as we paid the railroad company but a little over \$20,000

NOTE 19.—J. P. Marshall; in addition to the above, H. S. Walter names Messrs. George Gates, Miller and a young man named Meek.

NOTE 20.—Wakefield Herald, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871.

NOTE 21.—W. Guy.

NOTE 22.—Plat-book, p. 25.

NOTE 23.—Wakefield Advertiser, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 24.—Wakefield Advertiser, November 8, 1894.

upon our contracts with them, there was never more than about \$24,000 in the treasury from subscriptions to stock. The balance of the stock was subscribed by other members of the company, Colonel Loomis being the next heaviest holder."²⁵

We pass now from the formation of the company to the story of the settlers whom its inducements brought out to the prairies of Kansas.

III.—THE ENGLISH SETTLERS.

The Kansas Land and Emigration Company aimed from the start to stimulate the immigration of English settlers. Popular tradition charges the advertising material employed with being highly colored and not wanting in deliberate misstatement. In his address October 10, 1894,²⁶ Mr. Quimby puts the matter more dispassionately:

"To colonize their lands, their prospectuses and advertisements were circulated wholly in England, and the colonists were mostly English trades people from the cities, a poor class to settle up a new country."

Yet in all fairness to the newcomers it must be said that the hardships of pioneer life were such as neither townsmen nor landsmen were prepared to meet. In many instances it was precisely the experienced English farmer who proved least adapted to the new conditions. He had as much to learn and more to unlearn than the townspeople.

Some of the earliest English settlers came out independently of the company's plans. Foremost among these were Messrs. P. Gillies and H. S. Walter. Mr. Walter has kindly furnished the following account of his coming to Kansas:

"I met Mr. Gillies, who had been in Junction City about two weeks, the day I arrived in Junction City, August 11, 1869, and the next day took up land in Republican township, on section 28, adjoining Doctor Burt."

Mr. Walter also gives some additional particulars concerning the pioneers of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company. He says:

"The pioneer party who came August 21 consisted of R. Wake, J. Wormald, Spence, Miller, Maitland, Geo. Gates, and a young man named Meek, all of London, England, and also Mr. Loomis, land agent, of New York."

Messrs. Savage and Wooley were also in the neighborhood before the coming of the Wakefield colonists.²⁷ They lived in the same district and owned claims not far from that of Mr. Walter.

The first large party of settlers came over on the steamship Nebraska, of the Guion line, sailing from Liverpool on September 15, 1869, and reaching New York on the 29th.²⁸ The voyage is remembered as an exceptionally stormy one.²⁹ The party came west by way of the Great Lakes, visiting Niagara Falls en route, and arrived in Junction City on October 6. The number of persons, old and young, comprised in the Nebraska party, amounted to seventy-seven.³⁰ The following list of its members was furnished me by Messrs. John Chapman and Wm. Guy, viz.: Mr. James Billingham, Warwickshire; Mr. and Mrs. Jas. Boyce; Mr. John Farrington

NOTE 25.—R. Wake, Los Angeles, January 29, 1907.

NOTE 26.—Wakefield Advertiser, October 25, 1894.

NOTE 27.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 29.—J. Chapman.

NOTE 28.—W. Guy.

NOTE 30.—W. Guy.

Alsop (eldest son of Mr. Wm. Alsop, one of the leaders of a subsequent party); Mr. Joseph Binns; Mr. Samuel Binns; Mrs. ———, a married sister of the two foregoing; (Mr Guy adds: "I cannot obtain the name of the sister of Messrs. Joseph and Samuel Binns. The latter had no family. The sister had two girls; the eldest died on the voyage and was buried at sea, it being the only death that occurred in our party of seventy-seven"³¹) Mr. and Mrs. Ison,³² Wolverhampton: all of whom came from the west Midlands. Mr. John Muston, Lincolnshire; Mr. Christopher Deere, and Mr. John Deere, Buckinghamshire;³³ Mr. H. H. Meade, West Wickham, Buckinghamshire; the foregoing were from the east Midlands. Mr. Wm. Guy, Sussex (a native of the parish of Ripe, 1833, seven miles from Lewes; proprietor of one of our leading business houses, and my principal informant concerning the early history of Wakefield); Mr. Abner Shrives, Sussex; Mr. John Chapman, Somerset; (My father was a native of Montacute, in Somerset, where my grandfather, John Chapman, sr., and great-grandfather, Zachariah Chapman, were quarry owners and stone merchants, the quarry (Ham Hill) being leased of the Duchy of Cornwall.*) Mr. Geo. Taylor, Somerset; Mr. T. P. Pettigrew, Hampshire (afterwards secretary of the Wakefield Agricultural and Literary Society. He likewise officiated as lay reader in the early days of St. John's parish.); Mr. John Spooner and family, London. The foregoing all came from the south or southwest of England.

Other members of the party were: Mr. Edward Moore, from Northumberland, afterwards co-pastor of the Madura Union church; Mr. Robert Poppleton and family, Yorkshire; Mr. ——— Johnson; Mr. ——— Gwyn; Mr. John Cole; Mr. and Mrs. Butcher; Mr. and Mrs. James Woodward. Mr. Woodward was one of the first business men in Wakefield, and, in partnership with James Marshall, erected many of the earliest buildings. The party arrived in Junction City on Wednesday, October 6, and celebrated their arrival by holding a religious and social gathering at the Methodist church, corner of Eighth and Jackson, on which occasion the Rev. Joseph Binns was one of the principal speakers.³⁴

During the winter settlers came singly or by families. Mr. John Pett, from Cambridgeshire, came out as agent for Mr. Docking. He reached Junction City December 6, 1869, and in the following spring moved out on a farm southwest of Wakefield.³⁵ Information concerning others who came during the winter is not now obtainable.

Not many weeks passed before the English began to feel the hardships of pioneer life. My father, who was staying with Rev. William Todd, at Madura, had a severe attack of inflammatory rheumatism. No one thought he would recover. The Todd house, though more commodious than many other dwellings, was built in frontier style, the wall of roughly dressed stone, the woodwork of walnut or cottonwood. Here my father lay in an unplastered upper room, whose only ceiling was a roof of badly warped

* "Without any new creation, and previous to his acquiring the title of Prince of Wales, the heir-apparent of the sovereign is Duke of Cornwall, the most ancient title of its degree in England."—(Larned's History for Ready Reference, vol. V, p. 3644; Dodd, Manual of Dignities, pt. 2.)

NOTE 31.—Letter, Wakefield, Kan., April 3, 1907.

NOTE 32.—J. G. Billingham.

NOTE 33.—Historically considered, Buckinghamshire must be classed with Oxford and the Thames valley as a West Saxon district.—W. J. C.

— NOTE 34.—W. Guy.

NOTE 35.—J. Pett.

native-lumber shingles. At night he could see the blink of the stars, and in stormy weather the snow drifted in on his bed. To add to his danger, his landlady, Mrs. Todd, was at this time afflicted with a felon. Under these circumstances it became necessary to move him to another house. He was carried at the dead of winter from the Todd house to the home of Mr. William Streeter. Here my father was fortunate in securing a downstairs room, and he remained with the Streeter family until after his recovery.

The dry continental climate, with its fitful and violent changes of temperature, proved very trying to the English settlers. Those who were here during the first winter recall a memorable storm that occurred on the 16th of January, 1870.³⁶ It was a Sunday morning, the weather delightfully mild, when a party of nine started for the Madura schoolhouse to attend the preaching services. Messrs. Billingham and Guy, a runaway midshipman named Broome, from Bath, England, and a Mr. Laundry (the first proprietor of the Moutelle farm, in Union township) and his son Willie were in the party. While the meeting was in progress the wind veered to the north and blew at the rate of sixty knots³⁷ an hour. The temperature fell very rapidly. Mr. Todd told his listeners that he had never seen but one storm equally severe, and that no one could drive a team in the face of such a hurricane. But those who had come from Wakefield resolved to make a dash for the old log house built by James Gilbert in 1859. The distance to be covered was a little more than two miles. Young Broome was the first to reach the house, but he was so benumbed with cold that he could not open the door. He had to wait in the tempest till others came to his assistance.

The continual privation of pioneer life was harder to bear than its occasional sufferings. In winter a large part of one's time must be consumed in getting wood and water. To settlers on the high prairie this often meant a journey of several miles. Besides all this there was a serious economic drawback. The country had scarcely recovered from the effects of the civil war, and for many commodities one must still pay "war time" prices. This had much to do with the apparent failure of the colony during its earlier days.

The spring of 1870 was marked by the coming of a second party of colonists. They were for the most part from Montgomeryshire, in Wales, or from the adjoining English county of Shropshire. The leader of the party was Mr. Wm. Alsop, who invested very considerable capital in the settlement of Wakefield. The Alsop party sailed from Liverpool in the steamship Colorado (Guion line) on Wednesday, the 6th of April, 1870.³⁸ They set out from New York on Tuesday, the 19th, and reached Kansas City on the following Saturday.³⁹ On Monday, the 25th, they were met at Junction City by Rev. Richard Wake.

The following persons were members of the party:⁴⁰ Mr. Wm. Alsop and family, county Montgomery, known at Wakefield as Mr. William Alsop of Caine's creek; Mr. Richard Alsop and family, county Montgomery; Mr. Edward Jones and family, county Montgomery; Mr. T. C. Roscoe, of Uniontown (sec. 22), (my principal informant of the history of the Alsop party); Mr. S. E. Richards (proprietor of the Wakefield Cash Store); Mr. Wm. Rich-

NOTE 36.—W. Guy.

NOTE 37.—A knot is a nautical mile of 6087 feet.

NOTE 38.—T. C. Roscoe.

NOTE 39.—T. C. Roscoe.

NOTE 40.—T. C. Roscoe.

ards (brother of the preceding); Mr. Thos. Newell; Mr. Thos. Woods; Mr. Swinbourne, Cumberland; Mr. Wm. Dalton, Warwickshire; Mr. Farmer (subsequently a merchant in White City); Mr. Richard Bird, Mr. Bird (brother of the preceding); J. W. Sampson (afterwards removed to the western part of the state, probably Osborne county); Mr. I. W. Thomas, Cornwall. Mr. A. R. Goffin, from London, also came out on the Colorado, although he was not a member of the Alsop party. In the earlier edition of this narrative mention was made of a Mr. Seimew (or Siemee), said to have come out about the same time as the Alsop party. Concerning this settler Mr. J. P. Marshall supplies the following information in a letter dated February 18, 1907:

"The man you write of as Siemee was here before the date you give, and boarded with the Todds for several months. His father was a bandmaster in a cavalry regiment in England and he was a player in the same. His claim was northwest of Wakefield. The Hannibal schoolhouse No. 29 was built on his place and was the first voting precinct for this part of the county."

In the same connection my informant says: "Mr. Moutelle and family, from London, were here in March, 1870; also the Cowderys, from Southampton; both families building and living in Wakefield."

A smaller party, consisting of Mr. Jas. Eustace, Mr. and Mrs. Jardine, Miss Kynaston (an aunt of the Reed brothers), Mr. Alfred Taylor (brother of Geo. Taylor, who came out on the Nebraska), Mrs. John Chapman, her two children, Miss Jennie Taylor (with Mrs. Chapman as her companion), and a servant girl named Harriet, also came out in April, 1870. The writer has the distinction of being one of the two children before mentioned. This party sailed on the City of Washington, one of the swiftest and best-equipped vessels afloat. In New York they stayed at the Astor House and found American travel decidedly expensive. None of them had any notion of what pioneer life was like. Of course, they took it for granted that America was an El Dorado.⁴¹

In April, 1870, Mr. Benjamin Budden, a naturalized American, came from Illinois. He was a native of Bridport, in Dorset, but had lived in America for several years.⁴² In May of the same year two brothers named Yarroll and a young man named John Brett, from Hastings, in Sussex, came to Wakefield. They lived temporarily in a "dugout" on the Geo. Taylor farm, southwest of Wakefield.⁴³ Mr. Brett was a brother and Mr. Joseph Yarroll the first husband of Mrs. T. C. Roscoe.⁴⁴

The completion of the company's store building was celebrated on the 15th of April, 1870. On this subject Mr. Marshall makes the following statement:

"April 15, 1870, being Good Friday, and the company's store building just finished, there was a gathering of settlers for many miles around—both English and American—whereat much tea and coffee, with edibles commensurate, were consumed. It helped to form many acquaintances in my case which have lasted to this day."⁴⁵

The coming of the English colony greatly increased the number of voters

NOTE 41.—Mrs. J. Chapman.

NOTE 43.—W. Guy.

NOTE 42.—H. W. C. Budden.

NOTE 44.—W. Guy; R. O. Mackintosh.

NOTE 45.—Letter, Wakefield, February 18, 1907.

in Clay county, as the following quotation from page 15 of the Plat-book will show :

"The number of votes cast in 1866 was 112; in 1867, 155; in 1868, 196; in 1869, 232; in 1870, 482; in 1871, 1003; in 1872, 955; in 1873, 1158. . . . The number of votes cast in 1880 was 2672."

In the year 1870 Kansas suffered from a severe drought.⁴⁶ Those who are familiar with the clear, cloudless sky of a Kansas midsummer can imagine how this affected the newcomers, accustomed as they were to the humid atmosphere of England. In 1869 vegetation had been exceedingly luxuriant. Now every condition was reversed. Crops were an almost total failure and garden plants withered where they grew. The experience of the settlers seemed in almost every respect to belie the glowing reports that had lured them to the far West. On every side they murmured against the founders of the colony as the Israelites of old did against Moses and Aaron. Mr. Wake was especially blamed. They charged him with being the author of their calamities. Some years later Mr. Alexander Maitland, the secretary of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, revisited Great Britain, and during his absence the man whom he had left in charge of his property pillaged the house and tossed his papers and correspondence out of doors. After this high-handed proceeding the culprit fled to Missouri.⁴⁷ About the year 1870 Mr. James Eustace also returned to England for the purpose of organizing another party of settlers.⁴⁸ But in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company the tide of immigration was checked.⁴⁹

IV.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COLONY.⁵⁰

The Wakefield colony was remarkable for the number and variety of its "organizations." The most important of these were the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, the Wakefield Bridge and Ferry Company, the Agricultural and Literary Society, and the Wakefield General Market Company. The settlement also boasted a newspaper—the *Wakefield Herald*, printed at the *Union* office, in Junction City. Much difference of opinion exists as to the original name of the Wakefield paper. My father thinks that it was called *The Star of Empire*. Others are equally positive that from the beginning it was called the *Wakefield Herald*. A publication called *The Star of Empire* certainly did exist, a copy having formerly been in my possession, but it may have been simply a prospectus printed and circulated in England. It was printed in newspaper form and bore the well-known motto from Bishop Berkeley, "Westward the star of empire takes its way." Perhaps the most likely interpretation will be to suppose that the publication referred to was issued by some other firm than the Kansas Land and Emigration Company. This is known to have

NOTE 46.—*Wakefield Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 47.—H. W. C. Budden.

NOTE 48.—Cf. *Wakefield Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871.

NOTE 49.—*Wakefield Advertiser*, November 8, 1894. Rev. Richard Wake thinks that Mr. Maitland's visit to Great Britain must have been later than 1870, and that it was unconnected with the affairs of the company.—(Letter from Los Angeles, Cal., December 18, 1907.)

NOTE 50.—The information contained in this section is to a great extent drawn from the copy of the *Wakefield Herald* now in the possession of Mrs. William Sparrowhawk.

been the case with regard to the maps and prospectuses with which intending settlers were supplied at Junction City.

The original plan of the founders was to engage in coöperative farming on a large scale. Mr. Spence, of whom mention has previously been made, was to have been agricultural director for the entire colony. This scheme was not approved of by Mr. Wake, who urged in opposition thereto the merits of a plan which would "give each settler individual ownership of land and absolute control of the products of his own labor."⁵¹ The coöperative system was never put into practice at Wakefield, but instead the directors agreed to adopt Mr. Wake's idea of associative immigration. It was this new plan which found expression in a number of voluntary associations, each designed to promote in some way the welfare of the community. Another feature in the organization of the colony, and which was likewise due to Mr. Wake, was the insertion of a prohibitory clause in all title-deeds to town property.

As regards the societies or corporations previously enumerated, the following items of information may be found in the *Wakefield Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871:

(1) The Kansas Land and Emigration Company, incorporated August 25, 1869. General office, Wakefield, Kan., branch office, corner Tenth and Washington streets, Junction City. Directors: John Wormald, Alexander Maitland, Richard Wake, Wakefield; J. W. Bennett, John Brown, Morris, Ill; Harry D'Osley, London, England; R. H. Drew, Sydenham, England. Officers: R. Wake, president; A. Maitland, secretary; J. Wormald, treasurer. Agents: Charles Wake, Junction City; Robert H. Drew, 2 Gresham building, Basinghall street, London, E. C.; John Miller, 13 Godliman street, London, England.

(2) The Wakefield Ferry and Bridge Company, incorporated May 30, 1870. President, James Eustace; ferryman, William Guy.

(3) The Agricultural and Literary Society. This organization was one of the most characteristic features of the colony, and its proceedings occupy considerable space in the columns of the *Wakefield Herald*. From the issue previously cited we take the following announcement:

"Agricultural and Literary Society. Every Wednesday evening, seven o'clock, at the hall. President, J. E. Burton; vice-president, R. Wake; secretary, T. P. Pettigrew; treasurer, J. Eustace; executive committee, Alex. Maitland, W. Eustace, C. Ingram, J. B. Quimby, R. N. Cowdery."

Of the recorded proceedings of the society we note the following:

"Wakefield, January 25, 1871. Poorly attended; general conversation.

"February 1. Dairy Farming, Rev. R. Wake.

"February 8. Tree Culture, Mr. Gray.

"February 14. Economy on the Farm, Mr. T. North.

"February 22. A discussion was held on the question of building a bridge on the Republican river at Clay Center. Messrs. J. W. Burton and others spoke against the proposition to issue county bonds to the amount of \$25,000 to build the bridge. It was also stated that a bridge will be built at Wakefield for one-half the sum, which would be a greater convenience to a larger part of the country than one at Clay Center.

"March 1. Committee on public roads recommended the opening of roads on various section lines in the vicinity of Wakefield.

"March 8. J. B. Quimby, Esq., gave an address on 'Opening a Farm.' In accordance with a vote of the society this address was printed in full in the April number of the *Wakefield Herald*. (T. P. Pettigrew secretary.)"

(5) The Wakefield General Market Company. In the spring of 1871 the establishment of a monthly live-stock market was proposed by Messrs. William Alsop, of Caine's creek, and John Chapman, of Wakefield. The Wakefield *Herald* thus announces the formation of the new company:

"We are pleased to be able to announce the opening of a monthly market at Wakefield for the sale of cattle and all kinds of live stock."

Organization: President, William Alsop; secretary, R. Wake; treasurer, J. B. Quimby; directors, W. Alsop, J. Chapman, E. Jones, J. B. Quimby, C. Fullington, R. Wake, and A. Maitland.

At the time of the publication of the April issue of the Wakefield *Herald* the market square was being enclosed with a board fence.

CHURCHES.

While the various organizations pertaining to the Wakefield colony are under consideration, it will be fitting to give some account of the churches.

The Methodist Episcopal church, under the pastorate of Rev. R. Wake, met in the public hall at Wakefield. The building was situated near the northwest corner of the old market square, on the west side. The first Sunday school superintendent was Mr. James Dodson, who also held the office of county superintendent of public instruction.⁵² He still resides at Wakefield as its oldest inhabitant.

In his address at the old settlers' reunion, October 10, 1894, Mr. Wake gave the following particulars:

"In May, 1870, I organized a Methodist church in the room over the store building, then just erected, and preached twice each Sunday until the following March. A Sunday-school was organized, with J. S. Dodson as superintendent. The following year other preachers, Messrs. Eustace, Mullis and Thompson, assisted in supplying the pulpit, and churches were organized at Exeter and Alida, and a circuit formed reaching up the river to Riverhead, opposite Clifton, and west to Oakhill."⁵³

The Union church, with Rev. Wm. Todd and Rev. Edward Moore as copastors, worshiped in schoolhouse No. 8, at Madura.⁵⁴

In the early days of the settlement Mr. Todd preached at the home of Moses Younkens, on Timber creek.⁵⁵ In 1868 the old schoolhouse at Madura, perpetuating the name of his former mission field in South India, became the center of his labors. The Madura church was afterward affiliated with the Congregational body, and when the new building was erected in Wakefield the name of "Madura Congregational Church" was retained.

The services of the Episcopal church were first held at the home of Mrs. Pearson, on section 8, in Gill township, in the spring of 1871. Mr. T. P. Pettigrew usually officiated as lay-reader.

"During 1871," writes Mr. J. P. Marshall, "funds were collected in Wakefield and vicinity, as well as in England and at Baltimore, to erect a stone church on the northeast corner of section 3, township 10, range 3 east. Mr. Charles Ingram donated five acres on section 3 and five acres on section 2 for church, rectory, graveyard and glebe. The building had progressed

NOTE 52.—J. Chapman.

NOTE 53.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 54.—Wakefield *Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3; Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 25, 1894.

NOTE 55.—G. W. Southwick, in the Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 5, 1897 (Santa Barbara Cal., October 5, 1897.)

to the shingling of the roof when, in July, 1872, the first tornado experienced by the newcomers leveled it to the ground."⁵⁶

The destruction of the church building by the tornado of July, 1872—in the nature of the case a serious disaster—may perhaps account for the statement in the Plat-book that the first vestry meeting was held on October 14, 1874. Rev. H. H. Hickox, who was then rector, is mentioned in Wilder's *Annals of Kansas* in connection with relief delivered to sufferers from the grasshopper scourge of 1874-'75. The present church building at St. John's, on the site presented by Mr. Charles Ingram, was dedicated in the spring of 1876.⁵⁷

The Baptist church at Uniondale, northwest of Wakefield, was organized May 3, 1873. To this congregation belonged several families from the south-east of England, particularly the Cowells and Yarrows, from Henham, near Saffron Walden (County Essex).⁵⁸ Another pioneer of this community was William Kynaston, who came out from England in April, 1871. He was one of the charter members of the church.⁵⁹

A few words may be added concerning the town site of Wakefield as it was in the early days of the English settlement. The town lies in the angle between two bluffs, one of which, facing eastward, overlooks the river; the other, extending toward the south, marks the point at which a small creek flows out into the river valley. The outward slope of the northern ridge, known as Cedar Bluff, is almost precipitous and clothed with a fairly dense growth of timber. The eastern brow of Cedar Bluff affords an extensive view. An engraving, which occurs in the Plat-book, professes to give some idea of Wakefield as it appeared at the close of its first decade. This, however, does not add much to our knowledge. Few of the details are recognizable, and the perspective is badly distorted. When the English settlers came, in 1869, the only dwelling north of the creek was the house built by James Gilbert, some ten years earlier. Its position is described as follows: "The old log house was just south of Mr. Lumb's present home. Depression of cellar is still visible in line with E street south of the city limits."⁶⁰

With the influx of settlers in 1869, building operations at once began. Messrs. Marshall and Woodward put up the company's office and the store and public hall, both on the west side of the old market square. On the sections adjoining Wakefield on the west, dwellings were built in 1869 by James Gibbons, J. G. Billingham, and T. P. Pettigrew.⁶¹ My father's house was built early in 1870. The first dwellings in town were those of Benjamin Moutelle, on Third avenue (now owned by Mrs. Shafner), and R. E. Cowdery, corner of Fourth avenue and D street.⁶² Of the two earliest dwellings

NOTE 56.—J. P. Marshall, Wakefield, August 4, 1907.

NOTE 57.—Plat-book, p. 19.

NOTE 58.—J. G. Cowell, January 25, 1908.

NOTE 59.—"The organization of the Uniondale church was [effected] May 6, 1873. Charter members were: Wm. Kynaston, Mary Yarrow, Amelia Randall, Arthur Rothwell. Jasper Cowell was ordained as first pastor of the church, August 14, 1877."—(T. COWELL, February 4, 1908.)

NOTE 60.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 61.—J. G. Billingham.

NOTE 62.—List of earliest buildings in Wakefield, revised by Messrs. J. P. Marshall and W. E. Lumb: Office of company (Spooners building), 1869, block 64, D street; company's store, February, 1870, block 64, D street; Moutelle House, Third avenue, first dwelling built; Cowdery's house, 1870 (now part of Humbert's house), block 46, corner Fourth and D streets; Gillett's (now Alsop's), built by Porter, block 36, corner G street and Fifth avenue; Rev. R. Wake's (F. Dodson's shop), 1870, block 54, corner D street and Third avenue; Eustace's house, 1870, block 48, corner B street and Fourth avenue; Thomas's house, 1870, block 48, B street; Adamson's (now Batchelor's),

on the ridge of the west bluff, that erected by Messrs. John and Paul Guard (G street near Fourth avenue), was afterwards blown away by a tornado. On the block just north of this stands the house built by S. B. Porter, but shortly after occupied by Mr. Gillett. Rev. Richard Wake's house, corner of D street and Third avenue, was built in 1870. This house, according to another source, was subsequently occupied by Thomas Goosey. His son died here, and was buried on their farm in Gill township. The Pioneer Hotel was built in 1870, and the old schoolhouse in 1873. Business life gathered about the company's store at the northwest corner of the market square. The upstairs room, known as the "hall," in which the Methodist Episcopal church worshiped on Sunday, and where the discussions of the Literary and Agricultural Society were held on Wednesday evenings, was likewise a center for social gatherings. The entrance was by an exterior stairway at the back of the building. For the writer, some of childhood's earliest recollections are associated with the Sunday service or other gatherings held in the public hall. Of the business affairs of the colony a partial estimate can be drawn from the columns of the *Wakefield Herald*.⁶³ Mr. Alex. Maitland appears among the professional men,* and we observe that the company offers 22,000 acres of land for sale. About the same time Mr. Gillett was prominent as a cattleman,† and so likewise was Henry Buckle, the agent for Mr. Clinch, of Witney. The establishment of the monthly market was intended to stimulate the cattle trade.

At Junction City the settlers came in touch with the affairs of the wider world. During the autumn and winter of 1870-'71, the war between France and Germany was in progress,⁶⁴ and those of the Wakefield colony whom business called to the city were struck with the interest which our German fellow citizens took in the conflict.

With the opening of the Republican Valley branch of the Union Pacific railroad the first stage in the development of Wakefield draws to a close. Two years earlier the materials for the building of my father's house had been hauled by ox-team from Junction City. Prices were high in Junction, and with the additional cost of transportation almost prohibitive. The railroad was opened in 1872, when Charles Wake received the position of station-master. Geo. Taylor, a member of the Nebraska party, was the first mail-carrier.

V.—COLONISTS FROM THE UPPER THAMES VALLEY.

In spite of the severe check which the stream of immigration received in the year 1870, it subsequently underwent a partial revival. The *Wakefield Herald* thus notices the coming of the next large party of settlers:

"We learn that James Eustace will leave England for Wakefield on the

1870, block 49, corner B street and Fourth avenue; Paul and John Guard, 1870, block 43, G street, "wrecked by the cyclone"; Pioneer Hotel, 1870, block 63, E street; E. Jones, 1870, and R. Alsop's, 1870, both on First avenue, block 79; Jardine's house (now Moutrie's), 1871; David Haden's house and shop, 1871, block 74, E street; schoolhouse, 1873, block 56, E street.

NOTE 63.—List of business advertisements: Dry-goods and groceries, Budden and Margetts; butchers, Alsop & Jones; blacksmith, David Haden; boot and shoemaker, J. Moutelle; carpenters and builders, James Dodson & Sons, B. F. Jevons; painters and glaziers, James South, J. Spooner; bricklayer and plasterer, John Chambers; tailor and cutter, (Isaiah) Jevons; lime burners, Harris & Downing; teamsters, J. Haden, A. Shriver, E. Dodson, and S. B. Porter; Pioneer Hotel, W. C. Thompson.—(*Wakefield Herald*, April, 1871, Mrs. Wm. Sparrowhawk).

* Postmaster and notary public—Mrs. Isabella Maitland (Seattle, Wash.)

† J. P. Marshall, Wakefield, February 18, 1907.

NOTE 64.—Battle of Weissenburg, August 4, 1870; capitulation of Paris, January 28, 1871.

5th of April, accompanied by a large party of English agriculturists, whom he has prevailed upon to remove to the broad prairies of Kansas. Golden opportunities await them here.”⁶⁵

It was, perhaps, the business relations that existed between some of the Oxfordshire colonists and George Grant, esq., the founder of the English colony at Victoria, Ellis county, that led Noble L. Prentiss to place the beginning of Wakefield in 1871. In his *History of Kansas*, page 146, he says:

“In 1871 the Kansas Pacific sold to the Swedish colony, in Saline county, 22,000 acres; to an English colony in Clay county, 32,000 acres; and to a Welsh colony, in Riley county, 19,000 acres. In 1873, George Grant, of England, purchased of the Kansas Pacific Company 50,000 acres in the eastern portion of Ellis county, with the design of colonizing English people of means.”

So far as the date is concerned, the historian is evidently mistaken, for at the time spoken of the English colony in Clay county had been in existence very nearly two years. The efforts made in 1871 to retrieve the fortunes of the Wakefield colony brought it more prominently before the public eye, and may, not unnaturally, have created the impression that it originated at that time.

The first party belonging to the new stream of immigration we shall term the “Sparrowhawk party,” Mr. Robert Sparrowhawk being one of its leading members. The *Wakefield Herald*, as we have seen, states that it was conducted by James Eustace, esq., and fixes the date of its departure from England on April 5, 1871. Mr. Eustace, it will be remembered, came out on the City of Washington in 1870, and had in the meantime revisited England.

The names of the following persons belonging to the Sparrowhawk party were furnished by Mr. E. R. Hawes and Mrs. Wm. Sparrowhawk: Mr. and Mrs. R. Sparrowhawk and family, from Aston under Wychwood, Oxfordshire; Mr. and Mrs. Tilbury and family (Mr. Tilbury afterwards returned to England and was a curate at Exeter); Mr. and Mrs. Shirley and family; Mr. and Mrs. E. R. Hawes (settled on the Geo. Taylor farm; are now living in Wakefield. Mr. Hawes is one of my informants concerning the party of which he was a member); Mr. and Mrs. Cox and family; Mr. and Mrs. James Loader and family; Mr. Geo. Bettridge; Mr. Herman Walter; Mr. William Thurlow; Mr. Richard Jones (brother of Mrs. James Loader); Mr. and Mrs. Arkell and family; Mr. and Mrs. Parsons; Mrs. Wightman (lived just east of Tom Keller’s place).

Most of these came from Oxfordshire and adjoining counties, the streams of which flow into the Thames, and may therefore be described as settlers from the Upper Thames valley.

Among those who came from Oxfordshire about this time were the Clinches. Their names were Harold, Charles and Duncan Clinch. The two first named were sons, the third a nephew, of a wealthy brewer in Witney on the Windrush.⁶⁶ Witney, so the local saying affirms, is famed for four B’s—“beauty, bread, beer, and blankets.” During their stay at Wakefield Messrs. Charles and Harold Clinch engaged in sheep and cattle raising. Their father supplied them with ample capital for the enterprise—not less than forty or fifty thousand dollars, it is said. In addition, Duncan Clinch received an allowance of seventy-five dollars a month from his father.⁶⁷

NOTE 65.—*Wakefield Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871.

NOTE 66.—E. Eustace, T. Beldham.

NOTE 67.—T. Beldham.

Frank Harris, an experienced shepherd, was commissioned to bring out some sixty-five or seventy pure-blooded sheep of the best English breeds. The Clinches also imported several head of choice cattle and two Clydesdale stallions that subsequently took the premium at the Topeka state fair.⁶⁸ The management of the enterprise, perhaps on account of the youth and inexperience of the Clinch boys, was in the hands of Henry Buckle. He came out with them as agent for Mr. Clinch, sr., and took up a claim on the southwest quarter of section 24, in Gill township, and there the members of the party lived for at least two years.⁶⁹ It was his early death that threw all into confusion. Henry Buckle died suddenly at Wamego while en route with a herd of cattle from Missouri, and the right of homestead passed to his father. Accordingly Mr. Buckle, sr., came out to Kansas, bringing with him the remaining members of his household,⁷⁰ and the Clinches moved the stock to the place now owned by Richardson, adjoining Ed. Southwick's on the north. When the Buckle family took possession of the claim on section 24, Gill township, the Clinch boys made their headquarters nearer Wakefield. They kept "bachelors' hall" at the Haynes farm, which at that time was the property of Mr. Lewinton Howse.⁷¹ But in spite of abundant means the young men did not adapt themselves to pioneer life. Their domestic arrangements and housekeeping are said to have resembled those of primitive man, and many anecdotes are told of their father's disgust when he visited Wakefield.

Among other settlers from Oxfordshire were H. B. Jones, afterwards a druggist at Industry, Kan.⁷² Mr. Thomas Irons is said to have come from the same county. Messrs. Cumber and (Charles) Harris, who held claims on the south halves of sections 26 and 22 respectively, in Gill township, were also Oxfordshire people.⁷³ The Buckle family, to whom reference has already been made, were from Chawbury, in Wychwood (Oxfordshire), having lived on a farm that had been cleared under the disafforesting act.⁷⁴ The family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Buckle, three sons (Ted, Will and Charley) and two or three daughters, one of whom married Rev. J. H. Young, an Episcopal clergyman.⁷⁵ The Buckle homestead was that previously occupied by the Clinches, but a claim was also taken up by E. T. Buckle, one of the sons, on the south half of the northeast quarter of section 26,⁷⁶ in the same township. Rev. J. H. Young lived on the south half, on the farm now owned by my brother, Mr. Herbert Chapman.

It was about this time that George Grant, esq., was engaged in founding the English colony at Victoria, Ellis county.⁷⁷ The settlement was planned on a much greater scale than the Wakefield colony. Mr. Grant purchased

NOTE 68.—T. Beldham.

NOTE 69.—J. P. Marshall (Wakefield, February 18, 1907).

NOTE 70.—J. P. Marshall (Wakefield, September 31, 1906).

NOTE 71.—Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Lumb, T. Beldham.

NOTE 72.—Plat-book, p. 21, (H. Bateman Jones, M. D.)

NOTE 73.—W. Guy; the second Marshall map, section 26, township 10, range 3, section 22, township 10, range 3.

NOTE 74.—E. Eustace.

NOTE 75.—W. Guy.

NOTE 76.—J. P. Marshall (Wakefield, September 31, 1906).

NOTE 77.—"May 6, 1873, Geo. Grant imports stock for a 60,000-acre farm at Victoria, Ellis county."—(Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*.)

50,000 acres of land and erected the railway station and hotel, as well as a church, at his own expense.

"He proceeded," says Mr. R. T. Batchelor, "to arrange with the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company for the erection of a fine two-story stone building on the right of way, consisting of thirteen rooms, part to be used as a depot and the remainder as an hotel. After concluding these and other arrangements, such as building fences, shelter for stock, etc., Mr. Grant returned to his home and proceeded to perfect his arrangements for the transportation of his fellow colonists. He very soon had everything in train for the accomplishment of his cherished hopes, and impressed all with whom he came in contact with his business ability and his attention to every detail. A few of the best breeds of sheep, a bunch of the finest Short-horn cattle and some full-blood draft horses were soon purchased and on the way. As there had been no possibility of providing feed at their destination, they were consigned to Wakefield and were wintered on the farm now owned by Mr. Richardson, but known at the time as Chill creek. Mr. Grant was soon surrounded by quite a number of wealthy men, many of them connected with the aristocracy of England and Scotland, who purchased large tracts of land and brought in thousands of sheep."⁷⁸

In the meantime matters went from bad to worse at Chill creek. The Clinch brothers ran up bills from \$100 to \$150 a year for tobacco and similar luxuries, and the ranch proved anything but a success. At length Mr. Clinch, senior, decided to come out and see things for himself. He was thoroughly incensed at his sons' slipshod ways, and after satisfying himself that the enterprise would not succeed, he sold out and took his sons and nephew back to England.⁷⁹ The flock of sheep were disposed of to George Grant, then engaged in founding the English colony at Victoria.⁸⁰ While Mr. Clinch was in Wakefield a cattle show was held at which he presided as judge. In this capacity he awarded the prize of a silver cup, for the best bull shown, to the Gifford brothers of Hillside.⁸¹ Mr. Clinch had already sold out and returned to England when Mr. Edwin Eustace visited Ellis county in the spring of 1874.

The events just related may be said to close the first chapter in the history of Wakefield. The colony rapidly lost its associative character. The monthly market was early discontinued, and one by one the remaining corporations, including the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, passed out of existence. The following account of the financial history of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company has been furnished by Rev. Richard Wake:

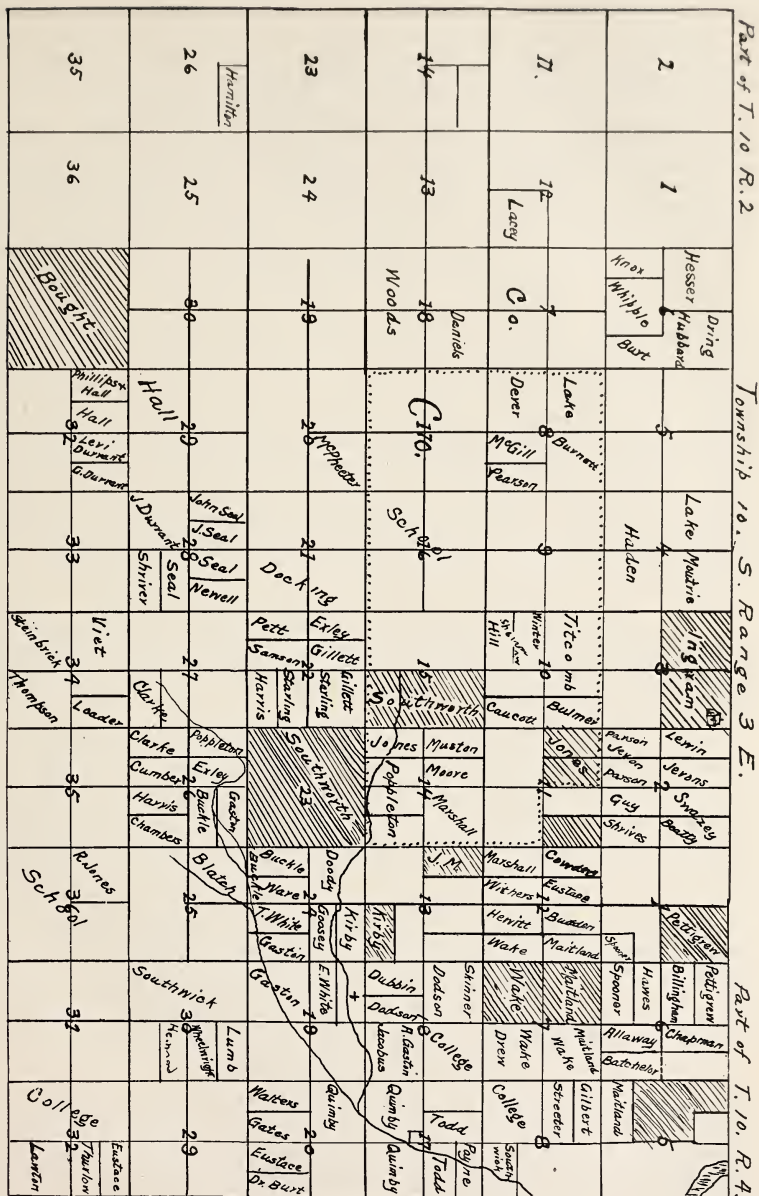
"When by reason of the drought of 1870 and the short-crop years following, we were unable to carry the enterprise through—and so surrendered our contract to the railroad company—it was currently reported that the company had made deeds to various parties and failed to make their title secure. This was in no case true where purchaser took quarter-sections, as in every

NOTE 78.—R. T. Batchelor, in *Wakefield Advertiser*, vol. 10, No. 29, January 21, 1898.

NOTE 79.—T. Beldham; Mr. and Mrs. Lumb.

NOTE 80.—E. Eustace, J. P. Marshall. "My recollection is," adds Mr. Marshall, "that Mr. Clinch, sr., met Mr. Grant (the proprietor of the Victoria colony) here in Kansas, and when he (Mr. C.) had decided to return to England made a sale of all his blooded stock to him. The Clinches did not stay long at the Quimby creek place, and when they left the stock was looked after by a nephew of Mr. Grant, 'Aleck' Grant. The whole business was a wretched waste of money, both with the Clinches and the Victoria colonists, resulting from an utter lack of knowledge of the country and its possibilities at that time."

NOTE 81.—H. W. C. Budden.



The Second Marshall Map-1874

such instance the railroad company was paid in full and the title made good. But there were a few cases—three or four—in which we had deeded eighty-acre lots *informing the parties that we had not perfected title, and could not immediately do so, because the railroad company refused to make deeds for less than the number of acres described in the original contract.* And as we could not pay for and hold the additional eighty acres, we offered to pay back the money, which, after some delay, we did. I myself indorsed the company's notes personally, ultimately making full settlement.

"The fact that none of our purchasers lost by our failure did not gain as rapid currency as the report that we had defrauded those who had trusted us. The old proverb that 'a lie will travel a league while truth is putting on his boots,' was illustrated in our experience. I may say also that not all our shareholders lost all their investments. Messrs. Brown and Rose, of Illinois, surrendered shares for land, and Mr. Wormald did likewise. Some of us who held on to the end did not have as good opportunity to make ourselves whole. But we came out of it with a large amount of experience."

Several later settlers came from Shropshire, followed in the course of the Alsop party. Messrs. Benjamin Adams, William Kynaston, and Ralph Fowles, sailed from Liverpool on April 1, 1871, and landed in New York after a nine-days voyage. The two former settled in Union' township. Mrs. Adams came out in the following August.⁸² A number of colonists came to the vicinity of Wakefield under the influence of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company but without connecting themselves with the Wakefield colony. The Rundles and Winsors came to Junction City and took up claims in Dickinson county. Those of the Wakefield colonists, the time of whose coming is not definitely ascertained, will be noticed at greater length in the following account of the distribution and location of the settlers.

VI.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EARLY SETTLERS.

[REMARK.—The following notation will be employed to define the situation of farms belonging to the settlers mentioned. Fractional expressions will be used to denote the subdivisions both of sections and quarter-sections; thus, $S\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 26 is to be read "the south half of the northeast quarter of section 26."]

In describing the distribution of the Wakefield colonists, the writer will be guided chiefly by the second Marshall map on page 503 of this article. Many incidents of a descriptive nature, as well as many particulars concerning the settlers themselves, have been furnished by M. William Guy, of Wakefield. The map, to which reference has already been made, was drawn by Mr. J. P. Marshall about the year 1874. The area which it described is bounded on the east by the line running between sections 4 and 5 (33-32) in Republican township, and on the west by the second section-line in Athelstane township. It includes, therefore, the whole of township 10, range 3 east (Gill township), and parts of the townships adjoining it on the east and west respectively. The town site of Wakefield, lying mainly in section 5, township 10, range 4 east, occupies the upper right-hand corner of the map.

THE AMERICAN SETTLERS.

Our survey of the district occupied by the American settlers will begin with section 8. The proprietors of the northwest quarter of this section were Messrs. Gilbert and Streeter. They were Americans, and had taken up their claims before the coming of the English colonists. Mr. Ed. Southwick, the owner of $S\frac{1}{2}$ of $SE\frac{1}{4}$, was the nephew of Rev. William Todd,⁸³ of

NOTE 82.—Mrs. B. Adams.

NOTE 83.—REV. WILLIAM TODD was born at Marcellus, Onondaga county, New York, March 8, 1801. He graduated in 1821 from Hamilton College, and entered the Theological Seminary at

Madura. The occupants of the north half of the section will be mentioned in our account of the English settlers. The SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 8 was owned by the State Agricultural College, established at Manhattan in 1863, and re-organized in 1873.

On section 17, the S $\frac{1}{2}$ was owned by Mr. J. B. Quimby and the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ by Mr. W. E. Payne (N $\frac{1}{2}$) and Rev. Wm. Todd (S $\frac{1}{2}$). The Todd house is still standing and is a typical representative of the better class of pioneer dwellings. The deep-set windows, the wood-work of native walnut lumber, the rooms long and low, all characterize the dwelling as unlike anything erected since the coming of the railroad. School district No. 8, and subsequently the church organized there, derived their name from the fact of Mr. Todd having been a missionary at Madura, in India.

"It makes me realize the flight of time" writes Mr. G. W. Southwick, "to look back about forty years when as a small boy in the city of Leavenworth I watched the purchase of an ox-team and wagon loaded with stores for the new home in Clay county. Driving cattle was a new business to the home missionary, Uncle Todd, and the trip of 150 miles was a novel one to his wife, Aunt Ruth.* It was the time of exceptional spring winds, when tumbleweeds were numerous and on the go all day, which gave a weird appearance to the landscape of what seemed illimitable prairie, and caused a little homesick feeling to touch the company. There were many things to learn about ox-driving. After suffering sundry tricks, with years of experience we learned that it was best not to get out on the 'off side'—but we did not know it on this first trip. Of those who took us into their homes and made us welcome, many have crossed the 'boundless river.' We remember the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Fullington, who proved the congenial friends of the family for many years, [and] the good-hearted, whole-souled Moses Younkin, who waded the river and got the log canoe to transport the preacher across. Think of it! For months we traveled with our ox-team

Auburn. In 1820 he married Miss Lucy Brownell. In June, 1833, Mr. Todd and wife went to India as missionaries under the American Board. He lost his wife and married the widow of a brother missionary named Woodward. In February, 1839, ill health compelled him to return to America. He preached at various points in New York and Pennsylvania until 1858, when his adopted children, J. B. Quimby and W. E. Payne and families, concluded to settle in Kansas, and he came with them. He had a third wife, named Ruth S., a delightful woman, who shared with him his pioneering in Kansas. Mr. Todd died August 10, 1874, and Mrs. Ruth S. Todd died in Chicago during the World's Fair. Mrs. Ruth S. Todd, in 1874, prepared and published an extensive sketch of her husband, but did not mention herself. Geo. W. Martin, then editor of the Junction City *Union*, paid the following tribute to Mr. Todd:

"In the fall of 1861, learning that there was no preaching in Junction City, Mr. Todd left his farm on the Republican, and came to town, accompanied by his wife, who shared his self-sacrificing, missionary spirit. The difficulties of that day, in the absence of the support of Him who feeds the ravens, would have been simply overwhelming. Mr. Todd preached the Word during the years 1862 and 1863 practically without salary, putting an absolute faith in God for his food. And yet while, commercially speaking, he had nothing to get it with, and no hope that he would have anything with which to get it, food was always provided. The absence of anything in the house to eat did not in the slightest daunt the old man's spirit. He arrived in town with sixty dollars in gold in his pocket. He exhausted that and such as he could raise by chopping wood and doing stone work. He gave himself no thought about hardships. He was then feeble, having lost his health in India, but with the same inspiration, which forty years before had led him to that foreign field, he labored in this frontier post, while the least possible strength lasted, with great zeal, earnestness, and success. As a man Mr. Todd was without hypocrisy or dissimulation. His actions and his words were universally accepted as the very height of sincerity. There was no such element in him as self. He was a man of vigorous intellect, and an earnest and effective public speaker. His sermons were full of thought and originality, and very peculiar in their simplicity. He talked as though his hearers were children, and the love of Jesus was the absorbing element of his religion and his ministrations. On two sides of the globe this simple, honest, earnest-hearted, godly man, though dead, yet speaketh, and in the ages to come, while the conflict with sin lasts or a heart beats, his impress will be found."

*Mrs. Ruth S. Todd was a lady of exceptional culture, and, like her husband, took a life-long interest in missions. The writer was frequently the guest (1834-'92) of the family circle at the Todd homestead, and remembers with pleasure the fact that Mrs. Todd encouraged his earliest efforts in the field of history.

every Sunday to Mr. Younkin's hospitable house, where Uncle Todd held service, and the singing—to my boyish taste this was the most edifying part of the worship—was led by Mr. Gill.”⁸⁴

Mr. J. B. Quimby, who settled in Republican township in 1857, owned the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 17, and, subsequently, also $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 20. From him Quimby Creek derives its name.

The $E\frac{1}{2}$ of $SE\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 20 was owned by Doctor Burt, who had been an army surgeon in the civil war. The doctor and his wife (*née* Locke), were both of old colonial descent.

“Dr. Asahel Burt, jr., was born in Vermont, September 28, 1828, where his early days were spent upon a farm. When sixteen years old he ran away from home and joined a whaling vessel, in which he served three years, going to all parts of the globe.” He was married in New York to Mary S. Locke on November 28, 1850. Becoming acquainted with Dr. J. V. P. Quackenbush, afterwards surgeon-general of the state of New York, he entered the Albany Medical College, where he graduated with the degree of M. D. “He entered the army as assistant surgeon of the One Hundred and Thirty-ninth New York volunteer infantry, and after about a year was made full surgeon, and was mustered out as such with his regiment at the close of the war. During his army life he was surgeon-in-chief of his brigade, served on several boards of examination, served in the general hospital at Hampton, Va., and in the field hospitals of the Tenth, Eighteenth and Twenty-fourth army corps, besides doing his share of surgical work in the field.” He was present at the battles of Williamsburg, May 5, 1862; Fair Oaks, May 31-June 1; the advance to the vicinity of Richmond in June of the same year; at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864; Bermuda Hundred, on the 16th; the siege of Petersburg, and many other actions less known to the general reader. “On September 29, 1864, he was in the battle of Fort Harrison, where Gen. G. J. Stannard was wounded, and assisted in removing his left arm. The G. A. R. post in Wakefield, Kan., was named for General Stannard.”

Doctor Burt came to Kansas in March, 1868, and spent his later years on his farm in Republican township. Although a Methodist by persuasion, his early associations with the Madura community led him to attend the Congregational church. He died at his home, April 5, 1901, in his seventy-second year.⁸⁵ Mrs. Burt traced her ancestry to William Locke, of Woburn. Her great grandfather, David Locke, born 1740, as we read in the published history of the family, was a soldier both in the Seven Years' war and in the War of Independence. “He was a soldier in the old French war, at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. In the War of the Revolution he was a volunteer who went to the assistance of General Gates in September, 1777, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne. He was an influential man in the church, of which he was a most exemplary member.”⁸⁶

In the same neighborhood with Doctor and Mrs. Burt lived W. P. Gates, who, as a mere lad, had also seen military service in the civil war. In an ad-

NOTE 84.—Gilbert W. Southwick, in the *Wakefield Advertiser*, November 5, 1897. (Santa Barbara, Cal., October 5, 1897.)

NOTE 85.—The *Clay Center Times*, April 11, 1901.

NOTE 86.—Mary Smith Locke, born 1829; page 225 of “A Genealogical and Historical Record of the Descendants of Wm. Locke, of Woburn, 1853; Boston and Cambridge” (Jas. Monroe & Co.)

dress on October 10, 1894, Doctor Burt mentions a settler named French, who likewise lived in that vicinity.

In the district north of Wakefield the Avery family had taken up claims before the coming of the English colonists. The first to settle in that vicinity was Mr. Albert Avery. His brother, Mr. Henry Avery, came some time later. They were natives of Orleans county, Vermont, and were of English descent. The following is an account of the coming of the Avery family to this country:

"We now take up the record of our earliest ancestor (Dr. Wm. Avery) who crossed the Atlantic. He in 1650 cast in his lot with the settlers of the town of Dedham, Mass., bringing with him his wife, Margaret, and three children, from the Parish of Barkham, county of Berkshire, England."

The colonial Averys of the first two generations were of English birth. Rev. John Avery, born 1685, grandson of Dr. Wm. Avery, and his son Job, born 1722-'3, lived in Truro, on Cape Cod. George (1757-1859), was a son of Job Avery and Jean Thatcher, and grandfather of Messrs. Albert and Henry Avery, fought in the War of Independence, and after its close resided in Plainfield, N. H., on the east bank of the Connecticut river. He left an account of his "Tryals and Captivity" during the war. George Avery, son of the preceding, after living many years in Orleans county, Vermont, came with his family to Kansas, and died near Wakefield, September 29, 1889, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Elkins.⁸⁷

Mr. Albert Avery's farm, on Caine's creek, afterward purchased by his brother Henry, consisted of parts of sections 18 and 19, township 9 south, range 4 east. Albert died at Wakefield, February 1, 1875.

The pioneer settler in Gill township was Mr. Kirby. His claim included the S $\frac{1}{2}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 13 and N $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 24. In the year 1868 his house was the only dwelling in the township.⁸⁸

With regard to Athelstane township, the following information is to be found in Plat-book (p. 21): "The first settlers in this township were William Price and his son Martin, who came February 17, 1860."

THE ENGLISH SETTLERS.

Settlers in township 10, range 4 east.

The town site of Wakefield consisted of 120 acres in the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 5, and the two "eighties" (E $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 6, and N $\frac{1}{2}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 5) adjoining it on the west and south respectively. In section 6, the east half was owned by Mr. R. T. Batchelor, the west half by Mr. James Gibbons, both of whom were members of the pioneer party. When the Marshall map was drawn the Gibbons homestead was owned by William Allaway. The W $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$, adjoining the town site of Wakefield, was owned by Mr. John Chapman. An account of my father's family has been given in connection with the list of those who came out in the steamship Nebraska in 1869. My mother was the second daughter of Mr. William Hellier, of Poundsford (Pitminster), near Taunton. The Helliers had been settled for several generations at Hennock, near Bovey Tracey (Devon). Mrs. Wm. Hellier was a daughter of Edmund Rich, esq., of Cross House, Over Stowey. The Riches of Stowey, Butcombe, and Bagborough were descended from "Samuel Rich,

NOTE 87.—Avery family record; Dedham Branch of the Avery Family in America, pp. 19, 322-327. (Plymouth, Mass., 1893.)

NOTE 88.—Wakefield Advertiser, October 25, 1894.

esq., gentleman,"⁸⁹ who flourished in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. On the extinction of the elder branch of the family (in 1815) my maternal great-grandfather removed from Butcombe to Over Stowey.

The west half of the section was divided in four "eighties," lying east and west. The original proprietors were Messrs. Pettigrew ($N\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$), Billingham ($S\frac{1}{2}$ of same), Geo. Taylor ($N\frac{1}{2}$ of $SW\frac{1}{4}$), and John Spooner ($S\frac{1}{2}$ of same), all of whom came out in the steamship Nebraska in 1869. In 1873-'74 the Geo. Taylor farm was owned by E. R. Hawes, who came out with Mr. Sparrowhawk's party.

Section 7, lying southwest of Wakefield, was assigned to the directors of the colony—the $NE\frac{1}{4}$ to Mr. John Wormald, the $NW\frac{1}{4}$ to Mr. Alex. Maitland, the $SW\frac{1}{4}$ to Rev. Richard Wake, and the $SE\frac{1}{4}$ to Mr. R. H. Drew. Of the proprietors mentioned, Mr. Drew never became an actual settler, although he paid a visit to the colony in the early days and stayed with my father at his farm on section 6. In addition to the quarter-section mentioned above, Mr. Alex. Maitland owned the "eighty" (in twp. 10, range 3 east) adjoining it on the west, and also the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of $SW\frac{1}{4}$ of section 5, adjoining the town site of Wakefield. He erected a dwelling-house on the first-named eighty, and also commenced to build a stone residence on the farm lying south of the town site. The southeast angle of the last-named building, situated on the east slope of the bluff just north of Denny Mason's, was standing not many years since. Some trees had sprung up under the shelter of the wall, and from the roadside a doorway or window aperture was visible. I think the material was afterwards removed for building purposes.

About the year 1873-'74, the Wormald quarter-section appears to have changed hands. At some time later the farm adjoining Wakefield on the south passed into the hands of Mr. Wormald, and became known as the Wormald farm.

The proprietors of section 18 (adjoining section 7 on the south) were Messrs. Skinner, Dodson and Dibben. The northeast quarter of the section belonged to the State Agricultural College. Concerning Mr. Skinner, I find the following entry in the Forty-seventh Annual Session of the Congregational Association (pp. 42, 43):

"Edward Skinner was born in Old Dalby, Leicestershire, England, August 24, 1837. He commenced preaching in England when eighteen years of age. Came to America May 14, 1873. Pastor of Madura (Wakefield) and Milford churches in Kansas from 1873 to December, 1879. Church was built in Milford during his pastorate, which was the first church in Kansas built without missionary aid. . . . Died at his home in Blue Rapids, Kan., January 8, 1901."

Mr. Skinner's homestead was the $N\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 18. On the $SE\frac{1}{4}$ Mr. A. Gaston appears to have been preceded by a settler named Isaac Jacobus.⁹⁰

On section 19 the proprietors were Messrs. Mark Dodson, Emory White,

NOTE 89.—Mural tablet in the parish church, Over Stowey.

NOTE 90.—Marshall map, section 18, township 10, range 4: "With regard to the Jacobus land, I find that the first settler on that land was George Purinton, who lived on it (but I do not remember any house or remains of one). He sold it to Mr. Jacobus, who was a Congregational minister in Junction City, an old man, I believe. A[leck] Gaston bought it from him or his assigns. The other piece of the A[leck] Gaston place was first settled by H. W. Brown who sold it to Charles Purinton and by whom it was sold to Gaston."—J. P. Marshall.

and William Gaston. All these were of American birth. The Gaston family were Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanians.⁹¹

The S $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 20 was owned by Messrs. Walters, Gates, Eustace and Burt. The Walters and Eustace families were English. The NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 30 was owned by Messrs. Lumb (N $\frac{1}{2}$) and Wheelright (S $\frac{1}{2}$). They were Yorkshire people. It may deserve mention that Mr. Lumb (now residing at Wakefield) possesses a copy of the "Breeches Bible" printed in 1599, so called from its curious rendering of Gen. 3:7, that has come down from the reign of Queen Elizabeth. No entries appear on sections 29 and 31. The W $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 32 has been mentioned as belonging to the State Agricultural College. The proprietors of the east half of the same sections were Messrs. Thurlow and Lawton. The N $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to William Eustace, whose homestead was on section 20. Mr. Robert Sparrowhawk came out with a large party in April, 1871, and settled on the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 28.⁹² His former home was at Aston under Wychwood (Oxfordshire). A curious passage in Florence of Worcester's Chronicle shows that this surname is a survival of an Anglo-Saxon proper name current in the Upper Thames valley in the days of Edward the Confessor. The entry reads: "A. D. 1050. Spearhafoc [Sparrowhawk], abbot of Abingdon, was elected bishop of London, but was ejected by King Edward before consecration."⁹³ The circumstance is remarkable, because Anglo-Saxon proper names fell into complete disuse soon after the conquest. J. T. Tait and H. S. Walters also held claims on section 28.⁹⁴

Settlers in township 10 south, range 3 east.

We shall begin our survey of the township with the northeast corner—the point nearest Wakefield. Here, on section 1, the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to Mr. T. P. Pettigrew. Forty acres of the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ adjoining the Spooner farm on the west appear to have belonged to John Spooner. On section 12 there were eight proprietors. The E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$, adjoining his quarter-section in Republican township, belonged to Mr. Alex. Maitland. Alexander Maitland was born May 7, 1838, in the parish of Auchterless, Aberdeen, Scotland, and came of a race of gentleman farmers who have lived on the same farms for over four hundred years. Before coming to this country he was in business in London. He was one of the founders of Wakefield and a director of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company. In 1880 he removed to the Pacific coast. He died at his home in Seattle, August 30, 1905.* The E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 12, belonged to Rev. Richard Wake. With his permission I quote the following biographical sketch:

"I was born November 18, 1831, in a Hampshire village a few miles from Winchester. Enjoyed only such educational advantages as private schools of ordinary grade in that day afforded. In early manhood I entered the ministry of the Wesleyan Reform church, but after a year's labor in Northamptonshire, I came in 1854 to this country and united with the Methodist Episcopal church, of which I have been a minister until now."⁹⁵

Without repeating the account of Mr. Wake's colonial experiences,

* Mrs. Isabella Maitland.

NOTE 91.—S. S. Gaston.

NOTE 92.—Plat-book, section 28, township 10, range 4 east.

NOTE 93.—Chronicle, A. D. 1050: *Spearha focus abbas Abbandoniensis Landoniæ præsulatum suscepit, sed antequam esset consecratus, a rege Edwardo est ejectus.*

NOTE 94.—Plat-book, section 28.

NOTE 95.—Letter, December 18, 1907.

which has been given elsewhere, it will suffice to say that he remained with the colony through the period of its early struggles and bore no common part in its hardships. He was the founder of the Methodist church in Wakefield and a lifelong advocate of the temperance cause. Under the date of May 4, 1907, he says: "My brother and I are probably the only surviving members of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, Mr. Maitland having died suddenly in Seattle in September, 1905, and Mr. Wormald some time previously in Chicago."

The $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$ was the homestead of Benjamin Budden. The $E\frac{1}{2}$ and $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to Messrs. Eustace and Cowdery, respectively. R. N. Cowdery came from the neighborhood of Salisbury, in Wiltshire; Mr. Eustace was from Oxfordshire. The $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $SE\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to Dr. Charles Hewitt; the $E\frac{1}{2}$ of $SW\frac{1}{4}$ to Jason Withers; the $W\frac{1}{2}$ to Arthur Marshall, a brother of J. P. Marshall.⁹⁶ There were two Withers brothers, Ralph and Jason. Jason was a son-in-law of Mr. Cowdery.

On section 13, the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of $SE\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to Mr. Kirby. The $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ was the property of Mr. J. P. Marshall. (This claim was originally purchased by Mr. James Marshall.) Mr. Marshall, to whom we owe the map upon which this account is largely based, was a native of New Alresford, in Hampshire. On section 24, the $NW\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to D. H. Dudy, an American and a veteran of the civil war. The $S\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$, adjoining Mr. Kirby's farm, belonged to an Englishman named Thomas Goosey. A son of Mr. Goosey died in Wakefield and was buried on his father's farm. On the $S\frac{1}{2}$ several of the names have been rewritten. The entries are: $SE\frac{1}{4}$, $E\frac{1}{2}$, Gaston; $W\frac{1}{2}$, T. K. White; $SW\frac{1}{4}$, $E\frac{1}{2}$, (William) Ware; $W\frac{1}{2}$, Buckle. T. K. White was an American; William Ware, a Devonshire man. The latter had lived for many years in the United States. On the $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of section 25 appears the name Blatch; on the corresponding $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 36, R. Jones. Section 36 was school-land.

We shall now resume our survey from the northern boundary of the township, beginning with sections 2 and 3. On the former section the $NE\frac{1}{4}$ was owned by Mr. O. R. Swezey, an American. His claim was "jumped" by an adventurer named Jack Beatty. Both names appear on the Marshall map. The $E\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to Isaiah Jevons, a native of Staffordshire, but many years a resident of America. The $W\frac{1}{2}$ was owned by Mr. Lewin, but occupied by Alfred Yarrow. The $S\frac{1}{2}$ was divided into four eighties. The $E\frac{1}{2}$ and $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $SE\frac{1}{4}$ were owned by Messrs. Shrides and Guy respectively. Both were from the county of Sussex.

Mr. Wm. Guy, to whom the writer is more extensively indebted than to any other informant, was a native of the parish of Ripe, near Hastings. He was born in 1833, the son of John and Elizabeth (Feist) Guy. He attended Tunbridge school from 1845 to 1847, was afterwards in Hastings, and then at Tunbridge Wells from March 1, 1850, to February, 1854, when he went to London and united with the Congregational church at Westminster Chapel, of which Rev. Samuel Martin⁹⁷ (died 1878) was pastor. He was in business at Oxford, 1856-'60, and later in Shrewsbury until the time of his coming to America. By residence on the south coast and later in the Thames

NOTE 96.—"The 'eighty' now owned by John Young was first settled by a man from Illinois, who built a sod house on the southeast corner. Jason Withers, I think, got it for a tree claim, and then my brother Arthur had it."—(J. P. Marshall.)

NOTE 97.—National Dictionary of Biog., vol. 36, pp. 294-295.

and Severn valleys, Mr. Guy acquired an extensive knowledge of a large part of England. Not only did he become well versed in a great variety of matters pertaining to London, but he was likewise well acquainted with the university town of Oxford, and with Shrewsbury,⁹⁸ the old capital of the Welsh border.

In the early days of the English settlement in Clay county Mr. Guy ran the ferry-boat which connected Wakefield with the townships east of the river. This afforded him unusual opportunity for becoming acquainted with the settlers. His extensive knowledge of places in England gave him a grasp of facts as well as a memory for persons not often equaled. It would be no exaggeration to say that he knew every one in and about Wakefield. To his personal recollections we owe the larger part of our definite information concerning the English settlers.

A few words may be added about his connection with the subsequent history of the town. He has been a deacon in the Madura Congregational church for about eighteen years. To this office he brought a wide knowledge of the Scriptures and an acquaintance with representative evangelical preaching such as few possess. In civil life he has been a member of the town council for five years, and was likewise mayor of Wakefield in 1889-'90.⁹⁹

The following changes in the ownership of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 2 took place before the Marshall map was drawn:

The W $\frac{1}{2}$ was first occupied by Humphrey Hughes, afterwards by a Mr. Phillips. The E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the quarter-section was taken up by John Cole, who came out on the Nebraska. It afterwards passed into the hands of Walter Parsons, whose sister married Mr. Phillips, the proprietor of the adjoining "eighty."¹⁰⁰ Both farms were eventually purchased by B. F. Jevons, son of Isaiah Jevons.

The N $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 3 was owned by Mr. Charles Ingram, a native of county Dorset, England. St. John's church, Episcopal, was built on the northeast corner of his estate. Mr. Ingram was a member of the executive committee of the Wakefield Agricultural and Literary Society (see section IV). He sustained serious injuries in trying to rescue some haystacks from a prairie fire, and shortly afterwards returned to England and died there. Three "eighties" on the N $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 10 were owned by members of the Titcomb family (Mrs. Titcomb and two sons, Mark and Edwin). They were from London. The E $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to John Bulmer. James Vincent homesteaded the S $\frac{1}{2}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 10.¹⁰¹ When the Marshall map was made the aforesaid quarter-section belonged to Thos. Holt and Richard Cawcutt. They were younger men, who, I am informed, came out in the same party with Mr. Vincent. Somewhat later the Holt farm became the property of Geo. Pearson. Both claims were afterwards purchased by J. K. Hammond.

On section 10, the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ was occupied by Gilbert Jones, son of a chemist in Sloane street, Chelsea. The claim was railroad land and seems later to have reverted to the railroad company. Gilbert Jones went back to England, probably about 1874.¹⁰²

NOTE 98.—"Shrewsbury was the chief place of an extensive and fertile district. The court of the marches of Wales was held there. In the language of the gentry many miles around the Wrekin, to go to Shrewsbury was to go to town."—(Macaulay, Hist. of Eng. ch. III, "England in 1685.")

NOTE 99.—W. Guy, personal reminiscences, April 3, 1908.

NOTE 100.—W. Guy, personal reminiscences. NOTE 101.—J. G. Billingham.

NOTE 102.—W. Guy.

The $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of section 14 was owned by Mr. John Muston, the $E\frac{1}{2}$ of the same quarter by Edward Moore. The latter was associate pastor of the Madura Union church in the early days. They came over on the Nebraska in 1869. The Moore farm was afterwards purchased by Thomas Waller, who came from the Lancashire border, not far from Staleybridge.¹⁰³ The proprietor of the $E\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$ of section 14 was James Marshall, a brother of J. P. Marshall. He married Miss Downey, a sister of Mrs. Alex. Maitland. He subsequently lived in St. Louis for about two years and then returned to London, England. The $W\frac{1}{2}$ of the same quarter-section was the homestead of Mr. J. P. Marshall. In a letter of recent date he says: "My homestead was the $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$ of section 14, twp. 10, range 3, and my brother James had the $E\frac{1}{2}$ of the same quarter. He also bought the $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of section 13. When he left I bought both pieces from him."¹⁰⁴

Mr. Poppleton and his sons owned claims on the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of the section. The $W\frac{1}{2}$ of $SW\frac{1}{4}$ belonged to Edward Jones, who came out with the Alsop party in 1870. Mr. Jones afterwards purchased the Batchelor farm on section 6, in Republican township. By far the largest tract of land in Gill township (section 23 and half of section 15) was owned, nominally at least, by parties named Southworth. It is probable that they were not actual settlers, and that the land eventually reverted to the company. The later proprietors of the Southworth section were C. M. Stone and J. M. McDougal.¹⁰⁵

On section 22 the $E\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ was owned by Mr. Gillett. He married a Miss Eustace. The $SW\frac{1}{4}$, $W\frac{1}{2}$, was owned by John Pett, who came out in the winter of 1869-'70. The $E\frac{1}{2}$ belonged to J. W. Sampson, who was a member of the Alsop party. On the $SE\frac{1}{4}$ the $N\frac{1}{2}$ was owned by Joseph Starling, the $S\frac{1}{2}$ by Charles Harris. Mr. Harris was a member of the Oxfordshire colony, and the neatly painted house which he erected on his claim was a landmark in the pioneer days.

The proprietors of the $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 26 were Messrs. Poppleton and Exley; the $NE\frac{1}{4}$, Messrs. Gaston and Buckle. E. T. Buckle afterwards traded his place in section 26 to James Young for the latter's place in township 9, section 34. On the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of the section the $E\frac{1}{2}$ of the $SW\frac{1}{4}$ was owned by one of the Oxfordshire settlers named Cumber; the $W\frac{1}{2}$ was the property of James Clarke. John Chambers (of county Kent, England) owned the $E\frac{1}{2}$ of the $SE\frac{1}{4}$. On section 28 three eighties were owned by Stephen Seal and members of his family, and one ($E\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$) by Thos. Newell. The Seal family were from Northamptonshire originally, but came to this country from Surrey.¹⁰⁶

Two eighties, forming the eastern third of section 21, were owned by Mr. Docking, and the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 4 belonged to members of the Haden family. The $NE\frac{1}{4}$ of the same section was the property of Mr. Moutrie. The $W\frac{1}{2}$ belonged to an American settler named Lake. Mrs. Pearson, who came from Baltimore in November, 1870, owned the $E\frac{1}{2}$ of $SE\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 8. The services of the Episcopal church were first held in her house in the spring of 1871, and continued until the Rev. Mr. Hickox assumed charge. Mrs.

NOTE 103.—W. Guy.

NOTE 104.—J. P. Marshall (Wakefield, September 30, 1906).

NOTE 105.—Plat-book, section 23, township 10, range 3 east.

NOTE 106.—W. Seal.

Pearson removed to Wakefield in 1881, and resided at the corner of B street and Sixth avenue.¹⁰⁷ Definite information concerning other settlers in Gill township has not been procured.

Among the settlers in Union Township were Jasper Cowell, Mrs. Randall, and James Yarrow, all of whom had claims on section 28.¹⁰⁸ Benjamin Moutelle owned the farm previously occupied by the Laundys. T. C. Roscoe and S. B. Porter both had claims on section 22.

"Mr. S. B. Porter homesteaded the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of $SW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 22, township 9, range 3, now owned by Mr. Sam Adams. Mr. Porter also owned the 160 acres south of his homestead. Some years later he sold out and went to Oregon."¹⁰⁹

The homestead of Mr. Wm. Alsop, well known as a leading member of the party from the Welsh border, was on the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 24, in the same township.¹¹⁰ A party of young men—L. J. Millard, J. Barron and John Shute—lived for some time on the Boutwell place, north of Wakefield.

Concerning Mr. R. Hamilton, of Athelstane township ($N\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 26), the Plat-book makes the following statement: "One of the foremost men in this township was R. Hamilton, who formerly lived in Athelstane Ford, in Scotland. When the post-office was established at his house he named it Athelstane; and when the township was formed it took its name from the post-office. . . . The post-office was established in 1873."¹¹¹

The settlement at Timber creek,¹¹² with its cemetery looking down on Wakefield from the highest point east of the river, is but little older than the English colony in years, and yet, so far as our national history is concerned, it belongs to a much older order of things. Its origin, like that of other pioneer beginnings in Kansas, must be traced to that mighty movement which peopled the valley of the Ohio and from thence flowed out into all the lands of the middle West. Nor should we forget that the struggle between competing systems north and south of Mason and Dixon's line brought free-state men to the creek valleys of Clay county, just as it brought John Brown to Osawatomie.* It was the triumph of the free-state cause in Kansas that precipitated the issues of three-quarters of a century of conflict, dating it, as I think we may, from the ordinance of 1787. Yet Wakefield is not without an historical interest of its own. American history has its sources in the local rather than in the general history of Great Britain. Hence the register of the settlers has to do with places and movements that belong quite as much to the background of American history as to the local history of England. To consider the various districts of old England in their mutual relations, we must think of the country as divided by a diagonal line extending from Chester to London. This boundary coincides very nearly with the ancient Roman highway of Watling street¹¹³ in early

* "The Beecher Bible and Rifle Company still in the spirit hovers over Kansas like the chariots of fire round about Elisha."—E. H. Abbott, *Religious Life in America*, p. 213.

NOTE 107.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 108.—J. G. Cowell (Clay Center, January 25, 1908).

NOTE 109.—R. Alsop.

NOTE 110.—W. Guy.

NOTE 111.—Plat-book, p. 21.

NOTE 112.—I venture to include this brief digression on what may be termed the historic significance of the Wakefield Colony.—(W. J. C.)

NOTE 113.—The actual course of Watling street runs from Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury, to Dunstable, and thence to London, but since Essex is a Saxon land a line must be drawn eastward from Dunstable to the sea.

times between the Angles and Saxons and at a later period between the Saxons and the Danes.

The eastern half of middle England, lying beyond Watling street, is the native home of the literary language of the English-speaking world.¹¹⁴ Originally the local dialect of Northamptonshire and southern Lincolnshire, it is now the common tongue of Britain, and, one almost might venture to say, the universal language of the younger nations of the earth. The town of Northampton, from its central position, became one of the meeting-places of the northern and southern English. Parliaments were on several occasions held here, notably that of 1328, which acknowledged the independence of Scotland. Here, too, was the ancestral home of the Washingtons. Lawrence Washington was twice mayor of Northampton in the reign of Henry VIII, and his descendants resided at Sulgrave manor till the time of Cromwell. Having lost their lands during the Puritan revolution, they subsequently occupied the humble cottage at Little Brington (six miles from Northampton) which still attracts the attention of the American pilgrim.¹¹⁵

South of the Thames we find the land of the West Saxons, with its old capital at Winchester. This district, differing widely in speech from middle England, was the immediate dominion of the line of kings to which Alfred the Great belonged. The influence of the Thames valley, and more especially of London, tended from the first to draw the main body of Saxon territory into the general life of England. The West Saxon speech held its ground as a literary language from the days of King Alfred (died 901) till John of Trevisa, in 1387, and is still represented by the rustic dialects of Somerset and the adjoining counties.

In the southwest, local feeling was much in evidence during the wars of the Puritan revolution. Puritanism, instead of being generally diffused through the country, was almost characteristic of the larger towns. This was not without its influence upon the course of events in the great civil war. Places like Plymouth and Taunton, defended by their own citizens, seemed like puritan communities in the midst of a country not fully alive to the issue.¹¹⁶ Forty years later the same union of local feeling and puritan sentiment reappears in the ill-starred rebellion of the duke of Monmouth. Those of his adherents who were transported were consigned to the West Indies, because in New England or New Jersey they would be sure to find sympathizers. With but little change in scene and circumstance, the part

NOTE 114.—"The East Midland (dialect) became the language of literature, the standard English. Becoming 'in cloisters from the Nen and Welland the fullest receiver of French words, and the largest acceptor of the changes, and especially in Robert of Brunne's work, it took hold of Cambridge, and then of Oxford, and spoken and written in these centers of learning, crept down conquering to the south, and finally seized on London.'"—(Stopford Brooke.)

NOTE 115.—W. D. Howells, *Certain Delightful English Towns*, c. XIII. "Northampton and the Washington Country."

NOTE 116.—"The Restoration had produced no effect on the temper of the Taunton men. They had still continued to celebrate the happy day on which the siege laid to their town by the royal army had been raised; and their stubborn attachment to the old cause had excited so much fear and resentment at Whitehall that by a royal proclamation their moat had been filled up and their wall demolished to its foundation." (Macaulay, *History of England*, c. V, p. 542.) In speaking of Taunton as a walled town, Macaulay seems to have been misled by the terms of the royal proclamation. Its resistance becomes the more remarkable when we learn that the defences actually consisted of nothing more than earthworks (with palisades) and the loopholed walls of the houses. (See Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. II, p. 98.) "When Blake defended Taunton, he was not merely defending a strong military post which military needs required should be defended; he was something like the defender of a free city; he was the defender of a town which had a character and an interest of its own; he was the leader of burghers who knew for what they were fighting and whose hearts were thoroughly in the cause."—(Freeman, *English Towns and Districts*, p. 117.)

which the Southwest played in those conflicts might seem almost like a chapter from the beginnings of New England. This is not without significance, both for the English settlers from that region and for those American families that claim a west country origin.¹¹⁷

The intermediate district, lying for the most part north of the Thames, consists of two border lands, the forgotten boundary between the Angles and the Saxons, and the long-contested frontier between the Saxons and the Welsh. London, "a nation of six millions that chooses to call itself a town," is situated near the southeast corner of this part of England. Oxford holds a central position not unlike that of Northampton in the East Midlands. On the western line Shrewsbury must be accorded a similar importance. A large party of colonists came to Wakefield from the Thames valley, and another from the Welsh border.

The country north of the Humber links the history of England to that of Scotland, to the Dano-Norwegian kingdom of Dublin, and to the lands of the Scandinavian north—a subject too large to receive even the briefest treatment here. More immediate interest attaches to the fact that Wakefield bears the name of a Yorkshire town, the former home of one of its founders. Another point of contact is afforded by the "Geneva version" of the Bible,¹¹⁸ a copy of which is owned by W. E. Lumb, one of our settlers from the north country. This version was translated by the English exiles who fled to Geneva in the days of Queen Mary. William Whittingham,¹¹⁹ the principal translator, born at Chester about the year 1524, was, both on his father's and his mother's side, of Lancashire descent. At Geneva he succeeded John Knox, the celebrated Scottish reformer, as pastor of the English church, and after his return to England he became Dean of Durham. The Geneva version was the popular Bible of the seventeenth century. Its adoption of the verse divisions made it useful for reference. Its smaller size gave it immense advantage over editions that were printed exclusively in folio, and at the same time the "helps" with which it was furnished put the reader in possession of the results of the best biblical scholarship of that day. The Geneva version was, as the citations in the Bradford History show, the Bible of the Pilgrim Fathers. In the political tendency of its annotations we trace at least one of the sources of the principle that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

VII.—CONCLUSION.

Our survey of the early history of the Wakefield colony closes with the year 1874. In that year Kansas was devastated by grasshoppers, and the settlers felt, not without reason, that the cup of their misfortunes was full. We shall give an account of the fate of the colony in general, together with brief notices of the subsequent fortunes of the settlers.

NOTE 117.—Genealogical and Historical Record of the Descendants of Wm. Locke, of Woburn, pp. 342-346; the Dedham Branch of the Avery Family in America, p. 12.

NOTE 118.—We give the title-page of Mr. Lumb's Bible :—"The Bible : Translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diverse Languages. With most profitable Annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appear in the Epistle to the Reader. And also a most profitable Concordance for the readie finding out of anything in the same contained. JOSHUA 1:8. Let not this Booke of the Lawe depart out of thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night that thou mayest observe and doe according to all that is written therein ; for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou have good successe. Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker Printers to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1599. *Cum gratia et privilegio Regine Maiestatis.*"

NOTE 119.—National Dictionary of Biog., "Whittingham," vol. LXI, pp. 150-153.

The two chief drawbacks with which the colonists had to contend were the dry continental climate, so different from that of England, and the adverse economic conditions. In addition to these there were also the many hardships incident to pioneer life.

The change from an insular to a continental climate has often proved one of the severest tests, not only of colonial enterprise but also of military endurance. One need scarcely mention the sufferings of the British soldiers during the Crimean war (winter of 1854-'55). Life in the heart of a continent has always been full of surprises to those who were born and brought up on islands or projecting coast lands. Herodotus, who visited the shores of the Black sea in the fifth century, B. C., has thus described his impressions of the climate of southern Russia:

"All this country which I have been speaking of is subject to such a severe winter that for eight months the frost is so intolerable that if you pour water on the ground you will not make mud, but if you light a fire you will make mud."¹²⁰

This is perhaps the earliest description of a continental climate that has come down to us. Even the tone of exaggeration is not without interest, since it shows how strongly the contrast was felt. We should not, however, forget that continental visitors, from the ancient Roman historians to the American naturalist, John Burroughs, have rendered a similarly unfavorable judgment upon the insular climate of Britain.¹²¹ Historical interest, in this particular, attaches to the story of Wakefield because it links the experience of our own times to that of the first colonists in Virginia and New England. Difference of climate was one of the most serious drawbacks with which the path-breakers of colonization had to contend. A striking illustration of this fact is afforded by the story of the Popham colony in 1607.¹²²

"The cause of the failure of many early colonies is now evident. The old voyagers were ignorant of the great difference in the climates of Europe and America; they expected to find similar conditions on both sides of the Atlantic. They were further led into error through the fact that their explorations were made in the summer, when the climatic conditions of the two sides of the North Atlantic most nearly resemble one another. For instance, [George] Weymouth, who visited Maine in the summer, found a temperature which resembled that of southern France, but the colonists who came over in consequence of his favorable reports found a winter temperature like that of northern Norway."¹²³

NOTE 120.—Herodotus, book IV, sec. 28: The "Scythia" of Herodotus includes the modern provinces of South Russia and Little Russia.

NOTE 121.—"*Coelum*," says Tacitus, "*crebris imbris ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigus abest*. The sky is deformed by clouds and frequent rains; but the cold is never extremely rigorous." (Vit. Agr. c. 12.) "There is one thing they do not have in England that we can boast of at home, and that is a good masculine type of weather; it is not even feminine; it is childish and puerile, though I am told that occasionally there is a full-grown storm. But I saw nothing but petulant little showers and prolonged juvenile sulks. The clouds have no reserve, no dignity; if there is a drop of water in them (and there are generally several drops) out it comes. The prettiest little showers march across the country in summer, scarcely bigger than a street-watering cart; sometimes by getting over the fence one can avoid them, but they keep the haymakers in a perpetual flurry. There is no cloud scenery, as with us; no mass and solidity, no height nor depth. The clouds seem low, vague and vapory—immature, indefinite, inconsequential, like youth."—(John Burroughs, *Fresh Fields*, pp. 106, 107.)

NOTE 122.—It was believed, on the testimony of those who had spent the previous summer in New England, that the country would produce nutmegs (not the wooden variety), and other tropical spices. "On May 31, 1607, a fleet under Geo. Popham, brother of the chief justice, and Raleigh Gilbert, sailed for the coast of what is now the state of Maine. They landed at the mouth of the Kennebec, built a fort, and explored the country. They found no gold; the natives proved hostile; and the winter was severe beyond anything they had ever conceived. They seized the first opportunity to abandon the enterprise, and returned home in the following spring."—(Channing, *Student's History*, pp. 52, 53.)

NOTE 123.—Channing, *Student's History*, pp. 52, 53.

One hesitates to draw too close a parallel between the Wakefield colony and the first settlements on the Atlantic coast. Yet it will be remembered that Rev. Richard Wake visited Kansas in a year when conditions most nearly resembled those with which he was familiar in Illinois.¹²⁴ On every hand there was the evidence of an abundant rainfall, and the grass, even on the high prairie, was exceedingly luxuriant. In the presence of such facts there was no occasion to suspect the possible differences of climate that might come with an additional elevation of six or eight hundred feet, and a position considerably nearer the Rocky Mountain plateau.

The glowing accounts issued by immigration companies and the sharp practice often connected with real-estate deals were among the grievances of the colonists. The following incident is vouched for by a family well known among the English settlers: On landing in New York they were met by the local agent of the National Land Company, who endeavored to drive a bargain with them for property in the West. Failing to effect the transaction he gave them a sealed letter to the company's agent at Chicago. *En route* one of the members of the family said to the head of the house: "Father, I would n't carry a letter from one unknown person to another with whom you are no better acquainted; why don't you find out what is in the letter?" The suggestion was acted upon, and the contents of the letter were found to be as follows:

"DEAR N—: S— and family think of going to Kansas. Fix them, and remember me. Yours, etc., (—— —)"¹²⁵

The greatest drawback to the colony was found in the general economic conditions. The country had not recovered from the civil war. Money was scarce and commodities of all kinds expensive. Means of communication were very inadequate, and the markets of St. Louis and Chicago were only on the threshold of their development. There was no local demand for agricultural products and the Kansas City market was easily glutted. The lavish expenditures of English capital in Clay, Geary (Davis) and Dickinson counties had no effect on the country at large. My father once said that during 1869-'70 a quarter of a million of English money was spent in the district just mentioned, where one could n't have collected a million cents three years later. This estimate is confirmed by others.¹²⁶

In 1874-'75 Kansas was devastated by grasshoppers—a species of insect much resembling the migratory locust of the Orient. "This visitation of grasshoppers or locusts was the most serious in the history of the state. They reached from the Platte river (Nebraska) on the north to northern Texas on the south, and penetrated as far east as Sedalia, Mo. Their eggs were deposited in favorable localities in this vast territory. The young hatched the next spring did great damage to early crops, but in June, having passed into the wing state, they rose into the air and flew back to the northwest, whence the parent swarms had come the year before."¹²⁷

In Ebbutt's *Life in Kansas* there is an account of the devastation wrought in Morris county. This was about a fortnight, or possibly three weeks, after their appearance in the Republican valley. In the Wakefield neigh-

NOTE 124.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 125.—W. Seal.

NOTE 126.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 127.—See Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, August 7, 1874.

borhood they consumed the unharvested crops, garden vegetables and the fruit and foliage of the trees. My father, together with Messrs. Billingham and Pettigrew, worked far into the night cutting their corn (*i. e.*, maize), it having been discovered that the insects would not touch dry fodder while green foliage was available. We had a small peach orchard just beginning to bear fruit. The grasshoppers stripped it bare, even gnawing the tender bark from the shoots, so that here and there a naked peach-stone stood alone on its dry stem. In the following spring (1875) their destructive work began as early as May, and in Wilder's *Annals of Kansas* it is recorded that Topeka was swarming with grasshoppers from June 7th to 16th of that year.

It was, however, after the grasshopper year that matters were seen in their severest guise. About that time my father described conditions as they then were through the columns of one of the *West of England* papers:

"Five years is certainly long enough to give a thing a trial. . . . When I tell you that scores of persons who went out west with capital and every advantage would be glad enough to occupy a laborer's cottage and eat a laborer's food in England, you will know that they have been grievously disappointed. It is quite true that land is very cheap and that meat can be had at almost a nominal price. . . . When lecturers talk about the cheapness of things it would be well if they would also tell the cost of raising the crop mentioned and the average price paid to the producer. I see by one of the letters, copies of which were circulated by the lecturers, that beef can be bought at 1½d. per lb. Where, then, can be the farmer's profit for raising cattle, and feeding them through the fearful winters, if they are afterwards disposed of at such prices? A good bullock should weigh 100 lbs. per quarter, or a total of 400 lbs., which, at the price named, would amount to 2l. 10s. for the whole animal. If these things were considered over, it would be seen just where the shoe pinches; and that many years of toil, hardship and disappointment must be endured before the prospects presented can be realized. No one looking on can tell half of the real facts, and those who have gone through it all find words fail to express their full meaning."¹²⁸

Disappointment was not peculiar to the English colonists. An American settler, writing to the *Courier Journal*, of Louisville, Ky., says: "This state is a fraud on a grand scale." His remarks apply both to the conditions then existing in Kansas and to the methods employed by colonizing agencies. His description is decidedly pessimistic: "The people are destitute and there is no money. The women are half-clothed and the men are barefooted on the streets."¹²⁹

The misfortunes of the sister colony at Victoria were much greater than those of Wakefield. Mr. Grant died in the early days of the settlement, and with his decease the moving spirit of the enterprise was gone. "Misfortune followed misfortune. Thousands of stock died. The colonists were discouraged and moved away, abandoning their homes and lands. Their places were filled by a large party from southern Russia."

Mr. R. T. Batchelor, who visited Victoria in the winter of 1897-'98, gives the following account of the church erected by the founder of the Victoria colony:

"Our first visit was to the beautiful little church erected by Mr. Grant, at his own expense, in the year 1876, and which was not completed when he died. The first time it was used was for his funeral service. A handsome marble tablet inside the building and over the entrance commemorates his

NOTE 128.—J. Chapman.

NOTE 129.—A. W. Grisman, about 1879. J. P. Marshall.

death.¹³⁰ He was buried just west of the church and his grave is surrounded by a neat fence which has been kept up and cared for by a few of his old friends who still cherish his memory. The church was practically abandoned for many years, as those who were interested were few and too much discouraged to keep up and maintain the services. Lightning struck the building and did much damage. The Russian children made the church a playground. The fine organ was damaged by wet and ill-use. The stained-glass windows were broken and desolation prevailed."¹³¹

This state of desolation was not, however, suffered to continue permanently and, as Mr. Batchelor tells us: "To-day the church appears as one of the most beautiful Episcopal churches for its size in the diocese."

A few words may be added concerning the subsequent fortunes of some of the settlers mentioned in the earlier sections of this narrative.

Rev. Richard Wake resided for some time in Topeka. He afterwards removed to Salt Lake City, where he took active part in the state temperance movement. Mr. Alexander Maitland went to Seattle, in the state of Washington. E. M. Fulcher, who afterwards owned the Maitland farm on section 12, Gill township, went to South Africa, but later returned to this country and settled in San Francisco. Mr. T. P. Pettigrew, well known as the secretary of the Wakefield Agricultural and Literary Society, removed to Virginia and resided at or near Richmond. Rev. W. S. Crouch, in the early days proprietor of a timber claim on section 30, in Republican township, has been for a number of years pastor of the Congregational church at Maplehill, Kan. William Allaway, at one time proprietor of the James Gibbon farm, removed to Clay Center. John Brett also went to Clay Center. He died there, and his widow married a Mr. Bradbury.¹³² John Farrington Alsop, son of Wm. Alsop, of Caine's creek, left Wakefield for Denver, Colo. He was never heard of again. Felix James Pitters, better known at Wakefield as Jim Pitters, enlisted in the United States army, and fell with General Custer at the battle of Little Big Horn, June 25, 1876.¹³³ Through the courtesy of Geo. W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, we are enabled to insert the following military record:

"War Dept. 1199863. "THE MILITARY SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, March 19, 1906.

"Respectfully returned to Mr. Geo. W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.

"It is shown by the records that one Felix James Pitter (not found as James Pitters), private, troop I, Seventh cavalry, was enlisted September 4, at St. Louis Barracks, Mo., and that he was killed June 25, 1876, in the battle of the Little Big Horn river, Montana territory.

"It is stated in the records that this soldier was born in Alresford, England.

"(M. S. O. 72-1.)"

F. C. AINSWORTH, *Military Secretary*."

The Cator brothers, likewise members of the Wakefield colony, settled in Texas. Robert Cator subsequently removed to the Pacific slope. His brother, James H. Cator, is now a prosperous cattleman at Zulu, Tex.¹³⁴

Many of those who left Wakefield in the early days went back to England. Among the number of ex-colonists were the following: Rev. Joseph Binns, who came out on the steamer Nebraska in 1869, afterwards returned

NOTE 130.—April 26, 1878, George Grant died at Victoria, near Hays City, aged 64.—(Wilder's Annals of Kansas.)

NOTE 131.—Wakefield Advertiser, January 21, 1898.

NOTE 132.—R. O. Mackintosh. NOTE 133.—J. P. Marshall. NOTE 134.—H. W. C. Budden.

to England and became a presiding elder in the Midlands.¹³⁵ John Deere, who came out on the same ship, went back to Great Britain, and became proprietor of an ironmonger's business (hardware store) near the Elephant and Castle (London).¹³⁶ During his subsequent visit in England my father on one occasion met Mr. Deere on the platform of the railway station at Oxford. Mr. Laundry, the first proprietor of the Moutelle farm ($N\frac{1}{2}$ of $NE\frac{1}{4}$ of section 34, in Union township), was also one of those who returned to England.¹³⁷ Another ex-colonist was James Marshall, brother of Mr. J. P. Marshall (see section VI).

We have already noticed that Mr. Charles Ingram, one of the members of the executive committee of the Agricultural and Literary Society, also returned to England. His property in Gill township, section 3, was afterwards purchased by Mr. F. W. Cornell. Gilbert Jones, whose claim was the $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 11, in the same township, also returned to England, probably about the year 1874.¹³⁸ His land seems to have reverted to the company. Uriah Handley (from Cambridgeshire), whose claim was the $SW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 27, in Exeter township, afterwards resided near Bath, England, and engaged in the mining and manufacture of fuller's earth.¹³⁹ Another of the ex-colonists who went back to Great Britain was Mr. L. J. Millard (claim $SW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 13, Athelstane township).¹⁴⁰ Some years later my father, during his stay in England, met Mr. Millard at Chippenham, in North Wiltshire.¹⁴¹

Among the members of the Oxfordshire colony who returned to their native land were Messrs. Gillett ($E\frac{1}{2}$ of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 22, Gill township), Charles Harris ($S\frac{1}{2}$ of $SE\frac{1}{4}$), Cumber ($E\frac{1}{2}$ of $SW\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 26), the Clinch brothers, and Mr. and Mrs. Jardine. Mr. Jardine was a son-in-law of Mr. James Eustace, and came out in the steamship City of Washington, in April, 1870. He was afterwards connected with the firm of Huntley & Palmer,¹⁴² biscuit manufacturers at Reading. Mr. Thomas Beldham informs me, on the authority of Frank Harris, who visited his old home some five years ago, that the Clinch brothers have prospered since their return to the mother country, and that Duncan Church is now a well-to-do veterinary surgeon in London. The Buckle family remained at Wakefield for nearly twenty years, and then removed to Alberta, British America.

The story of the Wakefield colony is but a minor circumstance in the spread of the English-speaking race throughout the world. It has, however, for those who took part in it, the same interest which a private soldier's recollections have for the battles in which he fought. As we have seen, the experiences of the English colonists of 1869-'70 often remind us of like circumstances in the history of the first settlements in Virginia and New England. The reason for this must be viewed from the standpoint of a larger historic outlook. Unlike the American settlers they had no well-defined idea of pioneer life. They did not realize the greatness of the task that was before them. To the Americans, on the other hand, the "Great West" had always been a field for enterprise. The struggle with the wilderness was something with which they and their fathers were equally

NOTE 135.—W. Guy.

NOTE 139.—R. O. Mackintosh.

NOTE 136.—W. Guy.

NOTE 140.—Plat-book, Athelstane township.

NOTE 137.—W. Guy.

NOTE 141.—J. Chapman.

NOTE 138.—W. Guy.

NOTE 142.—J. Chapman.

familiar.¹⁴³ In this way the colonial life, its hardships and its achievements, had become a part of the national consciousness. No similar influence, however, has determined the inner developments of modern England. In this connection I cannot forbear quoting a passage from Prof. J. R. Seeley, which, although it refers in the first instance to the newer lands of the British empire, may be applied, in all its characteristic features, to the settlements of Englishmen in the United States:

"People cannot change their abodes, pass from an island to a continent, from the fiftieth degree of north latitude to the tropics or the southern hemisphere, from an ancient community to a new colony, from vast manufacturing cities to sugar plantations or to lonely sheepwalks where aboriginal savage tribes still wander, without changing their ideas and habits and ways of thinking—nay, without somewhat modifying in the course of a few generations their physical type. We know already that the Canadian and the Victorian are not quite like the Englishman; do we suppose then that in the next century, if the colonial population has become as numerous as that of the mother country, assuming that the connection has been maintained and has become closer, England itself will not be very much modified and transformed?"¹⁴⁴

The interest which the story of Wakefield possesses is not merely local in character. It is an illustration, at first hand, of the movements and changes that are going on everywhere in the English-speaking world.

APPENDIX I.—NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF WAKEFIELD.

REV. WM. TODD AND THE MADURA MISSION.

Madura, India, was from very early times one of the chief seats of Hindoo paganism. Rev. Wm. Todd began work there as a missionary of the American board in July, 1834, being associated with Rev. Henry R. Hoisington. The mission celebrated its jubilee in 1884, when a small volume was published, giving the history of the mission. There are now three native protestant churches in the city—Madura station, West Gate, Madura, and East Madura. The statistics given in 1884 for the entire district were: "Stations, 11; churches, 35; communicants, 2817." In 1901 the mission reckoned 4911 church members and 17,276 adherents.

Mention of Mr. Todd's missionary career may be found in Brown's *Propagation of Christianity*, vol. 3, p. 11 (Edinburgh and London, 1854); in Anderson's *History of the Missions of the American Board in India* (Boston, 1874), map, pp. 194, 195, Todd, Rev. Wm., 171, 175, 196. Later records of the mission: *American Madura Mission, Jubilee volume, 1834-1884* (S. P. C. K. Press, Madras, 1886), account of Mr. Todd, p. 52; In the *Madura Country, Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the American Madura Mission, 1900*, ed. W. M. Zumbro.

The city of Madura dates from about 500 B. C. From that period until 1064 A. D. it was the seat of the Pandian kings. Megasthenes, about 300

NOTE 143.—During the first half of the nineteenth century the colonization of the West was the really creative factor of American history. "The votes of the states west of the mountains elected Jefferson in 1800 and Madison in 1812, and gave Jackson his preponderance over Adams in 1824. The West was at this time what the colonists had been half a century earlier—a thriving, bustling, eager community, with a keen sense of trade and little education." In 1828 "Jackson swept every Southern and Western state and received six hundred and fifty thousand popular votes, against five hundred thousand for Adams."—(Hart, *The Formation of the Union*, pp. 261, 262.)

NOTE 144.—*The Expansion of England*, p. 13.

B. C., makes mention of the city, and one of its kings sent an embassy to Augustus Caesar.¹⁴⁵ After having been conquered by the Mohammedans under Malik Kafur, 1310 A. D., the native kingdom was restored in 1559 by Vivanatha. The greatest of his descendants, Tirumala Nayakka (1623-'59), restored and beautified the great temple and built a magnificent palace. The kingdom came under British control in 1758 and was annexed in 1801.

The Madura district is a veritable stronghold of Hinduism. From time immemorial Madura has been the religious capital of the southern extremity of India. Here is the temple of the great goddess Meenatchi, the presiding deity of the city. "This temple covers 14½ acres, and is in size the third, and in magnificence and upkeep the first temple in all India, and has hardly its equal anywhere among the ethnic religions. A part of the temple is given up to the worship of Siva, who, under the name of Sockalingam, is the consort of Meenatchi. Meenatchi was originally an ancient queen of the Madura country, and on her death became the presiding demoness of the devil-worship of the district. Later, when the Brahmins came to southern India, the new cult absorbed the old by marrying Meenatchi to Siva and giving her a place in the Hindu pantheon."¹⁴⁶

NOTES ON THE PIONEERS OF THE REPUBLICAN VALLEY.

John P. King died at his home east of Wakefield, May 22, 1906, aged seventy-two years. He was born in Somerset county, Pennsylvania; December 24, 1833, where he lived until early manhood. In 1854 he removed to Illinois. "The next spring he came to Pottawatomie county, Kansas, and after spending the summer there he came to Clay county, . . . where he has resided ever since. At first he lived in a little house south of Chet Fleming's home, but soon moved to the farm where he spent his life. . . . About forty years ago Mr. King united with the Methodist Episcopal church, of which he remained a faithful and earnest member. . . . On the 5th of January, 1859, he was united in marriage to Miss Mary Bowers. To this union three children were born. His companion, one daughter—Mrs. John Male—a foster-daughter and grandchildren remain to mourn his loss. The funeral services were conducted by Reverend Lacey at the Timber Creek schoolhouse, on Wednesday afternoon, where a large concourse of relatives, friends and lifelong neighbors gathered to pay their last respects to the honored dead, after which the remains were interred in the Timber Creek cemetery. The bereaved ones have the sympathy of all."

"Jeremiah Younkia, a former resident of Clay county, an early settler here, died Monday, February 25, at his home on Timber creek, with a complication of diseases incident to old age. The deceased was seventy-nine years old, and the funeral occurred on Wednesday at eleven o'clock A. M., and the remains were laid to rest in the Milford cemetery. The deceased leaves a wife, two sons and three daughters, and one sister, Mrs. D. H. Myers of this city. The deepest sympathy of a host of friends of the afflicted family is extended to them in their sad hour of bereavement."—(Clay Center *Times*, March 7, 1907.)

NOTE 145.—Strabo, book XV, c. 1, 4 (p. 74) and 73 (pp. 118, 119): "Roman copper coins of the smallest value have been found in such numbers at Madura as to suggest that a Roman colony was settled at that place. They come down to the time of Arcadius and Honorius (400 A. D.)."—(V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 337.)

NOTE 146.—Dr. J. P. Jones, in *Sixty-sixth Ann. Rept. of the Madura Mission*, pp. 88, 89.

Somerset county, Pennsylvania,¹⁴⁷ the old home of our Timber creek pioneers, seems to have been colonized soon after the opening of the highways¹⁴⁸ connecting Pittsburg with Philadelphia. "It is probable that, not long after these roads were opened, traders and pioneers found their way to this county, and made settlement; but their names and adventures, if any, have not been recorded." Somerset, the county-seat, originally called Brunerstown, was laid out in 1795 and incorporated as a borough in 1804. A lithographed view of the town, as it must have appeared in the first half of the nineteenth century, is given in Rupp's History and Topography (p. 565). The first wave of population appears to have been Scotch-Irish, but by 1830 the German element had come to predominate. Eighty years before, at the time of the organization of Cumberland county (of which Somerset county formed a part), Scotch-Irish names greatly exceeded the German. "When the county (Cumberland) was erected, in 1750, it contained 807 taxable inhabitants, and was represented in the assembly by Joseph Armstrong and Hermannus Alrichs. Robert McCoy, Benjamin Chambers, David McGaw, James McIntire and John McCormick were the commissioners to select a site for a court-house."¹⁴⁹

Orleans county, Vermont,¹⁵⁰ was the old home of the Avery family, of Caine's creek. Lying as it does on the Canadian border, it was settled at a comparatively late date, and long retained the character of a pioneer community. The town of Lowell was organized under the name of Kellyvale, then in Chittenden county, March 5, 1787. In the town of Troy the first settler was Capt. Moses Elkins, brother of Josiah Elkins, of Peacham, "a noted hunter and Indian trader," who moved thither in the summer of 1797. Many settlers left during the War of 1812, and even as late as 1837 the remembrance of border warfare was revived by the Canadian insurrection.

THE RICHES, OF OVER STOWEY.

Our attention has already been drawn to the fact that the genealogies both of the Locke and the Avery families claim for them a west country origin.¹⁵¹ Partly, therefore, for its local associations, and partly because it it serves to illustrate the divergence of American from British nationality, I venture to include a brief account of the Rich family.

This surname first appears in the person of Edmund Rich (died 1240), better known in church history as St. Edmund of Abingdon. Whether as townsmen or yeomen, its bearers seemed to have belonged to the substantial middle class. For several centuries a family of this name was settled at Stowey, in the Quantocks, and by local tradition they are said to have been lords of the manor in that neighborhood. The surname Rich's Holford¹⁵²

NOTE 147.—Hist. Coll. of State of Pennsylvania, Phila., 1848 (Geo. W. Gorton), Somerset Co., pp. 615-619.

NOTE 148.—Washington's road in 1754; Bouquet's road in 1758.

NOTE 149.—Cumberland county was separated from Lancaster county by the act of January 27, 1750; Bedford from Cumberland, March 9, 1771; Somerset from Bedford by the act of April 17, 1795.—(Hist. Coll. of Penn., p. 615.)

NOTE 150.—See Vermont Hist. Magazine, vol. III (1877), Orleans county, pp. 31-402.

NOTE 151.—Geneal. and Hist. Record of the Descendants of Wm. Locke, of Woburn, pp. 342-346; The Dedham Branch of the Avery Family in America, p. 12.

NOTE 152.—The addition of such a surname as, for example, in the case of Bovey Tracey, Bishop's Lydeard, etc., invariably shows the proprietor, or the dignitary, thus indicated to have been lord of the manor.

still attaches to a place on the east slope of the Quantock hills. During the past two centuries the proprietors of 'Cross' were:

Samuel Rich I, and his wife Joan, who are commemorated on the mural tablet in the aisle¹⁵³ of the parish church at Over Stowey. They lived in the reigns of William III and Queen Anne, and are mentioned as the grandparents of James Rich, esq., who died April 15, 1815.

Samuel Rich II (died 1765), son of the preceding, and his wife Betty, two sons, and a daughter named Anstice, are buried in the family vault near the porch of the parish church. He was born two years before the legislative union of Scotland, and lived through the momentous half-century which saw the creation of the British empire.

Thomas Rich, esq., (1735-1813), who succeeded his father in 1765, was proprietor of 'Cross' for forty-eight years. A younger contemporary of his was Thomas Poole¹⁵⁴ (1765-1837), the friend of the poet Coleridge. In 1796 Mr. Poole secured for Coleridge a cottage in the village of Nether Stowey,¹⁵⁵ and the poet resided there until he went to Germany in 1798. A curious incident connected with the invasion threatened by Napoleon Bonaparte likewise belongs to the times of Thomas Rich. The ancient hill fort of Dowsborough,¹⁵⁶ enclosing, it is said, some ten acres, overlooks the twin villages of Stowey. In the long ago it must have been the rallying-point for the tribe that inhabited those parts. When, therefore, the anticipated landing of the French became a matter of daily anxiety,¹⁵⁷ it was resolved by the people of the district, to retire to Dowsborough and prepare to resist the invader. All the wagons in the neighborhood were chartered to convey the families of the inhabitants "with their belongings to the ancient hilltop refuge on the first warning of danger."¹⁵⁸

James Rich, esq., a younger brother of Thomas Rich, proprietor from 1813 to 1815, was the last of the elder branch of the family. At his death the estate was divided among all descendants of his grandfather.¹⁵⁹ He gave to the parish church of Over Stowey the massive brass chandelier which hangs in the nave of the church, and it was lighted for the first time at his funeral. By the terms of his will the house and farm at Cross passed to Edmund Rich, of Butcombe, near Bristol.¹⁶⁰ It is said that James Rich met my maternal great-grandfather by chance at a fair, having previously been unaware of his existence, and that he was so much pleased with the younger

NOTE 153.—The church consists of the nave and one aisle only.

NOTE 154.—National Dict. of Biog., vol. XLVI, pp. 104, 105; Mrs. Henry Sanford, Thomas Poole and his Friends, 2 vols., 1888.

NOTE 155.—It was during Coleridge's stay in Nether Stowey that the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" was composed.

NOTE 156.—The elevation of Dowsborough is about 1100 feet.

NOTE 157.—Cf. Coleridge's "Fears in Solitude," which, refers to the threatened invasion of the French in 1796-'98.

NOTE 158.—Beatrix F. Cresswell, The Quantock Hills, their Combes and Villages, p. 89.

NOTE 159.—The disappearance of large proprietors who by descent and social position ranked with the gentry, as well as that of the lesser yeoman—freeholders, was one of the changes which distinguished the England of revolutionary times from the England of the earliest colonial period. In the days of Cromwell the English were to a great extent a nation of yeoman freeholders.—"From the early years of the eighteenth century this class began to disappear, and by the end of the century it was almost extinct."—(Lecky, History of England, vol. 1, p. 557.)

NOTE 160.—About this time another member of the Rich family, Claudius James Rich, of Bristol, was engaged in discovering, or, to speak more precisely, definitely ascertaining, the sites of ancient Nineveh and Babylon.

man that he took him back to Stowey, showed him the house and lands at Cross and asked him how he would like to own that property some day. James Rich, esq., died April 15, 1815; his funeral was held at night in the parish church, and all the heirs, more than a hundred in number, were assembled to hear the reading of his will.

Edmund Rich, who took possession of the house at Cross in 1815, was followed by a son and a grandson, each bearing the name of Samuel. George Lansdowne, esq., afterwards of Hock Pitt, who married a daughter of Edmund Rich, was the first of our relations to come to this country. He traveled through the Northern states, and during his stay in the West was much annoyed by the familiarity of the *friendly* Indians. They would come into the house unbidden and help themselves to whatever happened to strike their fancy. Traveling facilities were in a backward state, and on one occasion Mr. Lansdowne made the trip from Albany to New York in a cutter. He was accompanied in his travels by the son of a Mr. Keene, of Banwell, in the Mendips.¹⁶¹ David Keene, a younger brother, I believe, was afterwards rector of St. John's church, Milwaukee, and his son a classmate of President Roosevelt at Harvard.¹⁶²

APPENDIX II.—THE MARSHALL MAPS.¹⁶³

THE FIRST MAP.

The first map is entitled "A Map of Junction City, Kansas, and Adjacent Territory." It was published by the Davis County Emigration (sic) Society, of which S. M. Strickler was president and A. C. Pierce secretary. The reverse side of the map gave a prospectus of the advantages of Junction City and the surrounding district.

The map shows the proposed course of the Republican Valley railroad as originally planned, and also a proposed line to Omaha running north by way of Five Mile creek. Other points of interest are, (1) southeastern Clay county, including the Wakefield neighborhood, (2) the military reservation of Fort Riley, and (3) the hilly country south of the Kansas river, extending from Lyons creek to Humboldt. The last-named district has been identified with the northern boundary of Quivira, invaded by the Spanish conqueror Coronado in 1541. The military reservation of Fort Riley contains the ruins of Pawnee, including the capitol building in which the territorial legislature met on July 2, 1855. The map extends as far west as the section on which St. John's church stands (township 10 south, range 3 east). The creek flowing parallel to the east bank of the Republican appears to be wrongly named. It is unquestionably the stream now known as Timber creek.

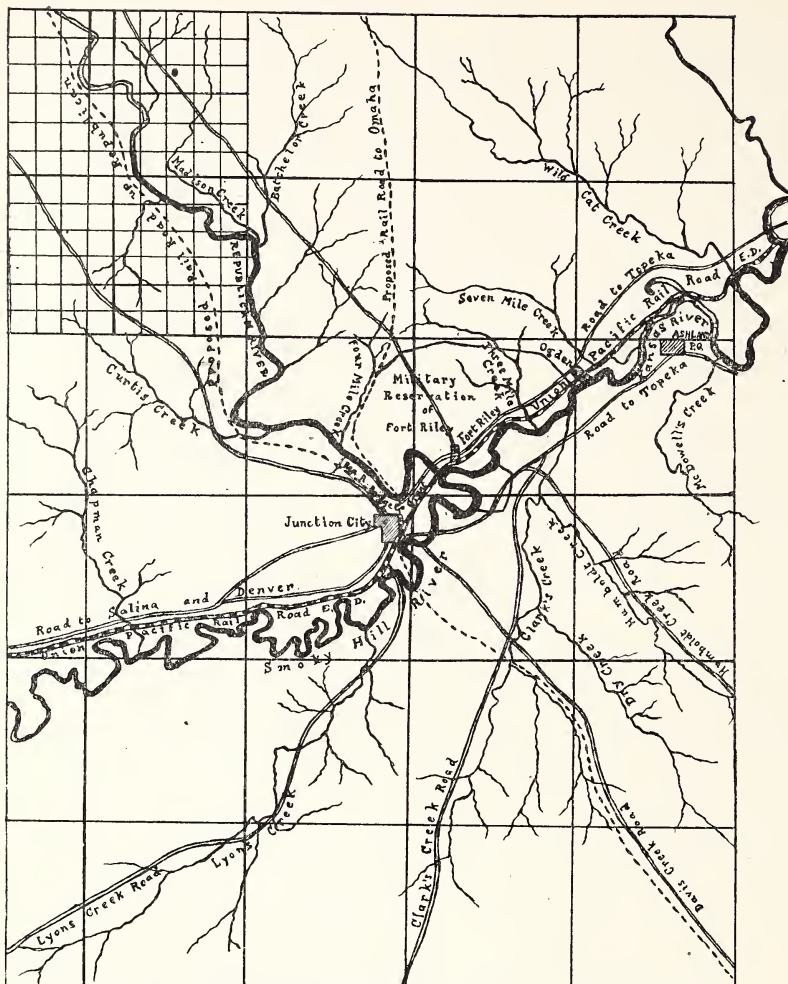
THE SECOND MAP.

The second map (p. 503) owes its origin to matters of practical interest. When the settlers came the land was one continuous expanse of rolling prairie

NOTE 161.—An oak settle, once the property of the elder Mr. Keene, stands by the old-fashioned kitchen fireplace at Hock Pitt.

NOTE 162.—Most of the items of oral tradition were given me by my cousin, Geo. E. Lansdowne, Esq., J. P. C. C. of Over-Stowey; an account of the Rev. David Keene, D. D., written by his son and published in the *St. John's Observer*, Milwaukee, June, 1897, was furnished by the Rev. James Slidell, the present rector.

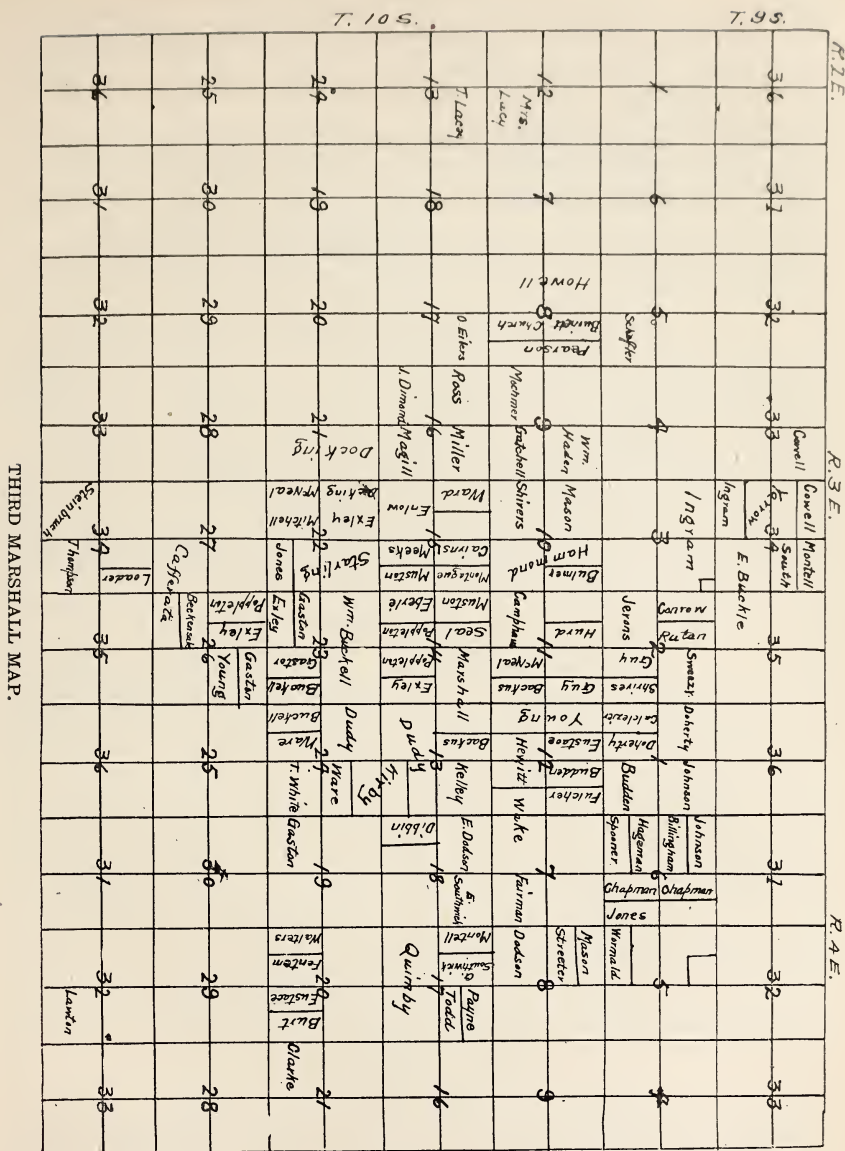
NOTE 163.—To those specified in the text we may add (3) a map of the district southwest of Wakefield, showing its occupants in the early eighties, and (4) a sketch-map of the Golden Ridge school district.



MAP OF JUNCTION CITY AND ADJACENT COUNTRY.

The first Marshall map, 1868.

broken only by the timber that skirted the banks of the larger creeks. There were no fences or boundaries, and no striking peculiarities of surface. A section seemed to owe its very identity to the presence of settlers upon it. In view of this practical difficulty, Mr. J. P. Marshall made an outline chart of the township in which his claim was situated, and from time to time entered the names of those who settled upon it. The map was drawn with pen and ink upon a sheet of ruled note-paper, and measures 25.3 x 15.3 cm., or with the margin 25.5 x 19.8 cm. It is much yellowed with age. Although the map was drawn in 1874, supplementary entries were oc-



casionally made during the three or four following years. A few explanatory remarks may be added in this connection :

1. The shaded portions of the map represent claims purchased of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company. This excluded homesteads, technically so called, as well as the farms of the earlier American settlers in the Quimby creek valley.

T. 10 S., R. 3 E.

Cornell		Church	Wenatche	Sweezy		Doherty	
Ingram		Conroy	Rutan				
3		Willis	Ford	2		1	
		Jerons		Guy	Wiseman	Wiseman	Doherty
				Strives	Goldfizer	Robinson	
Keen		Jevons					
Hillery	Bulmer	Camphaus	Hurd	Guy	Gondery	Eustace	
10			11			12	
Hammond		Camphaus		Handy	Backus	Young	Hudson
				Moffit		Hewitt	Walter
Cairns	Montague	Muston	Avery	Marshall		Backus	Kelly
			Walter				
			Seat				
15			12			13	
		August					
Meens	Muston	Ebert	Poppeton	Poppeton	Exley	Doody	
						Brown	

SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 96.

Revised April, 1887.

2. The dotted outline represents the boundary of the Golden Ridge school district.

3. The name (scarcely legible) on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 17, twp. 10, range 4 east, is probably to be read "Purinton." The earliest entry on the N $\frac{1}{2}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 10, in Gill township, may possibly be read "Winterbourne."

4. With regard to section 15 (Gill township) the evidence of the Marshall map has been called in question. The most likely solution is that which has been offered in the sixth section of this history. It is an explanation which must be accepted in the case of sections 11 and 31 in the same township. Here land was purchased by settlers that afterwards unquestionably reverted to the corporation to which it originally belonged.

A letter of recent date from Mr. Marshall contains so much interesting matter that I venture to cite it here, although a brief extract has been inserted in the body of the history:

"WAKEFIELD, September 30, 1906.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I fully appreciate your desire to sift out the truth and 'hold fast that which is good.' Men's memories become somewhat hazy as to matters occurring over one-third of a century ago, and even written records may be in error, as boundaries were little known and less understood during the first few years of settlement.

"Mr. Quimby settled on the quarter-section of the place known as his. The other 240 acres he got from his brother Frank and a man named Robinson, both of whom went as soldiers during the civil war and never returned.

"The '80' now owned by John Young was first settled by a man from Illinois, who built a sod house on the southeast corner. Jason Withers, I think, got it for a tree claim, and then my brother Arthur had it. When he left, I took it, selling it to the Young's shortly after. Jason Withers married Miss Cowdery and lived on the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 12. . . .

"The Buckle on section 26 was E. T. Buckle, who lived there before his marriage to Miss Young, after he traded places with James Young.

"I enclose some slips [maps, pp. 530, 531] covering some of the discussed points, and I think they will agree with my earlier map, except that some of the lines maybe run east and west instead of north and south. In the early days, with no roads or fences, it was difficult to tell which way the land lay.

"Hoping that these notes may be of use to you, I am, yours very truly,
JOHN P. MARSHALL."

APPENDIX III.—THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

In constructing the chronological table on page 532 I have selected chiefly those events that have a merely local character, or else such as connect the history of the Junction City district with the affairs of the state at large.

INDIAN TRAILS.

From very early times the Indian tribes carried on a primitive sort of commerce by means of trails or track-ways. At least two such trails intersected Kansas diagonally. One appears to have passed up the north side of the Kansas river and then to have crossed the watershed from some point below Ellsworth to the great bend of the Arkansas. Another led from the head waters of the Osage and the Neosho, crossing the trail previously mentioned near Great Bend, and then passing up the Arkansas to the mountains. The trail was continued by way of the Rio de las Animas and the Raton pass to the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte. These routes connected the Mississippi valley with New Mexico.¹⁶⁴

HARAHEY AND QUIVIRA.

In the sixteenth century the country now known as Kansas was included in two regions called Harahey and Quivira. Harahey was the territory of the Pawnee Indians. It embraced western Kansas, but extended far beyond the borders of the state. Quivira lay for the most part between the Kansas and the Arkansas rivers. It was intersected by the trails previously mentioned. When Coronado conquered the settled races of New Mexico, in 1541, the natives lured him into the open plains of the interior, hoping thus to compass his destruction. On the march to Quivira the Span-

NOTE 164.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 5, 1889-'96: "Trails in Southern Kansas," by Hon. J. R. Mead, of Wichita, pp. 88-93.

Township 10, Range 3 east.

Muston	Moore	J. P. Marshall	James Marshall	Marshall		
E. Jones	Miles Poppleton	John Poppleton	Poppleton			
Southworth.				David Dudy	Kirby	
					Goosey	
				H. Buckle	Ware	T. White
						Gaston

Sections 13 and 23, railroad land.

"This is the earliest settlement of the tract herein described. The W $\frac{1}{2}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 24 is where the Clinches lived—J. P. Marshall."

Adjoining tract on opposite page.

ish invaders crossed the state diagonally and seem to have reached the Kansas river somewhere within the limits of the Junction City district.¹⁶⁵

In the seventeenth century a band of the New Mexican natives revolted from the Spaniards and founded a settlement in Quivira. It was known to the Spaniards as Cuartelejo. In recent years the site has been identified and excavated.¹⁶⁶

KANSAS A BORDER-LAND.

Some centuries before the Columbian discovery the Siouan Indians migrated westward from the region of the Appalachian mountains. At the time of the Spanish Conquest they had spread all over the more open regions of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys. To this race belonged the Dakotas on the north, and the Omahas, Kansas, and Wazhazhas (Osages) on the south. As the Siouan tribes pressed up the river valleys west of the

NOTE 165.—The original records of Coronado's expedition have been collected, edited and translated by Geo. W. Winship, in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892-'93, part 1, pp. 339-598; he has likewise published the English translations separately under the title "The Journey of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, 1540-'42."

NOTE 166.—"Some Pueblo Ruins in Scott County, Kansas," by S. W. Williston and H. T. Martin, in the Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 6, 1897-1900, pp. 124-130.

Township 10, Range 4 east.

Dodson		Southwick		Payne	
Dibbin		Dodson		Todd	
D. & White		Dodson		Quimby	
		Jacobus.		Quimby	
Gaston		C. P. Rintow		Quimby	
Walters		Gates		Eustace	
Burt					

Missouri they came in conflict with the warlike Pawnees and Wichitas. By the seventeenth century Kansas had already become the border-land of the Siouan and Caddoan races. Each of the important rivers—the Kansas, the Osage and the Arkansas—was the highway of an invading tribe. The Kansas tribe eventually occupied the entire Kaw valley. It will thus be seen that the state owes its name to invaders from Missouri. On Vaugondy's map (1750) the eastern part of the state already appears as "Pays des Cansés," "Land of the Kansas [Indians]"; and the Pawnees still retained possession of the central and western parts of Nebraska and the northern part of Kansas. Their villages were in the Platte and the Republican valleys.¹⁶⁷

KANSAS THE FRONTIER BETWEEN THE POSSESSIONS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN, 1705-1803.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century Kansas became the borderland between the colonial empires of France and Spain. The French made their first expedition to the mouth of the Kansas river in 1705. On September 27, 1719, M. Dutisne, a French officer, took formal possession of the Pawnee country in the name of France. The following year the Spaniards

NOTE 167.—Winsor, the Mississippi Basin, p. 205.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.	LOCAL EVENTS.	
	Timber Creek.	Madura (Wakefield).
1854, March 30. The Kansas-Nebraska bill.		
1854, October 7. Hon. Andrew H. Reeder, first governor of the territory of Kansas, arrives at Leavenworth.		
1855, July 2-6. Session of the territorial legislature at Pawnee. (Ruins of the capitol to be seen in the military reservation at Fort Riley.)		
	1856 (April). Moses, William and Jeremiah Younkin and John King settle on Timber creek (Grant township).	
		1857, (spring). Messrs. Quimby and Payne settle in Republican township.
		1858, (May). Rev. William Todd settles in Republican township.
	1858, December 2. Edwin Younkin born. (First child of American parentage in Grant township.)	
		1859, House on the Wakefield town site built by James Gilbert.
		1860, July 25. Geo. Kirby born. (First child of American parentage in Gill township.)
1861, January 30. Kansas admitted as a state.		
1866, (November). Lieut.-col. Geo. A. Custer assumes command at Fort Riley (till 1871).		
		1868, July 4. Madura schoolhouse opened.
1868, September 17. Battle of Arickaree (Beecher's island); decisive overthrow of the plains Indians.		
1868, (November). Hon. James M. Harvey, governor of Kansas. (Reelected 1870.)		
	1869, July 12. Messrs. Pierce and Wake inspect the land between Chapman creek and the Wakefield town site.	
		1869, August 12. H. S. Walter and P. Gillies settle in Republican township.
	1869, August 21. John Wormald, Alexander Maitland, R. T. Batchelor, and others, arrive in Junction City.	
		1869, August 21. The pioneer partly left England August 3, landed in New York on the 15th, and reached Junction City on the 21st.
	1869, August 25. Preliminary organization of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company ("incorporated August 25, 1869").	
	1869, August 26. The town site of Wakefield laid out by Richard Wake, John Wormald, Alexander Maitland, and Col. John S. Loomis.	
		1869, September 15. The "Nebraska party" sails from Liverpool, landing in New York on the 29th, and arrived in Junction City October 6.
	1869, October 12. Meeting of the stockholders at the Hale House, Junction City.	
	1870, January 16. A severe blizzard occasions much suffering.	
		1870, April 6. The Alsop party sailed from Liverpool. On the 25th they are met at Junction City by Rev. Richard Wake.
	1870, (April). The opening of the company's store celebrated April 15.	
	1870, May 8. Methodist Episcopal church organized.	
	1870, May 30. The Wakefield Ferry and Bridge Company incorporated.	
	1870, (summer). Drought and failure of crops.	
	1871, January 25-March 8. Sessions of the Wakefield Agricultural and Literary Society recorded in the Wakefield <i>Herald</i> , vol. I, No. 3.	
	1871, (spring). Services of the Episcopal church first held at the home of Mrs. Pearson, in Gill township.	
	1871, March 8. J. B. Quimby delivers an address before the society on "How to Begin a Farm."	
	1871, (spring). Organization of the monthly market.	
		1871, April 5. The Sparrowhawk party leaves England.
	1872, (July). St. John's Episcopal church destroyed by a tornado.	
1872, Hon. Thomas A. Osborn governor of Kansas (reelected, 1874).		
	1873, May 16. "George Grant imports stock for a 60,000-acre farm at Victoria, Ellis county."— <i>Wilder's Annals</i> .	
	1874, Kansas devastated by grasshoppers.	
	1874, October 14. Vestry meeting of St. John's parish held at the residence of Dr. Chas. Hewitt.	
	1876, (April). St. John's church dedicated.	
1876, June 25. Battle of Little Big Horn river (Montana). Felix James Pitters, a Wakefield colonist, among the slain.		

attempted to found a colony on the banks of the Missouri, but were massacred by the Indians. In 1722-'23 Fort Orleans, Mo., was founded by the French on an island near the mouth of the Osage river. The commandant, M. de Bourgmont, explored Kansas during the following year. "In 1725," says Spring, "Fort Orleans was captured by Kansas savages and the garrison slaughtered. Details are wholly unknown, as not a white man survived to tell the tale, and the stolid, close-mouthed Indian never broke silence. The massacre effectually blighted the enthusiasm of Frenchmen for explorations in Kansas."¹⁶⁸

KANSAS COMES UNDER THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Kansas was included in the Louisiana purchase of 1803, and was explored by Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike in 1806. On September 29 of that year Pike caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the United States flag to be raised at Pawnee Republic (a village of the Pawnee Indians from which the Republican river derives its name). This was 265 years after the invasion of Coronado and 81 years after the destruction of Fort Orleans.

In 1831-'32 the United States began to remove the Indians from the Old Northwest to reservations in Kansas. In 1843 the Wyandots came from Ohio and settled in eastern Kansas. They remained in the state about twelve years (1843-'55).

Kansas was opened for settlement on May 30, 1854, and after seven years of checkered territorial history became a state in 1861.

FLOODS IN THE MISSOURI RIVER.

Written by PHIL. E. CHAPPELL¹ for the Kansas State Historical Society.

IN many respects the Missouri river is the most remarkable stream in the world. It is the longest, the most tortuous, carries the greatest volume of water, and is the most difficult to navigate. From the Three Forks, at Gallatin, Mont., northwest of Yellowstone Park, to the mouth of the river, is a distance of 2547 miles, and from the head of the Jefferson branch to the mouth of the river is a distance of nearly 3000 miles. The Missouri-Mississippi—for, as a matter of fact, the lower Mississippi is but a continuance of the Missouri, the upper Mississippi being much the smaller stream—to the Gulf of Mexico, is a distance of 4200 miles.²

The watershed of the Missouri river covers an area of 580,000 square miles, extending from New Mexico to the British possessions and westward to the Rocky Mountains. Within this vast expanse are thousands of streams which flow into the great river. Among the largest, beginning at the head, are the Teton, Marias, Milk river, Yellowstone, Little Missouri, Knife river,

NOTE 168.—"Kansas" (in the Am. Commonwealth Series), by L. W. Spring, p. 20.

NOTE 1.—MR. PHIL. E. CHAPPELL was born on the bank of the Missouri river, near Jefferson City, and for more than sixty years lived in sight of the river. During his early life he was engaged in steamboating on the river; afterwards became a steamboat owner, and maintained his connection with the river as long as navigation continued. Mr. Chappell is the author of a paper published in the ninth volume of Kansas Historical Collections, pages 237-316, entitled "A History of the Missouri River." Mr. Chappell died in Kansas City, Mo., February 23, 1908, in his seventy-first year. For sketch of his life see volume 9, pages 237, 238.

NOTE 2.—These figures, and much of the following data have been obtained from the reports of the Missouri River Commission, and the writer takes occasion here to acknowledge his obligation to Mr. S. Waters Fox, who for many years was engaged on Missouri river improvement work under that commission, for valuable assistance in the preparation of this paper.

Cannon Ball, Cheyenne, Owl river, White river, Niobrara, Dakota, Big Sioux, Platte, Nishnabotna, Nodaway, Little Platte, Kaw, Grand river, Chariton, Lamine, Osage, and Gasconade. Those flowing into the river above the Platte take their rise in the Rocky Mountains, while those debouching below that stream rise, with two or three exceptions, on the western plains.

The annual amount of precipitation within this vast watershed, all of which is carried off by the Missouri river, is almost beyond comprehension. The total annual discharge of the river has been estimated, from calculations made by the Missouri River Commission, at twenty cubic miles, or at a rate of 94,000 cubic feet per second.* Usually this vast volume of water passes off without doing any considerable damage, the banks of the river being sufficiently high to prevent an overflow. But occasionally an unusual fall of snow in the Rocky Mountains, or an extraordinary precipitation along the lower river and its tributaries, or both coming in conjunction, cause an overflow of the banks and the destructive floods that bring devastation, ruin and death.

To understand the cause of the floods in the Missouri it is necessary for one to understand something of the general contour of the river, its physical nature and its characteristic features. Formed by the confluence of three mountain streams—the Jefferson, Gallatin and Madison—it flows eastwardly, over numerous rapids, a clear, precipitous, rapid stream until well out of the mountains, after which it assumes a different character, first, as a sand-bearer, and further on, through the flow of tributary streams and changes in bed-foundation, both a silt- and sand-bearer, until finally it becomes a pronounced type of an alluvial river.

From Sioux City, with an average slope of eighty-six one-hundredths of a foot to the mile, and an extreme variation on the gage of nearly nineteen feet at Sioux City and thirty-five feet from Kansas City to the mouth, the river flows on in a tortuous, divided and ever-shifting channel through a heterogeneous mass of sand and clay.

It is not to its tributaries that the Missouri owes the muddy character of its water to any great extent, for many of these, especially the smaller streams, are comparatively clear. Even the Osage and Gasconade, two of the largest, are perfectly clear, and their waters flow over pebbly bottoms. But it is from the character of the land through which it flows, the exceedingly fine, alluvial soil which is continually falling into the stream from the erosion of its banks as they become undermined by the swift current, that it assumes the dark, muddy color which characterizes it and from its first discovery has given it the name "Big Muddy." It was amusing in the days of steamboating on the river to observe with what reluctance the eastern traveler performed his ablutions in this muddy water. In pouring it into the basin he would step back in disgust and ask for some clean water, and, when told there was none, would simply wet the towel and wipe his face. One of these travelers said, after traveling for several days on the river, that "he felt as if there was a small sand-bar in his throat." No words could express more forcibly a caricature of the muddy water during a freshet.

But notwithstanding its muddy appearance the water of the river has been pronounced the most wholesome in the world; the very sand held in solution serving to purify it and render it wholesome. And, when clarified

* Missouri River Commission. Annual reports, 1891, p. 3821; 1892, p. 3312.

by settling, or in the winter, when it becomes clear, it is as pleasant to drink as that of any mountain stream. Several years ago a test was made in Paris, France, of waters taken from streams in different parts of the world, to ascertain which would continue pure and wholesome for the longest period of time, it being important that this fact should be ascertained for the benefit of the ships sailing on long voyages at sea. After a thorough test the water taken from the lower Mississippi—which assumes its character from the Missouri—was pronounced the purest and best.

Even the early Jesuit explorers recognized the excellence of the waters of the Missouri and lower Mississippi, which are the same, as will be seen from the following excerpt from a letter written at the old French village of Kaskaskie, near the present city of St. Louis, by Father Louis Vivier, on November 17, 1750. He says:

“Before its junction with that river [Missouri] the Mississippi is of no great size. Its current is slight, while the Missouri is wider, deeper, more rapid, and takes its rise much farther away. Several rivers of considerable size empty into the Mississippi, but the Missouri alone seems to pour into it more water than all these rivers together. Here is the proof of it: The water of most—I might say of all—of the rivers that fall into the Mississippi is only passably good, and that of several is positively unwholesome; that of the Mississippi itself, above its junction with the Missouri, is not of the best; on the contrary, that of the Missouri is the best water in the world. Now that the Mississippi, from its junction with the Missouri to the sea, becomes excellent, the water of the Missouri must therefore predominate.”³

The elevation of the surface of the water in the river varies greatly in different years, and at different periods in the same year. For the purpose of preserving reliable statistics of the different stages of the water, the government, in 1888, established two grade lines from Sioux City to the mouth of the river, designating them respectively “standard high-water mark” and “standard low-water mark.” The former was determined from the highest known June flood previous to 1888, and the latter from the lowest known stage previous to that date. This data is not entirely reliable, of course, as previous to 1888 no accurate official records were kept. The difference in elevation of the two planes at Kansas City is 14.52 feet, and at St. Charles 16.13 feet. The general difference between high- and low-water mark at St. Joseph is 28 feet, and at Herman, Mo., the difference between the high-water mark of 1844 and the low-water mark of 1853—the highest and lowest stages known—is 32 feet.

Some idea of the effect of a flood on the volume of water discharged may be formed from the following comparison. The discharge at St. Charles at low-standard stage of the water was estimated by the Missouri River Commission at 40,000 cubic feet per second; and at high-water—taken at the crest of the flood of 1892—650,000 cubic feet per second. The maximum discharge of the flood of 1903 far exceeded that of 1892, the estimated amount being the enormous quantity of 750,000 cubic feet per second.⁴

The velocity of the current in the river varies, of course, with the stage of the water. The ordinary velocity, at a low stage, is from two to three miles per hour. During floods, however, the velocity increases tremendously, frequently being as much as ten miles per hour. The river then becomes a

NOTE 3.—Thwaite's *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 69, p. 207.

NOTE 4.—The above data have been obtained from the reports of the Missouri River Commission.

raging torrent, its muddy surface covered with foam and driftwood and its waters whirling and boiling in every direction. Remarkable time was made down-stream by steamboats on floods in the days of navigation on the river, twenty miles an hour being not unusual. At a still earlier period the keel-boats engaged in the fur trade always took advantage of the June rise in descending the river. In 1811 Manuel Lisa, the noted fur-trader and keel-boatman, sent a boat down from the Mandan village, where Bismarck, N. Dak., is now situated, to St. Louis, a distance of 1450 miles, in thirteen days, making an average run of more than 100 miles per day.⁵

The bed of the river above Carroll, Mont., is rocky, but below that point to Sioux City, is semialluvial. From Sioux City to the mouth it is full alluvial. This sand and clay, extending to bed-rock, varies at different places from 40 to 100 feet. At St. Joseph, where borings were made by the Missouri River Commission, the rock bottom was struck 40 feet below the bed of the river, and the loose material above consisted of sand, gravel and boulders. At Randolph, just below Kansas City, 85 feet of sand and gravel were found and then 20 feet of boulders. At Boonville, from the bottom of the river to bed-rock, 55 feet of sand and gravel intervened. The bridge pier at St. Charles rests on solid rock at the north end, but in the middle of the river it was found necessary to sink a caisson 60 feet through sand to obtain a solid foundation.⁶

The deepest place in the river sounded by the government engineers is in Augusta bend, below Washington, Mo., where the water in an ordinary stage was found to be sixty feet deep. There are probably few deeper places in the river. The average depth, even in a high stage of water, does not exceed twenty-five or thirty feet, and the deepest water is always found in the bends, where, also, the strongest current is found. There was never any lack of water in the bends during the days of steamboating, even in a low stage; but there was found there a greater menace to navigation in the snags with which they abounded. Many of the bends of the river are twenty miles long and have been many years in forming. The banks of the river were originally lined with a primeval growth of large timber, and as they were undermined by the swift current the trees tumbled in and floated along until their roots became anchored in the bottom of the river. There they remained for years, becoming the "sawyers" that caused so many steamboat wrecks.

The "crossings," as the name indicates, are the places where the channel changed from one side of the river to the other. The water spreads out over a wide space at these localities, and, instead of there being one channel, there are frequently a half dozen chutes, neither of which, in a low stage of water, is deep enough to float a steamboat heavily loaded. Even on the crossings, however, in an ordinary stage, there was sufficient water for a boat to pass through without running aground.

In the days of steamboating on the river navigation began on the breaking up of the ice, usually the last of February or the first of March, and continued until the ice began to run in the following November. During this period there was usually sufficient water for boats drawing six feet until after the subsidence of the June rise in August. From that time the

NOTE 5.—Bradbury's Travels, pp. 182-197.

NOTE 6.—Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., Annual Report, 1890, pt. 4, p. 3376.

river declined rapidly, until during the latter part of the season it was difficult to find more than three or four feet on the crossings.⁷ When the water receded to this stage it was the custom to withdraw the larger boats and put them in the lower Mississippi, leaving only the light-draught vessels to continue in the trade.

It is the consensus of opinion among all old steamboat men now living that there is as much water in the river to-day as there ever was, and that it could be as easily and safely navigated. Indeed, there are reasons for believing that the river is a safer stream and could be more easily navigated than formerly, when it was crowded with steamboats, as the land along the banks has been put in cultivation, the trees have been cut down, and there are fewer now to fall into the river and obstruct navigation; besides, in many of the worst places, especially in the lower reaches, the government has so improved the channel of the river, by a system of revetments and dikes, as to strengthen and deepen it, thereby increasing its navigability. The work that has been done, much of which has stood the test of twenty years, only shows what vast improvement could be made in the river by a systematic and persistent effort under the modern and skilful methods of engineering.

An experienced riverman can always determine, when looking at a river during a flood, whether it is rising or falling. When rising the surface of the water becomes convex, and, being higher in the middle, the driftwood flows to the sides. *Vice versa*, when the river is falling the surface becomes concave, and the driftwood then flows to the middle, leaving the sides next to the shores clear. It has been said that during a flood the surface of the water varies as much as two feet between the middle of the river and the shore line.⁸

The excessively uneven condition of the bed of the river, and the continual caving in and cutting away of the higher portions, called "reefs," produces a whirling and eddying of the surface of the water which enables the pilot to judge approximately the depth of the water and determine where the channel is. Standing at the wheel he can look ahead a hundred yards, and from the ripples on the surface and the boils and whirlpools determine when the bluff bar at the bottom of the river is cutting away and what changes are taking place below. This is called by rivermen "reading the river," and it is wonderful how expert some of the pilots became in old times in thus fathoming the unseen mysteries of the river.

The upper portion of the Missouri is subject to a flood peculiar to that part of the river. There, the winters being exceedingly long and cold, the ice freezes to unusual thickness. When it breaks up in the spring it floats down in unusual flocs, until, on arriving at some narrow place, it becomes gorged and effectually dams the current. This causes an overflow of the bottom-lands, which, coming so quickly and without warning, results in great damage. The ice in these gorges piles up, one floe on top of another, to a tremendous height, developing a power that nothing can withstand. Finally the pressure of the current of the river, combined with the ice, accumulates a force sufficient to break through the dam, and it gives away

NOTE 7.—On one occasion the writer undertook to take a steamboat down the river at St. Louis in November, and notwithstanding she was exceedingly light, and did not draw over three feet, it was impossible to find sufficient water on the crossings to get through.

NOTE 8.—Brackenridge's Journal, pp. 45, 96.

with a report that can be heard for miles. The breaking of such a gorge is one of the most sublime and awe-inspiring sights in nature.⁹

Occasionally, in looking out on the river, even as low down as Kansas City, on a warm and pleasant day in spring, one sees the surface of the water covered with thick floating ice. It is a strange phenomenon, and the onlooker, if a stranger, will wonder where this ice came from. It is from one of these upper-river gorges, and has probably floated a thousand miles, the water not having yet become sufficiently warm to melt it. This ice, which is exceedingly thick and clear, frequently floats down the river as far as Jefferson City, and the writer has seen the ice-houses at that place filled with it as late as April.

There are many places along the lower river¹⁰ where creeks come through the bluffs at points where the bottom is not more than a mile wide. Naturally, the land always being lower near the bluff, the creek flows along down the bluff until finally, after several miles, it makes its way across the bottom to the river. In the course of time the river, in its unrestrained and destructive course, cuts away the bottom at the upper point until it finally reaches the creek at the place it comes through the hills. When this occurs, following the laws of gravitation, the creek seeks a new channel, and debouches into the river at the upper point. There are many such places as have been described along the river. There is one opposite Jefferson City, one below Brunswick, Mo., and one at Langdons, above St. Joseph. The old beds of the creek become sloughs and furnish most excellent fishing grounds.

Above the mouth of the Platte, the country being prairie, the bends assume a more decided curvature than below, many of them being in the shape of a horseshoe. The largest of these, known as the Great Bend, is thirty miles around, while the distance across the neck is but little more than a mile. Steamboat passengers were accustomed, in ascending the river, to disembark at the lower end of the bend, and, after spending a day in hunting, catch the boat at the upper end. A similar bend was one above Onawa, Iowa. This bend was twelve miles around, while the distance across at the narrowest point was only about fifty rods. In the course of time the swift current of the river, in its constant and never-ceasing erosions, cuts away the bank on the upper side of the bend until it finally eats its way through the narrow neck to the opposite side. The surface of the river being lower there the water rushes through with tremendous velocity carrying everything before it in its mad sweep. The result is that a new channel, called a "cut-off," is formed, and the bight of the bend is left an island. These changes in the channel of the river have been the cause of endless litigation in the ownership and jurisdiction of land involved, especially when the river is the dividing line between two states.¹¹

Many years ago a steamboat, in ascending the upper river, was passing

NOTE 9.—For further description of an ice-gorge on the upper Missouri, see Chittenden's *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri*, vol. 1, p. 82.

NOTE 10.—The mouth of the Platte was always considered among rivermen the dividing line between the upper and lower river. This place was regarded by the early fur-traders of the Missouri as "a point of as much importance as the equinoctial line among mariners. All those who had not passed it before were required to be shaved, unless they could compromise the matter by a treat." It was generally the scene of much merriment.—Brackenridge's *Journal*, 1816, p. 79.

NOTE 11.—Chittenden's *Early Navigation on the Missouri River*, vol. 1, pp. 77-79.

around one of these bends, when she met with a very strange accident. She made a landing in the bight of the bend and passed on up-stream. Imagine the astonishment of the people at the landing when, in looking down-stream, several hours afterward, they saw the same identical steamboat coming up-stream again. They could scarcely believe their eyes; but there could be no mistake about it. The explanation illustrates one of the strange freaks of the river. Unfortunately, just as the boat was passing the narrow strip of land constituting the heel of the horseshoe, and while running close to shore, the current broke through the narrow strip and formed a cut-off. The water rushed through the new channel with such tremendous velocity as to sweep the boat along with it. The current was too strong to stem it in returning, so that she was compelled to go around the old channel, the way she had gone up several hours before.

The channel of the Missouri river may be compared to a great cradle or trough. On either side are parallel bluffs which seem to have been placed there by nature to confine its turbulent waters within certain bounds. The distance between the bluffs varies, causing the intervening bottoms to become much wider at some places than others. At Yankton, S. Dak., the bottom is three miles wide, at Omaha five miles wide, and at Kansas City about two miles in width. Between Kansas City and Boonville the bottoms become wider, reaching a maximum of eight or nine miles at Wakenda, near Carrollton, where it is wider than at any other place on the river. From Boonville to the mouth of the river the width becomes more uniform, the average being about two miles.

This vast bottom, extending from Sioux City to the mouth of the river, a distance of 800 miles, is as rich as the valley of the Nile. It is composed, as has been stated, of a mixture of sand and clay, held in minute particles, forming a loose alluvial soil. It is easily undermined by the action of the water, but held in suspension in a current of moderate velocity. Through this bottom the river meanders on its way to the Mississippi, its channel remaining constant only where it hugs the rocky bluffs. In its intermediate wanderings the channel varies constantly, following a zigzag course from one side of the river to the other, and often flowing to every point of the compass within the distance of a few miles.

The width of the river from bank to bank, at its normal stage, varies at different points, but gradually becomes wider as it approaches the mouth. Standard high-water widths adopted by the Missouri River Commission are: From Sioux City to the mouth of the Platte, average width, 820 feet; from the Platte to the mouth of the Kaw, 960 feet, and from the Kaw to the mouth of the Gasconade, 1160 feet. From there to the mouth the distance becomes greater, averaging 1240 feet wide.¹²

One would naturally suppose, in looking at the Missouri river, that at some time in the distant past the bed of the stream extended from bluff to bluff. The precipitous contour of the rocky bluffs suggests such a thought. But a moment's reflection would controvert this impression, for the laws of nature never change and the river drains the same watershed to-day that it did at the creation of the world. The bottoms, which generally extend over three-fourths the distance from one bluff to the other, are "made land," caused from the accretions of centuries, and furnish a leeway for the channel of the river. They may have been thousands of years in forming, but

NOTE 12.—Letter from Missouri River Commission, July 3, 1908.

sooner or later the channel, unless restrained, will go back and claim its own. When the channel of the river changes it leaves a sand-bar, which soon becomes overgrown with willows and cottonwood. These catch and retain the silt and sand deposits of subsequent overflows, which continually raises the surface of the accretion, until, finally, together with decaying vegetation, it becomes as high as the adjacent land. This process goes on for centuries, and in this manner the bottom-lands along the river are continually forming and reforming. Surveys made along the lower river during the French and Spanish occupancy, and even during the early part of the last century, substantiate the correctness of this theory, but if further proof be required, let a hole be bored down anywhere in the river-bottom, and at a distance of twenty-five feet, or when the level of the water in the river is reached, a flow of water will be found, and probably a wrack-heap, or an old log, proving conclusively that the channel of the river at one time flowed there.¹³

The Missouri river is the most erratic stream in the world, and is as fickle in its notions as an old bachelor. It goes zigzagging along until, without any apparent cause, it becomes dissatisfied with its bed and cuts across to the opposite bluff to find a new channel. The old bed in the course of time becomes filled up with a sand-bar and overgrown with an arboreal growth of willow and cottonwood. Then, in a few years, the river, again becoming restless and dissatisfied, goes back to its original bed. In the days of steamboating this continual shifting of the channel was the most formidable obstacle to navigation and the most serious difficulty the pilot had to contend with. The river had to be "learned over" again every year, if not every week. On the return of a steamboat from a voyage up the river, even after a few days, the channel would frequently be found on the opposite side of the river. It was the custom of the pilots to have a mail-box at every landing, and the ascending or descending pilot would drop a letter in the box notifying his brother pilots of any change in the channel in the reach over which he had passed. The notice would probably read about as follows:

"Look out for a change at Horsetail bar. The upper chute has cut away the bluff-bar at the foot of the tow-head, and the crossing is now a half mile lower down, opposite the cabin in the bight of the bend."

Such a warning would be sufficient, for the pilot knew the river as the schoolboy knows the path to the schoolhouse. He was supposed to know the location of every sand-bar, snag, wreck, chute and cut-off, and the situation of every wood-chopper's cabin along the shore. Such was his familiarity with the stream that he knew every crook and turn of the channel, and no night ever became so dark as to cause him to tie up his boat, especially in running up-stream.

No other river in the world has such a voracious appetite as the Missouri. It is constantly swallowing up farms along its banks, and it is not unusual for a farm of a hundred acres to be engulfed in a single season. In its wild

NOTE 13.—The writer has before him a map of the land in Calloway county, Missouri, where he formerly lived, made by a government surveyor in 1818, when that section was first surveyed. There is laid down on the map a sand-bar fronting the river, which was considered of so little value then that it was marked "sand-bar," and was not surveyed. When a small boy, this sand-bar was thickly overgrown with cottonwood. He has seen these trees grow to be four feet in diameter, cut down and sawed into lumber, and the land put into cultivation. It is now worth \$100 per acre, and the present value illustrates the wonderful changes that have taken place in many localities along the Missouri river within the period of a single lifetime.

freaks, when it cuts across in search of a new channel, the current strikes the alluvial soil with such velocity that it undermines it, and it melts away as a snow-bank before the noonday sun. The substratum of the land being composed of sand, great chunks tumble into the water, causing a splashing noise that can be heard for a mile. There is nothing so well calculated to disturb the slumbers of the owner of a farm thus encroached upon as this continual booming noise, admonishing him that the hungry river is banqueting on his land, and that it is being swallowed up, acre by acre, with no power to arrest the destruction.

It is during the spring floods that the greatest damage is done by the erosion of the river. After the water has receded, and is well within the banks, all danger is over for another year. It has been estimated that not less than eleven billion cubic feet of soil are annually washed out by the Missouri river, and not less than 400 million tons of earth are carried away in solution.¹⁴ This immense quantity of sand, silt and clay is conveyed into the Mississippi and thence on down to the Gulf of Mexico. It was this deposit at the mouth of the river which proved so great an obstacle to navigation until removed by the construction of the Eads jetties.

It is believed by geologists that the entire Gulf coastal plains, including the state of Louisiana, have been formed from alluvial deposits from the Mississippi, most of it, of course, having come out of the Missouri. This opinion seems plausible from the topography of the country and from the fact that the entire delta of the great river is composed of sand and silt, not a single rock being found from Natchez to Balize. The great accretion at the mouth of the river has doubtless been accumulating since the creation of the world, and this is one of the strongest reasons for the belief entertained by many that the earth is much older than it is supposed to be from Biblical account.

The river robs Peter to pay Paul, for as an acre of land is taken off at one place by erosion, another is deposited somewhere else. This is a wise provision of nature, for otherwise the entire bottoms would soon be swept away. It is true that it requires many years for the accretion to become sufficiently high for cultivation, but the process of building up heretofore described goes on from year to year, until eventually the newly made land becomes fit for the plow and as valuable as that which was washed away.

Naturally the uncertainty of the permanency of the channel of the river has a tendency to depreciate the value of the land along the banks and render the tenure of ownership uncertain. A farmer may plant a field of corn along the bank of the river; but if a field should happen to lie in a bend he has no assurance that either the crop or the land will be there at harvest time. In many places in the bottoms the railroads parallel the river, and in protecting their road-beds from erosion, by riprapping and dikes, they protect the adjacent land. Fortunate indeed is the man who has a railroad between his farm and the river, for there is a vast difference between the value of the land on the inside and outside of the track, the one being permanently protected while the other is in constant danger of being washed away.

In the lower part of the river, where the Missouri River Commission did work several years ago for the purpose of controlling the channel, not

NOTE 14.—Letter of Missouri River Commission, July 3, 1908.

only has the sapping of the banks been completely arrested, but thousands of acres of rich lands have been restored and created. In the reach extending from Murray's Bend, above Jefferson City, to the mouth of the Gasconade, a distance of fifty miles, may be seen the result of modern scientific methods of river improvement by means of revetments, dikes and mattresses. The channel of the river has not only been confined and straightened, but bends have been filled up, and where the water formerly spread all over the river bottom is now a fixed channel, which scours itself to the depth of six feet at the lowest stage.* These improvements demonstrate what can be done towards making the Missouri river a first-class navigable stream. It only requires the expenditure of a sufficient amount of money, in a systematic manner, under the direction of a corps of skilful engineers. It is no longer an experiment. Of course it is not the province of the government to protect private property, but if, in improving the river and making it the great commercial thoroughfare between the East and the West it is destined to become the rich alluvial bottoms along its shores should be incidentally protected, certainly it is a greater reason why the work should be done.

The writer once owned a valuable farm of several hundred acres in a bottom which was situated in a bend of the river. His title extended back to the government, and the patent described the land by section, township and range. Any surveyor can find the land from the description, for it is there to-day; but alas! it has changed owners, notwithstanding the fact that the writer never made a conveyance of his title. It was foreclosed under a mortgage held by the Missouri river, and the farm now lies on the opposite side of the river, and in a different county. It now belongs, under the law of accretion, to the owner of the land on that side, which it adjoins.

But the writer owns another river-bottom farm, which he has owned for many years, which fortunately is not located in a bend, and to this one has been added by accretion almost as many acres as were lost by the one swept away. It is situated about ten miles below where the former one was, and, as some measure of recompense, the rich soil taken from the upper farm has been added to the one lower down. The latter is protected by dikes constructed by the Missouri River Commission, and is part of a tract of 3000 acres extending up and down the river ten miles by a half mile wide. This "made land," which has been permanently protected and restored to the original owners, is much of it in cultivation, and is as valuable as any in the bottoms. The history of these farms and there are hundreds of similar cases all along the bottoms, illustrates the capricious course of what may properly be called the "Robber river."

The propensity of the river to dabble in real estate and upset titles has been the cause of endless litigation, and many conflicting decisions by the courts bearing on the rights of riparian landowners. A case decided by the supreme court of Missouri several years ago illustrates the peculiarity and apparent injustice of the law. A. owned a farm fronting on the river, and his neighbor B. one directly back of it. A.'s farm was washed away, and

* E. F. C. Harding, city engineer of Jefferson City, Mo., replying to an inquiry, writes under date of July 13, 1908: "The dykes and revetment work were never kept in good repair, and the greater portion of it has gone to ruin and washed out. Fronting Jefferson City, for instance, if the entire Missouri river had been put in the same condition, I venture to say the channel would be from nine to ten feet at its lowest stages. Where the river once was 4500 feet wide, it now is 1300 to 1600 feet."

B.'s farm became the bank of the river. In a few years, by a freak of the river, the land again filled in, and what had been A.'s farm was restored to its original dimensions. It would seem that in equity A. was entitled to his restored land, but the court held differently, and under its decision the title to the newly made land was vested in B. Had there remained, however, but a single strip of A.'s land not more than a rod wide, the decision would have been different, and he would have been given title to the restored land and all accretions thereto.

The soil of the river-bottoms varies at different places along the river from forty to more than a hundred feet in depth. From borings made by the River Commission the following data have been obtained: At Sioux City the distance from the surface of the ground to bed-rock was found to be 100 feet, and at Omaha 110 feet. At Leavenworth the soil was found to be only 40 feet deep, whereas at Kansas City, Mo., the borings showed a depth of 80 feet. These borings confirm a fact known to every one who has dug a well in the river-bottom; that is, that the soil varies in composition at different depths, there being first a strata of sand, then one of clay, then another of sand, etc., and that they alternate until water is reached. In boring for wells in the bottoms it is well known that if water be reached in a bed of white sand it is as clear and limpid as if it had passed through a filter, which, as a matter of fact, it has. But if the flow is found in a bed of blue clay, as is frequently the case, indicating the presence of an old wrack-heap, it is discolored and scarcely palatable. These different strata of clay and sand, alternating as they do, is another proof of the theory which has been advanced as to the manner in which the bottoms have been formed—that is, by gradual accretions.

The land in the river-bottoms is always lower near the bluff than it is on the bank of the river. It is also of a different formation, being clay, while that near the river is invariably sandy. The channel, as it gradually recedes from the bluffs, leaves sloughs, which are parallel with each other, and between these sloughs is high ground, also parallel, called "benches." These sloughs are subject to overflow whenever the river gets beyond the danger line, and it is in these low places that the damage occurs from an ordinary overflow. There is some compensation, however, as the deposit of silt left greatly enhances the soil. The land on the benches, being sandy and loose, is easily cultivated, while that in the sloughs is tough and difficult to plow. The latter, however, is stronger, and when it escapes an overflow is more productive than the higher land. On the first settlement of the river-bottoms the land under the bluffs, being low, was wet and swampy from the surface-water which came down from the hills. There was no outlet to these sloughs, hence the water remained in them most of the year. It was this stagnant water which produced the chills and fever which so greatly prejudiced the pioneer against the river-bottoms. In recent years these lands have been to a great extent drained, and are now the most productive in the bottoms.

One of the most disastrous results that follows a general flood, when the bottom is submerged from bluff to bluff, is the condition in which the surface of the land is left. In many places a deposit of white sand remains, which greatly injures the land for many years. Sometimes this sand is left in high knolls, and again the entire surface of the ground is covered with a stratum a foot deep. At other places, where the surface of the ground was

originally sandy and loose, great gullies are washed out, the soil having been scooped out by the swift current. At still other places, where the current is obstructed by some object which breaks its force, a deposit of silt is left which benefits the land.¹⁵ It is difficult to account for these strange freaks of the river, for the facts seem to be that when the current becomes obstructed from any cause, and its force broken, a deposit is left, sometimes of sand and at others of silt, whereas, when unobstructed, its great force not only prevents a deposit, but where the surface is loose scoops out great gullies.

Every one familiar with the Missouri river has observed crescent-shaped lakes in the bottoms, some of which (such as Crevecoeur lake, opposite St. Charles; Cooley lake, near Kansas City; Lake Contrary, near St. Joseph; and Bean lake, below Atchison) have become noted fishing and pleasure resorts. These lakes are evidently formed in the following manner: The river, in its unrestrained rambles from bluff to bluff, performs some curious freaks. It sometimes abandons one side, which it has followed for many miles, and, without apparent cause, jumps over to the opposite side, a mile or two away. Where it thus abandons its old channel it leaves a depression, or basin, the ends of which in the course of time become filled up as high as the adjacent land. The basin thus left becomes filled from surface-water, or from creeks flowing into it, and thus these beautiful lakes are formed. They are simply the former bed of the river.¹⁶

There have been three great floods in the Missouri river since it was first known by the French explorers, the floods of 1785, 1844 and 1903, and it is a strange coincidence, and worthy of notice, that these floods have occurred just fifty-nine years apart. But that there have been other floods, far greater than those of which we know, and antedating them hundreds of years perhaps, is evident to any one familiar with the physical characteristics and topography of the river-bottoms. In many places in the bottoms, especially below the mouth of the Kaw, are high spots or knolls, which were not submerged by either the floods of 1844 or 1903. These high points, which are sometimes in the shape of benches, are composed almost entirely of white sand, rendering the land of but little value for cultivation. They are composed of exactly the same material as are the sand-bars in the river, and, being higher than the surrounding bottom-lands, must evidently have been deposited there by some great flood of which nothing is now known, even through tradition.

Having described some of the most striking characteristics of the Missouri river and the valley through which it flows, and in my former paper having shown the impression its turbulence produced in the minds of the explorers who first saw it, we come now to the floods in the river as their history has been preserved in tradition and in the official records of the government, supplemented by the personal observation and recollection of the writer, who has lived on its banks or been connected with its navigation for more than half a century.

NOTE 15.—The writer owns a farm of several hundred acres in the river-bottom which, in 1903, was entirely submerged to the depth of from three to six feet. It was planted in wheat and corn that year, and the fields laid side by side. Where the wheat stood was left a deposit of silt, probably six inches deep all over the field, but where the corn was planted the ground was left bare, even the loose soil having been washed away. The wheat, then in head, had evidently broken the force of the current sufficiently to leave a deposit of silt, while the corn, being only a few inches high, had presented no obstacle to its velocity.

NOTE 16.—Chittenden's *Navigation of the Missouri River*, vol. 1, p. 79.

There are two annual floods in the Missouri river, each of which occurs with remarkable regularity, one in April and the other in June. Both are destructive to property and greatly disturb the channel of the river by the erosion of its banks. The April flood, which is caused solely by unusual spring rains on the lower river and its tributaries, is sharp and sometimes destructive, but is of short duration, and generally subsides before the June rise from the mountains arrives. The water during this flood frequently exceeds the danger line, and flows into the sloughs and inundates the low bottoms, thereby destroying the crops; but as this occurs early in the season there is generally time to replant. Never in but one year, 1881, since the country was settled has the April flood reached to such a height as to cause much damage to the bottoms.

The June flood is caused primarily by the melting of the snow in the Rocky Mountains, but has never, with the exception of the year 1881, when it arrived two months ahead of time, proved dangerous, unless supplemented by an excessive precipitation in the lower portion of the valley. It is true that the water in the lower river sometimes reaches the danger line and flows into the low places without being augmented by heavy rainfalls in the lower watershed, but these overflows are not of much importance and cause but little loss of property. It is when the heavens let loose their flood-gates, and the downpour continues almost incessantly for weeks, as it did in 1844 and 1903, that the great exceptional floods occur that inundate the bottoms from bluff to bluff, bringing devastation and ruin in their wake. Fortunately this conjunction of waters, coming from entirely different sources, has in the past only occurred after the lapse of long periods, else the Missouri river bottom-lands would not be reckoned, as they are, among the most valuable in the world. Nor should the infrequency of the great floods lead to the delusive hope that they will never occur again, for the same conditions which prevailed when they did occur may come again and would inevitably bring about like results. This fact may not be pleasant to contemplate, but it must continually confront the inhabitants of the bottoms as a menace.

Between 1700 and 1720 the old French villages of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, and Fort Chartres, just below the mouth of the Missouri, were established.¹⁷ They were the first settlements made on the Mississippi above New Orleans, and antedated the permanent settlements on the Missouri more than half a century, St. Charles, on the Missouri, having been settled in 1769. Hence we must look to the archives of these old villages for information as to the floods in the Missouri river during the eighteenth century.

The first flood of which there is any record occurred in 1724. Among the ancient archives of Kaskaskia has been found a petition from the residents to the king of France for a grant of land. The petition was forwarded in the year 1725, and in it is stated the fact of a flood in the previous year, in which great damage was sustained by the inhabitants. The villagers were driven to the bluff; their gardens and corn-fields were destroyed; and the Great American bottom, opposite the present city of St. Louis, entirely submerged. There is no record of the actual stage of the water nor of the date of the flood, but it probably occurred in June, and doubtless came out

NOTE 17.—See Spears and Clark's *History of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 69; *Opening of the Mississippi River*, F. A. Ogg, p. 219; *Ill. Hist. Library Pubs.* No. 10, p. 138.

of the Missouri, the source from which all floods in the lower Mississippi principally come.¹⁸

There was a tradition among the old French people of these villages that there was an unusually high rise in the river between 1740 and 1750, but no reliable reference has been found of it in any history of the river. There is no doubt that if such a flood did occur it came out of the Missouri. In the year 1772 another flood occurred, which inundated the villages and caused Fort Chartres to be abandoned and the English troops stationed there to be removed to Kaskaskia. But, like the previous floods, owing to the sparsely settled condition of the country, no particulars referring to it have been preserved.

The next period of extreme high water at the mouth of the Missouri—a flood which, for the reasons given, it is believed came out of that stream—was in 1785. During that flood the American bottom and the lowlands around the old French villages were again submerged. Like its predecessor, we have but meager data relating to this flood; but from the information we have it may be classed with the great floods of 1844 and 1903, and came out of the Missouri river. It is spoken of as the greatest overflow of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

Gen. Firmin A. Rozier, whom the writer knew personally in his youth, was a splendid type of the original French settler of the Mississippi valley. He was a native of the old French village of St. Genevieve, and I gather from his *History of the Mississippi Valley*, 1890, pp. 42 and 97, the following regarding the flood of 1785:

The old town of St. Genevieve was abandoned in 1785 (there was an old and a new town) on account of the great flood of that year, known among the inhabitants as "*l'annee des grandes eaux*," which destroyed all the settlements in the lowlands of the valley in its mighty sweep to the gulf. The inhabitants of Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres fled from their homes on account of the flood and sought safety elsewhere. The overflow of that year has never been equaled, for the entire valley was one vast sea from bluff to bluff, and presented a sight never forgotten by those to whom it brought destruction and ruin. In 1844 it was contended by some of the oldest inhabitants of the French villages, who remembered the flood of 1785, that the water attained a greater height that year than it did in 1844. But it has been pretty well established by high-water marks of 1785, regarded as reliable, that the 1844 flood was 2.4 feet higher than that of 1785. The destruction of property in 1785, even at these old French villages, was comparatively light, owing to the few inhabitants, and the loss on the Missouri river is not to be considered, as there were no settlements on that river above St. Charles. That mighty stream then spread over a wilderness, uninhabited save by wild beasts and savages, and there was nothing to destroy in its wild sweep.²⁰

NOTE 18.—I am much indebted for information regarding the early floods in the Missouri valley to the publication of the United States Weather Bureau entitled "*Flood of the Spring of 1903 in the Mississippi Watershed*," and known as "*Bulletin M.*" See p. 42.

NOTE 19.—Publications of the Historical Library of Illinois, No. 10, p. 138.

NOTE 20.—"The flood of 1785 was one of the severest in the history of the Mississippi. The water extended to the bluffs on both sides. The people of Cahokia and Kaskaskia were obliged to seek shelter on the higher ground. At Kaskaskia many houses were swept away. The western bank suffered no less severely, and the old village of Ste. Genevieve was deserted for a site more protected from the river."—Dodge to Wm. Clark, October 18, 1785, Dr. MSS. 1M126.—Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. II, p. 202.

While there were doubtless other years of high water on the Missouri river subsequent to 1785, we have no account of them until 1811. This was a memorable year in Louisiana territory, which then embraced what is now the state of Missouri, for the occurrence of three unusual events—the appearance of a great comet, the New Madrid earthquake and a great flood in the Missouri river.²¹ Fortunately we have a record of this flood, in the journal of H. M. Brackenridge, the English traveler, who in that year ascended the river with Manuel Lisa in a keel-boat, to the Mandan village, near where Bismarck, N. Dak., is now located, setting out on April 2, 1811, and returning to St. Louis early in the following August.

There were then but few settlements on the river, the country having only recently come into the possession of the United States. There was the village of St. Charles, near the mouth of the river, settled by the French in 1769, and twenty-five miles above, the French-American settlement of Femme Osage,²² the first home of Daniel Boone in Missouri. It was also the home of Boone's sons and many other noted pioneers, among whom was Ira P. Nash,* the first Anglo-American to ascend the Missouri river, he having preceded Lewis and Clark several months. Boone later made his home with his son-in-law, Flanders Callaway, near La Charette. His grandson, Capt. James Callaway, was killed by the Sac and Fox Indians, near Loutre island, on March 7, 1815.

A little further up, on the north side of the river, was the French village of Charette, and still higher, opposite the present town of Herman, Mo., a small American settlement, called by the French "*Isle a la Loutre*" (Otter island) and by the Americans Loutre island. Nearly opposite the mouth of the Osage was the village of Cote sans Dessein,²³ which was settled in 1808, and in 1811 contained sixteen families, thirteen of whom were French and three Indian. There was no other settlement above, except that at Boone's Lick, four miles from Franklin, which was settled in 1810 by Colonel Cooper and a colony of Kentuckians.

It will be seen that there were but few inhabitants along the river in 1811, and as they were mostly hunters, depending on the chase and not agriculture for sustenance, there was but little land in cultivation, hence the damage done by the flood of that year was inconsiderable. The greatest misfortune caused by the flood was the unusual and protracted season of sickness which followed the subsidence of the waters. It was probably never exceeded in the bottoms, except by the sickness which followed the flood of 1844, and only in the case of the latter year from the fact that the country was more thickly populated. The great amount of sickness in 1811, called by the early pioneers the "year of the waters," caused the temporary abandonment of the settlement at Boone's Lick and the removal of the col-

* "In regard to Ira P. Nash, I cannot give you any authority for the statement that he ascended the Missouri river prior to the Lewis and Clark expedition. In 1798 he was employed at a Spanish fort on the Missouri, and received a grant of land on this river in what is now Howard county, and lived there in 1801. One H. Nash was deputy surveyor here between 1799 and 1803."—Letter from I. Head, librarian Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, July 16, 1908.

NOTE 21.—Early Western Travels, vol. 26, p. 63; Scharf's History of St. Louis, 1883, vol. 1, p. 210; vol. 2, p. 1062.

NOTE 22.—This village, or settlement, was situated on the Femme Osage creek, so called from the fact that the body of an Osage Indian woman was found in the creek at an early day.—See Switzler's Commonwealth of Missouri.

NOTE 23.—Brackenridge's Journal, p. 30; Long's Expedition, 1823, vol. 1, p. 74.

onists down the river to Loutre island, where they remained until the spring of 1812.²⁴

As usual, there were two freshets in the river in 1811. Brackenridge states that when he left the mouth of the river, on April 2, the flood of March, which immediately succeeds the breaking up of the ice, had begun to subside, yet the water was still high. Only an ordinary stage of water was met until about May 13, when the June rise was met above Council Bluffs, and the voyagers found driftwood descending in great quantities. On the return trip—the last of July—they found the bottoms almost everywhere overflowed below the Omaha Indian village (near Omaha), and were obliged at times to encamp on wrack-heaps in the river. Still lower down, about the mouth of the Platte, the traveler says: "The low grounds were everywhere inundated. The water rushed into the woods with great velocity, and in bends it poured over the gorge into the river again; a sheet of water, sometimes for a mile, flowed over the banks, forming singular cascades of eighteen inches in height."²⁵ General Rozier, in describing the flood of 1811, says:²⁶ "During the summer of 1811 the waters of the Mississippi rose to an unprecedented height, overflowing all low-lying lands and occasioned great distress to the inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve, Kaskaskia and the settlements in the bottoms. . . . Indeed, this overflow was only exceeded by the great deluge of 1844."

From the foregoing description one might be led to infer that the flood of 1811 was of unusual height and should be classed with those of 1844 and 1903, but such is not the fact, for while, undoubtedly, a great flood, probably the greatest between 1785 and 1844, there is no evidence that it extended from bluff to bluff; hence it cannot be classed with the great floods of the river.

In the "Review of the Floods in the St. Louis District," that of 1823 appears to have been due to the watershed of the Missouri, and although conditions in the Missouri bottoms is not alluded to it must have been severe, as the dwellers in the American bottoms in Illinois, the old French villages and East St. Louis were obliged to flee to the high grounds. The duration of the flood was from May 8 to 23. It was caused by the heavy snowfall throughout the Northwest and heavy rains.

No other flood occurred in the Missouri river worthy of notice until 1826.²⁷ The spring of that year was unusually wet, and tremendous rains fell along the upper basin of the river. The river commenced rising about the middle of April, and towards the last of May had overflowed its banks from the Kaw down, and spread all over the low places in the bottom.²⁸ This was another instance of an April flood being augmented by the annual June rise,

NOTE 24.—It is probable that the frequent attacks by the Indians had something to do with this retrograde movement, for this was just the beginning of the War of 1812, and the Indians were troublesome all along the frontier.

NOTE 25.—Brackenridge, pp. 8, 202.

NOTE 26.—History of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 318, 319.

NOTE 27.—"During 1826 there were tremendous rainfalls, and from the 15th of April the Mississippi was very high and towards the close of May overflowed its banks and spread for miles over the country. By the 8th of June the inhabitants of Cahokia and the bottoms sought refuge either on the bluffs or in St. Louis. The river came to a standstill on the 10th of the month, and by the 25th had reached an ordinary stage."—Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri, by Howard L. Conard, 1901, vol. II, p. 474.

NOTE 28.—U. S. Weather Bureau, Bulletin M, p. 43.

with the usual result, an overflow. By the 10th of June the flood had reached its crest and begun to decline. The damage done was not great, for as yet there were but few inhabitants in the river-bottoms and but little land in cultivation.

There is but little reliable material to be obtained of the flood of 1826, but from what is now known it seems to have been about such a flood as that of 1811, neither of which inundated the entire river-bottom except in what is termed the "low bottoms," the definition of which will hereafter be given. It is not believed that either of these floods reached the high-water mark of 1844 by from six to eight feet.* In the report of the chief engineer of the government, in 1872, page 429, it is estimated that the height of the water at St. Louis during the flood of 1826 corresponded to a stage of 33.81 feet on the present gage at that place. This estimate corresponds closely with the traditional comparison of the heights of the floods of 1826 and 1844.

We come now, in chronological order, to the great flood of 1844, conceded to have been the greatest flood that has ever occurred in the Missouri river. Doubtless there were other years of high waters between 1826 and 1844 in which the low places were inundated, but if so the damage was so slight as not now to be remembered.

A flood occurred in 1843, but it was so overshadowed by that of the succeeding year that no mention of it is made in Bulletin M. The following account of it, by John C. McCoy, will be given the credit due so reliable a historian :

"According to my recollection, the overflow of 1843, occurring the last of May and the first of June, reached a height about six feet lower than that of the succeeding year of June, 1844, and the damage was correspondingly less. The winter of 1842-'43 was a long, hard one, with much snow toward the mountains. In January there was a general thaw and break-up with fine weather lasting nearly three weeks, and the steamer *Ione* ascended the river to Kansas City. On the day of her arrival it turned suddenly cold, the river froze up again and so remained until near the first of May, during which time the boat remained near the foot of Grand avenue. The rise of water in 1843 was high enough to wash away some heavy new one-story log houses standing near the river-bank at the lower end of Harlem, which I had put up at the beginning of the winter."²⁹

The winter of 1843-'44³⁰ was not of unusual severity, and on the coming of spring the prospects for crops in the river-bottoms were exceedingly bright. The country had just recovered from the disastrous financial panic of 1837; the crops for several years had been good, and the people were prosperous and happy. Early in the season the river began to rise and by the first of May was full to overflowing. But this was not unusual, and when it began by May 3 to decline all fear of an overflow passed away. But thick clouds were gathering daily in the west; distant thunder was heard in the same direction, portending the tremendous downpours that were deluging the upper basin. During May and June eighteen inches of rain fell at St.

* In a note on pages 479 and 480 of volume 8 of Kansas Historical Collections is a statement by Rev. William F. Vail regarding the flood of 1826 at Union, on the lower Neosho, in Kansas. In March the Neosho "overflowed its banks beyond anything seen before," destroying the thirty-five acre corn-field at the Osage mission. A rainy season continued during the summer, but in September came the greatest freshest of all, exceeding that of March by ten feet. The Historical Society has not yet found any statement regarding the rains on the Kansas river for 1826, but the inference is that the Kaw valley was also badly flooded.

NOTE 29.—History of Jackson County, Missouri, 1881, p. 403.

NOTE 30.—Bulletin M, p. 44.

Louis, while to the westward the precipitation was even greater. All along the lower basin of the Missouri the rain came down in torrents, and the downpours were of daily occurrence for weeks; creeks became rivers, and rivers raging torrents. All of this enormous volume of water was poured into the already bank-full Missouri. The water continued to rise until, at Jefferson City, it began to overflow the banks on the 5th of June, and the great flood of 1844 was on. The information received by steamboats coming down from above was most discouraging, for it was reported that at St. Joseph³¹ on June 13 there had been a rise of seven feet in twenty-four hours.

By the 12th of June the bottoms in the lower part of the river were entirely submerged, and there was a sea of water from bluff to bluff. Near the river-bank it was just over the high places, but back next to the bluff it was from six to ten feet deep. The rise still continued at the rate of from twelve to eighteen inches in twenty-four hours. The flood was beyond all precedent and the oldest inhabitant had seen nothing like it. The situation was appalling, and distress was everywhere apparent. The channel of the river was full of driftwood; houses were seen floating down with chickens and turkeys on their roofs. Occasionally a house would come with people on the top, but these were rescued by boatmen with skiffs. The few steamboats on the river no longer confined themselves to the channel, but ran short cuts through the corn-fields, to save distance and avoid the swift current.

On June 18, at Jefferson City, the water reached the highest point and began to decline, but the damage done was absolute and the ruin complete.³² It has since been ascertained that the highest stage at Kansas City was, on the present scale of measurement, 37 feet, or 16 feet above the danger or overflow line, which is 21 feet.³³ At Jefferson City the river reached 33.6 feet, which was 13.6 feet above the danger line at that place. Of course these measurements were estimates based on the most reliable high-water marks, for the government had not then established the present reliable and accurate system of gaging the water. Switzler says that the Mississippi reached the highest point at St. Louis on the 24th of June, being "7 feet 7 inches above the city directrix."

When the water reached the crest of the flood there was not an acre of land in the bottom from Kansas City³⁴ to the mouth of the river above

NOTE 31.—"For several weeks this month [June] the Missouri and Platte rivers spread from bluff to bluff, driving out to the hills families and their stock. The site of the town of Tracy was covered. This is the only flood ever known to cover the highest grounds in the Missouri bottoms. The overflows of 1858 and 1881 left some ground above the water. The Indians have no tradition of its equal. The great rise of 1826 was four feet lower. That of 1858 was three feet lower. The Platte kept pace with the Missouri in every great rise. I had marks in the old mill at Platte City of the overflows of 1844, 1858, and 1881. The waters of 1844 were twenty inches higher than 1858, and the waters in 1858 have never since been reached by two feet. . . . The overflow of 1844 is an era in our history. Sickness, especially chills and fevers, followed the overflow, and the mortality was fearful. The people were discouraged. Their fields were overgrown with weeds, the furrows were running with water, the land sales had exhausted their money, and to the failure of their crops sickness is added."—W. M. Paxton, in his *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*, 1897, pp. 61, 62.

NOTE 32.—It is a noteworthy fact that no great flood in the Missouri river has ever risen higher after the 18th of June. That seems to be the turning point, for at that date, if not before, the water begins to subside and all danger is passed.

NOTE 33.—U. S. Signal Office, *An. Rep.* 1891, p. 146.

NOTE 34.—"I am now going to say something of another flood that far exceeded this one [1843] in its desolating effects—that which occurred from the 13th to the 16th of June, 1844. The water rose to a height of six feet or more above that of the previous year. The Missouri river at about the 13th was only a few feet over the bottom-lands, but the great volume of water that came down the Kansas river madly rushing against the mighty Missouri caused the seething

water, except the few high sandy knolls which I have heretofore referred to. But the water receded rapidly, and it was not long before the people moved back to their homes. Although it was impossible to plant crops until the last of July on account of the condition of the ground, yet a sufficient crop of corn was raised that season for the people to subsist on until the following year.

One of the most deplorable results of the flood of 1844 was, like that of 1811, the season of sickness which followed, accompanied by the high rate of mortality. Whether this was on account of the unusual miasma resulting from the decaying animal and vegetable matter or not it is difficult to determine. The prevailing disease was fever and ague, followed in the winter by cerebro-spinal meningitis,³⁵ then called "head disease," which in almost every case proved fatal.

An important fact in connection with the flood of 1844 was that the rise originated in the lower part of the river. The steamer *Nimrod*, belonging to the American Fur Company, went to the mountains that spring, and when she arrived at the Omaha village a short distance below the present Sioux City, Iowa, she found the water so low that she was compelled to wait several days for a rise.³⁶ As this was about the middle of May, it is a noteworthy incident, and refuted the popular impression that the overflows of the Missouri always came from an unusual mountain rise caused by the melting of snow. It is true that the melting of snow in the mountains serves to augment the flood by keeping the stage of the water high, and thus becomes an important factor in an overflow, but no great flood in the river was ever caused by the melting of the snow alone. They have invariably been accompanied by the abnormal precipitation in the vast watershed of the Kaw³⁷ and other tributaries falling into the river below the Platte, just as the annual mountain rise reaches that part of the river, which is about the first of June.

There are but few persons now living who witnessed both the floods of 1844 and 1903—the two great floods in the Missouri river. The writer was but a child when the first flood occurred, but the impressions made upon his mind by the vast sea of water, the raging torrent of the river, and the distressing scenes he witnessed, were so indelibly fixed that they are as vivid to-day as they were more than half a century ago.

waters to pile up at the mouth, no doubt several feet higher than they would have done had they met at the point of junction more obliquely. . . . It also washed away the warehouse built by the town company in 1839, and rose to the door of Wm. M. Chick's warehouse. This latter warehouse stood at the corner of Main street and the levee, and on ground fully six feet higher than the ground at that place at this time."—History of Jackson County, Missouri, 1881, pp. 403-406.

NOTE 35.—Doctor Drake, in his *Systematic Treatise on the Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America*, 1854, page 751, says that meningitis was first known as an epidemic in Europe and the Mississippi valley about the same time, 1840-41. In January, 1842, it occurred in Rutherford county, Tennessee, and in the autumn of 1845 and the following winter it prevailed at Mount Vernon and other places in southern Illinois. "In regard to the flood of 1844 I have been advised by old settlers, men of intelligence and observation, that the local condition following the flood was very unsanitary. They state that the atmosphere was foul with noxious gases and miasma; there was much sickness, and the small colony here could not produce a normally well person. Later in the fall and winter meningitis was quite prevalent and fatal."—Letter, P. Connor, in charge local office, Weather Bureau, Kansas City, Mo.

NOTE 36.—H. Chittenden's *History of Early Steamboat Navigation of the Missouri*, p. 154.

NOTE 37.—In volume 8 of *Kansas Historical Collections*, pages 472-481, will be seen a statement of the flood in the valley of the Marais des Cygnes, near the present town of Ottawa, as recorded in the diary of Rev. Jotham Meeker. The months of February and March had been wet, and by May 13, 1844, heavy rains began which continued with little intermission until June 12, when an unusual downpour resulted in flooding the bottoms to a depth of six to eight feet, driving himself and family, as well as the Indians, to the hills. The waters continued unusually high until the 25th of July.

My father lived then in a log house on the bank of the river opposite Jefferson City, and I remember his restless anxiety, as the water rose inch by inch, after it had overflowed the banks, until it finally surrounded the house. No one had ever witnessed such a flood, and it was expected each day that the water would come to a stand and then decline. But it still continued to rise, and the river was two miles wide and extended to the bluffs. As a matter of precaution my father had removed his horses, cattle, and other stock to the hills, and procured a large flatboat, which he had made fast to the door of the house. Finally the water reached the dwelling and began crawling up to the floor. All hope was now abandoned. The household furniture was placed in the boat, the family followed, and we rowed across the bottom to the hills.

We had a neighbor living near us in the bottom, one William Robertson, who had recently purchased a farm to which he had moved. Being a new-comer he knew nothing of the river, and when the water began to flow into the sloughs around his house he became greatly alarmed and sent for a neighbor named Allen Ramsey, who was a pioneer and had lived in the bottom since 1816.³⁸

On being asked his opinion of the flood Mr. Ramsey replied: "The greatest rise ever known in the river since I have known it was in 1826, and that rise was the highest known in the history of the country since 1785, when the Indians and French said there was a bigger flood." He added: "The river is now as high as it was in 1826, and I don't think it can get much higher."

The next day, it was the 10th of June, Mr. Ramsey came over again. The river had risen eighteen inches during the previous night. The inevitable question was asked: "What do you think of the river now, Mr. Ramsey?" "It is higher than it was in 1826," he replied, "but I know no more about what that river will do than you do, Mr. Robertson."³⁹

The river continued to rise until Mr. Robertson's farm was submerged to the depth of from six to ten feet, and when the water subsided it was found that a deposit of white sand was left all over it from one to two feet deep. Like his neighbors the owner had fled to the hills for safety, but he returned after the water receded within the banks and attempted to raise a crop on his sand-covered land. His family did not escape the sickness which followed, for both he and his wife and several others of his family died. In the course of a few years the farm itself disappeared, having been washed away by the rapacious current of the river, together with 2000 or 3000 acres of land adjoining, which lay in the bend above. Mr. Robertson's case was only one of many that came under the observation of the writer resulting

NOTE 38.—About the close of the American Revolution a raid was made into Kentucky by a party of Indians from north of the Ohio river. They were pursued by the Kentuckians and captured, and among them was found a little white boy who had been with the Indians so long that he had forgotten his name. The boy became the protegee of his captor, one Captain Ramsey, who bestowed on him his own name. He grew to manhood and became Gen. Jonathan Ramsey, a noted pioneer and Indian fighter. He came to Missouri and settled in Callaway county in 1816, where he became prominent. He was a member of the first constitutional convention (1820), and was one of the commissioners who selected the location for the present seat of government. Allen Ramsey was the son of Gen. Jonathan Ramsey. The family is now a numerous one in the West.

NOTE 39.—The above incident and conversation, as given by Rev. John W. Robertson, a son of William Robertson, appeared in the *Fulton Telegraph*, many years ago, in an article entitled "My Recollections of the Flood of 1844." The reference to the great flood of 1785, and the comparison of the flood of 1844 to that of 1826, by Mr. Ramsey, is noteworthy, as it corroborates what has heretofore been said on this subject from information obtained from an entirely different source.

from the disastrous flood of 1844. It was a memorable year, and one always referred to for half a century as "the year of the flood."

No other flood occurred in the river worthy of notice until 1851. This flood was caused primarily by the melting of snow in the mountains, accompanied by heavy rains in that section, augmented by unusual precipitation below the Platte. The flood was of long duration, for the water began to flow over the banks, in the lower part of the river, the latter part of May, reaching the crest on June 10, and the river continued bank-full until the first of July. The water was as high, if not higher, above the Platte than it was in the lower part of the river. As the writer remembers this flood the water at Jefferson City, where he then lived, must have reached a point six or eight feet above the danger or overflow line, and was about the same distance below the high-water mark of 1844. It was not a "bluff-to-bluff flood," but from what is known of the floods of 1811 and 1826 may be classed with the floods of those years.

Father De Smet, the famous Jesuit missionary, who spent his life among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, went to the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1851 on the steamer *St. Ange*. In describing the flood of that year he says :

"We had had a wet spring. Up to the moment of our departure the rain had been excessive; the snow and ice, which had collected in heaps during the rigorous season of the more northern regions, detaching themselves and dissolving, in a very short time swelled the thousand and thousand tributaries of the mighty Mississippi. These rivers, one after the other, precipitated their torrents into the 'Father of Waters,' and so swelled it that it overflowed, rolling its muddy billows from upland to upland, over a surface of eight, fifteen, and in several places of twenty miles in width. No longer knowing any bounds, the river, usually so grave and sublime, disappeared. Beneath its waters also vanished the verdure of the smiling plains, the stately forests and the varied spring flowers which so delight the eye of the traveler. A vast lake now covered all this space, and the immense volume of water, which went on continually enlarging, carried ruin and desolation among the numerous habitations which covered the lowlands on either shore. We could see the torrents descending with the violence and rapidity of an avalanche, overturning and sweeping everything with its angry waves."⁴⁰

A further description of the flood of 1851 on the Upper Missouri may be found in the autobiography of Charles Larpenteur, entitled *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri, 1832-1872*.

Larpenteur was a Frenchman, as were most of the early fur-traders, and in 1833 set out from St. Louis as an engagee of Sublette and Campbell, bound for the Yellowstone. Being a man of some education, and far above the ordinary trapper in intelligence, he arose from the ranks and soon became a confidential clerk and trusted agent of the company. Like many others of these wild adventurers, who preferred a life among savages to one of civilization, he took to himself a dusky maiden as a wife, having purchased her from her father, doubtless, as was the custom, for a string of beads or a fourpoint blanket. He lived with this woman for more than twenty years, and she bore him a family of children. He seems to have become greatly attached to her, and certainly he was a most affectionate and devoted father to their offspring. Be it said to Larpenteur's credit that although a squaw-man, he possessed many noble and manly traits of

NOTE 40.—*Life, Letters and Travels of Father De Smet*, by Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. II, p. 639.

character. When the time came, with the decadence of the fur trade, to change his manner of life and return to civilization, he did not desert the poor Indian woman, as did many others, and leave her in the wilderness, but remembering that she had been a faithful helpmate and was the mother of his children, he took her with him, introduced her as his wife, and clung to her faithfully until they were parted by death.

In 1851 Larpenteur purchased a tract of land on the Missouri river near the mouth of the Little Sioux, where is now situated the town of Onawa, Iowa, and there he spent the last years of his life. He died there November 15, 1872, and a modest monument now marks the spot where repose the remains of one whose eventful life of forty years in the Rocky Mountains was filled with romance and tragedy.

It was while on an overland journey down the Missouri river to this farm, in the spring of 1851, that Larpenteur encountered the great flood of that year, of which he gives an account. Almost the entire distance, by the route he was compelled to travel, was along the bottom in the flood-plain of the river; hence we can understand the inundation which he describes, and the terrible dangers and sufferings to which he and his family were exposed. In describing this journey he says:

"About the 15th of May [1851], when Mr. Honoré Picotte came down from Fort Pierre in a mackinaw, I embarked with him, bound for Sergeant's Bluff,⁴¹ from which place I intended to go down to my claim by land. We had had a great deal of rain; the Missouri, as well as all other streams, had overflowed their banks, and the bottoms were all inundated. I had to remain about fifteen days at Sergeant's Bluff waiting for the roads to become practicable. I purchased four Indian ponies, two French carts, and hired a guide, at two dollars a day, to pilot me through the water, for there was very little dry land to be seen between this and my place. About the last of May or first of June my guide said he thought he could get me through; so we hitched up and started. The fourth day, after traveling through mud and water, we reached a place called Silver Lake. Our ponies were nearly broken down, although they had not made over thirty-five miles during the four days. As this was the best part of the road, my guide said it would be impossible for us to reach my place with the carts; that we still had twenty-five miles to make; 'and,' said he, 'you have not seen anything yet; wait till we get near the ferry.' He advised making horse *travaillies*, which consist of two long poles, tied about three feet apart and extending eight or ten feet at the far ends, which drag on the ground, with cross-bars fastened to them behind the horse, so as to make a kind of platform on which plunder is loaded.

"The *travaillies* being thus prepared and the children loaded on them, we proceeded on our journey. Having made about ten miles, we camped at Laidlaw's grove, which was afterwards called Ashton's grove and goes by that name still. We were then sixteen miles from my place, which we had to reach next day or camp in the water, as there was no dry place to be found. We could have made that distance easily in a half-day had the road been good. We rose early, and having placed the children to the best advantage on this kind of conveyance, got under march, not expecting to stop to lunch, as there was no fit place. On we went, my guide taking the lead; I behind him, leading a pony, and my woman behind me, also leading one. The nearer we came to the ferry the deeper the water became, and the sun was already approaching the western horizon. Finally it came up to the

NOTE 41.—Sergeant's Bluff, where Sioux City is now located, was so called from the fact that it was at this place that Sergt. Charles Floyd, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, died on August 20, 1804. Capt. Wm. Clark, in recording an account of his death in his journal, says: "Sergeant Floyd is taken very bad and all at once with a Biliose Chorlick. We attempt to relieve him without success as yet. . . . Floyd Died with a great deal of Composure. We buried him on the top of the bluff . . . a Seeder post was fixed at the head of his grave."—*Thwaites' Lewis and Clark*, vol. 1, p. 114.

armpit of my guide, and the children were dragged almost afloat on their travailles, crying and lamenting, saying, 'Father, we will drown; we are going to die in this water; turn back.' At times the ponies were swimming, but there was no use of turning back; the timber on dry land ahead was the nearest point; there was nothing to be seen behind us but a sheet of water, and the sun was nearly down. So on we pushed—on, in spite of the distressing cries of the children, whom we landed safely on dry ground just at dark.

"We had not eaten a bite since morning; but the children were so tired and had been so frightened that they laid down, and in spite of the mosquitoes, which were tremendously bad, went to sleep without asking for supper. This was certainly one of the most distressing days I had ever experienced."⁴²

Although but a small lad in 1851, I can distinctly remember the appearance of the river and many incidents connected with the flood of that year. I was not old enough to realize the disastrous effect it would have in the destruction of property, or the suffering that would result from the protracted period of sickness which must inevitably follow; but with a boy's love of fun greatly enjoyed the novelty of the situation and the many strange scenes around me. A slough ran in front of my father's house, and when the water began to flow into it from below the fish came up in great numbers. They were mostly catfish and buffalo, for the German carp, now so numerous in the river, had not then made their appearance. We could see the fins of the buffalo and the ripples made by the catfish as they swam along in the backwater, for as there was no inlet to the slough from above the water was perfectly calm. Many of the neighbors had collected on the bank of the river to see the flood, and it occurred to some one that by driving a row of piles across the mouth of the slough the fish might be caught. Fence rails were procured and a row of piles were soon driven, leaving a space for the water to flow, but not sufficient for the fish to get through. Being thus caught, as in a trap, great quantities were taken, and for miles around the people came to the fish-trap and supplied themselves with all they could carry away.

Fish display a peculiar and remarkable instinct in detecting the rise and fall of the water in the river. As soon as the river comes out of its banks and the water begins to flow in the sloughs, they, either in search of food or to escape the swift current, desert the river and seek the backwater of the slough. There they remain so long as the water continues to rise, but the moment it begins to fall, they seem by some instinct to discern it, and at once rush back into the deep water. It is a knowledge of this peculiarity that enables the inhabitants of the river bottoms to keep their tables well supplied with fish in times of floods, and there is no better fish, by the way, in western waters, than the small blue channel cat.

It is the consensus of opinion among all old-timers on the Missouri river that the fish were far more numerous fifty years ago than they are to-day; and that the catfish especially, the king of all the fishes in the river, grew to a much larger size. The largest fish I ever knew to be taken out of the Missouri river was caught by a boy twelve years old. It was during one of those spring freshets that have been described, when the river is covered with floating ice from some gorge that has broken loose high up the river. On such occasions the ice-floes are usually thick, perfectly clear, and as solid as rocks. They come down with such velocity and are so heavy that in old times they were a great menace to steamboats, and it was a custom when a

steamboat in ascending the river encountered such a field of ice to run ashore, tie up and wait until the ice ran out. The grinding noise produced by these great cakes of ice as they floated down the river could be heard for a great distance, and it was either this noise which frightened the fish, or the danger of their being cut and bruised by coming in contact with the sharp cakes of ice, that caused them to quit the river during such floods and seek safety in the more quiet backwater of the lateral streams.

My young friend had been told by his father, who was a pioneer on the river and understood the habits of the fish, that it was a good time to catch catfish in the creek. He procured a large hook, fastened it to a plow-line, baited it with a chunk of meat and tied it to a swinging limb, which overhung the bank of the creek. The water in the creek was high from the backwater of the river, and the limbs of the trees reached nearly to the water. The following morning, when the boy went to examine his hook, he saw the limb swinging violently and a great commotion in the water. He at once perceived that he had hung a fish of unusual size, one too large to be landed by himself alone. His father was plowing in a field near by and he called to him for assistance. He came, and hitching his horse to the fishing-line, the monster was drawn ashore. It was a catfish, and the big fellow measured over six feet and weighed 165 pounds.⁴³

The Missouri river catfish, especially the yellow or mud cat, for there are two distinct varieties, is a great scavenger, and his favorite feeding-ground is the outlet of a sewer leading from a city. His mouth, which is the largest part about him, is built especially for swallowing things, and, as he is not an epicure in his tastes, he is not particular what he swallows. The stomach of a catfish is a veritable curiosity shop, and in it may be found a conglomeration of almost everything in the river, from the skeleton of a baby to a gold watch.

A novel way of catching catfish in the river was founded upon this well-known propensity of the fish for swallowing anything in the way of food that happens to come its way. It was called "jugging." A party, having procured twenty or thirty jugs and a skiff, would tie hooks by short, stout lines, to the handles of the jugs, and then bait them with bacon, beef, liver, papaws, frogs, or almost anything at hand. The jugs were then cast into the river to float with the current, and the skiff followed on behind. When a fish struck a hook it would swallow it, and usually become fastened. The jug would be carried out of sight, but, acting as a cork, would soon rise to the surface, to be again carried under. This process would continue until finally the fish would become exhausted, when he would be landed and taken into the boat.

A good story was told many years ago of a party that went jugging in the river. They concluded that a live bullfrog would make a tempting bait for a catfish, and, having laid in a supply, impaled them on their hooks, threw the jugs into the river, and started down-stream. After floating along for an hour or two without getting a single strike, they determined to examine their hooks and ascertain what was the matter. To their astonishment and chagrin they found that the frogs, which were still alive, had crawled up out of the water and were sitting perched on the jugs.

NOTE 43.—The writer is aware that fish stories are generally taken with a degree of allowance, but this story can be verified by the boy who caught the fish, now Judge J. L. Smith of Kansas City, Mo., a prominent member of the bar, who for many years was presiding judge of the court of appeals for the western district of Missouri.

For one to form a clear conception of what is meant by an overflow in the Missouri river, it is necessary that he should know something of the topography of the river-bottoms. There are two levels, so called, in the bottoms—one called the “low-bottom level,” and the other the “high-bottom level.” They are also termed the “high bottoms” and the “low bottoms,” for the bottoms are not all on the same grade, but differ several feet at different points along the river. An overflow of the high bottoms practically includes all the land from bluff to bluff, whereas the entire low bottom may be submerged at one place, and yet ten miles above or below the land may be above the danger line. The total area of land overflowed between Kansas City and the mouth of the Missouri has been estimated by the Weather Bureau at 590,000 acres.⁴⁴ The low bottoms most subject to overflow are in the neighborhood of Rulo, Neb.; near Atchison and Leavenworth, Kan.; opposite Lexington, Mo., for a distance of twenty miles up and down the river; in Malta Bend, in Saline county, Missouri, and opposite the mouth of the Osage river for a distance of fifteen or twenty miles. Just below Missouri City, in Clay county, Missouri, is an unusually high bottom, which was not entirely overflowed, even in 1903. It was unquestionably at one time in a bend of the river, and is of a sandy formation, as are all the high bottoms. Why this bottom is from six to ten feet higher than the bottom opposite Lexington, only a few miles below, is one of the mysteries of the river past finding out.

In 1858, 1862⁴⁵ and 1867 the water rose to a sufficient height to flow into the sloughs, but as such freshets have been of frequent occurrence no special mention need be made of them.⁴⁶

In 1873, the government, recognizing the importance to the West of preserving correct statistics of the changes of the water in the Missouri river, established, through the Weather Bureau service at St. Louis and Kansas City, the present accurate and efficient system of water measurement which has proven so valuable in giving warning to the people along the river during the flood periods. The zero of the gage, from which the stage of the water at Kansas City is reckoned, is an arbitrary plane of 303.35 feet above the St. Louis directrix, and 717 feet above mean tide in the Gulf of Mexico. It is generally referred to as “low-water mark” and represents the lowest stage of the water in 1853, recognized as the lowest stage of the river known.

When the water reaches twenty-one feet above zero, which is called the “danger line” or the “flood stage,” it begins to flow over the banks in the low places, and every additional foot sends it over a greater area, causing corresponding damage.⁴⁷ The zero or low-water mark of the Kansas City gage is rarely attained, but when it is the river is but an insignificant stream and can be forded at many of the shallow places. In the days of steamboating, navigation of course ceased at this low stage of water, ex-

NOTE 44.—Bulletin M, p. 37.

NOTE 45.—Mr. T. B. Jennings, section director of the Weather Service at Topeka, relates the following incident of the flood of 1862: “I think it was in the winter of 1861-’62 that my Uncle Austin traded his plantation in Fleming county, Kentucky, for the wharf privileges at St. Joseph, Mo. The flood of the following spring washed out the entire wharf, cutting out to the middle of Water street.”

NOTE 46.—Bulletin M, p. 46.

NOTE 47.—This and much other data given in these pages have been obtained from the reports of the Weather Bureau.

cept for boats of the lightest draught, but as this was late in the season navigation ceased any way on account of the ice.

The following data, furnished by Mr. P. Connor, the efficient chief of the Weather Bureau at Kansas City, indicate the highest stage of the water in the river at that place, and the dates, from 1873 to 1907, inclusive. It is invaluable data to those interested in the Missouri river, as it embraces in a concise and reliable form statistics for a period of thirty-five years :

HIGH-WATER MARKS AND DATES.

1873, July 5.....	19.3	1885, June 19.....	19.1	1897, April 19.....	22.8
1874, June 17.....	16.2	1886, April 17.....	15.8	1898, June 12.....	21.5
1875, April 30.....	17.8	1887, April 1.....	20.2	1899, April 28.....	23.3
1876, April 17.....	17.4	1888, July 2.....	20.4	1900, June 20.....	17.8
1877, June 10.....	22.2	1889, August 14.....	13.9	1901, June 24.....	19.4
1878, July 2.....	19.8	1890, June 16.....	16.5	1902, July 14.....	23.1
1879, June 30.....	19.2	1891, July 1.....	23.1	1903, June 1.....	35.0
1880, July 12.....	16.7	1892, May 21.....	24.9	1904, July 8.....	25.2
1881, April 30.....	26.3	1893, July 5.....	17.7	1905, July 12.....	23.0
1882, July 3.....	19.2	1894, June 20.....	20.1	1906, June 21.....	19.7
1883, June 26.....	23.8	1895, June 12.....	16.9	1907, July 20.....	23.7
1884, July 6.....	17.2	1896, May 22.....	19.2		

It will be seen, by an examination of the above data, that only in one year (1877) between 1873 and 1881 did the water pass the danger line, and in that year, as it only overflowed the low places about a foot, the damage was inconsiderable. It will also be observed that the high water in each year during this period, excepting 1875 and 1876, was caused by the June rise (melting of snow in the mountains), and was not caused from rains in the lower watershed. This is noteworthy, as it is another confirmation of the theory, held by all rivermen, that there is seldom any danger from a June rise unless it is augmented by heavy rains in the lower part of the river.

The flood of 1881⁴⁸ will go down in history as the most peculiar flood that ever occurred in the Missouri river. Nature slipped a cog that year, and the June rise came down in April. It did not equal the floods of 1844 or 1903 by six or eight feet, but it was nevertheless a very destructive flood, and submerged much of the low bottoms from bluff to bluff. In connection with this flood it may be of interest to refer to the remarkable climatic conditions which led up to it, for it was these conditions that caused the flood. Contrary to the usual conditions that accompany an April freshet, the rains had but little to do with it, as the precipitation during April was deficient throughout the entire Missouri basin. The previous winter had been unusually severe in the northwest, and the head waters of the river had been subjected to the heaviest snow-storms in March that had been known for twenty-five years. The snow laid on the ground from twenty-five to fifty inches deep during the entire winter. In addition, owing to the low temperature which prevailed the ice formed on the upper tributaries to an unprecedented thickness. These conditions prevailed until about the 12th of April, when the temperature rose slowly until the 20th. At that time a very sudden change occurred, caused by the appearance of a chinook wind. The temperature rose rapidly, reaching the maximum between the 22d and

NOTE 48.—Annual Report, chief signal officer, for 1881, pp. 1043, 1064.

26th, when the snow disappeared rapidly and the water and ice went off with a rush.

Inundations occurred in various places on the upper river during the first half of April. Between Council Bluffs and Kansas City almost the entire bottom was submerged, and the road-bed of the Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs railroad was submerged from the latter place to Pacific Junction. At Kansas City the Missouri responded to the breaking up of winter conditions early in the month, and reached the danger line on the 13th and 14th, after which there was a gradual fall for several days. On the 20th it began to rise again, and continued to rise until it culminated in the worst flood up to that time since 1844. The water reached a stage of 26.3 feet on the 30th, and was several feet above the danger line from April 23 to May 4.

Another peculiarity of this remarkable flood was that the water, as it came down in torrents, was covered with floating ice, which came from the frozen tributaries above. The entire low-bottom lands around Kansas City, and extending indefinitely northward and to the mouth of the river, were flooded. At Kansas City the west bottoms were partially inundated, and the water rose to within a foot and a half of the Union depot. Great damage was done all along the river-bottom below the mouth of the Kaw, as well as above. The loss at Kansas City was estimated at more than \$200,000, and it was far greater below. Fortunately the raging Kaw was on its good behavior at the time, and did not exceed its normal stage, else the damage from backwater to the west bottoms and on the lower Missouri would have been terrible. It was a close call.

By again referring to the interesting data preserved by the Weather Bureau, it will be seen that the next high water to pass the danger line was in 1883, followed by similar floods in 1891 and 1892. As each of these floods occurred the latter part of May and in June, they were simply June floods unaccompanied by any special rainfall, and as the water only exceeded the danger or flood line from two to three feet no damage was done except in the sloughs. It will also be observed that, beginning in 1897, the river overflowed its banks for nine consecutive years, or from 1897 to 1905, inclusive, with the exception of two years, 1900 and 1901. This is unusual, and never occurred before in the history of the river as far as known. It is true that in neither year, with the exception of 1903, did the water get far enough above the flood stage to cause any great damage, but the very fact of the river overflowing its banks each year, with the exception of two, for so long a period, even in the low places, was discouraging to owners of farms in the bottoms.

In 1903⁴⁹ there occurred the greatest flood ever known in the history of the Missouri river, with the single exception of that of 1844. This flood, like its great counterpart, was caused primarily by excessive precipitation in the valleys of the lower tributaries, augmented by an ordinary June rise from the mountains. Above the mouth of the Platte, as in 1844, the water was abnormally low, and continued low during May. In fact, during the greater part of that month the readings on the gage at the mouth of the Platte, where a record was kept, did not vary more than six feet. As usual in years of great overflows the spring rains which fell in the basin were excessive, and especially was this true of the valley of the Kaw; for it was from that stream that most of the water in 1903 came.

NOTE 49.—U. S. Weather Bureau, Bulletin M, p. 42.

The drainage area of the Kaw is 36,000 square miles in the state of Kansas (being practically all the north half of the state), 11,000 square miles in Nebraska, and 6000 square miles in Colorado, making a total of 53,000 square miles.⁵⁰ All the water from this immense area first flowed into the Kaw and from there found its way into the Missouri. Other watersheds which contributed to swell the flood in the Missouri river in 1903 comprised 6000 square miles in Iowa and 3000 in northwest Missouri, the latter flowing in through the Little Platte, the Nishnabotna and the Niobrara.

The rainfall which was principally responsible for the flood of 1903 began in the western part of Kansas in the first part of May, and exceeded the normal amount by three or four inches. In the central and eastern parts of the state it was far greater, and exceeded the normal precipitation about eight inches. This excessive amount of water, which fell within ten days, came down not in occasional showers, but in regular and continuous downpours, all of which had to be carried off by an already bank-full river.

The Kaw began to overflow its banks above Lawrence on May 26, and the flood reached Kansas City on the 29th, and the lower part of Missouri from the 30th of May to the 6th of June. On May 30 the stage of the flood at Kansas City was 25.4, or 4.6 above the danger line. Conditions now became alarming. It was just the time to expect the June rise from the Upper Missouri, and it was not known how much higher that rise would increase the flood on the lower river. If it should prove an unusual rise, such as came down in 1881, the destruction would be beyond conception.⁵¹

The rise, which began at Kansas City on May 21, reached the danger line on the 28th, and continued to rise rapidly until June 1, when the crest reached a stage of 35 feet above low-water mark and 14 feet above the danger line. The last twenty-four hours showed the enormous rise of 7.6 feet on the gage, which carried the flood to within 2 feet of the high-water mark of 1844. The river was now, about the confluence of the two rivers, a vast sea, and the water flowed in a raging torrent from bluff to bluff.⁵²

The situation became appalling. People who knew nothing of the Missouri river and its strange freaks, and had never seen it on a rampage, now became panicky; and this was as true of those who lived on the high bluffs as of those who lived in the bottoms. Men and women drew their money from the banks and locked it up in safety deposit vaults; others rushed to the grocery stores and laid in a supply of provisions sufficient to last for a month; while others did many ridiculous things of which they were heartily ashamed when the flood subsided.

NOTE 50.—U. S. Weather Bureau, Bulletin M., p. 54.

NOTE 51.—On the afternoon of May 30, 1903, the writer stood in the yard of his residence, in Kansas City, Mo., which is situated on a high bluff overlooking the confluence of the Kaw and Missouri rivers, and saw a sea of dark, turbulent water extending from bluff to bluff. It recalled that other scene, which he had witnessed as a child, just fifty-nine years before—the water creeping slowly up over the floor of his old home in Callaway county, Missouri; the distress of his father and mother; the excitement among the children and the servants; the hurried loading of the flatboat and the rowing of the boat across the bottoms to the hills. Realizing the impending danger to the people in the bottoms below, he hurried to a telegraph office and wired his old friends at different points the following words: "Look out for a forty-four flood." The warning was sufficient; for there were still living among the older people those who remembered the horrors of that flood and knew exactly what was meant by a "forty-four flood."

NOTE 52.—There is no doubt that the peculiar condition of the rivers which prevailed at the mouth of the Kaw was a factor in causing the high water at that point in the flood of 1903. Dikes thrown out into the Missouri just below the city for the purpose of reclaiming the land had greatly obstructed the channel, thus preventing the natural flow of the water. Then, again, the high water of the Missouri acted as a dam, and prevented the free discharge of the water of the Kaw and caused it to back up over the west bottoms.

But there was ample cause for alarm for those living in the bottoms of the city, and the situation was aptly illustrated by an incident that occurred in the west bottoms. An old Irishman was standing on the bank of the Kaw looking at his little shanty as it went floating off down the river. A friend came to him and in a consoling way said: "Don't worry, Mike, it might be worse." His reply was, "Worse! Worse! How in the hell could it be any worse?" And in fact how could it have been any worse for the hundreds of poor families who lost their all.

The water overflowed the west bottoms, where are located the packing-houses and other great industries, and even invaded the railroad station to a depth of six feet. Driftwood and houses could be seen floating in every direction. All the bridges across the Kaw except one were swept away. Ruin and desolation were apparent on every side, and even human life was not spared, for nineteen people were drowned in and near the city. On the north side of the river, at Harlem, hundreds of freight-cars were seen burning, having been ignited by the slaking of the lime which they contained. The flames from these burning cars, which shot up in different places, was reflected on the dark water at night and added renewed horror to the already desolate scene.

There was comparatively little damage done in the Missouri river bottom above Kansas City, but in the valley of the Kaw the destruction was great and the loss of property, injury to the farms, dwellings, bridges, stock, fences, etc., was estimated at \$10,016,500. The loss at the mouth of the river in the two Kansas Citys far exceeded that in all the valley above, having been estimated at not less than \$15,550,000.⁵³

The flood continued on down the Missouri river in its destructive course, the volume of water being augmented by the inflow from the Grand, Chariton, Lamine, Osage, Gasconade, and a hundred other smaller tributaries. From the mouth of the Kaw the gage measurements continued to show about thirty-five feet, which was from twelve to fourteen feet above the danger line. At Lexington, Boonville, Jefferson City and Herman, where the high-water marks of 1844 had been preserved, it was conceded that the crest of the flood of 1903 only lacked two feet of reaching that of 1844.⁵⁴ It is unnecessary to describe the flood of 1903 in the lower river, or the great amount of damage done, as the description given the flood of 1844 will apply to this one as well. It is sufficient to say that it was a bluff-to-bluff flood, and the great destruction of property which it caused was all that the meaning of these words imply.

A sort of supplemental flood occurred in 1904, following that of 1903 in many particulars. The Kaw Valley Commercial Club, in urging upon the Kansas legislature of 1905 an act for the establishment of drainage districts, presented a pamphlet of flood views, with a circular, from which the following extracts are made:

"The river overflowed its banks twice during the past year, causing more than 20,000 people to leave their homes, and losses by damage to property and interference with business aggregating more than a million

NOTE 53.—Weather Bureau, Bulletin M, pages 55, 56.

NOTE 54.—This conclusion is concurred in by the writer, who shortly after the subsidence of the flood visited his old home, opposite Jefferson City, and found the high-water mark of 1844, with which he had been familiar for more than fifty years, and compared it with the high-water mark of the recent flood.

dollars. Practically the same territory as was overflowed in Kansas City and Argentine during 1903 was again covered in July, 1904, to a depth of from one to ten feet. The population in this district prior to 1903 was more than 20,000; the sixth ward of Kansas City, Kan., known as Armourdale, had alone, prior to 1903, a population of more than 10,000. The overflow in Armourdale extended back from the Kansas river about a mile and a half, and submerged all the business portion and more than four-fifths of the residence district of the town to an average depth of about ten feet. Kansas avenue is the main street in Armourdale, and its intersection with the Seventh street viaduct is about one mile west and north of the Kansas river. The conditions at this place, where the water was from five to six feet deep, are shown in several views.

"The overflow in 1904 was not caused by an 'extraordinary flood,' but resulted from the unimproved and obstructed condition of the river, which condition still exists, and must be remedied in order to prevent, in the future, the total destruction of all property and business interests situated in the bottom-lands of Kansas City, Kan."

Reference has heretofore been made to the evidences that exist to-day, in the white-sand knolls and benches found in many places in the river-bottoms, of some great prehistoric flood that far exceeded in magnitude any of which we have any knowledge, for they have never been submerged by any flood since the country has been known to the white man. The flood of 1881 came from the Rocky Mountains, and was caused by the melting of the snow, while the floods of 1844 and 1903 were caused by unusual rainfalls in the lower basin of the river. Had the former been augmented by the rain, or the latter by the melting of the snow, there would have been such a flood as has not occurred in the river within a century, and one which would have swept away every house in the bottom from the Kaw to the mouth of the river. It is probable that it was some such flood as this, combining the waters from the mountains with those from the lower river, that caused the great prehistoric flood of which the sand-knolls will ever remain enduring monuments, but of which there is not now even a tradition. May such a flood in the Missouri river never occur again.

"Missouri, surge and sing and sweep!

Missouri, master of the deep,
From snow-reared Rockies to the sea,
Sweep on, sweep on, eternally!"

THE FLOOD OF JUNE, 1908.

The flood in the Kaw and Missouri rivers in June, 1908, practically equaled that of 1904. Continuous and tremendous rains extended all over the middle West during the months of May and June. The rainfall at the State University, Lawrence, during April, was 2.80 inches; May, 7.38 inches, and June, 10.57 inches. The danger line at Topeka is 21.5 feet, and the danger line at Kansas City is 21 feet. June 6 the government gage at Topeka showed a height of water in the Kaw of 19.7 feet; June 8, 26.7 feet, and June 10, 27.28 feet. The Missouri river at Kansas City reached, June 9, 25.2 feet; June 10, 27 feet, and June 11, 28.5 feet. The Kaw's highest measurement at Kansas City was June 11, 28.5 feet. The highest measurement of the Missouri river at Kansas City was 30.30 feet the afternoon of June 16. The high water first started with the Blue, which stood at Blue Rapids 31.9 feet June 4. These figures mean that there was great destruction in the valley from Junction

City to the mouth, inundating for the third time in five years the towns of North Topeka, North Lawrence, and the Armourdale portion of Kansas City, Kan. The Union Pacific depot at Topeka contained about one and one-half feet of water, and the engine-house at North Kansas avenue and Gordon street about four and a half feet. At Armourdale there was from four feet to six feet on Kansas avenue, the water reaching Union avenue, Kansas City, Mo., and for a couple of days keeping trains out of the Union depot. Crops in the valley were destroyed, and the railroads greatly damaged.

Great rainfalls affected the Missouri its entire length, Montana and the Dakotas being flooded. Storms and heavy rainfalls prevailed in all parts of Kansas. The Vermilion in Marshall county was a mile wide June 5. Three feet of water was in the streets of Frankfort. June 5 a cloudburst in Wilson, Woodson and Greenwood counties gave a rise of thirty-eight feet in the Verdigris. A cloudburst in the Cottonwood and Neosho valleys gave Emporia a rise within a few inches of that of 1903. June 17, from three to five inches of rain fell in Gove county. On the 20th of June the water in the Solomon at Beloit stood 33.24 feet above the low-water mark, or 20 inches higher than 1903, washing away all the sheds in the Chautauqua park. In Sumner county, July 28, ten inches of water fell in five or six hours, drowning five people and wrecking thousands of dollars' worth of property. At Pleasanton, Linn county, June 29, 6.42 inches of rain fell. June 30, in Jefferson county, 4.15 inches came down, accompanied by the heaviest fall of hail known in twenty years. At Wichita, June 30 and July 1, there was a fall of 3.13 inches.

The flood of 1903 broke all records for duration. The Missouri rose above the danger line of 21 feet June 8, and on July 3 it was still at 25.4 feet. July 6 it fell to 20.6 feet. July 10 the water again reached 21.5 feet, and as late as July 16 it was 18.3 feet. During the flood of 1903 the Missouri was out of its banks from May 28 until June 10. The lowest temperature recorded for July was reported for the morning of July 7, 1903. At Scott City it was 44 degrees above zero, or only 12 degrees above freezing. Other minimum temperatures were, Baker, 48; Concordia, 48; Dodge City, 50; Dresden, 46; Fort Scott, 54; Macksville, 46; McPherson, 46; Sedan, 56; Toronto, 54, and Wichita, 56. Manhattan has kept weather records for fifty years, and this was next to the coldest July record, the thermometer standing at 46. In 1887 Manhattan had 40 degrees as a minimum.

A ROYAL BUFFALO HUNT.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by JAMES ALBERT HADLEY,¹ of Indianapolis, Ind.

IN November, 1871, Alexander II, then emperor of Russia, the grandfather of the present czar, sent his third son, the Grand Duke Alexis, as a special ambassador to President Grant and the American people, with friendly greetings and congratulations on our recently saving the country from disruption and ruin. An imposing fleet of war vessels brought the imperial representative and his suite to our shores.

Americans of this generation know little about that historic visit. Fewer still are aware that during his stay that imperial prince spent a part of the succeeding January in galloping about on the plains of Nebraska, Colorado, and Kansas, roughing it with army officers and plainmen, taking hard knocks, and killing buffalo with his own hand. On account of a then recent encounter with vagabond Indians I was unable to keep the saddle, so took no part in the actual hunting. It was, however, my privilege during that period to form the acquaintance of the Muscovite visitors, and it is one of the pleasantest memories of my whole life.

The sailor prince was then a stalwart, handsome young man. Tall, slender, well-proportioned, he stands in my memory as he stood in person thirty-five years ago. His hair was light brown, and a yellowish moustache drooped over a firm, well-cut mouth and square chin and jaw. His habitual expression was open and friendly, but his eye darkened with displeasure or excitement.

At a dinner given in his honor at the White House he met General Sheridan, and the two quickly struck up an acquaintance. Sheridan told him he could only get an idea of the vastness of the country by going as far west as the mountains. He was assured, too, that in that trip he would encounter something wonderfully like the steppes of Siberia. When the general proposed a buffalo hunt it was eagerly accepted. Those who met the grand duke during his stay in America have always been interested in his later career. They have watched him climb from the lowest rank to commander-in-chief of the imperial navy. With pleasure they have noticed that, of all the later Romanoff princes, Alexis only has ever maintained a show of good sense, dignity and personal integrity. Though an imperial messenger, and received with all the stately formalities permitted by our republican traditions, he was always the same—modest, good-humored and companionable.

General Custer met the Grand Duke Alexis at Omaha, Neb., January 12, and was placed in charge of the field operations of all the distinguished sportsmen.² The same day the special train of the grand ducal party steamed out of the city headed west, and early on the 13th day of January, 1872, took refuge on a siding at North Platte, Neb., for an indefinite stay. Of those aboard, the following members of the prince's suite had accompanied him west: Vice-admiral Possiet, commander of the Russian fleet in American waters; Lieutenants Stordegaff and Karl Tudor; Vladimir Kadrin, head

NOTE 1.—See this volume, pp. 428, 429.

NOTE 2.—Custer's Wild Life on the Plains, c. 1874, p. 340.

surgeon of the imperial navy; Counts Olsenfielf and Shouvaloff; W. T. Machen, counselor of state, and Count Bodisco, the czar's consul-general at New York. With secretaries, valets and servants, the retinue was large. The following Americans accompanied the party from Chicago: Gens. Philip H. Sheridan, James W. Forsyth, and Geo. A. Forsyth; Col. Michael V. Sheridan (the general's brother), and Maj. Morris J. Asch, medical director on Sheridan's staff. At Omaha the party was joined, in addition to General Custer, by Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commanding the district of the Platte, and Col. N. B. Sweitzer, his chief of staff. At North Platte, awaiting the party's arrival, were Gen. Innis N. Palmer, of the Omaha barracks, Col. Wm. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill), and quite a number of officers and gentlemen of less note, all of whom were well acquainted with the "short-grass" country between the "Big Muddy" and the Rockies. General Palmer had seen that a suitable camp had been established on Red Willow creek, near the buffalo, for the reception of the nation's guest. The party was immediately started on the trip to the camp, perhaps fifty miles distant.

To the south of the Platte river the Russians got a fair view of a desolate wintry landscape. The only sign of life on the uplands was the omnipresent prairie-dog and two impudent coyotes skulking close to ground and grinning over their shoulders at the cavalcade. The only landmarks in this sea of buffalo-grass were the gray patches of prairie-dog town, and at intervals the buffalo skeletons, the whiteness of the bones attesting the length of time since storm, starvation, wolves or the vandal white man had strewn them there. Antelopes were sometimes seen as the day wore on, but always at a distance.

Alexis and the two officers of the guards were fine horsemen and kept the saddle all the morning. One by one the other Russians sought the ambulances and resigned themselves to "refreshment and rest." The stopping-place for the noon halt was on Medicine creek, in what is now Lincoln county, Nebraska, about half way to the camp. General Palmer had a relay of horses here for the use of the party. Fuel was plentiful and big fires were built in front of the hastily raised tents, the flaps being tied back to dry and warm the interior. A bountiful lunch prepared by capable hands was promptly served, and the party shortly resumed the half-finished journey. The column struck Red Willow creek in what is now Hays county. Following down the stream, on rounding a bend the party was confronted by the hunting-camp.

There were no organized counties in Nebraska at that time within seventy-five miles of Camp Alexis. The land was not surveyed. This neighborhood was not within forty miles of wagon road or railroad, and was not visited often by Indians. General Sheridan, in his "Memoirs," written sixteen years later, in his brief mention of these events, places Camp Alexis on "Red Willow creek, near the present site of Culbertson." That region is now covered with wheat-fields, villages and orchards, making it difficult to locate a place seen but once, so long ago and under such different conditions. He is therefore excusable for not noticing that Culbertson is not "near" Red Willow creek.

Here at the foot of low bluffs, among the cottonwoods, was the camp, which consisted of two hospital tents, in which the meals were to be served, ten wall-tents, and a tent for servants and soldiers, all heated by box or Sibley stoves. An extensive culinary outfit was in running order, and a

stock of 10,000 rations each of flour, sugar and coffee, and 1000 pounds of tobacco for the Indians, had been also provided. Lieut. Edward M. Hayes was quartermaster of the expedition.³ Here had been gathered experienced plainsmen, hunters and guides, who were expected to make themselves useful as best they might. I do not know that a list of their names exists, but suppose one is hidden away in some dusty pigeon-hole among files of "pay vouchers" in the quartermaster-general's office. Probably many of these men are still living, and they contributed largely to the success of the hunt. Capt. James Egan's troop (B or K), Second cavalry, from Fort McPherson, was at the camp, detailed for special service, and the fine band of the Second cavalry was also present.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Camp Alexis was a village of Brule Indians under that famous and foxy old scamp, Spotted Tail. This particular band, including the chief's immediate family, had been moved bodily, by order of Sheridan, from its winter camp to Willow creek, that the grand duke might see the aboriginal brother in all his soiled, greasy and unwashed dignity. There were fifty warriors, with their women, children and other impediments. In Spotted Tail's teepee were a squaw and two marriageable daughters. His braves had been "hostiles," and only stopped that practice when the annual peace-making industry became unprofitable.

As Sheridan and his imperial guest approached camp they were met by the familiar strains of "Hail to the Chief" from an unusually good band of many pieces. This band, the pride of that gallant regiment of horse whose guidons have followed the flag through seventy years of storm and battle, the Second cavalry,⁴ greatly surprised the Russians, who had not expected such music in the heart of the desert. Everybody crowded around the newcomers with all the hospitable and democratic assurance of the plains, shaking hands and shouting familiar greetings, supremely indifferent to the fact that the tall young stranger was the son of an emperor and the guest of the nation. These polite attentions were by no means disrespectful. They were the outcome of conditions that knew neither official nor social rank. Honesty, courage and fortitude were the only things that counted. Even in the case of their paragon, Sheridan, it was the man they saw. The fact that he was a lieutenant-general of the army was a trifle. Between the plains-

NOTE 3.—New York *Tribune*, January 15, 1872.

NOTE 4.—During the Black Hawk war a battalion of mounted rangers was called into the service of the United States, and in the following year (1833) was merged into a new regiment of mounted troops then organizing—the First dragoons—which constituted the first permanent cavalry regiment of the United States. The Second dragoons was organized in 1836, especially for service in the Seminole war. In 1855 Congress authorized two more regiments, the First and Second cavalry, which were organized and sent at once to do duty on the western frontier. These regiments retained their designations until 1861, when Congress abolished the term dragoons and designated all the regiments as cavalry. The Second cavalry is the successor of the Second dragoons.—The *Encyclopædia Americana*, vol. 4.

THE IMPERIAL HUNTING PARTY. (See page 567.)

His Imperial Highness, The Grand Duke ALEXIS, of Russia, and suite.

Lieutenant-general P. H. SHERIDAN, U. S. A., and staff.

Reading from left to right, front row: Gen. J. W. Forsyth, Lieutenant Stordegaff, Col. M. V. Sheridan.

Middle row: Consul Bodisco, Chancellor Machen, Lieutenant-general Sheridan, Grand Duke Alexis, Admiral Possiet, General Custer.

Rear row: Frank Thompson, Doctor Kadrin, Col. Geo. A. Forsyth, Count Olsenfief, Dr. Morris J. Asch, General Sweitzer, Lieutenant Tudor.

From a photograph by J. Lee Knight, Topeka, 1872.



THE IMPERIAL HUNTING PARTY. (See page 566.)

men and the general there was a perfect and mutual understanding. If asked about the stranger they would probably have answered, "Yes, Aleck 'pears like a fine young feller."

Dinner was appreciated that evening by the tired visitors. Soon after his arrival Custer despatched scouts in every direction to locate the bison. At nine o'clock one of these parties returned with the report that a small herd had been found within three miles of camp. Fatigue and the necessity of an early start next morning sent all to bed betimes.

By daylight of the 14th the silvery notes of reveille roused the camp. Early as it was, great fires were blazing and the indomitable Custer had been long afoot. He had probably inspected, personally, every horse designed for a visitor, and scouts were scouring the country for the main herd. The hunters were duly ready for the field. They stood talking and laughing around the camp-fires, booted and spurred for the field, while in an outer circle drooped and nodded their respective mounts, ready saddled. The Muscovites were easily distinguished, their long fur coats in sharp contrast to the lighter wraps of the cavalry. General Custer announced the rules of the hunt. The whole party was to stop at a convenient distance from the game. The first attack was to be made by Alexis, accompanied by Custer, Buffalo Bill, and two Brule warriors. An experienced buffalo-hunter was to ride beside and instruct each member of the prince's suite, the main party to remain in the background till Alexis made his first "kill," after which the hunt was to be free, and natives as well as foreigners were to bag as many as they could. Ambulances would follow the hunt in case of accidents.

In the first gray light of the winter dawn Buffalo Bill had started out to see what the prospects were. Before ten he returned with the information that a fine herd was browsing on the grass on the divide between Red Willow and Medicine creeks, about fifteen miles distant. The party at once moved off for the hunt.

Several square miles were literally covered with the huge, woolly creatures, and as far as the eye could reach there were groups and single animals. Some were grazing and some lying down.

"The grand duke's hunting-dress was very appropriate and simple. It consisted of jacket and trousers of heavy gray cloth trimmed with green, the buttons bearing the imperial Russian coat of arms; he wore his boots outside his trousers; his hat was an Australian turban with cloth top. He carried a Russian hunting-knife and a Smith & Wesson revolver recently presented to him and bearing the coat of arms of the United States and of Russia on the handle.

"The face of the country was very much broken up, and the snow in some spots was eighteen inches deep. The grand duke availed himself of Custer's experience, asked many questions, and practiced running and shooting at imaginary buffaloes as he went. Bill led us up and down and round ravines and over rolling land—and sometimes within sight of howling wolves—a distance of nearly fifteen miles, when, just as we galloped up a rugged slope to the divide, we came close upon part of the herd that we had seen."⁵

The hunters approached against the wind. The party stopped at the mouth of a shallow ravine, three-quarters of a mile to the nearest bison. The buffalo sentinels had no hint of danger. When all was ready, the prince and select hunters made their advance. Subdued excitement almost choked

NOTE 5.—Correspondence of the *New York Herald*, dated "Camp Alexis, January 14, 1872." Reprinted in the *Topeka Commonwealth* of January 21, 1872.

those watching the half dozen horsemen stealing silently up the ravine that led directly into the mass. When concealment was no longer possible the group suddenly emerged from its screen not twenty yards from the nearest buffalo. Gun in hand, and spurring fiercely, the duke singled out his victim and raced for the prey, now in plain view of the herd.

The moment the grand duke and his companions flashed out into the open and rode straight at the herd, the hunters in the rear threw caution to the wind and galloped boldly to the high ground whence the chase could be seen.

The prince could be readily distinguished, and ever near were his two faithful mentors, Custer and Cody. The Romanoff stuck to his victim until it was seen to stumble, rise, stumble again and fall, the first American buffalo to fall at the hands of European royalty. This freed the impatient horsemen in the rear and away they went, pell-mell, racing for the buffalo. Having secured the tail of his first bison as a trophy, Alexis galloped on to new conquests. In the meantime the stampede had crossed a small stream and was pouring over the plain to the south, nearly two miles from the start.

The charging of cavalry in battle is the only thing comparable, in wild excitement, to a buffalo hunt. The horse shares with his rider the eager enthusiasm and frantic delight of the moment. The chase was continued for three miles, four buffalo being the result of the day's work.

A luncheon was served in the field. The Sioux warriors hung around, as usual, eagerly watching the white men eat and begging scraps that were carelessly tossed them and which they caught dexterously and swallowed voraciously. The visitors were amused at this. Finally the prince, noticing that they all carried bows and arrows, asked, "Why do they carry those absurd toys?" It was explained that, though the wild warriors had the finest rifles made and used them in war, this was their weapon for big game. On Alexis expressing some doubts, General Custer secretly sent out two Brule bucks with orders to find any sort of a buffalo, run it into camp, and there kill it with bow and arrow alone. An hour later the shouting bucks were discovered, approaching on a run, chasing a buffalo cow, her tongue hanging out and her sides heaving from the sharp exercise. In spite of her efforts she was guided straight into camp, when Two Lance, one of the Sioux, swiftly circled to her left, and with bow drawn to its full capacity sent an arrow deep into the body behind the shoulder. The cow fell, pierced through the heart. So pleased was the Grand Duke with this exhibition that he gave Two Lance a twenty-dollar gold piece on the spot, and later bought his bow and quiver full of arrows as souvenirs, paying handsomely in gold coin. This cow had the distinction of furnishing the chief part of the dinner next evening in camp.

The dinner of that day, January 14, was a great ceremony. Champagne flowed freely in honor of the prowess of the sailor-prince. The conversation took a somewhat reminiscent turn, individual doings on Red Willow creek being sifted. As none but the actors themselves had been near enough to see and hear when the prince killed the first buffalo, General Custer was urged to tell just what happened on that momentous occasion. After an affectation of the orthodox amount of bashfulness Custer consented. Never was a more appreciative audience. He told it in that unctuous, half-mocking, half-solemn way peculiar alone to Custer, and his auditors shouted

with laughter. Alexis laughed as heartily as any one at the shrewd mixing of truth and exaggeration. It was a rich word-cartoon.

I cannot tell the story with all the figurative flourishes and furbelows with which the brilliant general ornamented it. He called it, "Unfolding a Buffalo's Tail." It seems that Cody and himself had so continuously drilled the prince in the way to perform the solemn and sacred ceremony of killing a buffalo that they overdid the matter, for just as the party was ready for the grand rush he forgot everything they had told him. In dismay, he beckoned Buffalo Bill aside, and there in whispers confessed the fatal truth. Cody was horrified. All the party but they two were mounted, and the strenuous Custer was looking significantly in their direction.

There was no time to mend the broken memory, so Cody placed the Grand Duke on Buckskin Joe, his own famous buffalo horse, saying: "There! you need no instructions. Joe'll pick one out for you. Just shoot when you're close enough." When they got into the herd Buckskin Joe picked out a fine young bull and carried the prince up along his left flank. True to instructions Alexis began to fire into the bull with the revolver he had selected as his weapon, at a distance of ten feet. Custer and Cody saw six shots fired without stirring a curl or arousing curiosity. They could not stand that, and both spurred up to their royal protégé. "Take this," said Bill, handing Alexis his own favorite rifle "Lucretia." "Now turn old Letty loose," shouted the general, and Cody brought his heavy quirt across the hind quarters of Buckskin Joe. Thus admonished to step lively, the astonished claybank nearly leaped out of his skin and was quickly neck and neck with "good meat." These injunctions were literally obeyed. As Alexis was galloping beside his panting victim, throwing in his second cartridge, the animal fell. He was wondering what was the matter, when it suddenly flashed into his mind that he had actually killed an American buffalo on its native heath.

He leaped from the saddle in a transport of astonishment, turned the horse loose, threw the gun down, cut off the tail as a souvenir, and then, sitting down on the carcass, waved the dripping trophy and "let go of a series of howls and gurgles like the death-song of all the fog-horns and callopes ever born." These cries penetrated the ears of the waiting party, and, among others, the Russians came galloping to see what was the matter. On seeing his countrymen approach, "He poured out excitement," said Custer, "in a strange and northern tongue, so steadily and so volubly that Cody reeled in his saddle." But the men from the north of Europe stood it manfully. They first solemnly embraced their prince, by turns, then fell into each other's arms. The trophy was passed from hand to hand till all were plastered with blood and dirt. The timely arrival of an ambulance, provided by the foresight of Sheridan, put an end to the riot and enabled each to drown his joy in champagne. The next day, January 15, the hunt was resumed, and to such good purpose that at its close the grand duke had killed two buffaloes, besides bringing to camp a live buffalo calf. Each of his suite had one or more trophies of their skill to carry back to St. Petersburg, and in all fifty-six buffaloes were the result of the day's work. This ended the hunt in Nebraska.⁶

The dinner at the close of the second day's hunt was succeeded by an en-

NOTE 6.—Despatch to the *Kansas City Times*, Camp Alexis, January 16, 1872, via North Platte. Reprinted in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, January 18, 1872.

tainment furnished by the Indians. The Brule's fought a sham battle, and a little later had a war-dance. The tables were then removed and the big dinner tent became the scene of a powwow. The pipe-of-peace made its silent rounds. Sheridan himself made the first speech, and was followed by Spotted Tail. The chief made a speech in which, besides other requests, he asked to have more than one trader, as he thought his tribe could do better where they had competition, and also asked permission to hunt south of the Platte until his farms could be made to support his people. Alexis failed to grasp the opportunity for speech-making. Though all urged him to try, and Custer showed him the proper twist of the tongue, he persistently refused to "make talk." However, the duke did that which was more appreciated, as he presented the warriors with fifty dollars in half-dollar silver pieces, twenty beautiful blankets, and a number of hunting-knives with ivory handles. Custer presented Spotted Tail with a general officer's belt, a scarlet cap and a dressing-gown.*

The party was much entertained during the evening by the attentions of Alexis and Custer to a couple of Indian girls. Though the sentiments were not so tender but that they could be shared by a half-breed interpreter, the company chose to regard it as a deliberate and culpable flirtation. Custer was "saying things" to one of Spotted Tail's daughters, who showed her appreciation by giggling incessantly. The grand duke rounded up the dark-browed daughter of a greasy old villian named Scratching Dog, with like flattering results. When remonstrated with for their perfidy, with great effrontery they declared that their intentions had been "strictly hon'able."

The excursion party left Camp Alexis for the train at North Platte at nine a. m., January 16. A lunch and relay of horses were had after a seventeen-mile ride. The party arrived at the station at five p. m., from whence they steamed out for Cheyenne at ten that evening. Denver was apparently reached by them on the 18th, which was spent in a visit to Golden, the day closing in a grand ball at Denver. On the 19th Clear Creek cañon and its mines were explored, and in the evening the party pulled out for the return trip over the old Kansas Pacific railroad, through the center of Kansas.⁷ Sheridan had been notified that a large herd of buffalo was in sight at Kit Carson. This place was 130 miles east of Denver, near the Kansas line, and less than half the distance west of Fort Wallace, Kan. Supt. Edmund S. Bowen, of the railroad, had offered to transport a troop of cavalry, with its horses, from Wallace to Carson by next morning. Sheridan had hesitated to give the order for this. The troop horses were unused to bison. An untrained horse confronted with the roaring mass of frightened buffalo becomes frantic, and the general shrank from exposing the nation's guest to such peril. The grand duke and his suite were eager to take the risk. Being but young men the element of danger added zest to the undertaking, and they urged that recent experience had added to their skill and self-confidence. So the general reluctantly gave the necessary order.

Very shortly after the debarkation at Kit Carson the scouts had located the herd on the level plain about five miles from town. When seen they were drifting east, so the party mounted in haste, and thus on the 20th day

* See note 6.

NOTE 7. —Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, January 20, 1872, despatches from Denver and Golden City, dated January 20.

of January the grand duke confronted a large herd of buffalo. The plan for the hunt was the same as in Nebraska, only that Custer would attend the prince alone now, while the main body of hunters remained in the background, as before. At first it looked more like a tragedy than sport. No sooner did the two horsemen approach the thundering black avalanche and their untried horses feel its influence than bit and spur became useless, and finally, in a frenzy of excitement they ran away, and from a distance it looked like they would plunge into the mass and carry their riders with them. They were saved by the general's matchless horsemanship. Abandoning useless force, the horses were lured away from the rolling, boiling mass by strategy. Little by little they were skilfully guided out of the danger zone. Once free from immediate contact with the excited bison the frenzied horses were induced to make a wide circuit at high speed over the plain. Under whip and spur the riders regained control, and the horses made no further trouble. By this time, however, instead of a fine herd of buffalo there was a dense cloud of alkali dust in the far distance. The two insane horses had spoiled the sport and the hunters were bitterly disappointed.

In due time they again reached the herd, and Alexis, without much trouble or delay, bagged his initial buffalo. This freed the main body of hunters, and then the real frolic began. The troop horses on which they were mounted were careering around and "cutting up scandalous." Even the riders had been somewhat berattled by the events of the day, consequently, when it came time for them to "become busy," they failed to approach the buffalo as at Camp Alexis, all from the same side. Instead, each rode straight at the now stampeding herd from the spot where he happened to be when the signal was given.

The horses were so excited as to be blind and deaf to consequences. In the effort to guide his mount more than one let go of his carbine. Thus left hanging loosely on the swivel, the weapon flew high at every leap of the horse and came down with vigor, usually on the horseman's head. Every cavalryman knows what a vicious beating is involved in such a predicament, and blood was soon flowing, but the hunter had all he could do to keep his horse out of more serious mischief. In this scattered and haphazard fashion the party attacked the herd. It was everybody for himself. All were shooting at something and shouting themselves hoarse. The buffaloes were now white with dust, as were horses and riders.

While thus busily engaged, men, horses and buffalo struck a prairie-dog town. Natural instinct carried the buffaloes over with fair credit to themselves—without a broken leg. The horses, blind to everything but the storm raging around them, went down in considerable numbers, their luckless riders falling headlong toward the future. In such cases help was usually near, the horse was caught, the discomfited rider quickly mounted, and while wiping blood and dust out of his eyes and off his bruised face he galloped on to overtake the hunt. That was surely the noisest crowd that ever crossed the plains, except, perhaps, some that carry cyclones with them.

In such a state of general activity it is not at all wonderful that bullets should begin to be heard whispering close to the ears of the horsemen. The thicker the dust the more frequent were the whisperings. One horse was marked, drawing the blood, a forage cap was shot away, and two other narrow escapes were reported, while a ball passed through Col. Mike Sheridan's coat near enough for him to feel its burning kiss, and leaving a plain but

temporary mark on his shoulder. Count Bodisco humbly and remorsefully confessed to having taken this pot-shot at Colonel Sheridan, and apologized manfully. It was a miracle that nobody was killed or crippled that day. The dust-hooded herd traveled five miles at least before a chance appeared for much execution. By that time the horses settled down to their work and the hunt began. The running fight was kept up for six miles or more after that, when all felt that it was time to stop and seek refreshments and repairs. I do not remember how many buffalo were killed on this occasion, but know that the grand duke did his part.

On the long march back to the train, the party presented a disconsolate, if not disreputable appearance. Bruised and sore, bones aching, on some faces blood and dirt amicably mingled, caps missing from occasional heads, which were tied up in handkerchiefs, the proud raiment and gay attire of the morning now soiled and torn, their general appearance would have gladdened the soul of the erstwhile Coxe whose "army" made much the same appearance two decades later. But all were cheerful and happy, and after their long-delayed arrival flouted robust appetites in the faces of camp servants without shame or remorse.

This closed the only royal hunt in America. As it was one of the most notable bison hunts in history, it was also the last notable wild-buffalo hunt in history. In the next twelve years, notwithstanding their numberless millions, their immense value, and the fact that they were easily domesticated, the American people, in one of those insane fits which afflict them at intervals, extinguished the buffalo! City men and plainsmen, soldiers and farmers—everybody worked after day with insane fury to kill the last of the magnificent animals. They nearly succeeded in wiping out even the species. Buffalo Jones,⁸ Charley Goodnight (a cattleman of Pueblo in 1868), and one or two others less affected by the "craze," saved three or four dozen, mostly calves. Hence, the hunt of royalty marked an era both ways.

On January 21, soon after dinner, the special train of Alexis was steaming eastward through the darkness and silence of the Kansas plains, and when the late winter sun arose next morning the party found itself already among the settlements of the prairie counties. A brief stop was made at Topeka, where the legislature was then in session. This body, in the presence of Governor Harvey and other state officers, officially received Alexis as an imperial prince of Russia and the personal representative of the czar, after which the joint session adjourned and a brief informal reception was held.⁹

NOTE 8.—The completion of the western railroads divided the buffaloes into two herds—northern and southern. The southern herd, in 1871, was estimated at 3,000,000, and it was estimated that 3000 to 4000 were killed each day. From 1872 to 1874 there were 1,780,461 buffaloes killed and wasted; 3,158,780 in all killed by white people and the skins shipped east over the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe road. During the same time the Indians killed 390,000; besides these, settlers and mountain Indians killed 150,000, so that the grand total for these years was 3,698,780. In the following year (1875) the deed was done. The southern herd had been swept from the face of the earth; the northern herd went the same way. In 1882 it was believed there were 1,000,000 buffaloes alive in the herd; but there were at least 5000 white hunters in the field, shooting them down at every point. Such a merciless war of extermination was never before witnessed in a civilized land. Then came 1883; thousands took the field this year, and Sitting Bull and some whites had the honor of killing the last 10,000.—*Scientific American*, New York, December 9, 1899. The above estimates are from a monograph on "The Extirpation of the American Bison," by William T. Hornaday, superintendent of the National Zoological Park, and printed by the Smithsonian Institution in the report of the National Museum, 1886-'87, pp. 369-548. Charles J. Jones (Buffalo Jones) has given in his *Forty Years of Adventure*, Topeka, 1899, p. 255, a census of the buffalo from 1865 to 1889. He estimates that in the year 1865 there were 15,000,000 buffaloes in the United States, and that by 1889 there were but twenty individuals left outside of the national parks.

NOTE 9.—January 22, 1872, at 9:50 A. M., the grand duke's train arrived at Topeka. The leg-

Not having traveled with the party on the eastern journey, I am not advised of the events there, except that the remaining members of the party had a photograph taken in a group, a copy of which is now the property of the Kansas Historical Society.¹⁰ This is the only one I have heard of. The same day the special train continued its journey eastward, halting at Jefferson City for a reception by the governor and legislature, then on again until St. Louis was reached, January 23. Here the hunting party was disbanded, so to speak, and its members resumed their respective places in the ordinary workaday life. Sheridan and his staff returned to department headquarters at Chicago. General Custer only now remained with the special ambassador and accompanied the party to Louisville. Here Mrs. Custer joined her husband, and the two remained guests of the grand duke during his short southern tour. He left this city by rail for Pensacola, Fla., on February 19, via Mobile, and sailed from Pensacola in his fleet, reaching Havana, Cuba, February 27.¹¹

CHALKLEY M. BEESON'S¹ ACCOUNT.

THE Grand Duke Alexis, one of the younger sons of the then czar of Russia, made a tour of the United States in the fall and winter of 1871 and 1872. The American government had not forgotten the cordial and timely support that Russia gave the Northern cause in the civil war, and no foreigner was ever more enthusiastically welcomed or more heartily entertained than this scion of the Romanoffs.

Among other things the grand duke was a sportsman, and was anxious to have a shot at the big game that roamed the western prairies, so a trip

islature was in session, and the lieutenant-governor and president of the senate, P. P. Elder, with John M. Price and Jacob Stotler on the part of the senate, and Speaker Stephen A. Cobb, C. K. Holliday, Chas. Robinson, William H. Schofield, Thos. P. Fenlon and John H. Edwards on the part of the house, as a committee, called upon the duke in his parlor-car. Lieutenant-governor Elder made a short address of welcome, after which the grand duke and party were placed in carriages and driven to the Fifth Avenue Hotel. They were then taken to J. Lee Knight's photograph gallery, and four large negatives were made. A lunch was provided, and at 1:15 p. m. a procession was formed and a great parade, amid banners and flags, and music by the Topeka Cornet Band, led to the capitol building, only the east wing of which then existed. The party called on Gov. Jas. M. Harvey, and then proceeded to the hall of the house of representatives, which was handsomely decorated with Kansas battle-flags and Russian colors. Speeches were made and music and a grand march were indulged in. A "collation" was then provided and a stupendous bill of fare spread before them at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. An original song, written by Col. Edgar W. Dennis, was sung to the tune of John Brown, of which the following verse is a sample:

'Mid the grandeur of her prairies, how can youthful Kansas vie
With her Russian-loving sisters in a fitting welcome cry.
Let her heart have full expression, and the answer echo high—
The Czar and Grant are friends.
Chorus—Ho! for Russia and the Union!
Ho! for Russia and the Union!
Ho! for Russia and the Union!
The Czar and Grant are friends.

About four p. m. the party returned to their train, and soon departed for St. Louis. Col. Thomas J. Anderson was marshal of the day. The train was the finest ever seen in these parts up to that date. The grand duke paid for the train, and the railroads furnished the transit.

NOTE 10.—Among my papers is a letter dated July 12, 1875, evidently transmitting one of these photographs. It was received in Philadelphia, at the Surgical Institute, while I was undergoing severe surgical treatment, and was doubtless lost then, for I have no recollection of ever seeing it. I doubt if another is preserved of that group in America. The group picture accompanying this article was presented the Kansas State Historical Society by S. G. Zimmerman, county clerk of Shawnee county.

NOTE 11.—New York *Tribune*, February 21 and 23, 1872.

NOTE 1.—CHALKLEY MCCARTY BEESON was born in Salem, Ohio, April 24, 1848. He went to Denver in April, 1868, and came to Kansas from Colorado in 1875, and has been engaged in stock raising ever since. He represented Ford county in the legislatures of 1903, 1905 and 1907, and the special session of 1908. He is married and has two sons. The life of Mr. Beeson bridges

was arranged for him. Generals Custer and Sheridan, and Wm. F. Cody, the famous scout, were with him. A special train was provided, for which, by the way, the grand duke paid out of his own pocket. A small array of servants accompanied him, and it is said that no train that ever entered the great American desert was so thoroughly equipped with all that maketh glad the heart of man.

Their objective point was North Platte, Neb., where it was supposed plenty of buffaloes would be found. In this they were somewhat disappointed, and after three or four days of hunting and camp life they went on to Denver.

In those days, when the number of buffaloes on the plains was simply incalculable—almost beyond belief—nevertheless one might ride for days without seeing a head. They followed the weather. As a rule they grazed on the succulent buffalo-grass near the streams—the North and South Platte and the Arkansas. Whenever a severe storm from the north arose they would drift south before it, sometimes crossing the entire distance from the Platte to the Arkansas, and then when the weather moderated they would drift back. So they came and went, and it required an accurate knowledge of the plains and weather to know where to find them.

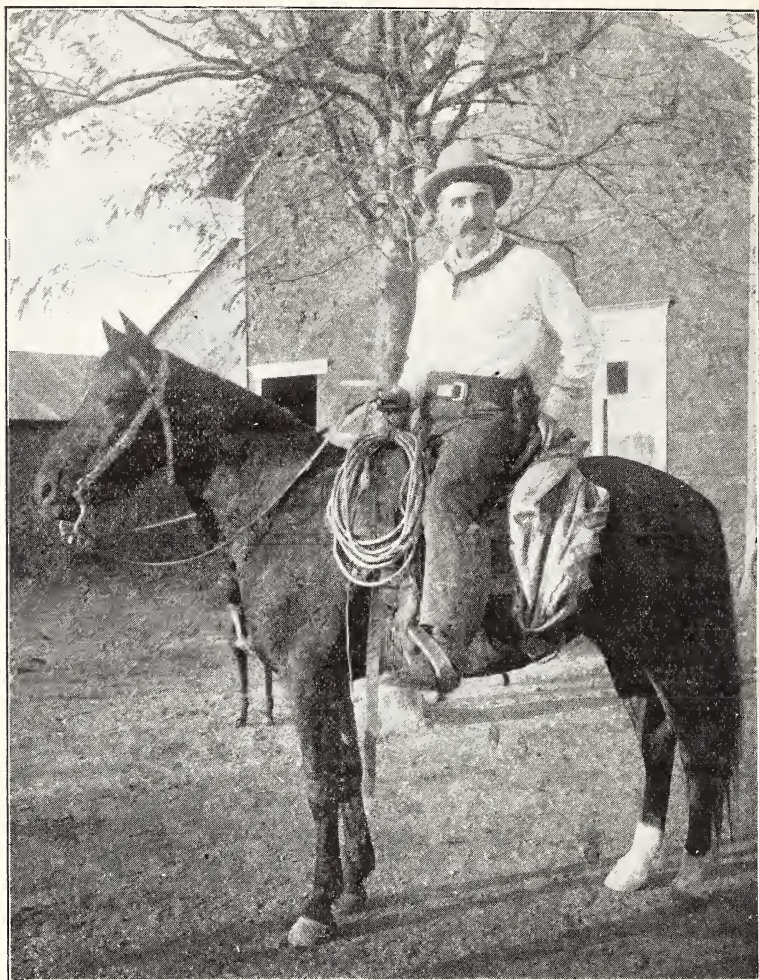
In the early days the Indians encamped along the Platte would burn a wide strip of prairie each side of the river for thirty miles away. When the drifting buffaloes would strike the burned ground they would turn back, and this operated as a herd line to keep the winter food within certain limits.

When the grand duke's party came to Denver, in January, 1872, I had been engaged to play at the grand ball given in his honor. I was then living at Kit Carson, on the Union Pacific, having crossed the plains in 1868. I was then returning from a trip south of Denver to collect some thrashing bills, where I had run a thrashing outfit in the fall of 1869. Think of that, you old-timers, running a thrashing-machine in Colorado in 1869.

I had been bragging to my acquaintances in Denver of the great herds of buffalo about Kit Carson, and General Custer heard of it and came to me when I was playing for the dance. I told him what I knew, and an expedition was immediately planned. Seventy-five cavalry horses, four six-mule teams, and four ambulances were requisitioned from Fort Wallace, fifty miles from Kit Carson, and the grand duke's private train was run to the nearest point, where the mule-train met us. As the informant and with a thorough knowledge of the ground I was taken along as a guide.

The grand duke had several Russians with him, and there was a whole army of camp-followers, servants as well as regular soldiers, from the fort. It was a question of saddle-horses, and I obtained an old favorite of mine, a black saddle, from Pat Schanley, a noted old-time railroad contractor in that country. The grand duke had been given a rather skittish horse, and

the gap between the old and the new of the great plains. Leaving his home in Iowa as a boy of nineteen years, he has lived to see the "Wild West" supplanted by the civilized West—as he says, "the white-face and the short-horn steers replace the buffalo, and wheat and corn and alfalfa supplant the buffalo-grass." For many years he led an adventurous life, but finally settled down in Dodge City in the cattle business. As the old ranges were broken up he acquired land of his own, and he is now one of the wealthy men of his community, with a beautiful home just south of Dodge. He was twice sheriff of Ford county in some of its stormy days, and he has the reputation of always getting the man he went after, although he had to bring one back in a coffin. Adapting himself easily to the changing conditions, he has played his part with equal success in the stormy days of the frontier and the settled, prosperous present. Through it all he has kept a great love for music. Always a fine violinist, he was the organizer of the celebrated Cowboy Band of Dodge City that played all over the country; and Beeson's Orchestra, of which his two sons are members, is famous all over the West.



CHALKLEY M. BEESON.

admiring my mount and learning that he was an old buffalo hunter, asked me to exchange with him, which I gladly did.

General Custer was one of the most noted horsemen in the army. I have never seen a finer. He rode with the cavalry seat, but as easily and as gracefully as a born cowboy. He immediately demanded my horse, and mounting him proceeded to show off his horsemanship before the grand duke. Throwing the reins on his neck he guided the almost unbroken horse in a circle by the pressure of his knees, and drawing both his revolvers fired with either hand at a gallop with as much accuracy as though he were standing on the ground. The grand duke, who had seen the Cossacks of the Ukraine, declared it was the finest exhibition of horsemanship he had ever seen, and applauded every shot. Custer was then in the prime of life, a

gallant figure with his flowing hair and his almost foppish military dress. Fresh from the great fight on the Washita, with no premonition of the Rosebud² darkening his life, he was the ideal cavalryman, and the idol of the western army.

That morning when the grand duke's train pulled in, about daylight, we had awakened him with the cowboys' salute, and had burned ammunition enough for a small battle. The camp train was well fitted up, and it made us cow-punchers sit up to see the stuff the commissary department carried. There was every kind of liquor, champagne, all sorts of delicacies in the way of eatables—enough, it looked to me, to feed an army, and all for one day's trip.

The grand duke, as I recall him, was then about thirty; tall, well set up, blonde, with a Burnside beard, and sparkling, frosty blue eyes. He spoke English with a very slight accent, and was extremely affable to every one. Affable is the word, for despite his courtesy he never forgot, nor did you, that he was a great noble. It was not exactly condescension, but you knew the minute you saw him that he did not belong to the common herd. The habit of command, the universal deference paid him, the easy way that he gave his orders and expected every one to wait on him, was noticeable in that country and time, the most democratic the world ever saw, where a scout was just as good a man as Phil Sheridan and a cow-puncher as good as his millionaire boss. So, easy as Alexis was in his ways, not even a cow-puncher would have thought of taking liberties with him.

The route lay south from the railroad, and within five miles we struck a herd of thousands of buffalo. The grand duke was delighted to see them. He had crossed the continent to get a shot at the great brutes, and here were numbers beyond his dreams. When we discovered them we took advantage of a small hill, a sort of hogback perhaps a half-mile long, and skirted that to get near them. Custer, who was in charge of the hunting party, stopped and said, "Boys, here's a chance for a great victory over that bunch of redskins the other side of the hill. Major B., you will take charge of the right flank, I will attend to the left. General Sheridan and the infantry will follow direct over the hill. Ready! Charge!" Away they went, Alexis in the lead. I recollect telling General Sheridan that the two soldiers who were to ride with the grand duke and supply him with fresh loaded guns would have their hands full when that black horse of mine saw the buffalo. I stayed with the ambulances, having no horse, and when we reached the foot of the hill we left the ambulances and started to the top on foot. We were just reaching the top when we saw two or three wounded buffaloes trying to get away. We started to get a shot at them, and just then the whole crowd of hunters charged the hill from the opposite, shooting at the buffaloes. The bullets were dropping all around us, and we "infantry" made tracks down the hill trying to get out of range. Sheridan was too short in the legs to run, and threw himself flat on the ground with his face in the buffalo-grass to get out of range. I yelled to them to stop firing, but they were so excited that it looked for a little bit as though they would wipe out the entire command of "infantry."

NOTE 2.—Custer died on the battle-field of Little Big Horn, Mont., June 25, 1876. He had crossed the divide between the Rosebud and the former stream before the fight began. Popular accounts of this battle from the Indian's standpoint may be found in the *Chautauquan*, vol. 31, p. 353, by Dr. Charles A. Eastman; and in *McClure's Magazine*, vol. 11, p. 443, by Hamlin Garland, as told him by Two Moon, a Cheyenne chief, who took part in the fight.

Finally they stopped, and when Sheridan got to his feet I think he was the maddest man I ever saw. On horseback his short legs did not show much, and he was a fine soldierly figure; but on foot, with his long body, short legs and big waist-measure, he was far from impressive. But when he turned loose on that bunch he was impressive enough. There was only one man in the army who could equal him when it came to a certain kind of expletive, and that was Custer himself. I don't know what kind of language Pa Romanoff used to Alexis when he got mad, but that slip of royalty got a cussing from Phil Sheridan that day that I bet he will never forget. He didn't spare anybody in the bunch, not even Custer and the grand duke, and he included all their kinsfolk, direct and collateral. It was a liberal education in profanity to hear him. The grand duke didn't seem to care—he was having the time of his life. My old black saddler took him into the thick of the herd every time, and his two soldiers kept handing him cool guns, fresh loaded. He sure had a hunt that day. The hunt never stopped till over two hundred were killed. One calf that had been wounded ran past us foot soldiers and Sheridan shouted at me to grab it. I caught him by the tail and held him while Sheridan with his revolver put him out of his misery. Years after, in Virginia City, Nev., I met the general again, and recalled myself to him as the boy who held the buffalo calf by the tail while he killed it.

The six-mule team followed the hunt and the butchers cut off and saved the humps. The buffalo hump is a curious provision of nature. It is mostly fat, very tender and delicious, even when the owner is an old bull. It was thought that it was a reserve supply of nourishment for their long marches, the animal living on this surplus fat in times of scarcity. We loaded the grand duke's commissary-car with buffalo humps that night, and for all I know he took some of them back to St. Petersburg with him.

One old bull had been wounded and laid down pretty sick. The company, with Alexis at the head, rode up and emptied their revolvers into him. One of the butchers, named Rudy, from Carson, wanted to distinguish himself before the grand duke, and jumped off his horse and ran up to cut his throat and his hump. I shouted to him to look out, and just then the "dead" bull got up and started for Rudy. One of Rudy's legs was about four inches shorter than the other, but no sprinter on a cinder track ever made better time than Rudy did for his horse, with everybody shouting at the bull. Just as Rudy reached his horse the bull dropped. The fact is that you might pump a lead-mine into one of those old bulls, and he would walk off with it unless you got a bullet into his heart or into his back just forward of his hind quarters. That finished him.

The course of our hunt was southeast of Carson, south of the railroad and Sand creek. Of course, the party would stop after each run and talk over the plans for the next chase. There were three separate runs during the day, and the grand duke certainly shot twenty-five or thirty during the three runs, and probably killed ten or a dozen. There was no snow on the ground, but of course there was plenty of dust—not very windy, but a cloudy, raw day, and one could get a good view of the entire party at all times.

When we got back to camp we found that the servants and camp-followers had started in to see what kind of grub the Russians ate, but more

particularly to see what kind of stuff they drank. Everybody was drunk and happy. Champagne bottles, liquor bottles, and every other kind of bottle littered the ground. That battle-field showed more "dead ones" than the hunting-ground did buffaloes. Then it was Custer's turn. All that Sheridan had done that morning in the way of cussing was equaled and surpassed. I cannot pay his efforts a higher compliment than to say that when Custer got through with that bunch they were pretty near sober, and that is cussing some.

In those days there was not much necessity for stalking the game. The motto was like Nelson's: "Find the enemy and go after him." But some strategy had to be used to get close to the herd. Then it was each fellow for himself. The hunter would ride into the herd and shoot as fast as he could, aiming to land the bullet into the heart, if possible. It took a good horse to keep up with a buffalo—that was my experience—but in a herd like that they could not run so fast. When the herd had been pursued as far as we cared to, or when we had meat enough, we stopped, and then it took several hours to finish the cripples and gather the humps, tongues and other choice parts. There was just enough danger in it to make it exciting. The biggest danger was the stumbling of your horse. If he happened to set his foot in a prairie-dog hole and go over with you, you were liable to have trouble. A man on foot did n't stand much chance with a buffalo bull. The horses were mostly cow-ponies, thoroughly accustomed to hunting buffalo, and could turn and swing quicker than a cat. Some of us used short carbines carrying a heavy ball, with six-shooters for close quarters. With a good horse you could drop your reins on his neck and use both hands. The pony would carry you into the herd, and as fast as you dropped a buffalo he would range you alongside of another.

A few hours of that kind of sport surely gave a man an appetite, and when we finished and got the camp servants sober we had a feast, with nothing lacking to eat or drink. In fact, Delmonico in that day could not have equaled our spread. The grand duke's train pulled out that night. He got what he came so far for, and went home thoroughly satisfied.

So far as I am able to learn, I am the last survivor of that hunt except the grand duke. He had a romantic history later I have heard—married a commoner, some lady of low degree; was in disgrace with the family for a while, and, I believe, left Russia for a time. Custer was killed at the great battle of the Rosebud, and Sheridan died in his bed.

Looking back it hardly seems that so few years ago such a hunt could have taken place, when to-day the buffalo are numbered by a few score. The robe-hunters and skinners made short work of the millions that were on the plains when I crossed them. It is a pity we did not have a Roosevelt in power then who would have awakened us to the crime of the useless slaughter of these magnificent animals. We wasted them without a thought, as we have wasted so many other of our natural resources.

I was a young man then, thirty-seven years ago, and I am not a very old one now—at least I don't feel old—but in my short span I have seen this whole western country settled up. I have seen the white-face and the short-horn take the place of the buffalo, wheat and corn and alfalfa supplant the buffalo-grass, and there are hundreds of prosperous towns and even cities on the very ground where I have killed buffalo and dodged In-

dians. It was a wild country, a wild life, and they were gallant men that lived it. All or most of them are gone. I feel sometimes as though I was

“The last leaf on the tree.”

But it is better now; better all around. The buffalo, like the Indian, took up too much space. It took too many acres for him to live on, and he had to give way to those who could do with less. I saw it coming, and I am to-day fattening a hundred cattle on ground that then would hardly have supported one range steer.

The cowboy now carries a hammer and a pair of wire-cutters instead of a six-shooter, and “Boot Hill” is a prosperous residence suburb of Dodge City.

THE PASSING OF THE CATTLE-TRAIL.¹

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by E. D. SMITH,² of Meade, Kan.

THERE is no better illustration of the opportunities of the West and no better type of the western man than Robert A. Harper, the subject of this sketch, who comes of good American pioneer stock.

Mr. Harper's mother, a Miss Blair, of Mississippi, comes of a family equally prominent in state and national affairs. Mr. Harper is of the Americans an American. His father, also named R. A. Harper, while yet a young man, removed from Tennessee to Lavaca county, Texas, where the subject of this sketch was born May 21, 1858. When the little son was only three years old his father, at the call of his state, entered the Confederate army as a private, and for bravery and gallant conduct in battle was rapidly promoted, reaching the rank of major. At the close of the civil war, returning to his home and family, he took up the duties of civil life with the same courage and ardor with which he had faced the dangers of the battle-field.

His son, Robert A., now a rugged lad of eight years, was spending his time as did other boys of his age on a western Texas ranch. He attended the district school during its sessions, where he acquired the learning usually gleaned in a country school of that day and place. His time between terms was spent in the duties of a growing boy on his father's ranch, varied by the amusements to be found under such conditions. Stock-growing being one of the strong features of his father's business, the son was much engaged in the care of cattle and horses, and hence may be said to have

NOTE 1.—I wish to gratefully acknowledge the assistance given by different friends in the preparation of this sketch. I should not have undertaken the task but for the insistence of my friend of many years, Col. R. W. Griggs, who kindly consented to criticize and review the effort. To my acquaintance for years and companionship with Mr. Harper on many long rides in the time past I am indebted for the facts contained in this article. I am also under obligations to Messrs. Thos. Johnston, F. M. Davis and Doctor Ainschutz, all old residents, ranchers and trail men of wide experience, for friendly advice on the description of purely trail incidents and methods.

NOTE 2.—E. D. SMITH was born in Grant county, Wisconsin, November 9, 1854. He is the son of Ira A. Smith and Maria Isbell Smith. His ancestors on his father's side came to the Plymouth colony soon after the Mayflower, and his mother's people left France the day after the Bartholomew massacre, landing at St. Augustine, Fla. Jedediah Strong Smith, the famous western explorer, was his grandfather's brother. Mr. Smith's immediate family were pioneers in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Utah, and California. His father's family moved to Noble county, Indiana, thence to southern Michigan, and in 1868 settled in De Kalb county, Missouri. He is self-educated, with a natural inclination for Indian relics, stone implements and geological and botanical specimens. In 1872 he moved to Iowa. In 1882 he married Miss Clara V. Haas. On the 6th of January, 1886, he came to Kansas, settling in Meade county. He took up the business of nurseryman, and engaged also in stock and farming. He was elected justice of the peace, which led to a study of the law and admission to the bar. They have three children.

grown up in the saddle. It naturally followed that he became a fine horseman. The writer first saw Mr. Harper as he rode into Meade one morning in the spring of 1886, and the grace and ease with which he managed his horse attracted general attention—and good riders were not uncommon in this section at that time.

Mr. Harper's capabilities as a stockman attracted favorable notice, even in a country where good stockmen and rancher's were as plentiful as they were in west Texas. This favorable opinion resulted in Mr. James Royce, during February, 1880, offering Mr. Harper a very flattering and withal profitable salary to accompany him, as foreman, with a herd of 650 head of horses, to Dodge City, Kan.

The day of the cattle-trail has departed forever from the western plains, and a short description of his trip will be interesting, no less for that reason than because it has a legitimate place in this sketch. The making up and conducting safely and profitably of a large herd of horses from the great ranges of southwestern Texas to a northern market at Dodge City, or still further north into Nebraska or Wyoming, called for business experience and ability of a kind and character not easily found even among the graduates of the great plains.

The manager (often the owner) and his foreman must be men thoroughly versed in the difficult task of handling stock on the range and trail. The riders must be both perfect horsemen and well-seasoned range and trail men besides; for the long journey and the exacting, often dangerous, duties tax to the limit the physical endurance of the toughest and best. The outfit consisted first of the commissariat, a heavily-ironed wagon to be drawn by four horses or mules, for the old cattle-trail was never macadamized. The route chosen was always laid as near in a straight line as the prime necessities of water and grass would permit. It traversed drought-stricken plains, rocky hills, deep and difficult canyons, and crossed rapid and treacherous streams with quicksand beds. The wagon was loaded with bacon, beans, flour, and canned goods, and on top were piled the beds of the riders, foreman, manager, and cook. This last functionary was generally an artist and creator in his line, and would turn out a meal under conditions that would drive the ordinary hotel chef to despair, and, sometimes, the camp cook to drink, for neither rain, sand-storm, darkness or blizzard was ever a legitimate excuse for the non-appearance of the "grub pile."

Next to the commissary came the riders. They, as before stated, were selected men. This work was not an occupation for a tenderfoot or weakling. Each man was provided with from four to six saddle-horses for his use, and he rode two or more different horses a day, as necessity required. This particular expedition had about fifty saddle-horses, which were kept in a bunch called the "ramutha," and were constantly in charge of a man detailed for that purpose, who, in trail parlance, was known as the "horse-wrangler."

The company being fully organized and equipped, the herd of 650 horses was rounded up near Concepcion, in the extreme southwestern part of Texas, about the middle of February, 1880. The boss indicated the first day's route and camping-place, the cook mounted the chuck-wagon, picked up the lines, the herd was put in motion, and the journey began that was only to end after months of hard riding, with privations and dangers, stampedes, swimming of rivers, storms and tempests, in the state of Nebraska,

where frost is supreme four months in the year and the temperature reaches 10° to 20° below zero each winter. The first few days out with a herd are full of trials, hardships and vexatious delays, for the stock, always loath to leave the home range, are constantly taking side shoots to get back, and fighting among themselves. This causes endless trouble, and each man must sit close and ride hard, for there is "racing and chasing on the trail."

After 150 miles had been left behind, and ten days' hard work put in, the herd began to sober down. The men by this time knew each other, their mounts and trappings, and the work became that common to the trail.

Thus Lavaca county was reached and camp made not many miles from the home of Mr. Harper's father. The homes of some of the other men were also near, and leave of absence was asked and granted to half of the riders. Mr. Harper's place of responsibility kept him on duty. Supper was eaten that first night and all the men remaining at camp went on night guard. A storm at that season of the year, and especially one of sleet, was a thing hitherto unheard of by the oldest inhabitants of Lavaca county; but soon after supper rain began to fall, which soon turned to sleet, and the crew, short one-half of the riders, was confronted with a night fight to hold the herd. Constantly riding, by their voices and the presence of the ridden horses³ the few men succeeded in quieting the half-wild herd, and a stampede was averted. The dreary, dark, drizzling and freezing night at length wore out. Daylight came and revealed to the exhausted and nearly frozen riders the carcasses of fifty horses killed by the unusual cold and storm. Again the northward march was resumed with the usual grind of hard riding, drinking of pond water and getting to the chuck-wagon for meals "any old time" when duty permitted.

I have mentioned that the boys sang to the horses to quiet them in time of storm, excitement, etc. The other day I came onto the following ditty, which was a favorite with them. I had a puncher write it off for me years ago. It was in bad shape and I did not know enough of music to straighten it out. I handed it to a young lady whose father used to ride the range and who was sung to sleep by the song when a babe. She straightened it out as best she could. I have copied what she wrote, but I do not know that it is as it should be arranged.

My son, who plays the violin a little, says that it is poor poetry and that its feet don't track. This may be all true—likely is; but the boys liked it, and the cattle seemed to like it. I do not know that it ever was printed or handled by any one with an education of any sort.

It was sung to a soft tune in a minor key, and when sung by a man with a good voice who had sufficient use of the Spanish language to soften his voice had a peculiar effect—rather pathetic.

I think it was in 1890 that Mr. J. H. Nation, a cattleman from near where Mr. Harper was raised, and who lives now at El Paso, Tex., happened to be at my old sod house for dinner. After dinner he sang for my children this song. It was the first time I had heard it, and the best rendering of it I ever heard. Since that time I have many times heard cowboys

NOTE 3.—The night guards of either a cattle or horse herd were in the habit of singing to their charges as they slowly rode around the herd. After a stampede was checked and before the herd became fully manageable, the stock would begin moving in a circle, called "milling." At such a time, and on all occasions of uneasiness or fear among the stock, the boys sang to them, which had a quieting effect. The steady movements of the mounts of the men also tended to allay excitement in a herd of horses.

state that Mr. Nation composed it, but I do not know that to be true, and I think likely no one knows, unless Mr. Nation does, who did in fact compose it.

THE DIM, NARROW TRAIL.

Last night as I lay on the prairie,
Looking up at the stars in the sky,
I wondered if ever a cowboy
Would go to that sweet by and by;
I wondered if ever a cowboy
Would go to that sweet by and by.

The trail to that fair mystic region
Is narrow and dim all the way,
While the road that leads to perdition
Is posted and blazed all the way;
While the road that leads to perdition
Is posted and blazed all the way.

They say there will be a grand round-up,
Where cowboys like cattle must stand,
To be cut by the riders of judgment,
Who are posted and know every brand;
To be cut by the riders of judgment,
Who are posted and know every brand.

Perhaps there will be a stray cowboy,
Unbranded by any one nigh,
Who'll be cut by the riders of judgment
And shipped to the sweet by and by;
Who'll be cut by the riders of judgment
And shipped to the sweet by and by.

I don't see why there's so many
To be lost at that great final sale,
Who might have been rich and had plenty
Had they known of that great final sale;
Who might have been rich and had plenty
Had they known of that great final sale.

Those who know it insist that the person who composed the words also composed the tune to which it was sung. I can hardly believe it to be that way. The cowboys who could play a violin well, and many of them could, were in the habit of rendering a tune after their own fashion, and not infrequently improved it, at least for their audience. Sometimes one of them would play something he had never heard and which he could not always repeat, or at least would not, and which bore no resemblance to anything I had heard. Usually such a tune, if one calls it such, had a subcurrent in it that seemed to me to express the loneliness of their life as well as something of hopelessness. The player seemed to dimly realize that he had missed out in life and undershot the mark. That was the sort of tune this was sung to by Mr. Nation. I say he had never heard the tune played. I say it because, when asked for a name, the usual reply was that it was n't anything, only just harmony; just seemed to be in his arm. I can't express

this so that it conveys a very clear idea of the matter. Possibly if I was a musician I could express it and could also determine whether or not such improvisations were tunes. I am told that "Old Rosin the Bow" will carry this song, but it does not express the sentiment as did the one Mr. Nation used.

Frequently small bunches of from three to twenty head of horses would elude the vigilance of the night guard in the dark and set out to reach the home range. The duty of following and recovering these strays was hard and dangerous. It required a man of experience, a good trailer possessing perseverance, to follow the truants through several days of exposure and hard riding. This work often fell upon Mr. Harper, for he possessed all the necessary qualifications. One such ride will describe all of them, so far as general incidents go.

Stray horses being reported by the night guard, Mr. Harper was soon prepared for the trip, his preparation meaning the saddling of his best horse, placing a chunk of bacon and some hardtack in the morel (the bag used to feed horses in), tying it to his saddle, coiling his rope and mounting. "Water," did you say? Not on your life! A man can do without water as long as a horse can. The start was made by circling the herd-ground until the trail was picked up, then following it at the cow-pony's trot, which, while not seeming to be very speedy, yet eats up the ground like a prairie fire, and can be kept up almost indefinitely. Mr. Harper rode thus over hill and dale, across canyon and plain alike, wherever the trail led, till a halt was made at noon on the dry prairie. A few bites were eaten while the horse was allowed a short time to graze, and again they went forward till darkness forced a halt. The horse was then tied to a mesquit bush, if one could be found; else the rider, making a supper of hardtack and bacon, lay down on the rope, with only the saddle-blanket for protection from the chilling winds or rain, and got such rest as was possible. When morning light permitted the trail to be followed the journey was resumed until night, when another dry camp was made. The following day the bunch was overtaken near water, rounded up, and started for the main herd. Better time was made on the return trip, and on the fifth day out the company was overtaken.

How did a man sleep on the return trip? In the saddle, if at all. This was a ride after stray horses on the plains, not a congressional junket. So the drive continued, with the usual stampedes and incidents of the trail, to Fort Worth, Tex. Here the building of wire fences had begun. Camp was made, night guards put out, and "all was quiet." Suddenly a stampede started; then it was mount and ride, with 600 wild and frightened horses thundering on behind. The thought of those wire fences, known to be there, but invisible in the dark, hence unavoidable, was anything but pleasant, for if a horse went down under his rider it meant certain death to both. Eventually the herd was turned and the rush stopped; result of the two-hours stampede, no men hurt, ten horses dead, and several crippled by barbed-wire. When Red river was reached it was up. The wagon, mules and camp-equipage were ferried over, the horses were forced into the river and swam to the north side, with a loss of five horses drowned and no men hurt.

While passing through the Indian Territory much annoyance was caused by the noble red man begging for horses. Pay for permission to pass was

never openly demanded,⁴ but in two or three cases horses were given to avoid trouble, and a constant watch was necessary to prevent stock from being stolen; yet in spite of all precautions some horses were thus lost. When the Canadian river was reached it was bank full and still rising, and constant rains kept it up for several days. Each day while thus kept waiting outfits were constantly arriving, till at last, worn out with the delay, the managers of the several cattle and horse herds held a council, which resulted in a decision to force a passage. This was very dangerous, for the Canadian was full of quicksand, and, like the Cimarron, "buries its dead." Rafts were made, camp-equipage, wagons, etc., were crossed safely over. Following this the herds were rounded up with men in position, and a small bunch of 500 head of cattle was driven into the river, for cattle will take water more readily than horses and swim better. The cattle served to set the quicksands in motion and to lead the horses across. Some of the men swam their horses to guide their cattle and keep them moving to the farther shore. The horses were put into the river immediately behind the cattle, and crossed with the loss of five head. While crossing another bunch of cattle, a few got upon a sand-bar and began "milling" (moving around in a circle), and several head were drowned before the "mill" could be broken up. A number of Indians who were watching at once fell to rescuing carcasses, and succeeded in getting four or five out of the water, when they at once proceeded to have a feast.

At this crossing Mr. Royce sold 100 head of horses to Bolin Bros., of Medicine Lodge, Kan. Men seldom carry sufficient cash on such occasions to cover a purchase of that number of horses. A small sum was therefore advanced, it being agreed that Mr. Harper should accompany and retain the possession of the purchase till full payment was made. By request of Bolin Bros. the horses were driven to Wichita, via their home ranch, Anthony and Wellington. At Wichita final payment was made to Mr. Harper, who proceeded by rail to Dodge City, where he again joined the party. Prices at this point not being satisfactory to Mr. Royce, he decided to look further in search of a more profitable market, and selected Culbertson, Neb., as his destination. Again the herd was rounded up and took the trail, northward bound. There was nothing out of the ordinary occurring on this part of the journey. It was the regular trail work, the uneventful passing of the days being occasionally broken by the shooting of a buffalo or an antelope, thus affording a little variety in their larder.

At Culbertson the entire herd and outfit was sold. Mr. Harper then rode his horse fifty miles to Oberlin, Kan., where he surrendered him to the buyer, and boarding the cars he took his way homeward, arriving at a nearby station in Texas without noteworthy incident. Again in the saddle for a twenty-mile ride he reached his father's door. He spent the winter on his father's ranch resting, breaking colts, and doing other riding on the ranch by way of exercise.

The following spring, 1881, Mr. Royce again sought out Mr. Harper, the interview resulting in his reengaging to accompany that gentleman on a second venture to the northward with a large herd of horses, the objective point being, as before, Dodge City, Kan. This journey was without special incident, and a description of it would be but a repetition.

NOTE 4.—Up to this time the Indian tribes had been in the habit of demanding pay for permission for herds of either horses or cattle to pass through their lands, or, as put by them, pay for grass and water, but such a demand was not made of Mr. Royce on this occasion.

Soon after his arrival at Dodge City, Mr. Harper was offered and accepted a position with the firm of Wright & Langdon, who had the government contract for furnishing beef for the army post at Fort Dodge. He was placed in charge of a large beef herd belonging to the firm, located on the south side of the Arkansas river and a few miles east of this fort. Some time later in the fall, and after the frost had killed the grass, Mr. Harper took all of the herd not fit for present slaughter to the firm's home ranch, located on East Spring creek,⁵ in Meade county.

The buildings of this, the **W L** ranch, were located about half way between the present farms of John Fanchar and D. P. McCampbell. Mr. Harper at once took charge of the fall round-up outfit, collecting the beef-cattle of this brand. This, with other round-up work, kept the chuck-wagon and round-up crew out till late in December. The fall having been unusually cold, the home ranch dugout, with its cow-chip or wood fire, seemed very cozy and comfortable to the men, some of whom had been sleeping and eating out of doors in all kinds of weather since the preceding February.

Mr. Harper remained with this firm for about two years. He next accepted a position with the **A H**, owned by Percy Russell. After this he was with the **S L**, the building on this ranch being a one-and-a-half-story house, constructed on the basement plan, of adobe sod with shingle roof.⁶ This was located at the big spring which is the head of Spring creek,⁷ and was the most pretentious ranch-house in the county at that time. Later he rode for the **L**, located on Spring creek, just below the last mentioned ranch, then as now under the management of R. E. Steele.

In 1882 Mr. Harper had invested his savings in a small bunch of cattle, and as they increased in number they required more and more of his time and attention. Having filed on the northeast quarter of section 23, in township 32 south, range 28 west, in 1884, he now, in the winter of 1885-'86 moved his cattle to his own place and gave them his personal care. In 1886 he raised some feed and put up the wild hay on his land. The following year he leased the watered and wild hay land on the head of Spring creek, and that summer put up several tons of wild hay; in fact, considerably more than his own stock required. He was thus enabled to sell some hay at a very good price.

On January 12, 1887, Robert A. Harper and Miss Florence I. Dorland were united in marriage. It would be impossible to find two persons better

NOTE 5.—"East Spring creek is a branch entering the part of Sand creek which runs almost directly from north to south, and comes from the west. It has no name on any map which I have. John Fanchier's and John Keith's land are on it, and the record shows that they own land in sections 22, 23 and 26, in township 32, range 26. I have not looked at the field-notes, but I think it is the creek shown on my map as entering Sand creek on section 14, town 32, range 26, but it is shown too far north. The men named have a little irrigation ditch from it."—Letter of E. D. Smith, July 21, 1906.

NOTE 6.—The principal owner of **S L** ranch was Hon. Ed. Carroll, of Leavenworth.

NOTE 7.—"Spring creek, on which the last ranch which Mr. Harper owned is located, runs into Crooked creek, as shown on maps, on section 28, township 32, range 28, but it is located on the map for the most part a half mile too far south. The big spring from which the name comes is almost in the center of section 17, township 32, range 28, and the south branch, which is longer but does not contain so much water, is about three-fourths of a mile from the spring. The map which I have shows the north branch only as a dotted line, thus -----, I have lived less than a mile north and east of the spring for more than twenty years, and I know I am correct. This is where Mr. Harper acquired the last ranch, the one which he sold to Col. D. E. Ballard, and where the **S L** house and ranch buildings were located. This stream is marked on some maps and I believe on the government field-notes as 'Manaroya.' But all who know the country only know it as Spring creek."—Letter of E. D. Smith, July 21, 1906.

sued to each other. We have been following Mr. Harper's course from infancy to boyhood, thence to young manhood, and now he has arrived at the point where a man's life is either made or marred. But the kind fortune, good providence or sound judgment which in his past life had made each turn a success did not desert him now.

Miss Dorland, like Mr. Harper, comes of good American parentage. Her father's people were residents of Pennsylvania. Her father early removed to Laporte county, Indiana, where Miss Dorland was born. While yet a small girl her father settled in Labette county, Kansas. Here she grew up to young womanhood. In 1885, and before the city of Meade had an existence, Miss Dorland came to Meade county to visit a sister, Mrs. George DeCow. Miss Dorland possessed in a rare degree all of those feminine graces of mind and person which arouse admiration and esteem and win the love of associates. It was therefore only the usual and to-be-expected that happened when she and Mr. Harper met. Neither need we be surprised that she, a girl of the West, fond of outdoor sports and a superb horse-woman, should be attracted by the dashing young ranch manager, who rode like a centaur, handled a rope like a vaquero, and shot as only a southwesterner can shoot. Miss Dorland had proved up and was holding a government patent for a quarter-section south of Meade, besides a timber culture filing on another tract, so that she was already a landowner in her own right when they were married. They began housekeeping in the sod house on Mr. Harper's homestead, two miles south of Meade, which later became the nucleus around which he gathered his Crooked creek ranch of 720 acres. Mrs. Harper extended to their friends that came to the small sod house the same hearty welcome and entertained with the same grace that she now dispenses a larger hospitality in their present commodious residence. She has entered fully into the business hopes and enterprises of her husband, and is in all things a true helpmeet for him. In those first days, when matters pressed or weather threatened she often operated the hay-rake, or, mounting her horse, assisted for the time in handling the stock. But while she could and did do these things, her housewifely skill and purely feminine attainments were always her strong characteristics. Among her many accomplishments the one she modestly enjoys most is landscape painting, her parlors being ornamented with the productions of her brush.

As the writer grows somewhat reminiscent well does he remember the appetizing dinners prepared by Mrs. Harper on round-up occasions, and by her brought, smoking hot, three miles to the branding corral. One little incident which occurred during Mr. Harper's absence with a shipment of cattle will show her resourcefulness and self-reliance. When riding across the west ranch pasture with a young lady friend a cow was found bogged in a spring. There was not a moment's hesitancy; down came the rope over the horns of the cow, and, with the horse attached to the opposite end, Mrs. Cow was on dry grass in a twinkling, the rope removed, and the lady safely mounted before "bossy" had time to get up and go for her, as a cow usually does on being pulled out of the mire. This was the kind of girl who won in those early days and later became an honored social leader in her community.

Soon after his marriage Mr. Harper built a frame addition to his sod house, or rather built a frame house, connecting it with the old soddy. This improvement was speedily followed by others, such as stables, corrals, and

the seeding of a part of the land in alfalfa. About this time, 1888, he drilled the first flowing well south of Meade.⁸ From time to time the original homestead was added to by purchase, until, as before mentioned, the ranch contained in 1898, 720 acres, mostly located on the Crooked creek bottoms. It has never been fully decided whether the increased acreage was to keep pace with the increase of the herd or the herd was trying to cover the land; but be that as it may, the two have kept about neck and neck in growth.

In 1898 a good and substantial ranch residence was erected in the grove near the highway running directly south from Meade and about two miles from that town, into which Mr. Harper removed, and near to which a well-arranged stock barn was soon erected. The lease of the Spring creek lands had been held, and now Mr. Harper bought the leased land and began to buy other watered land when occasion offered, as well as to purchase land lying contiguous thereto. When the hand upon the dial of time had marked the completion of the century, Mr. Harper, in the year 1900, having now acquired a fine body of land on Spring creek, sold the Crooked creek ranch to J. J. Singley. He then built a residence and barn on the Spring creek ranch.

The removal occurred the following spring; that is, in 1901. During this year he added considerably to the acreage of the ranch and made many improvements. The following year he sold this property and stock to Col. David E. Ballard, of Washington, Kan., for \$30,000, and removed to Meade, intending to rest and recuperate his health, which, by reason of hard work, was beginning to fail. He now, in company with Mrs. Harper, spent some time traveling and visiting friends and relatives. Soon tiring of inactivity he began looking for an opening, which resulted in the purchase of the stock and loans of the Meade State Bank, having associated with him as owners and directors Messrs. Louis Boehler, B. S. McMeel, B. F. Cox, W. Kobs, W. F. Casteen, Henry Brinckman, and Hon. S. D. Adams.

The reorganization gave Mr. Harper the presidency, and the venture has prospered wonderfully under his management, and now, summer of 1907, the bank is building a fine new place of business. After removing to Meade Mr. Harper secured a pleasant location in the northwest part of the city and erected thereon a beautiful residence, which he now occupies with his amiable wife.

NOTE 8.—“The first artesian well in the western part of Kansas was struck by Ben F. Cox, twelve miles northeast of Meade, in August, 1887.”—*Meade county Press-Democrat*, August 13, 1887.

VII.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

PETER D. RIDENOUR AND HARLOW W. BAKER, TWO PIONEER KANSAS MERCHANTS.

Written by JAMES C. HORTON¹ for the Kansas State Historical Society.

PETER D. RIDENOUR was born in Union county, Indiana, May 5, 1831. His ancestors were of Dutch, German and Scotch origin. Nicholas Ridenour, the immigrant ancestor on the paternal side, was born in a lower Rhine province in 1695. He married Susannah Kirshner, and reared a large family. He sailed from Rotterdam with his family on the British ship Robert and Alice, Captain Goodman, commander, in 1739, landed at Philadelphia, and took the oath of allegiance to the colony of Pennsylvania, September 3, 1739. He was a farmer, and was the great-great-grandfather.

In 1742 he went to King George county, Maryland, part of which is now Washington county, and entered land at Annapolis, located six miles west of where Hagerstown now is. He died in 1755. His eldest son, Nicholas, the great-great-grandfather, was born in 1720, reared a large family, and inherited the homestead; he was a farmer, and died in 1795. His eldest son, Jacob, the great-grandfather, farmer and blacksmith, was born in Washington county, Maryland, in 1744; he married Susannah Fisher, and died there in 1808. His eldest son and second child, Peter Ridenour, the grandfather, was born in Washington county, Maryland, in 1771, and married Margaret Dorcas, daughter of Frederick and Margaret Dorcas. He was a farmer and blacksmith. He moved from Maryland to Preble county, Ohio, in 1802, reared a large family of boys and girls, and died there in 1844. His eldest son, Samuel Ridenour, was the father of the subject of this sketch. He was born in Washington county, Maryland, in 1793, and came to Ohio with his parents. He was a farmer and merchant.

On the maternal side the great-grandfather, Jacob Miller, farmer, was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, of German parentage, in 1735. When a young man he moved to Franklin county, Virginia, where he reared a family of fourteen children. He moved from Virginia to Montgomery county,

NOTE 1.—JAMES CLARK HORTON was born at Balston Spa, N. Y., May 15, 1837. He died in a hospital at Kansas City, Mo., May 14, 1907, from an operation performed for stomach trouble. He settled in Lawrence, Kan., in March, 1857. A sketch of him will be found in volume 8, Kansas Historical Collections, page 143, and also a contribution from him concerning business conditions in the early days and to-day. He was a splendid man and citizen all his life. He left an estate of about \$225,000, of which \$100,000 was left to his family, \$100,000 to personal friends, and \$25,000 to charities. Among the beneficiaries of his will are Christ's Hospital, at Topeka, \$5000, and Oak Grove cemetery, at Lawrence, \$1000. He was a member of the Kansas house of representatives in 1874 and of the state senate of 1875 and 1876. His wife died June 14, 1901. He was buried by her side in Oak Grove cemetery, Lawrence.

Ohio, in 1798, and opened a farm about ten miles from where the city of Dayton now stands, and died there in 1820. His third son, Tobias Miller, was born in Franklin county, Virginia, in 1772, married a Scotch woman named Sarah Henderson, daughter of Samuel Henderson, and reared a large family; he was a farmer and tanner. He and his wife inherited a large number of slaves, but as he was reared in the Dunkard church and was taught to believe that slavery was wrong, he for conscience' sake gave all their slaves freedom, leaving him and his wife little besides their teams, with which they moved to Franklin county, Indiana, in 1810. There he opened a farm, built a sawmill and established a tannery, and lived there for twenty years. In 1830 he followed his boys to Laporte county, Indiana. Two of his sons went to Chicago in 1829. He died in 1853, at the house of one of his sons, at South Bend, Ind.

Barbara Miller, the mother, was born in Franklin county, Virginia, in 1803; she came to Indiana with her parents.

Samuel Ridenour and Barbara Miller were married in 1819 and settled in the beech woods of Union county, Indiana, adjoining the state line of Ohio, thirty-five miles northwest of Cincinnati, where were born to them sixteen children. They lived on the same farm the remainder of their lives. Samuel died from an accident in 1850; Barbara died in 1883. Five of the sons are still living, *i. e.*, Samuel Ridenour, resident of Kansas City; Elisha, of Barton county, Missouri; Irving M., of Richmond, Ind.; and Tobias M., who owns and lives on the farm where they were all born and reared, having lived there seventy-three years.

The subject of this sketch, Peter D. Ridenour, was the fifth son and seventh child, was the strongest among all the children, and did his part with his elder brothers to help the father make a farm out of the green woods. He received his education in the log schoolhouse in the forest, attending school only in the winter months, until he was thirteen or fourteen years old. When he was a little over seventeen he left the farm and worked for his eldest brother in a village store for one year, for which he received as a salary \$100 and his board. He slept in the store and boarded with his brother.

In the winter of 1849-'50 he started for California by way of the Ohio river to Wheeling, thence by stage across the Alleghanies (there being no railroad) to Cumberland, thence by railroad to New York. There he took passage on the steamer *Empire City* for Chagres, on the Isthmus of Panama at the mouth of the Chagres river. From there he went up the river on a rowboat to Gorgona, which was the head of navigation for a canoe. From there he walked across the mountains twenty-eight miles to the city of Panama, and remained there about a month waiting for a steamer (there being no regular line of steamers on the Pacific at that time). He took passage on an English tramp steamer, the *Sarah Sand*. This took nearly all his money for steerage accommodations.

After a passage of forty-two days the steamer ran out of coal and anchored in San Simcon bay, 300 miles south of San Francisco, and there hoisted a flag of distress. As it was uncertain how soon relief would come, he decided to leave the ship, and, in company with a boy about his own age by the name of Stevens, went ashore, carrying a few pounds of salt pork and some sea biscuit, a shotgun, ammunition, matches and a pair of blankets each. They started across the coast range through a wild country. They

saved their provisions as much as they could by shooting birds and toasting them on the coals. Having no compass, they traveled as near as they could by the sun in a northeasterly direction, and after they had wandered among the mountains for three weeks they came into a valley where they found a Mexican sheep-herder's camp. They bought from the herder a lamb, butchered it, and had one square meal. Traveling up the valley they soon came to the mission of St. Soladad, where they bought a fresh supply of provisions, and traveled on to San José, then a little Mexican town of adobe houses.

The objective point was the gold-mines about sixty-five miles northeast of Sacramento. They had planned to go from San José to San Francisco and take a boat which ran on the Sacramento river to Sacramento. They learned at San José that the fare on the steamer from San Francisco to Sacramento was an ounce of gold (sixteen dollars). As they did not have the ounce apiece, they decided to continue their walk around the head of the bay. On that journey they encountered the rivers San Joaquin, Toulumne and Macosame, and as it was about April 1 the snow-waters from the mountains had caused a flood and these rivers were out of their banks. Not finding any bridges or ferries they had to swim them; after crossing they took off their clothes and hung them on the bushes in the sun to dry. After reaching Sacramento Stevens decided not to go to the mines, so remained in that city. Young Ridenour went on alone to Coloma and from there to "Kelsey's Diggings," ten miles east of Coloma, and went to work in the mines immediately.

He worked six days in the week with pick and shovel, as was customary with miners in that camp. It was considered disreputable to work in the mines on Sunday, but the miners would go ten miles to Coloma, the nearest trading-point, on that day, and buy their supplies, carrying them over the mountain on their backs to the camp. Peter fell into the habit, and did not consider it a hard day's work to walk that ten miles across the mountain and carry fifty or seventy-five pounds on his back. He worked with varying success until the autumn of that year, when he received a letter from his mother advising him of his father's death and pleading with him to come home to her. When he left home his mother was in poor health, and he feared that if he did not go at once he might never see her. Leaving his tools and camp outfit with his partner, who had been working with him nearly all the time he had been there, he started immediately, expecting to return the next spring.

He walked to Coloma, then to Salmon Falls and from there he gladly accepted an offer of a ride on a lumber-wagon to Sacramento. As he now had the ounce of gold to pay his passage, he went down the river on the steamer Senator, leaving in the evening and reaching San Francisco the next morning.

San Francisco was a town built of boards and tents; there was but one business street there, which ran parallel with the water's edge. Nearly all the business houses were on the side of the street next to the bay and stood on piles; they fronted on the street, and goods were unloaded direct from the ships on the wharf at the rear of the buildings. San Francisco then had a population of 5000 or 6000.

There being no steamer in port at that time, he found a sailing-vessel, a bark named Orion, which had come around from Boston with a cargo and

was about to sail for Valparaiso to bring a load of flour. The bark had berths below deck to accommodate about sixty persons. Within two or three days she sailed, the captain having agreed to land the passengers at Panama. After sailing under a good wind for eighteen or twenty days, they ran into one of the Pacific ocean calms, and for more than a month they rocked on the dead swells without breeze enough to fill the sails. Finally a terrible storm came up, with rain; after that they had good wind, and after having been out for ninety-three days the vessel ran into the port of Rio Realejo.

The captain had taken on provisions and water enough for about six weeks' supply, as he expected to reach Panama within that time, so for the last six weeks of the voyage the passengers were on short allowance. Each one was allowed one pint of water for twenty-four hours, and of provisions there was nothing except salt beef and hard bread, which had been brought around Cape Horn from Boston in the hold of the vessel. There was plenty of that, but the beef had to be cooked by boiling in sea-water. The eating of that and the dry hardtack made each feel that a pint of water a day was a small allowance. There was on board no sugar, vinegar, molasses, or any acid. About half the passengers were attacked with scurvy, and quite a number of them died and were buried at sea. Peter was one of the fortunate ones to escape the sickness; he even fattened on the hardtack and "salt horse," so when they landed in Central America he weighed 184 pounds. The passengers all left the ship at Rio Realejo.

They procured donkeys and rode across the country to Granada City, at the head of Lake Nicaragua, as they had heard that there was a boat coming up the San Juan river to run on that lake. Peter, with several others, waited for the boat to arrive. He remained in Granada City several weeks, and when the boat came he took passage for the other end of the lake, which was 110 miles long, and landed at St. Carlos, at the head of the San Juan river, where four of them procured a dugout—a large canoe dug out of a mahogany log—and went down the river 140 miles to the Caribbean sea, at Graytown. The rapids in that river are about twenty miles long. Shooting these rapids was very exciting, as many rocks stood above the water, and the fall is 78 feet in twenty miles. They expected to catch a steamer at Graytown which ran in there about once a month, but they were a day too late to do this.

They found there a very small Jamaica schooner, and ten of them chartered that to take them to the mouth of the Chagres river, about 300 miles down the coast. There was no cabin; the weather was very stormy; the passengers had to sit on deck day and night, constantly drenched by the waves. The last night out the wind carried away the mainsail, but they reached harbor in safety and there found a large steamer which took them to New Orleans. At that place Peter boarded the river steamer Childe Harold, which took him to Cincinnati, and from there he went by stage to his home, College Corner, Ohio. It was then April 1, he having been five months making the trip. He found his mother and all the family then living in their usual health, but he learned there the sad news of the death the previous summer of his sister, who had died only a short time after her father.

Peter was then the oldest of the boys at home. He went to work on the farm, repairing fences (fences were then all made of rails), and worked hard that summer putting the farm in order. On telling his mother of his plan

to return to California the next spring, she begged him not to go so far from her again. He finally promised that he would not, which changed all his plans about California.

From that time the younger brothers were capable of carrying on the farm for their mother, and Peter, having had a little taste of the mercantile business, thought he wanted to be a merchant. He went to Cincinnati, walked the streets, and applied for a place to work in a store. He finally got a place in the largest retail dry-goods house in the city—George White's, on the north side of Fifth street between Walnut and Vine. While working there he took a night course in John Gundry's Commercial College, and although he never adopted bookkeeping as a profession, his knowledge of it was always very valuable to him in carrying on business.

While attending that commercial college he became acquainted with some young men who were in the wholesale grocery trade, and in talking with them about their business he concluded he would like that better than the retailing of dry-goods. He procured a situation in the wholesale grocery house of Moore & Williams, at 220 Main street, and gave up his place in the dry-goods store. After working in the grocery house a few weeks they sent him to Indiana to sell goods and collect. The partners, Moore and Williams, did not get along together very well. Williams had only a small interest, while Moore was a wealthy man. Peter had not been with them very long until Moore persuaded him to buy Williams's interest. This he did and put in all his little capital; this was in February, 1852. He lacked about two months of being twenty-one years old when he became junior partner under the style of Moore & Ridenour. He continued to travel in Indiana and Kentucky for about a year. Moore did not care to confine himself closely to business, and as he had plenty of money and was fond of sport he spent a good deal of time away from the store. He was not satisfied with the man he had left in charge, so he requested Peter to come in from the road and take charge of the house. Mr. Ridenour felt that he had not had enough experience for such a responsibility, but as there seemed to be no other way he did as requested. He worked hard to get hold of the business, and carried it on without much help from the senior partner for about a year and a half. Becoming dissatisfied with his small interest in the enterprise, he thought he could take his small capital, go west and do better. As Peter could not find a buyer for his interest, the partners wound up the business and Moore went west with Ridenour in March, 1854.

They went by rail to Galena, which was the end of the railroad in the Northwest; from there by stage to Dubuque, Iowa, crossing the Mississippi river on the ice. Each bought a saddle-horse in Dubuque and rode west to Cedar Falls, then up the Cedar river about fifty miles, then to the northeast part of the state, and from there returned to Dubuque. All over that part of the state there was deep snow, which made it hard traveling for the horses. While they were out the weather turned warm and the snow melted rapidly. Flooded streams often detained them. Mr. Moore bought a large farm in the western part of Dubuque county, brought his family out and settled there. In less than two years they became homesick and returned to Cincinnati. At this time there was not a mile of railroad west of the Mississippi river, and not many people living in the north half of Iowa excepting in the counties bordering on the river. Along most of the streams

there were narrow bits of good timber, but more than seven-eighths of the north part of the state was prairie. On this timbered land would be found a few pioneers who had gone out there to make homes in the wilderness. Coal had not been discovered, wire fences had not been invented, and it was the general impression that one could not improve a farm without timber. Speculators had entered all the timbered lands that were not taken up by settlers. The government was anxious to sell its land at \$1.25 an acre, but there was so much of it and immigration had not started in that direction, so that the land was taken up very slowly. Any one could buy an unlimited quantity by paying \$1.25 an acre in gold without having to settle on it.

Peter remained in that state during that spring and summer, traveling almost constantly in northern Iowa and southern Minnesota. When the spring opened and summer came on he thought northern Iowa the most beautiful country he had ever seen; its clear, pebble-bottomed streams, the gently rolling prairies covered with grass two or three feet high, made one believe that the land in that beautiful rich country would soon be taken up. He decided to invest what money he had with him in government lands. There were government land-offices in Dubuque, Decorah, and Iowa City. He selected his lands with a great deal of care and as close to the timber as possible. He returned to Cincinnati in the autumn, and during the winter disposed of most of the lands he had entered at enough profit to pay him for his summer's work.

In the summer of 1855 he started with a fine pair of horses and a heavy buggy, without a top, and drove across Indiana and Illinois to Dubuque; he traveled northwesterly, finding no direct roads in Illinois, where the country was unsettled. Arriving at Dubuque about the last of May, he drove from there west to the Cedar river. After leaving that river, still going west, there were no roads whatever, but he carried a surveyor's compass for the purpose of running section-lines when he came to a piece of land he thought he would like to enter. The government survey of these lands having been made only a short time before, the marks could be plainly seen on the stakes at the section and township corners, and when he came across one of these corners he knew exactly where he was and could make his route on the map which he carried and could take the numbers of the land he wished to enter.

He traveled on west to the Iowa river at the little town of Hardin City, in Hardin county. The town consisted of eight or ten small cabins and one store. There he made inquiries as to the country west. He learned that there were two families living eighteen miles west of there in a grove on the bank of the South fork of the Iowa river; it was known as Pilgrim's Grove, and west of that grove it was fifty miles on a straight line to the next house on Boone river, and from that on west it was eighteen miles to Fort Dodge. He learned that the Indians had recently been moved from around Fort Dodge, and that there was one family there in charge of the government buildings, and that the government had decided to open a land-office at Fort Dodge. Peter concluded to go as far west as Fort Dodge. He started from Hardin City in time to reach Pilgrim's Grove that afternoon. When he arrived there he found two log cabins, inhabited by two families; one by Henry Pilgrim and his wife and a large family of children, the other by Mike Pilgrim and two maiden sisters. They came from North Carolina, and they were truly pilgrims by nature as well as by name. They had taken

up 240 acres of land, about 200 acres of which was very fine oak and black walnut timber and 40 acres of prairie bottom-land near the stream. This 40 acres they had plowed and were raising a crop of corn. Peter stayed all night with them. The next morning, while waiting for breakfast, he took a walk through the woods and was impressed with the value of that timber, as it was surrounded by beautiful prairie land. While at breakfast he was asked by Henry Pilgrim if he did not want to buy them out. Their price was \$10 an acre, \$2400. They said they wanted to sell and go to "New-brasky," but they would not take less than \$2400. Peter bought it, with the agreement that the corn crop should be his.

The nearest place to get a deed acknowledged was Hardin City; there was a justice of the peace there. The Pilgrims hitched up their lumber-wagon and Peter returned with them to Hardin City. When the deed was drawn up and they were asked to sign it the women "balked," and would not sign the deed unless Peter bought them each a new dress. They said that was customary in "Noth Colina." Peter bought the dresses and paid the money in gold from buckskin purses he carried in his pockets. He had no fears of traveling with considerable money on his person, sometimes sleeping in the prairie-grass alone, at other times in settlers' cabins where there was not another family within twenty-five miles. Now that country is settled up and highly civilized; railroads, schoolhouses and churches are all over the country. Would any one think it safe traveling there with considerable money?

After buying the land he returned to spend the night with the Pilgrim's at the Grove. The next morning he took an early start to drive fifty miles, without road or trail, to the next house, on Boone river, where Webster City now is, and reached there by night. The next day he drove to Fort Dodge, which is on the east bank of the Des Moines river, a beautiful stream. When he left Fort Dodge he traveled northeasterly across the wild prairie without a road. Near Fort Dodge he made some selections of land which he proposed to enter when the land-office should be opened there.

Between Fort Dodge and Clear lake, in the northern part of the state, he sometimes traveled two or three days without seeing a house or human being. On these trips he carried a box of cold victuals, wrapped a blanket around him, and slept in the prairie-grass. He picketed his horses to feed on the grass. He arrived at the west end of Clear lake about dark one evening, and after driving along the south shore of the lake came to a house; there was nobody at home. He put his horses out to grass, and when he entered the house he found very little furniture there. He ate his supper from his box of cold provisions, spread his blanket on the floor, and slept all night. Next morning he harnessed his team and started around the lake. He soon passed another house, which was also empty. There he saw a trail leaving the shore of the lake southeasterly. When he had gone about ten miles he met two wagons loaded with household goods, and two men, with women and children. They inquired of him where he came from. He learned from them that they had lived at the lake, and about three weeks before had been frightened away from home by a report that the Sioux Indians were making a raid in that direction. They were then returning, and were glad to learn that their houses were not burned.

From the lake he drove sixty miles southeasterly to the next house, on the banks of Shell Rock river. He mentions another incident which shows

the dangers, hardships and deprivations the early settlers of northern Iowa encountered. One time he stopped at a log cabin in northwestern Iowa ; it was in the early part of the winter. A man and his family had settled there in the spring, built the cabin, and raised a small crop of corn. The cracks of the cabin had not been daubed ; the snow was blowing in at the cracks so it covered the dirt floor. He was asked why he did not daub his cabin ; he said the ground was frozen so he could not mix the mud. He was asked why he did not do it before it turned cold ; he said he had to go to mill in the fall after he had gathered his corn ; the distance to mill was 175 miles.

From that point—the Shell Rock river—Peter went on to Dubuque, and there met an old Ohio acquaintance, Thomas McChesney, who was there as agent and manager of the Western Stage Company, which was running a line of stages west from Dubuque as far as Cedar Falls. After it was known that a land-office would be located at Fort Dodge land speculators in large numbers were heading for that district. Peter told McChesney about his purchase of Pilgrim's Grove. McChesney said they would soon put on stages to Fort Dodge, and if he would build a horse-barn at the Grove and furnish accommodations for travelers they would make that place the half-way station between the Cedar river and Fort Dodge. He employed a man, Griffin, and his wife, to go out to Pilgrim's Grove and keep hotel. He employed two other men and bought a yoke of oxen, went to the Grove, cut logs and built a large horse barn. Soon after that the stage-line was established and the stages went out loaded. Also people traveled in private conveyances, and as it was eighteen miles east and fifty miles west to the next house, all travelers stayed over night at the Grove. He had his men cut prairie-grass and put up hay, finding a ready sale for it and the corn that grew on the place, at good prices.

Among the travelers who stopped over there were three brothers by the name of Lynn, from Bureau county, Ill. They took a notion to the place on account of the beautiful timber, and bought it of Peter at a good price over what he had paid.

He then went to Fort Dodge to wait for the land-office to open. There was a family at Fort Dodge by the name of Shaufhouses who kept hotel in a large government building made of hewn logs. The second story was all in one room, which was reached by a ladder. Sometimes there were fifty or sixty guests sleeping in the room, on cots placed about two feet apart. The land-office did not open until the latter part of January, 1856. Peter made his land entries and left in February for the Missouri river. The snow was too deep to travel on wheels, so a party of four procured a bob-sled, hitched a pair of horses to it and started west when the mercury was about twenty below zero. It was fifty miles in a straight line to the nearest house, on Coon river. They arrived there about dark. All had frozen ears and feet. They found a big open fire in a large cabin with dirt floor. A family from Wisconsin had settled there about a year before.

From there it was thirty miles to the next house. They traveled on to Sioux City, reaching there in three or four days. It consisted of three or four log cabins.

From there they traveled down the valley of the Missouri to Council Bluffs. While at Sioux City Peter inquired where Sergeant Floyd's Bluff was, supposing it was near Sioux City ; he had read in Lewis and Clark's

Expedition about Sergeant Floyd being buried and a cedar post being placed at the head of his grave. He found the grave near the side of the road, about nine miles south of Sioux City; he examined the cedar post which had been planted there fifty-two years before and found it perfectly sound.

While at Council Bluffs he had a desire to visit Omaha; the ice was breaking up in the Missouri river and the ferry was not running; he employed a man to take him over in a rowboat. The ice was running so thick they were carried down-stream two miles before getting across. Omaha had only a few hundred inhabitants and did not look very attractive. He returned to Council Bluffs and the party resumed their travels on the sled.

They went east to Des Moines, and from there to Fort Dodge, where they left their sled. Peter hitched his horses to his buggy and drove to Chatfield, Minn., where there was a government land-office. The Minnesota land did not appear attractive to him, so he made no purchases. He sold his team at Chatfield and took passage with a farmer on his wagon to Winona; from there he took a steamboat down the Mississippi to Dubuque, and from there went home.

From his experience during that long, cold winter he made up his mind that northern Iowa was too far north for him to make a home there, so that summer he sold out nearly all his land and settled his matters in Iowa.

He had looked at Kansas City on the map, and as it was at the great bend of the Missouri river he thought that that must be an important city some time because it would be the nearest point on the river to a large scope of country southwest of it; so in the autumn of 1856 he started from north-eastern Iowa and drove across the country to St. Joseph, Mo. There was a real-estate boom on in St. Joseph and he traded his team for two lots.

From there he went by stage to Leavenworth, Kan., arriving there the latter part of November. He stopped at the Shawnee House, a frame hotel. E. C. McCarty and H. D. McMeekin, who were then about completing the Planters House, opened it by a free banquet in the middle of the day. The guests of the Shawnee House were taken into the Planters House and were all present at the first meal served in the new hotel. Peace had been declared in Kansas, so the leaders of the Free-state and Pro-slavery parties were many of them there together.²

Among the pro-slavery men were Colonel Titus and a number of his followers he had brought from Georgia; also Jack Henderson, who was quite noted at Leavenworth. The dinner was ready about one o'clock, but the bar was opened in the morning, so a good many of the men were full before dinner-time. It had been raining for several days, and it was very muddy; there were no sidewalks; all wore their pants inside their boots, and nearly every one had one or two revolvers in sight, all of which made a scene that would cause a young man just from the East to open his eyes. Peter Ridenour was then no "tenderfoot," but he thought he had never seen in the wildest days of California a crowd that looked more like frontiersmen.

He left Leavenworth some time in December for Kansas City in a private hack, coming down the west side of the river to Wyandotte. The

NOTE 2.—The *Leavenworth Herald* of December 6, 1856, contains an account of the opening of the Planters Hotel on the preceding Thursday. One hundred and fifty guests were seated at the table, which was over 100 feet in length. Messrs. Rees and Perry closed the entertainment by discarding on the growth of the town, now containing over 500 buildings. The same issue of the *Herald* mentions the recent serious injury of Jas. H. Lane at Dayton, Ohio.

driver missed the road and they were out nearly all night, arriving at Wyandotte about four o'clock in the morning. After getting breakfast with an Indian in Wyandotte, he walked over to Kansas City and stopped at the Gillis House, where again he ran into Colonel Titus's crowd, which had come down a day or two before on their way to Nicaragua where they went to join "Filibuster" Walker.³

Ridenour was very much disappointed with Kansas City, as it was so rough in every sense of the word. He soon left for home, by stage to Jefferson City, thence by rail to St. Louis, the Missouri Pacific road having been finished between these two points, and reached his mother's house just before Christmas.

He remained at home during the rest of that winter, putting in most of his time in trying to collect some poor accounts in his recent grocery business.

In March, 1857, he started for Kansas, with the view of determining whether he would like that territory for a home. He went by rail to Jefferson City, Mo., taking passage on the steamboat Silver Heels for Leavenworth. From Leavenworth he started on foot for Grasshopper Falls, learning that a portion of the Delaware Indian reservation was to be sold at auction by the government some time during that year, so he decided to select a claim on the Indian reservation, and finally took one near Ozawkie.

He then crossed the Kansas river at Lecompton and from there walked to Topeka, spending a few days there, and during his stay a land-agent induced him to buy two lots on or near the corner of Sixth and Jackson streets. He held these lots for about twenty years, and then sold them for less than he had paid for them.

From Topeka he went to Lawrence by way of Lecompton, traveling over the California road on the mail-hack, reaching Lawrence near sunset, and there he had his first view of the town from Mount Oread. Being favorably impressed, he then resolved that Lawrence should be his future home.

Securing a room at the Hoyt House he remained there a few weeks, and then went to the Killam House, not far away, kept by Geo. Killam and his wife, and stayed there until it was closed on account of the breaking out of smallpox in the house. He then rented a front room on the second floor of Doctor Lieby's building, using the room for an office also, and made that his home for the remainder of the summer, taking his meals at restaurants.

He spent a large part of that summer traveling over the territory on horseback, making Lawrence his headquarters. The more he saw of the territory, the more he was impressed with its beauty and its fertility. After bidding off his claim at the Ozawkie sale, he attended the government sale of Indian lands at Paola, and bought a quarter-section of land at that sale.

The longest trip he made in the territory that year was in the latter part of August, on horseback, in company with a young man, Frank Hunt. They traveled south into Anderson county, then southwesterly to Burlington. Burlington had been laid out a few months before by a company of young men in Lawrence, and at that time was on a boom. There must have been six or eight houses there.

NOTE 3.—"Col. H. T. Titus, this meritorious citizen and gallant soldier, who has command of the battalion of Kansas volunteers, will soon leave us for Nicaragua. . . . Success to him and his gallant comrades wherever they go."—*Leavenworth Herald*, December 6, 1856.

From Burlington they went west to the Verdigris river, followed up on the east bank of the stream to a point in Madison county, where they found the house of a settler. Crossing the stream, they traveled in a southwesterly direction until they came to the South Verdigris, and there they met four men traveling with a wagon and camping outfit. Two of these men were M. L. Ashmore and Edwin Tucker. They had just commenced cooking dinner, and they invited Ridenour and Hunt to take dinner with them. The warm dinner was a treat, as they had been for three or four days eating such food as they could carry in leather saddle-bags. Both parties were traveling with the same object—to see the country and to find a place for a good town site when the country should be settled. The beautiful rolling prairies, covered with the rich, bluestem grass, the clear water which tumbled over the rock bottoms in rapids, caused them all to shout, almost in concert, “Eureka!”

Tucker, Ashmore, Hunt and Ridenour all agreed to lay out a town there. Tucker, Ashmore and Hunt agreed to build the first three buildings, and Ridenour agreed for his part to send a surveyor from Lawrence to survey the town site and plat it. Tucker and Ashmore remained in camp there. Ridenour and Hunt had a desire to see the country further west and southwest. They traveled west to El Dorado, where some boys from Lawrence had laid out a town, and two or three of them were there occupying the cabins they had built. So far as known there were no settlers southwest of El Dorado. Hunt and Ridenour turned in a southwesterly direction and wandered over the prairies in a circuitous route, and after a few days returned to Tucker’s and Ashmore’s camp at Eureka, staying with them a day. While there they all agreed that they did not like the name of the stream, South Verdigris, and changed it to Fall river. Ridenour afterwards instructed his surveyor to put it on the town plat as Fall river; he also made a request of map-makers in Chicago to change it from South Verdigris on their maps to Fall river. This was done, and the name of Fall river stands to-day.

Hunt and Ridenour left Tucker’s camp one day about noon, Hunt going to Emporia to buy lumber for his house, Ridenour going to Lawrence via Burlington. It was about twenty miles from Eureka to the main Verdigris river in the direction of Burlington. He had been told there was a house at the bank of the Verdigris river, so he aimed to get there in time to spend the night. His pony was very much worn down and traveled very slowly through the tall grass, and he did not reach the river until some time after dark. There was a belt of timber on each side of the stream. As it was very dark, he had much difficulty in getting down the bank and finding a place to ford the stream. He finally got across, and at the edge of the timber found the house he was looking for. There was no one at home. Putting his pony out on the grass he entered the house, which was a very small, low cabin covered with “shakes.” In feeling his way around the room he put his hand upon a bed. He felt on the blankets worm-dust which had fallen from the rafters, which was evidence that the bed had not been occupied for some time. He felt something hard under the blankets, which he took to be a corpse. He imagined some poor fellow had died there alone. Lighting a match he pulled off some splinters from the shakes in the roof and started a fire in the fireplace. As soon as he had a good light he proceeded to investigate the corpse, which turned out to be a rifle rolled in a

blanket and placed under the covers. Shaking the dust off the blankets, he pushed the gun to one side and went to bed without supper. Before the night was over there came up a terrible rain and electric storm, and the water came through the "shake" roof upon the bed. He got up and found a corner of the room where it was dry, and sat there until morning on a three-legged stool which was the only piece of furniture in the house except the bed. As soon as it was light in the morning he saddled his horse, and without any breakfast started for Burlington, thirty miles away. When about half way on the road he met a man with a team and new wagon, loaded with plows and other agricultural implements. He was the owner of the house on the Verdigris. Ridenour told him he owed him for a night's lodging. He inquired if his gun was there, and was pleased to learn that no one had disturbed his property. He had gone out there in the spring, selected his claim and built a cabin; then went back to his home in Illinois and brought out his team and implements.

Ridenour rode on to Burlington, reaching there about one o'clock in the afternoon. He stopped with an Indian who kept a hotel. His dinner was good, as he had had nothing to eat for more than twenty-four hours. He spent one day in Burlington, bought twelve lots in the town, then slowly made his way to Lawrence. There he made a contract with a surveyor to go and survey and plat the town of Eureka.

Hunt never built his house in Eureka; Ridenour quit, after having it surveyed, and never claimed any share in the town lots; Tucker remained there and helped build up the beautiful little town, and is entitled to the credit of being the father of the county-seat of Greenwood county. He still lives there, a prosperous and highly respected citizen.⁴

When Ridenour reached Lawrence he was suffering from malarial fever, and as soon as he had sent the surveyor to Eureka he started for Cincinnati, and from there went out to his old home, where he was obliged to take to his bed and remain several weeks with a fever, which was the first severe illness he had ever experienced. After he recovered he went back to Lawrence, arriving there about the middle of November, 1857.

Then, after studying the situation, he came to the conclusion that he would settle down in a mercantile business in Lawrence; but before engaging in that he thought it best for him to take a partner for life, and with that object in view he started back to Ohio about the middle of December.

The Missouri river was closed by ice. He took stage to Westport, stopped over night at the Harris House, and the next morning found two other men who wished to go to Jefferson City, and the three employed a young man

NOTE 4.—In a letter dated Eureka, Kan., July 24, 1908, Mr. Edwin Tucker says: "Your letter of the 23d is at hand. I remember very well the visit of Peter D. Ridenour and others to this point in the fall of 1857, and the arrangement that was made for the location of a town site here and the organization of the town company that followed. The town site was surveyed, J. V. Randolph doing the work; he was also a member of the town company. The land on which the town site was located had not been brought into the market or surveyed. It lay along the fifth parallel and that parallel was used as a basis for the survey of the town site. Afterwards it was found impracticable to carry out the provisions of the law regulating town sites, as each forty acres must have a house on it, so the company was disbanded, and the land was afterwards bought from the government by individuals. This, as I said, was in the fall of 1857. The first house built on the town site was erected in August, 1857, and was built for a schoolhouse. It was made of shakes. In the spring of 1868 the present town of Eureka was started, a new company being organized, of which I was president. I think all the parties identified with the first company are dead except Mr. Ridenour and myself. The names of those identified with the first organization, as I remember them, are as follows: T. D. Ridenour, Levi Prather, Frank Hunt, J. V. Randolph, M. L. Ashmore, and myself. I think there was one other who did not settle here, whose name I have forgotten. The post-office was established in Eureka in December, 1857, but there was no government service for some time afterward, the citizens having to carry their own mail from Pleasant Grove on the Verdigris."

with a two-seated vehicle to take them to that place. The roads were bad, and it was a tedious but interesting trip, as there was good opportunity to see the people and their way of living. They frequently stopped over night at farmhouses. He went by rail from Jefferson City and reached home on the 28th of January, 1858, and was married in Xenia, Ohio, to Sarah Louis Beatty, daughter of Henry G. and Catherine O. Beatty, whose maiden name was Bull, a descendant of one of the Bull families who came to Virginia from England about 1750. Beatty's ancestors settled in western Maryland about the same time.

About the 1st of March, 1858, Ridenour, with his bride, took passage on a steamboat at Cincinnati for St. Louis, and there they changed from the Ohio river boat to a Missouri river steamer and came on to Kansas City. The boat landed at the levee opposite the Gillis House. It was raining, and the unpaved streets of Kansas City were almost impassable.

Before leaving Cincinnati Ridenour had taken three new buggies in the way of collecting a debt. He brought them with him on the boat to Kansas City, and the next day after landing traded one buggy for a horse, which he hitched to another buggy, he and his wife driving to Lawrence via Westport. The grass had started and the prairies were green and beautiful. The sun was shining brightly, and the trip was a delightful one to the bride, who never before had seen a western prairie. When they arrived in Lawrence they stopped at the Whitney House, where they boarded until they built a cottage on New York street, in which they lived until 1862. They sold that cottage with all their furniture to Martin F. Conway, delegate to Congress.

About the same time that Ridenour and his wife reached Lawrence, Harlow W. Baker arrived there with his bride and stopped at the same hotel. Mr. Baker had been in Lawrence the year before and he and Ridenour had become slightly acquainted. They both started east after their brides about the same time, but neither one of them knew the other intended to be married. When the two accidentally met at the Whitney House their wives soon became intimate friends.

Baker and Ridenour were talking one day about business and it developed that both of them had decided to go into the grocery business. They made an agreement to go in together, and so formed a copartnership to last three years. They immediately bought a lot on Massachusetts street and let a contract to build a store. When the three years were out nothing was said about the expiration of the copartnership, but it went on without any new agreement. From that time on the business life of Harlow W. Baker and that of Peter D. Ridenour have been so interwoven that the history of one could not be well written without that of the other.

At that time there were very few retail grocery stores in the West; groceries were usually handled in general stores, along with dry-goods, hardware, shoes, etc. Ridenour recalls a conversation he had with the proprietor of one of the large general stores in Lawrence, who asked him what he and Baker intended to sell in that building they were erecting. Ridenour told him groceries. The merchant said, "You can't make a living selling groceries alone. We sell that line at cost to bring trade for our other goods." Ridenour told him that he (the merchant), was a dry-goods merchant, but that Ridenour & Baker were grocers, and he thought that it would be possible for them to meet competition and still make a living. In less than two years

that general merchant came to Ridenour & Baker to sell them his grocery store, and Ridenour & Baker bought it.

Ridenour & Baker did what was called a wholesale and retail business at that time. It was some years before there were many retail groceries for them to sell to; but besides the trade in their own town and county, farmers came in from 50 to 100 and sometimes 200 miles to Lawrence to trade. From that country several farmers would get together and send one team and purchase a wagon-load amounting to several hundred dollars. The buffalo-hunters and trappers on the plains would come in with wagon-loads of buffalo-hides and tallow and buy their supplies. That kind of business was called wholesale.

Ridenour & Baker bought hides, furs, grains and all farmers' produce and paid cash for it, and sold their goods for cash. By hard work and close attention to business they were prosperous. They were both strong men, and at first they did the hard labor of loading and unloading the wagon, and hired a boy to work behind the counter. Every day in the week they were at the store from early morning until nine or ten at night. From the first, by mutual consent, Mr. Baker kept the books and looked after collections, and Ridenour did all the buying and most of the selling, until the business grew large enough to employ a bookkeeper and to require additional salesmen. After that, as long as he lived, Mr. Baker had charge of the credits and Ridenour was at the head of the buying department.

At that time there were no brokers in Lawrence or Kansas City representing manufacturers and importers, so it was necessary for Ridenour to go east several times a year to buy goods. Before the railroads were built goods were all shipped up the Missouri river, landed at Leavenworth, and hauled from there to Lawrence on wagons. Ridenour & Baker had goods in a warehouse at Leavenworth all the time, so at any time a teamster applied to them for a load he could get it.

At the time of the draft riot in New York, on the Fourth of July, 1863, Ridenour happened to be in New York buying goods, and was there during all the days of that riot. At that time the battle of Gettysburg had been fought, and Vicksburg was surrendered to the Union army; there was a large decline in the price of gold, as was always the case when the Federal troops won a victory. Sugar, coffee, tea—in fact all imported goods—were sold in New York for gold. The gold had to be bought with greenbacks, which fluctuated all the way from thirty-five to sixty cents on the dollar. Merchants in the West had to take greenbacks for their goods, so it was necessary for a buyer to watch the gold market as closely as he did the market price for goods.

This decline in gold was an inducement to Ridenour to buy more goods than he contemplated, because he believed gold would go up again. After he had purchased to the extent of the funds he had, he purchased several thousand dollars' worth of tea and coffee on time, for which he gave notes payable in greenbacks. The goods were shipped, and when all had arrived at Lawrence it made the largest stock the firm had ever had at one time. This entire stock was destroyed by the fire set by the Quantrill band on August 21, 1863. A team hauling from Leavenworth, which brought the last load of this big lot of tea, got into Lawrence and unloaded the tea at the store about dark the evening before the raid. There were two other teams on the way from Leavenworth at the same time, loaded with salt. These

teamsters did not cross the Kaw river that night, but camped in the woods on the other side. The salt was saved but the tea was burned. This looked like a case of hard luck.

Their store building, with its contents, in common with all the stores in town, was burned. As full descriptions of that awful massacre and fire have been written, I will not attempt any description of it, except to mention some incidents of the personal experience of Ridenour & Baker.

Mr. and Mrs. Harlow W. Baker, Josiah C. Trask, editor of the *Lawrence Journal*, and wife, and Senator and Mrs. S. M. Thorpe were boarding at the house of Dr. and Mrs. J. F. Griswold. They had no warning of the bushwhackers until the house was surrounded. The bushwhackers pounded on the door and demanded admission, which was refused. The house was a frame one, and they knew the bushwhackers could set fire to it, so only a short resistance could be made. They parleyed with the bushwhackers and asked them if they surrendered what would become of them? The bushwhackers answered that if they would surrender and come out they would hold them prisoners until they, the bushwhackers, were ready to leave town, and then they would be released. They accepted the terms, opened the door and walked out, and, on the demand of the bushwhackers, handed over all the valuables they had in their pockets. The bushwhackers mounted their horses and ordered the four men to march down the middle of the street; this they did with two of the bushwhackers following them. They had only gone about half a block, when, without any warning, the bushwhackers commenced firing at them. Mr. Baker and Mr. Trask were immediately shot down. Mr. Thorpe and Doctor Griswold ran a few steps before they fell. The bushwhackers rode on, leaving them all for dead. Doctor Griswold and Mr. Trask died in a few minutes; Mr. Thorpe lived a few days; Mr. Baker became partly conscious, when another one of the murderers came along and saw that he was still breathing, rolled him over on his face, and fired a shot in his back, which came out at the breast, passing through his lungs. The wives of these four men attempted to go to them and take them water if they were still breathing, but the bushwhackers drove them back, so they were left lying in the street where they fell until the bushwhackers left. Then Mr. Baker and Mr. Thorpe were found still alive and were carried into the house.

Mr. Baker had three wounds. One bullet had passed through the back of his neck, one through the wrist, and one through the lungs.

Mr. and Mrs. Ridenour were living in a brick cottage on Tennessee street. About daylight they were awakened by the sound of gunshots in the streets a few blocks away. They at once knew it was the bushwhackers, as they had been threatening to come to Lawrence, but the people did not believe they could get there, as there were soldiers stationed along the border, so they felt secure. Mr. and Mrs. Ridenour got out of bed and dressed as quickly as possible, and as the gunshots seemed to increase in numbers and rapidity, he thought the citizens in the other part of town were resisting. He had no gun in the house, but he knew that there were a lot of United States muskets stored in a warehouse at the north part of the town. His first thought was to run over there and get a musket. His house fronted east. He ran out of the front door and down the street towards Massachusetts street in the direction of the firing. Before he got out of the house he saw a neighbor by the name of Bell, who lived one block further up the

hill, run down the street with a musket on his shoulder. When Ridenour got in the street, Mr. Bell was about two blocks ahead of him. He saw two bushwhackers on horseback start after Mr. Bell and shoot at him. Mr. Bell jumped over the fence and ran into a stable; his musket was not loaded. One of the bushwhackers followed him into the stable and shot him dead. Ridenour stopped and hesitated a moment what to do. He turned and ran back towards his house. Mr. William Lamon, who lived opposite, was in the street about one block from his house. He ran back, chased by the bushwhackers, and climbed over the fence into his yard. When he was on top of the fence they shot him through the arm and he fell over into the yard. They left him and fired several shots at Ridenour, as he ran into the gate and into the house. They did not follow him into the house, but passed on up the hill.

Mr. and Mrs. Ridenour did not appear to be much frightened, as they supposed the shots were fired at people who were in the street to prevent a gathering for resistance. They did not believe they would deliberately murder people in their houses, but they did believe they would take what property they could find and carry off, and burn the houses. While they were talking of what they had better do some one rapped on the front door. The door was opened and Mrs. Elmore Allen came in. She said the bushwhackers had visited her house and had hunted from top to bottom for men. They told her they would not harm her, but would kill every man they could find. The men had all left the house before the bushwhackers came. She told Mr. Ridenour he must try to get away, as they would surely kill him if they found him there. He said it was too late for him to escape by running over the hill and he thought he had better stay in the house, and if they came to get off the best he could. Mrs. Allen told him from what they had said to her there would be no chance for his life. By that time he was frightened. While this talk was going on one of the bushwhackers commenced pounding on the front door. Before the door was opened the ladies begged of Ridenour to escape by the back door. He retreated to the kitchen and went out at the south door of the kitchen into the garden near by and hid himself among the potato-vines. There were three of the bushwhackers who had ridden up to the gate. Two of them dismounted and the third was holding their horses. One had entered the house and the other one stood guard outside the front door. Just at the moment Ridenour went out of the house into the garden two citizens, William and John K. Rankin, ran across Tennessee street about half a block south of Ridenour's house. The bushwhacker who was holding the horses fired several shots at them. William Rankin had a revolver which he fired at the bushwhacker. That attracted the attention of the one who was on guard at the front door and he ran to the assistance of his comrade, and evidently did not see Ridenour as he escaped. The Rankins got over the fence and hid in the orchard south of Ridenour's garden.

As soon as the bushwhacker entered the house he recognized Mrs. Allen, as he was the one who had been to her house. He ordered her to return to her own house. He asked Mrs. Ridenour where her husband was, and she said he had gone east to buy goods. He compelled the ladies to give up all the money and all the jewelry they had. Then he ordered Mrs. Ridenour to get breakfast for four or five of them. She told them she could not give them breakfast, as she had nothing cooked and would not attempt to cook

for them. He said he would be back in half an hour. Mrs. Ridenour and Mrs. Allen were afraid to stay in the house, so they left and went on top of the hill about two blocks away, where a great many women of the neighborhood had gathered. Not very long after that two of the bushwhackers entered the house, gathered up a lot of clothing and other valuables, among them a very fine beaver overcoat of Mr. Ridenour's, and deliberately packed them on their horses. Soon after they left smoke was seen coming out at the roof of the house. They had set fire to the upper story. From the position the women had on the hill they could see the movements of the bushwhackers all around their neighborhood, and when the bushwhackers had left the house Mrs. Ridenour, with the assistance of one or two other women, went to the house and carried out a few articles of furniture, which were saved. Mr. Ridenour had a fine horse in a stable at the back end of the lot, and after he returned from the street to the house, before the bushwhackers came in, he sought to save his horse by turning him loose in the street. As he had bought him only a few weeks before in the country a few miles away, he thought he might gallop off to his old home. But the horse did not go far away, and it is presumed that the bushwhackers got him, for he never saw him afterwards.

As Ridenour lay in the garden he saw the bushwhackers ride up to the fence several times and look over. Each time he thought his time had come, but the bushwhackers did not cross the fence, and rode away. As Ridenour expressed it, he lay among the vines so close to the ground that a plantain leaf would have covered him. He remained there until the bushwhackers were seen going in a body out of town toward the south; by that time his house was burned down and there was nothing for him to try to save there. He then started to go to the business part of town, and when he reached Kentucky street and was passing the house of Robert Morrow he saw Mrs. Morrow standing at the gate and inquired of her concerning her husband. She said he had gotten over the hill before the bushwhackers reached her house, and was safe. At that moment Ridenour saw coming down the street about a dozen of the bushwhackers on horseback, who appeared to be drunk. He was anxious to get out of sight, and, going into the yard, stood behind a cedar tree until they passed.

Then he went on down to where Ridenour & Baker's store stood, and found it in ruins. The first man he met there was "old man" Richards, whose son was in the employ of Ridenour & Baker and had slept in the store. Mr. Richards believed his son had been murdered and his body burned. However, it was learned afterwards that his son had escaped. Mr. Richards lived not far from Doctor Griswold's home. Ridenour inquired if he had seen Mr. Baker. He said "Yes." Mr. Baker had been shot and was dying at the Griswold house, which had not been burned. Ridenour ran over there as fast as he could and found Mr. Baker lying all alone on the bed where he had been carried from the street. He was conscious, and when he saw Mr. Ridenour he said, "Well, Mr. Ridenour, I am gone up" No one thought he could live with the wounds he had received.

Mr. and Mrs. Ridenour wished to be near Mr. and Mrs. Baker, so that they could do everything possible to save his life. Mrs. Griswold's house was full, but she took Mr. and Mrs. Ridenour in. This was on Friday. On Saturday and Sunday Mr. Ridenour helped in burying the dead. Each day the doctors gave more encouragement for Mr. Baker's life. On Monday

morning Ridenour went to the ruins of their store, cut open the old safe, and found the books and papers unburned. He took out of the safe \$610 in currency and checks, putting \$10 in his pocket and paying \$600 to their creditors. There were a lot of men standing on the street; Ridenour asked if they wanted work; all were anxious for it. He told them to hunt up wheelbarrows and shovels and clean out the cellar where the walls had fallen in. He employed bricklayers to build up the walls. He met a Mr. Zimmerman who had a sawmill a few miles from Lawrence, and contracted with him for oak lumber for joists to be delivered within a few days. There was an old corn-crib standing back on a lot across the alley, which had not been burned.

Ridenour & Baker had two or three teams arrive from Leavenworth the next day after the fire, loaded with goods. These were put in the corn crib, a "lean to" was on one side of it, and an American flag was hoisted above the crib for a sign, and he commenced selling goods. When he went home to dinner, his clothes covered with soot from the ruins, his wife asked him what he had been doing. When he told her, she said "Why, are we going to stay here?" for many talked then of leaving. Ridenour said he didn't know of any better place to start again. His good wife said, "That is all right if you think best."

Of course, Mr. Baker was not able to talk or think about business, as his life was still hanging in the balance. Ridenour & Baker had lost all the capital they had put in the business, together with their savings of five years' business and several thousand dollars besides. The few assets they could gather up would not pay for what they owed. They only owed four or five parties in Leavenworth, St. Louis, and New York. Ridenour wrote to their creditors and told them what had occurred and of Mr. Baker's condition. He informed each of them what they owed their different creditors and told them that if Mr. Baker lived the firm would go on in business, and if he died Ridenour would go on in business alone. He told them he did not know whether they would be able to pay what they owed as it matured, but that it would surely be paid some time if Ridenour & Baker lived long enough. Prompt answers came from all of them, saying that was all right and telling them to draw on them for all the goods they needed.

The late Governor Carney was in the wholesale grocery business in Leavenworth and was one of the creditors. He and his firm were good friends of Ridenour & Baker. He was in Lawrence, and Ridenour showed him what he was writing to their creditors. Mr. Carney said to Mr. Ridenour that he would not write in that way. He would advise him to inform them of his condition and offer to settle for a small percentage, saying that he would be willing to accept anything they would offer for his claim. He told Ridenour that the creditors would think just as much of him as they would if he struggled to pay it all. Ridenour answered that might be so, but that Ridenour and Baker would not think as much of themselves as they would if they had paid 100 cents on the dollar.

As their purchases were small and they had to turn the goods over quickly, they bought in Leavenworth and St. Louis for some time and sold for cash. As they bought their goods on credit they were able from the proceeds of the sales to pay for labor and material for their buildings, and remit for their purchases as fast as the bills became due. They borrowed money from their bankers to meet their notes, given before the fire, as they matured. There was only one bill that was not paid at maturity. They owed to Wm. H. Mark

ham, of St. Louis, about \$1500 for a bill of nails which he had shipped and which had been received just in time to be burned. Mr. Markham had seen in the papers an account of the fire and massacre, and in that account Ridenour and Baker were both reported killed. He immediately telegraphed to John F. Richards, of Leavenworth, saying: "If Ridenour and Baker are dead, give to their families what money they will need to take them to their friends in Ohio and draw on me for the amount." Mr. Richards sent the dispatch over to Mr. Ridenour and asked if he could do anything for them. Mr. Markham was acquainted with Ridenour & Baker only in business; had never seen their families. This generosity and kindness was never forgotten. He offered to contribute to the comfort of their families when they already owed him a large amount of money, which he could not expect to get if they should not be living, knowing their property was all destroyed. When he found they were alive and proposed to go on in business he wrote them, offering to loan them money on long time at a low rate of interest to rebuild their store, and said not to think of what they already owed him until they were abundantly able to pay it. They did not borrow any money from him, as they could get all they needed on short loans from their bankers. They preferred to do it in that way, but they did accept his generous offer to let the old account stand and not pay it for several months. When they remitted they added ten per cent. per annum interest. He wrote them that he was afraid they had made a sacrifice to pay him and wanted to return the remittance and wait longer for his money. They assured him that it was perfectly convenient to pay it. Then he did not want to take the interest and sent the amount to Mrs. Ridenour to give to her church.

The first time Mr. Ridenour went to New York to buy goods he called upon the firm from whom he had bought a large bill of tea just before the fire and inquired for the senior member of the firm. Ridenour was conducted to the private office, where he met the old, white-headed senior member, who did not recognize him until he gave his name; then he greeted him with both hands and said, "I did not recognize your face, but the name of your firm I never shall forget." Then he quoted from Ridenour & Baker's letter where it said, "We may not be able to pay you at maturity, but will pay, if we live long enough." He said, "You did pay at maturity." He also said: "Under the circumstances, if you had said that you would pay ten cents on the dollar I would have accepted it and sold you more goods, but you offered me 100 cents on the dollar and did pay it. Now I will say to you that with us your credit is unlimited." That expression to Ridenour & Baker was worth more than would have been all the money they might have saved by settling for less than 100 cents.

Mr. Ridenour had worked about two weeks rebuilding the store, buying and selling goods, and in the evening sitting by Mr. Baker's bedside, but not a word had been said between them about business until one evening Mr. Ridenour came in and Mr. Baker looked up with a smile, and said, "Now tell me what you are doing." Mr. Ridenour told him how he had started building and selling goods in the old corn-crib, and what he had written their creditors and of their replies. Mr. Baker said, "That is all right; I hope to be out soon to help you." Just six weeks after Mr. Baker was shot he was able to walk over to the store. The floors had been laid, the store inclosed, and they were just commencing to receive goods in the new store.

Ridenour & Baker had always been prompt in meeting their obligations;

in fact, it was a principle with them to pay just when they agreed to, so when their capital had been suddenly swept away they still enjoyed a credit on which they could procure all the goods and all the money they needed. They felt the necessity of working even harder than they had been doing for several years until they could get on their feet again—with sufficient capital for their business, and by hard work their business prospered.

Houses in Lawrence were scarce. Ridenour & Baker felt the necessity of economizing all they could, so they rented a little five-room house, in which the two families lived until they were able to build.

In the early part of the following winter they had learned that there were a good many fat hogs in the hands of the farmers in that part of Kansas, and that there was no market nearer than Leavenworth. The firm of Carney, Stevens & Ryan had started a packing-house at Leavenworth. Ridenour went around and bought hogs while Baker looked after the business at home. He went to Leavenworth and made a proposition to Carney, Stevens & Ryan to furnish them 1000 head of hogs at so much per pound delivered at their packing-house, if they would furnish the money to pay for them as fast as he bought and received the hogs at Lawrence. They were anxious to get hogs, so Ridenour made the contract with them, returned home and started out on horseback to buy. Here his boyhood experience under his father's training came in good place. There were then no facilities for weighing hogs in the country, and none in Lawrence except Ridenour & Baker's scales in the street, where it was difficult to get hogs on the scales. Ridenour usually estimated the weight of the hogs and bought them at so much per head. After he had bought about 1000 head he had them collected at Lawrence and started to drive them to Leavenworth. Then came the most difficult part of the business—an undertaking probably no other man in the country would have attempted. There was no way to get them across the Kansas river except by the rope ferry-boat or a temporary bridge which had been built for wagons, but was only twelve feet wide and had no side railings and the floor was of loose planks. It would have been difficult to to have driven them onto the ferry, and as only a few could have crossed at once much time would have been taken, so Ridenour decided to drive them on that bridge. He commenced early in the morning, and with twelve or fifteen men worked all day, getting the last of them across by dark. The land on the north side of the river then belonged to the Delaware Indians, and was a thick woods full of underbrush. He could do nothing more with the hogs that night, so let them scatter out in the woods. The next morning early he took his men to the woods to drive the hogs out of the bushes. They were successful in finding all of them, and after working hard for six days he completed the drive to Leavenworth. Ridenour & Baker made about \$2000 on the drive. Ridenour was nearly worn out; there were no places to pen the hogs, so it was necessary to stand over them every night.

Notwithstanding the hard work, the money they had cleared made them anxious to continue the business, so Ridenour made a contract to deliver another 1000 head, as he estimated there were about that many more in the country to be bought. He collected another drove of over 1000 and succeeded in delivering them, and made only a little less on them than on the first drove, so Ridenour & Baker had for six weeks' work nearly \$4000 profit in cash to put into the business. That was a large amount of money

then to add to their small or almost no capital, and they could use it to great advantage.

Mr. Baker in the meantime was devoting his energies to the business in the store. It increased rapidly the following spring and summer, and they would have been comparatively happy had it not been for the dark days which would frequently come by the reverses of the Union army and the almost constant menace of the enemy on the Kansas border. Mr. Baker had almost entirely recovered from his wounds.

The grand jury of Douglas county had found a bill of indictment for murder against Quantrill and several others of his band who had been seen and recognized on the morning of the raid. It was supposed that Quantrill had left Missouri; army officers everywhere were on the lookout for him, and the people of Lawrence were constantly and anxiously listening for a report that he was captured. Finally, in the summer of 1864 a telegram was received by the mayor of Lawrence from Gen. Alvin P. Hovey, who commanded the military district at Indianapolis, Ind., saying that he believed that he had captured Quantrill and had him imprisoned at Indianapolis. He asked the mayor to telegraph a description of Quantrill. The mayor sent a description and received a reply that it was correct and that they surely had Quantrill in custody. The mayor telegraphed again to the general to hold him, stating that a committee would be sent there to identify him. A mass meeting of the citizens of Lawrence was called. Three men who knew Quantrill well when he lived in Lawrence were selected to go to Indianapolis to identify him, and, if possible, bring him back to Lawrence to be tried for murder. The names of the men on this committee were Steve Ogden, then sheriff, Capt. Frank B. Swift and Col. Newell Spicer. A collection of money was taken among the citizens to pay the expenses of this committee to Indianapolis and return.

It was thought best to have a requisition on the governor of Indiana for Quantrill, although he was supposed to be in the hands of the military and not under the governor's control, but this requisition would be good evidence to General Hovey that this committee were proper persons to whom to deliver the prisoner. Ridenour volunteered to go to Topeka to get the requisition from the governor. He started for Topeka in a buggy late in the evening, woke the governor about midnight, and got the requisition. As he returned to Lawrence and was thinking the matter over, he thought it well to go with the committee to Indianapolis, as he was personally acquainted with Gov. Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, and possibly could induce him to use his personal influence with General Hovey to give the prisoner up to the committee from Lawrence. He reached Lawrence about daylight, and as soon as he had breakfast he went over to town to meet the committee and deliver the requisition. A large gathering of citizens was there. Ridenour announced his willingness to go with the committee and to pay his own expenses. When they heard his reasons for wishing to go they all urged it, as they were as anxious as Ridenour to have Quantrill brought back to Lawrence. It was considered a perilous undertaking to bring Quantrill through the state of Missouri, which was infested with bushwhackers who would attempt his rescue if they knew when he was being brought through.

The four men, armed with two revolvers each, boarded the stage that morning and went to Leavenworth, from there by boat to Weston, then via

the Hannibal & St. Joe railroad and on to Indianapolis by rail, all the way by day coach—there were no sleepers then. They arrived at Indianapolis the second morning, about forty-eight hours from Lawrence. While crossing Missouri they kept a sharp lookout for bushwhackers, as they did not know but the news of their starting had gone out. When they arrived at Indianapolis they were all tired by the journey, Ridenour having been without sleep for three nights, and the others having lost two, but the excitement of the trip prevented their noticing the fatigue. They went to the Bates House for breakfast, and then called on General Hovey and informed him of their mission. They told him they wanted to take Quantrill to Lawrence. General Hovey said he did not want to give him up as he had been arrested as a spy from the Southern army, and that it was believed he had come to Indiana to promote and recruit the Knights of the Golden Circle, which was a secret organization to resist the United States government. The military had good reasons for wishing to execute Quantrill there for the political effect it would have against the Knights of the Golden Circle.

The men from Lawrence gave their argument for wishing to take him to Kansas for execution, and after they had discussed it for some time they told the general that they would like to see the prisoner, and after it was positively known that he was Quantrill they could then discuss the question further. The general detailed a colonel to go with them to the prison. When they reached the door of the cell in which the prisoner was confined the colonel told them to wait in the hall a moment, as there was a friend of the prisoner in the cell talking to him. In a few moments this friend came out and passed them in the hall. The Lawrence men entered the cell and saw the prisoner sitting on the side of his bunk. When the men stood in a row in front of him the colonel ordered him to stand up, which he did. The colonel asked each man if he knew the prisoner, and they all had to answer "No." The disappointment they felt may have been seen on their faces when they looked at the prisoner and saw that he was not Quantrill, but they saw in his face the relief from the terrible dread that had possessed him when he learned that they were a committee from Lawrence to identify him as Quantrill.

They returned to General Hovey's office and told him they would release all claims on the prisoner, that he might execute him if crime was proven against him, and possibly it would do to execute him on general principles, as they judged from his face that he was a hard and desperate man; but it would not do to execute him as Quantrill, as he was not the man. After this report they could see in the face of General Hovey the same disappointment they were feeling. After a rest and sleep that day and night they returned home, dreading to meet the citizens and see their disappointment at their report. When they heard it many of them thought it possible the committee had made a mistake in identification. This shows how strong was the wish to get hold of Quantrill.

Several months afterwards Ridenour was at the Planters Hotel, in Leavenworth. About nine o'clock at night, after he had gone to his room, the bell-boy came to his door and said there was a gentleman in the office who wished to see him. He went down and a man stepped up to him, and taking him by the hand called him by name and said he was glad to see him. Ridenour told him he thought he had met him before, but did not know his

name. He said his name was B——, that he was the man who had been in the prisoner's cell in Indianapolis. Ridenour expressed his surprise that he should have learned his (Ridenour's) name and could recognize him after only having seen him for a few moments. "Oh!" he said, "the names and faces of you four I shall never forget; you saved my life." He said there had been several men from Missouri there at the prison to identify him. They all said they were acquainted with Quantrill and that the prisoner was Quantrill, and that the military had about decided to execute him on the evidence they had, and he expected to be shot within three days when he heard that there was a committee coming from Lawrence to identify Quantrill. He had lost all hope of escape, "For" said he, "I expected they, like the (with a terrible oath) white-livered ——— that came from Missouri, would swear I was Quantrill; and you can imagine what a load was lifted from my heart when you all said I was not Quantrill."

He said he was released soon after the committee left there. Then he gave a history of himself and how he came to be arrested.

He said he was born and raised in Kentucky, and about thirteen years before he had killed a man in a fight in Kentucky, and he would have had to kill more of them or be killed, or run away, so he ran away and went into Arkansas. One night while staying in a hotel a man spoke to him, calling him Mr. Hart. The man took him to be one Charles Hart, a land speculator. Mr. B. thought that would be a good name to take, so after that he called himself Charles Hart. He traveled through Arkansas, Indian Territory, New Mexico and Arizona to California and Utah during the several years before the breaking out of the war. Then he came east and traveled about with the armies, sometimes with the Union and sometimes with the Confederates, for the purpose of gambling with the officers. A short time before his arrest he had come up the Mississippi from New Orleans to Cairo on a gunboat, then went over to Indianapolis and registered at the Bates House as Charles Hart. That name led to his arrest, as Quantrill was known in Lawrence, when he lived there in 1860, as Charles Hart. B. said that after he had assumed the name of Hart he corresponded with his wife under that name for several years. Finally he dropped all correspondence with his family, as he made up his mind he could never go back to Kentucky. When the war broke out and Quantrill became notorious in Missouri as leader of a band of desperadoes and the newspapers had spoken of him as having passed under the name of Charles Hart, Mrs. B. supposed Quantrill and her husband were one and the same person, and when she saw in the papers that Charles Hart had been arrested as Quantrill in Indianapolis, she thought it was her husband, and sent her brother to Indianapolis to see him, and, if he should be shot, to bring his body back to Kentucky. When Mrs. B.'s brother reached Indianapolis he found the prisoner was his brother-in-law, but B. told him he was not Quantrill. This brother-in-law was the man the Lawrence committee had seen come out of the prisoner's cell at Indianapolis. When B. was released he went to his home in Kentucky and stood trial for killing the man thirteen years before, and was acquitted on the ground of self-defense.

When Ridenour saw him in Leavenworth he was on his way back to Utah and had with him his wife and family. The wife and family were nice-looking, but he looked like the desperate man seen in the prisoner's cell. About a year later he called on Ridenour in Lawrence and wanted to see the other

members of the committee. They took him along the street and introduced him to many of the citizens, that they might see the man that they decided was not Quantrill. He left that same day, and Ridenour never saw him again, but frequently heard of him as one of the most desperate gamblers in the West, playing for big stakes.

The summer of 1864 passed without any invasions of the enemy in that part of Kansas near Lawrence, and as trade had been prosperous Ridenour & Baker concluded in the fall that they would increase their stock with the view of doing a larger business. Mr. Ridenour started east for that purpose. The next day after he arrived at Chicago the papers were full of dispatches telling of a large army of rebels under Gen. Sterling Price in southern Missouri, marching north. Ridenour waited a day without buying goods, thinking that as Price might make a raid through Kansas he had better not ship any more goods there. Next day's news said they were much alarmed in St. Louis, as Price appeared to be marching in that direction. Ridenour took the first train for St. Louis, thinking he could get reliable information there as to Price's destination. When he arrived in St. Louis the next morning he found that all business was suspended, that the steamboats were all lying at the Illinois shore for safety, and that most of the able-bodied men had formed into militia companies and were being drilled for service. It was reported that Price had 25,000 soldiers and was then at Franklin, about forty miles west of St. Louis. The next day the report came in that he was marching west from Franklin and had evidently decided not to march on St. Louis. Ridenour was advised by an old friend to get home to Lawrence as soon as possible and get his and Mr. Baker's families away from there, as he believed Price would march west through Kansas.

This alarmed Ridenour, because he knew the government did not have troops enough in western Missouri and Kansas to successfully resist Price's army. The shortest way for him to get home was by the North Missouri railroad to Macon City, then by the Hannibal & St. Joe road to St. Joe. As the whole of north Missouri was infested with bushwhackers no trains were run at night. One train a day was run, starting from each end. Ridenour decided to take the train the next morning. About ten o'clock that night news reached St. Louis that the train that went out that day had been captured by a gang of bushwhackers. The next morning Ridenour learned that there would be no train out from St. Louis, as the operation of the road was abandoned indefinitely. He was nearly wild with anxiety to get home, so took a steamboat and went up to Quincy, and arrived there in the evening expecting to take the train the next morning for St. Joe. About eight o'clock that evening news came into Quincy that the east-bound train of that day had been captured and destroyed, the passengers robbed, but none killed. The next morning he learned that there would be no train sent out on that road. The only way for him to travel towards home would be by private conveyance or on foot. The situation with Ridenour was getting desperate and he thought of buying a horse and attempting the perilous journey through Missouri on horseback, and no doubt he would have done so had not the superintendent of the road promised that he would send out some kind of a train the following day. The next morning Ridenour crossed the river and found the train made up of a locomotive, one passenger-coach and a flat car with a cannon and about fifteen soldiers on board. They crossed the state that day and arrived at St. Joe

the next morning at daylight without having seen a bushwhacker on the way. But it had been a day of continuous excitement and watching, for it was considered perilous to travel on that road any day during those times. There was scarcely a passenger-coach on that road which had not been perforated with rifle-balls fired by the bushwhackers.

Soon after their arrival at St. Joseph, Ridenour found a freight-train ready to start down the road to Iatan. He rode on top of the freight-car, arriving at Iatan about noon. It was Sunday; no stage ran on Sunday from there to Leavenworth. Ridenour found in the river at Iatan a raft of lumber and shingles about ready to float down to Leavenworth, so he took passage on it, arriving there about five in the evening. As soon as he had had his dinner he called at Governor Carney's office and found him much excited about rumors of Price's army coming towards Kansas. When Ridenour told him he had just gotten through from St. Louis, the governor asked him many questions as to what he had heard about General Price's movements, and said as all the wires were cut he could get no valuable information as to the way Price was marching. He also said the people of Kansas were very much excited, and contradictory rumors were in circulation. Many of the people were urging him to call out the militia for defense; others said it was useless, as there was no reliable information that Price was in Missouri. After Ridenour had given the governor all the information he had received in St. Louis, he left him, without knowing what influence it would have on his actions.

He took the stage early Monday morning for Lawrence. That day dispatches were received in Lawrence,⁵ saying that the governor had issued a proclamation calling out the entire militia of the state, and the next day Ridenour received an order from Gen. M. S. Grant, of the militia, to report to him at Leavenworth without delay. A few months before when the militia was enrolled Ridenour had been placed on General Grant's staff with the rank of captain. Then Ridenour thought of the advice of the St. Louis friend, and it was decided that Mrs. Baker and Mrs. Ridenour should start for Xenia, Ohio. Ridenour procured a hack that would carry three of them and a lot of trunks, and they drove to Leavenworth. Mrs. Ridenour had with her a two-months'-old baby. In Leavenworth Ridenour procured passage on a steamboat to St. Joseph, and got a letter from the agent of the Hannibal & St. Joe road to the local agent in St. Joseph, instructing him that if the trains were running and they had no report of bushwhackers along the line, he would so inform the ladies, and they would go over the road and on to Ohio; but if he did not consider it safe to tell them so, and they would continue on the boat to Omaha, where Ridenour advised them to stay until it was considered safe for them to return home.

Ridenour went to military headquarters and persuaded the general in command of the militia to send an order to the rifle company at Lawrence to remain at home for guard duty. Mr. Baker was a member of that rifle company, which will explain why that company did not go to the front. Mr. Baker, though not entirely recovered from his wounds, and other business men of Lawrence belonging to that company, would gladly have gone to

NOTE 5.—Governor Carney's proclamation calling out the militia is dated at Topeka, October 8, 1864. It is printed in the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative* of Tuesday morning, October 11, and in the Lawrence *Daily Tribune* of the same evening, in the latter paper with comments indicating that it was then first published. The Historical Society has not the issue of the *Journal* for October 10.

Missouri; in fact, many of them were very much disappointed that they could not go.

Mr. Ridenour marched from Leavenworth with the militia to Olathe, thence to Shawneetown, thence to Westport, where he remained until the battle was over. After the battle of Westport the Kansas militia were relieved from duty in Missouri by General Curtis, and marched back to Kansas and discharged; the campaign had lasted twenty-four days.

After Price and his army had been driven out of Missouri and across the Arkansas river, November 6, it was thought the war was over in Kansas and Missouri, and that life and property in Kansas would be safe. Business was resumed, and the firm of Ridenour & Baker put forth fresh energy.

In November, 1864, the Kansas Pacific railroad was finished to Lawrence, and in the spring of 1865 was finished to Topeka. Ridenour & Baker were pioneers in the wholesale grocery business. When the road was completed to Topeka they established a branch house there under the style of E. W. Baker & Co., E. W. Baker being Harlow W. Baker's youngest brother.

In 1866 Samuel Ridenour, brother of P. D. Ridenour, came to Kansas from Ohio, and with Ridenour & Baker started a branch at Iola, Kan. He was manager. Afterwards, when the L. L. & G. and M. K. & T. roads were built to Chanute, they sold the interest in their store at Iola to John Francis and started another branch in Chanute. Samuel Ridenour went to Chanute as manager there. When the A. T. & S. F. road was built to Emporia Ridenour & Baker started a branch there, with another brother of Harlow W.'s, A. A. Baker, as manager.

From all the stores they put out traveling salesmen and extended the business as far west and south as there was business to be had. Ridenour & Baker's goods were the first to be seen on the town site of more than twoscore of the early towns in western and southern Kansas, and they built up a large business.

During the war the currency of the country depreciated, consequently the price of merchandise advanced. Ridenour & Baker, like all other merchants, made money by the advance, but, as has been mentioned before, they lost in one day by the Quantrill fire not only what they had made in business, but their original capital and more. When the war closed, in 1865, the decline in gold, or rather the appreciation of the currency, caused a corresponding decline in the price of merchandise, so Ridenour & Baker, like all other merchants, had to stand a heavy loss in stocks on hand. All the merchants in Lawrence felt this depreciation severely. Leavenworth, Atchison, St. Joseph and Topeka merchants had grown rich from the advances, so they could better stand the declines that came later than could the Lawrence merchants.

To illustrate how severe were the losses: Ridenour and Baker had bought sugar and coffee in the East just before the war closed, paying 55 cents for coffee and 27 cents for sugar, and as soon as they arrived at Lawrence commenced selling them for 35 cents and 18 cents. The loss in other commodities was in the same proportion. They did not despair, but worked with their accustomed energy, and prospered.

From the winter of 1865 until the winter of 1872-'73 they bought all the dressed hogs they could get in and around Topeka and Lawrence and turned them into smoked meats, for which there was a demand in the newer part of the country, and it became quite an item in their business.

In 1873 they built a packing-house in Lawrence and took with them inot the packing business several special partners. They carried on that business for three years, when they bought out the special partners and continued it for two years longer alone.

Lawrence continued to grow, so that, in 1870, as people had been talking for two or three years past of a street-railroad, Judge Deveraux, attorney for the Kansas Pacific railroad, made the following proposal: That the railroad people would subscribe the stock and furnish the money to build a street-car line from their depot on the north side of the river if the city council would grant a franchise to the company. Ridenour told him he felt confident he could get the franchise, promising that he would make the application at once. He went before the city council and told it what had been promised him, making application for the charter. Some of the councilmen hesitated about granting a charter without having some assurance that the road would be built, as they did not think it best to give an exclusive franchise without such assurance, as it might prevent some other company from building. Ridenour told them he would give the assurance, and they seemed to think that was sufficient, as some members of the council rose and said that they had never known him to make a promise that had not been fulfilled. The rules were suspended and the ordinance passed at that meeting.

The ordinance provided that one mile should be built within one year and two miles within two years. A few days after the ordinance was passed Ridenour reported it to the officers of the Kansas Pacific railroad and told them he was ready to turn the franchise over to them. Then they informed him they had changed their minds and had decided not to build any street-railroad. This placed Ridenour in a very embarrassing position, as he had given the city council such positive assurance that if they would grant the franchise he would see that the road was built. He felt that his reputation was at stake and said to himself, "It must be built"; so he organized a company. Several of the good citizens took a small amount of stock, but Mr. Baker and Mr. Ridenour subscribed a large share of it. They immediately went to work and within the first year built a little more than two miles and had the cars running. The next year they built another mile. The road did not pay running expenses. They still thought the town would grow and that it would finally pay, and so continued to operate it. All the other stockholders came to the conclusion that it would never pay and became dissatisfied with their holdings, so Mr. Baker and Mr. Ridenour finally bought them all out, at a heavy discount. They continued to operate the road until 1879, when they became discouraged and determined to sell out. Noble Prentiss, who then lived at Topeka, visited Lawrence, and in an editorial in the Topeka paper gave a very good description of the situation. In writing up Lawrence he spoke of the street-railroad, and said: "The mules are getting old, the ties are rotten, the iron is rusty, the proprietors are turning gray." When Ridenour read that he realized its truth. They had run the cars faithfully for seven years, and during every month of that time had had to take money out of their pockets to make up the deficiency in expenses. They had given of their time for that seven years without a dollar of compensation.

It troubled them then to know what to do with it. No one would buy it, or take it as a gift and be bound to operate it. They finally sold the cars in Toledo, Ohio; they took up the iron and sold part of it to a company in

Pueblo, Colo., which built the first street-car track in that town. They sold one car-load of iron to a party in Trinidad, Colo., to lay a track into a coal-mine near there, and sold the rest of the iron to Thomas Corrigan to be used in Kansas City, and finally cleaned it up with a net loss of a little over \$11,000, besides the time and labor spent. This is what their experience in street-railroads cost them. They would not have regretted the losses so much if the enterprise had been successful in building up the town, for they did not go into it as a money-making scheme, but to do all they could for Lawrence.

In the year 1874 there was a drought in Kansas and crops were light, and late in the summer of that year the grasshoppers appeared and destroyed all vegetation. This made a bad year for business. The grasshoppers deposited their eggs in the ground, and in the spring of 1875 they hatched out in countless millions and destroyed all vegetation as fast as it appeared above the ground. This was very discouraging to the farmers, and in fact everybody, as times were hard and there was much destitution on account of the entire destruction of crops the year before. When the young corn was eaten off the farmers would procure more seed and replant. This was repeated three or four times by many of the farmers until their resources were exhausted and they felt they must give up, as they had no money to buy more seed. The month of June came and no corn was growing, and it looked as though there would be another year of famine, and people would have to leave the state or starve; besides, it was late in the season to plant again and grasshoppers were still there.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Ridenour relied on the theory which Professor Riley, then entomologist of Missouri, published, that the grasshoppers would leave as soon as they had wings. They bought two car-loads of a variety of quick-maturing corn in Iowa, bringing it to Lawrence at a cost to them of about one dollar per bushel, and gave it away to the farmers who had not the money or credit to buy seed, letting each farmer have only enough seed to plant the ground he had prepared. They would not sell a bushel of it to a man who could raise the money to buy, as he could send off and get seed. The two car-loads were enough to plant thousands of acres. Others were stimulated to buy seed and replant again, and, sure enough, before this planting was up the grasshoppers left and corn came up, and as there was plenty of rain during the summer and no frost until late, there was a most bountiful crop fully matured, making 1875 a fruitful year in Kansas. The people could not have stood another famine, but after they had done all they could the Lord would not put upon them more than they could bear.

Notwithstanding the rough topography of the site of Kansas City, Ridenour & Baker always believed that at the great bend of the Missouri river near the mouth of the Kaw there would some time be a great center of business for a large section of country, but they did not care to go there and sit down and wait for it. There was but little business at Kansas City during the war and for several years thereafter, owing to the bushwhackers in Missouri, so Ridenour & Baker wrought with others in developing the resources of Kansas, and did all they could to help build up the town of Lawrence.

In the year 1878 the Union Pacific, Santa Fe, Southern Kansas, and Kansas City, Fort Scott and Gulf railroads had been built out of Kansas City, and the trade from Kansas turned that way. Ridenour & Baker con-

cluded that the time had come for them to go to Kansas City, as it was useless to pull against the current of trade. They did not feel that they had capital sufficient to carry on both the grocery and packing business without involving themselves too heavily in debt. They debated which business to give up. They had been longer in the grocery business and understood it better, so decided to give up the packing business. They sold out the packing-houses, bought ground in the west bottoms at Kansas City, and built a large building for the grocery business. They were the first ones to locate a wholesale grocery house in the west bottoms where cars could be switched to their warehouse. There were four large wholesale grocery houses in Kansas City at that time, all located up-town, where they had to haul their goods up and down the hill at a great expense. The up-town houses soon saw the advantage of a switch location and it was only a few years until all but one moved to the west bottoms. So far as is known, Ridenour & Baker was the first wholesale grocery house west of the Mississippi river to locate where cars could be switched to their door.

On the 1st of October, 1878, Ridenour & Baker, having completed their building, consolidated the parent house from Lawrence, their branch houses at Topeka, Emporia, and Chanute, in Kansas City, under the style of Ridenour, Baker & Co., composed of H. W. Baker, P. D. Ridenour, S. Ridenour, A. A. Baker, and E. P. Baker. They took most of their Kansas customers to Kansas City. They put out traveling men in Missouri, and the first year after locating there they took the lead of all other houses in the business. Before they located in Kansas City the houses that were there did not sell goods twenty-five miles east of Kansas City. St. Louis and Chicago had nearly all the business of Missouri. Ridenour, Baker & Co. succeeded in building up the largest grocery business of any house west of the Mississippi, not excepting any in St. Louis or San Francisco.

They continued under the style of Ridenour, Baker & Co. until March, 1887, when they incorporated under the style Ridenour-Baker Grocery Company, the five partners being the stockholders. They saw the advantage of a corporation over that of a firm with several partners. If one of the firm in a large business should die it would be very expensive to probate the business, where in a corporation the decease of a stockholder does not necessarily interrupt the business. They wished to let some of the young men who had been employed in the business for many years have an interest, and they did not think it advisable to take in more partners. These were the reasons for their incorporating.

There is in the minds of people who do not understand much about business a strong prejudice against corporations which is not founded on any good reasoning. The fact is the form of corporation is a great blessing. It makes it possible for young men without much money to get an interest in a large business. Thousands of them in the United States are enjoying that privilege to-day who could not have been taken into partnership. The business of the Ridenour-Baker Grocery Company has continued to grow year by year up to this time.

Ephraim W. Baker, who managed the Topeka house, died in 1875, and Edward P. Baker, his brother, was put in charge of that branch. Ephraim W. Baker left a widow and two children, Frank A. Baker and Agnes Baker. A few years later the widow married Rev. Thos. W. Jones, of the Congregational church, and moved with the children to Saratoga Springs, N. Y., and

from there to Philadelphia, where Frank and Agnes were brought up by their mother and stepfather. Frank graduated at Princeton, and is now in the house of the Ridenour-Baker Grocery Company. Agnes married Dr. Harley Stacey, of Leavenworth, Kan., where she now resides. Alden A. Baker died in the autumn of 1903. He left a widow and one daughter, Stella, who lives with her mother in Kansas City.

The eldest brother, Harlow W. Baker, passed away after a very short illness, March 25, 1904. His widow, Caroline C. Baker, died June 20, 1905. Harlow W. left one child, Hattie Baker Munroe, the wife of J. A. Munroe, who lives in Omaha and is connected with the Union Pacific Railroad Company. The only one of the Baker brothers living is Edward P. Baker,² who lives in Topeka. His health failed five years ago, so he had to give up his active interest in the business, but still has his stock in the corporation. He has one daughter, Gertrude, who married Charles C. Conkle and lives in Denver.

P. D. Ridenour and Samuel Ridenour are the only original stockholders now active in the business. Many of the young men in the house are stockholders and do the active work. Samuel Ridenour has one son and one daughter living.

P. D. Ridenour has four children living. His eldest daughter, Kate L., married John C. Lester, who is connected with the Ridenour-Baker Grocery Company. His son, Edward M., who married Keziah White, is connected with the company. His daughter, Alice B., married Ernest A. Raymond, who is also connected with the company. His youngest daughter, Ethel B., lives at home with her parents in Kansas City.

After Harlow W. Baker passed away Mr. Ridenour said: "He and I have wrought together for forty-six years, through times that tried men's souls, and I never knew a better man than was Harlow W. Baker. I loved him with all the affection of a brother. In adversity, as well as in prosperity, he was always found true to duty. There is nothing connected with our long business career that makes me so proud as the fact that through all these years I do not remember of an unkind word passing between us. His brothers and my brother came into the business later, and I do not remember of ever having heard an unkind word between any two of the six associates in the business. So we have been one happy business family. This example of kind treatment has been enforced upon all employes. Long ago a rule was established that all employees in the office and the laboring men in the warehouse should be kind and gentlemanly to each other. A violation of the rule is ground for discharge. The young men have been advised in all their dealings to strictly live up to their agreements, and in cases of misunderstanding in a deal to settle it on the basis of right and to take no technical advantage. Our idea of a successful business life is that of a firm or company which has dealt fairly with all persons, has succeeded in building up a permanent, legitimate business, has contributed of means and time in bearing its share of the burdens of the community, has made a moderate competency for its families, and has been happy in the business."

When Ridenour & Baker moved their business from Lawrence to Kansas City they did not think it would be necessary for them to move their residences, but after trying it for about two years they found it necessary to

NOTE 2.—Mr. Edward P. Baker died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. C. C. Conkle, in Denver, April 22, 1903, and was buried in the Topeka cemetery by the side of his wife.

move to Kansas City, as there was only one train a day each way, and it was not possible for them to attend to business in Kansas City and live in Lawrence. When it came time to move, the thought of breaking up the dear associations in Lawrence was the hardest trial they had ever met. Their old neighbors, whom they had been with through so many trials and sufferings and sorrows as well as joys, were to them like brothers and sisters. Then they thought if they had known before they moved their business to Kansas City that it would lead to breaking up these associations they would have hesitated about taking the step. But after they moved the people of Kansas City were kind to them and their families, and they have spent more than a quarter of a century pleasantly there. Their old friends in Lawrence, however, are still dear to them, and many happy hours are enjoyed with them.

Ridenour & Baker never ceased to love Kansas, where they and their families had spent more than twenty years of the best part of their lives, and having been identified with the struggle of its brave and generous people to make it the prosperous and progressive commonwealth that it is, they have always felt that their removal from that blessed state was only temporary, and that when the work of their lives was done their bodies would rest in Kansas soil. The lives of these two families have been so closely and affectionately united it is only fit and proper that their remains should lie side by side.

In Kansas they were called R. & B., and when Oak Hill cemetery, at Lawrence, was laid out they bought a beautiful lot, and the deed was made to Ridenour & Baker. The stone posts marking the corners and the stone steps at the east end of the lot have the letters "R. & B." inscribed on each, and on the center of the lot stands a large block of New Hampshire granite on which to place the names of the members of these families as they shall pass away. The first two children of Mr. and Mrs. Ridenour, Carrie and Willie, who died in 1862; Mrs. Catherine O. Beatty, mother of Mrs. Ridenour and Mrs. Baker, and Harlow W. Baker and his wife, Caroline, are buried there, and there Mr. Peter D. Ridenour and Sarah, his wife, will be laid away.

Mr. Peter D. Ridenour is still living in Kansas City, one of the foremost and most successful merchants in that bustling town, being at the head of the Ridenour-Baker Grocery Company. He has always here, as in Lawrence, given liberally of his means and his time for every good work for the advancement of the city's interest. He has "lent a hand" to every enterprise, and like his partner, Mr. Baker, is one of those who are always to be depended upon for encouragement. Mr. Ridenour is what is known as a very strong man. He is possessed of a courage which has been tested under the most severe trials and has never been found wanting. He is a devout member of the Methodist Episcopal church. His life has been an open book, pure and blameless, and I do not think he has an enemy in the world; he certainly does not deserve to have one.

Kansas is a state which has passed through many changes—has seen its ups and downs. It is a historic state and Lawrence is its historic city; but no history of the state or of that city would be complete without a sketch of the lives of Peter D. Ridenour and Harlow W. Baker.

LIFE OF HARLOW W. BAKER.

HARLOW W. BAKER was born October 4, 1825, in the village of Moscow, Maine. He was the second son of Nathan and Lydia Baker. When he was about one year old his parents moved to the town of Bingham, two miles from Moscow, where they settled on a farm and spent the rest of their lives. His mother died in 1885, aged 86 years; his father died January 2, 1886, aged 90 years. Their children's names were Ephraim, Harlow W., Samuel W., George S., Alvah, Emily H., Alden A., Edward P., Ephraim W., and Julia B. They have all passed away, except Edward P., who lives in Topeka, Kan., and Julia B., whose name is now Bixby, and who lives in Los Angeles, Cal.

Harlow W. Baker spent his boyhood days on his father's farm. He only had such a school education as was to be obtained in the district school at Bingham, which in those days was very meagre. He seemed born with a thirst for knowledge, and persuaded his father to let him have the use of a little, cold, dark, unfurnished room in the hay-loft, known as the barn chamber, and that was his "study," as he called it, sacred to his pursuit of knowledge. He borrowed all the books and papers procurable from the people for miles around and managed to get a better education therefrom than many a lad extracts from his four years at college nowadays.

Several years of his boyhood were spent in doing any kind of work that would bring in a little money, which he put aside for a future education. Farm life was very distasteful to him. He worked in a hotel in a neighboring town for a while, and spent several winters "logging in the woods," as it is called in Maine; that is, cutting the logs and driving them down the river. He came as near losing his life one day while driving logs downstream as he did when Quantrill's men visited Lawrence. He was hit by a log and knocked off into the water, but an old man, long in the service and used to the current of the Kennebec river, saw him fall and caught him by his soft, woolen cap and enough hair from his head to raise him up out of the water and onto a near-by jam of logs.

He was often heard to say that if he could have obtained money enough in his early days for an education such as he desired he would have been a lawyer.

In 1852 he was seized with the California gold-mining fever, and went to California via the Isthmus of Panama. He worked in the placer mines on the Yuba river, where he succeeded in saving about \$3000, and returned to his native state in 1856.

In the spring of 1857 he came to Lawrence, Kan., and for a few months engaged in the grocery business with a man by the name of Hiram Holden. He sold his interest to his partner and returned to Maine the latter part of that year and married, in Bingham, Miss Sarah Blunt. Miss Blunt was born in Bingham in 1835. Harlow W. Baker took his bride to Lawrence, Kan., in the spring of 1858. They stopped at the Whitney House, where they met Mr. and Mrs. Ridenour, and a few weeks later Mr. Baker and Mr. Ridenour formed a copartnership and engaged in the grocery business.

On January 11, 1859, their daughter, Harriet Frances, was born. On March 8, 1859, Mrs. Baker died. Mr. Baker took the remains to Bingham, Me., for burial, taking his infant daughter to his mother's house. She re-

mained with her grandmother until she was about fourteen years old. Mr. Baker returned to Lawrence and resumed his business. Miss Caroline C. Beatty visited her sister, Mrs. Ridenour, in 1861. Mr. Baker became acquainted with her and married her in Xenia, Ohio, on January, 8, 1863. They went to board at Doctor Griswold's, where they were at the time of the Quantrill raid.

A few years afterward Mr. Baker bought from Governor Robinson about two acres on the east slope of Mount Oread, adjoining the State University campus on the east. On this ground was Governor Robinson's original claim building, a very small one-story stone house. They lived in this little house two or three years, then built a large brick house and beautified the grounds with shade-trees and shrubbery. His daughter Hattie returned from Maine and lived with her father and stepmother until her marriage to John A. Munroe, January 18, 1888.

When Mr. Baker decided to move to Kansas City he sold this place to the late Mr. B. W. Woodward. Mrs. Woodward now owns and occupies the place. When Mr. Baker moved to Kansas City he rented a house on Jefferson street, where he lived two or three years. Then they moved to the Coates House, which was their home for about twenty-two years, and Mr. Baker died there March 25, 1904. Mrs. Baker died at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ridenour, June 20, 1905.

The story of his life is interwoven with that of P. D. Ridenour in the sketch of his life and the history of the firm of Ridenour & Baker. He was one of the grandest men I ever knew—one of "nature's noblemen"; one of the kindest and bravest, gentle and quiet in his manner, though firm and never wanting in courage, both moral and physical, when occasion required. He was a member of the Congregational church, and as long as he lived in Lawrence he stood at the door of the sanctuary to welcome those who came to worship there. He was generous to all public and private charities, and gave with an open hand to those who came to him for help.

With his wife he traveled extensively and added to his stock of knowledge, increasing the breadth of his views, which were never narrow. At his death, which occurred suddenly, he left a large and honestly earned fortune to his widow, and she in turn has bequeathed a considerable part of this to charity, which disposition is in accord with the well-known sentiments of her husband.

The lives of many great men of ancient and modern times have been written; those of the military heroes, the explorers of the forest, and the navigators of the trackless and unknown seas, the scientists whose discoveries have blessed humanity, the statesmen whose wisdom has promoted the betterment of the condition of the world; but I know of no more fitting subject for the people of Kansas to consider, no higher example for the coming generation there to imitate, than the lives of the two pioneer merchants of Lawrence, Peter D. Ridenour and Harlow W. Baker. There is in them a lesson well taught—that character is the best foundation for credit, and that credit is the corner-stone of business.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY DAYS IN OTTAWA COUNTY.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by MRS. EMILY HAINES HARRISON.¹

MY name is Emily Haines Harrison. I came to Kansas in June, 1866, from Logan, Ohio, in company with Dr. John McClintock and his family. We came up from Kansas City on the Union Pacific railroad to Topeka. My nephew, Henry H. Tucker, and my son, Waldo W. Haines, went on in search of a homestead, and I remained at Topeka for about four weeks, staying with the family of George W. Herron. My son then returned with a team and we went west, stopping at St. Marys, then an Indian mission, and at Junction City, where I had a talk with the receiver of the land-office, S. D. Houston, who told me that my destination, the southwest corner of Ottawa county, was a wild place, no women, nothing but soldiers, and seemed to think I would find it uncongenial. I told him I was accustomed to soldiers, having spent the last four years of the war with them, and we went on. Mr. Tucker had taken a claim where the town of Tescott, Ottawa county, now stands, on the north bank of the Saline river. Here he erected a one-story cabin of driftwood, mostly cottonwood, which he found in huge drifts at every bend in this very crooked stream. He cut green cottonwood branches and laid them from the ridge-pole to the walls, covered them with cottonwood brush, and piled on the earth. We moved in at once.



MRS. EMILY HAINES HARRISON.

I had brought with me all my little keepsakes, and these and the little

NOTE 1.—Mrs. Emily Haines Harrison was born in Windsor, Vt., October 21, 1825. Her parents were Waldo Tucker, a Scotchman, and Lydia Ginny. She was the youngest of eleven children. Her great, great grandfather was the captain of some water craft and was drowned. He was one of the Mohawks who emptied the tea in Boston harbor, some of which fell out of his hob-nail shoes on his return from the tea party, and was saved in a bottle as a relic. Her mother, Lydia Ginny, was born on Dorchester Heights. The mother of Lydia rocked her cradle and molded bullets for her husband, Job Ginny, who was in the Revolutionary war. Mrs. Harrison's father was in the War of 1812, and her brother, S. W. Tucker, was captain of a company in the war with Mexico. Emily C. Tucker was married to William Henry Haines in 1848. He served as a lieutenant in the Mexican war. By this union she had one son, William Waldo Haines, now of Wichita. Following the example set before her, as there were no brothers left to take part in the war for the Union, she offered her services as a nurse. Her army certificate shows that she served in the medical department of the United States army from 1861 to 1865. Before coming to Kansas her home was at Logan, Ohio, where she had been acquainted before the war with the Shermans, who lived at Lancaster, to the northwest of Logan, and with the Sheridans, whose home was at Somerset, in Perry county. In 1897 Mrs. Harrison was given the Red Cross by Clara Barton, and she has been president of the Kansas branch of the National Army Nurses Association since 1903. Her home is at Ellsworth.

luxurious appointments which I had foolishly brought were placed about to adorn our rough habitation. Then a heavy rain came, ran through the loose earth with which the roof was covered, and poured in rivulets over my furnishings, and rained mud three days after the sky was bright without. By that time my keepsakes were ruined and the earth firmly packed on the roof, so that we had little trouble of that kind again. I remember of frying pancakes on my stove while Mr. Tucker held the umbrella over me and the stove. My temper became nearly spoiled that summer. If I had had a husband he certainly would have had just cause for separation because of the incompatibility of my temper. In the fall a man who had taken a claim just south of my nephew's abandoned it. At the first opportunity I jumped the claim. Then, as we had nothing to make us comfortable on the homestead, we all went down to Salina to spend the winter. I rented a two-roomed log house, quite a conspicuous residence for that time, and my boys stayed with me.

Towards spring Mrs. W. A. Phillips decided that she would like to go on to Washington before the close of the last session of Congress, and asked me to take care of her children while she was absent. I did so, going up to her house, and remained there until April, when Grandma Phillips came to stay with the children until their mother's return. Yes, I know about the death of John Phillips. He was the oldest son of Colonel Phillips, a very fearless boy of about twelve. Thanksgiving day, 1867, was a very bright and mild day. The men all went out buffalo hunting. John went, taking his father's war horse. The blizzard came on in the evening. It is supposed that the horse became unmanageable, and that John, already overcome with cold, fell from his back when crossing a dry branch. The horse seems to have turned there and come home. As soon as his absence was known hunting parties at once began the search, but it was two weeks later that a party of Kaw Indians found the body. Thanksgiving night Colonel Phillips was attending some kind of social gathering in Washington, when he had a vision of John. He left the place at once and returned home. That night Grandmother Phillips said to John's mother, "I think we had better fix a place in the parlor to lay John." The mother said, "He is not dead!" "Yes," said grandmother, "I have had a message."

It was either the 8th or 12th of April when I set out to return to my claim in Ottawa county. Mrs. T. E. Skinner, mother of Everett T. Skinner,² at present member of the house of representatives, was with me. She had come to Salina for supplies, and learning that I, her nearest neighbor was in town, looked me up, so I decided to return with her. We stopped at night with a Mr. Fisher. It rained during our first day's journey and finally turned into a late snow-storm, and the ground was soon covered with a heavy fall of snow. Eighteen soldiers from Fort Harker were in the neighborhood for hay, and spent the night in the same dugout. It had two rooms. The soldiers spread hay over the floor of the inner room, and slept on that. Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Skinner and myself slept on a narrow bed in the outer room. As I was the smallest they put me in the middle. The next morning, our ways from this point diverging, Mrs. Skinner continued on the journey in her own wagon, and I, not caring to tarry until our wagon could be brought

NOTE 2.—I was too young to recollect many of the events recorded at so early a date. My mother, Mrs. T. E. Skinner, taught the first school in Lincoln county in a little dugout on the Saline river, December, 1866, to April, 1867, the pupils being her three boys, Bing, Everton, and Alfred; also, Eli and Frank Zeigler.—E. T. Skinner, Topeka, February, 1905.

for me, and receiving an invitation from one of the soldiers, mounted behind him on his horse, my arms encircling his waist, and was carried a distance of three miles or more to my cabin. Here I commenced housekeeping with my son, who had put things in readiness at our own claim. The house was built of hewed logs, the roof like my nephew's, only it was well packed. I had a cook-stove, having brought it all the way from Cincinnati with me. My neighbors all cooked on fireplaces, and considered a stove a useless luxury.

Table Rock creek lay south of my claim. The stream was a dry bed most of the year. When a heavy rain fell or snow melted, the banks would be full. On the south side of Table Rock creek, in Lincoln county, possibly three miles west of me, on the second bench of land, was Table Rock, a natural formation of red sandstone, standing perhaps twenty feet above the surface of the ground, with a broad flat rock capping it, I suppose of the same material, with grass and cactus growing upon it. This rock stood on more elevated ground than the surrounding country, and I used to go up there to its base, where I could look in all directions as far as the eye could reach. It was between my place and T. E. Skinner's farm. There were inscriptions made on this rock by campers. It was said that Fremont's party's names were on the rock. I once wrote an account of Table Rock for the *Mail and Breeze*, which was published. Soon after an article denying its existence was published by some indignant citizen of that locality. I wrote to my nephew to find what could be meant by such a statement. He visited the place and found that the rock had been blown up by some one having no respect for natural curiosities. I have since been comforted to find that the State Board of Agriculture illustrated a geological article written by Prof. B. F. Mudge with a picture of this identical rock.³

Catfish were very plentiful in the Saline when we settled on that stream. We could set a pole with baited hook on the river margin and go on about our work. One day I heard a splurging in the river and ran down to see what could be on the line. The rod was nearly jerked from its place. I caught and tried to hold it, but while I was doubled up trying to hold the rod down I was pulled in. Grabbing the willows I extricated myself, but not until my clothes were badly drabbled. Thinking that the fish had turned the tables on me and was fishing for me, I let go the pole and he swam off with it. The boys made great fun of me, but a day or two later I heard another great splashing in the water and went down again. There came the fish up-stream towing my pole and making a great splashing as the pole swung back and forwards. He evidently could not get rid of the pole. I made Tucker wade in and bring him out. The fish was nearly two feet long.

When I first came, the year before, my nearest neighbors were the Tripps. They were frontier born and bred. So far as I know there was then no other woman within fifteen miles of me. The Tripps had come into possession of a two-roomed, well-built cabin, built and occupied by Jas. R. Mead, and purchased of him on his removal to Butler county, in 1863.⁴ Tripp,

NOTE 3.—First Biennial Report State Board of Agriculture, 1877-'78, p. 68.

NOTE 4.—

WICHITA, KAN., August 2, 1908.

Secretary Martin: Yes, I built that hewed-log house and fireplace, also cabins, corrals, etc. The premises described was my ranch, a mile or two east of the present town of Tescott, and about fifteen miles west of Salina. It was at that time the most suitable, beautiful and sheltered site on the Saline river. In the fall of 1859 I had built an ordinary log cabin, corral, etc., and that was my hunting headquarters, being in the midst of the buffalo and other game. The next year I built a hewed-log house of one and one-half stories, shingle roof, split in the near-by timber, of

being too lazy to chop wood, knocked out a stone in the back of the fireplace and thrust a log through into the fire. When the end was burned off he went out and pushed it further in. The chimney was capacious. A crane was hung in it, upon which a haunch of venison or huge piece of buffalo could be suspended. When a meal was needed the crane would be swung so that the meat would be over the fire. When the lowest or exposed surface was cooked, a slice would be cut off, and the meat swung off to cool again. Mrs. Tripp believed in having everything convenient.

In the summer of 1866 Mr. Tripp paid me thirty dollars to teach his two youngest children, Emma, ten, and Sarah, eight. That was the first school held on the river. Before state school funds could be secured a school had to be taught in the district, so my school was considered to have been the first public school in that district in Ottawa county. The little girls wore only their short calico dresses and a sunbonnet each. They were full of the life of the prairies; acquainted with all the little animals of the country. At recess they would beg to be allowed to go and play with the rattlesnakes. On speaking to their mother about it she said, "O yes, let them go. The snakes won't hurt them." While in my cabin at their lessons one day they saw a skunk coming up the path towards the house, and were anxious at once to kill him. I tried to prevent them, but they were sure their mother would not care. So, being not unwilling to witness the sport myself, I said, "Well, go ahead and kill your skunk." It was quite a large one. They each seized a buffalo rib and ran down the hill towards it. The skunk fled, but finding they were overtaking it, the animal turned about, as if to chase them, and they, having some respect for his weapon, retreated, when the skunk again went on his way. But they pursued, and after several similar maneuvers, finally killed the animal, being much worsted themselves. I sent them home, not liking the smell of their clothes. The next day they returned, their mother having washed out their dresses, which still had some odor of the fray. The mother was not at all displeased with the episode; said she wanted the skunks killed, for they killed her chickens.

Mrs. Tripp had a son commonly called Polk. Later, when he ran for sheriff of Ottawa county, he announced himself as Woodville Tripp. The boys laughed at him, and said he would never be anything else but Polk, and he was elected by that name.

I was a guest of the Tripps many times, and they always treated me with respect. There was nothing bad about the old man; his voice was pleasant and gentle. Their table was made of two cottonwood boards laid across wooden horses. At my first meal they had a piece of buffalo meat and corn bread. Our plates were pie-pans. The meat sat near Mr. Tripp's end of the table, the corn bread toward the center. I sat furthest from the food. Mr. Tripp said to me, "Sit up and help yourself." Mrs. Tripp, seeing my

oak. The floors were of lumber hauled from Junction City or farther east. With my own hands I built a large fireplace and chimney of stone laid in adobe mortar. In December, 1861, I married and took my wife to the ranch, also brought up a family to live in the cabin for company and to aid in our work. In the fall of 1862 the Indians became so threatening, scouting and war parties of Cheyennes bothering us, that we moved to Salina for safety, and in the spring of 1863 I sold the ranch to a Mr. Tripp. The guerrillas from the mountains who captured Salina camped a couple of days at my ranch after I had abandoned it before striking Salina. In those years the banks of the Saline were lined with big cottonwood trees, and in the bends were groves of oak timber. Not a tree was growing in the valleys and hills. The places I selected for my hunting and trading ranches seemed good places for towns. Tescott was built near my first ranch on the Saline. Towanda was built on the site of my ranch on the Whitewater, in Butler county. Wichita was built on the site of one of my trading stations. I also had trading and hunting cabins at Clearwater and at Pond Creek in Indian and buffalo days.

J. R. MEAD.

predicament, said, "You old fool, you've got everything to your end of the table. How do you expect she can help herself?" At another meal Mrs. Tripp made one more effort at civilization, and had spread some white muslin over the boards for a cloth. The old man noticed the cloth, passed his hand gently over the edge of it, and finally bent down and wiped his mouth off on it. Sarah was disturbed. "Why, papa, what do you mean by wiping your face on that cloth?" He was surprised, and replied, "Why, what is this thing for, anyway?"

Sarah was a beautiful bareback rider. As there were no fences, the farmers had to picket their animals or hire them herded. Mr. Tripp kept the herd of perhaps forty animals, and Sarah herded them. She could ride any horse she was put on before she was big enough to mount without help. She rode bareback with a surcingle, her head in a big sunbonnet, and her tiny little legs standing out like little sticks on either side of the horse. One of the farmers had a fine blooded animal in the herd. Sarah rode any and all, and thinking to make a little money on the side, rode over to see the owner of the horse. "What'll you give me to break your horse," she inquired. "Give you! Why, I don't want him broken." "You don't? Why, I've half broken him already." The irate owner went at once and took his horse out of the herd.

The Tripp children were bright, and Sarah later went down to Salina to school. While there an equestrian craze went over the country. The Saline County Fair Association offered a big prize for the best woman rider. Sarah's friends made her a riding-habit, and though she was hampered by the unusual togging, she won the race over all competitors. Having received the award, she asked of the judges a favor; to allow her an exhibition of riding her own horse in her own way. It was granted. Her horse, with bridle and surcingle only, was brought around. She discarded the riding-skirt, and proceeded to give the delighted audience a marvelous bareback performance. It is possible that her husband met her on this occasion. He was a cultivated young man, visiting his relatives there, and saw and married her. He took Sarah back to his home in Ohio, and tried to civilize her. She had two children, but the life was distasteful. They separated, and she became a bareback rider in a circus. Her children were educated by their father, but I think that one or both have since become theatrical performers.

There were two older daughters of Mr. Tripp, who were married before I knew him. One is the wife of Mr. Coldwell, and now lives at Culver, Ottawa county. Polk, after serving his term as sheriff of Ottawa county, went to Washington territory, where he died. He had married a civilized white girl in Kansas, but after living with him two years she returned to her father's home. I do not know that he tried matrimony in Washington. He seemed to be an honest, well-intentioned man.

One morning about the first of June, 1867, we noticed that the Saline river, upon the banks of which our cabin was built, was rising rapidly, and as no rain had fallen in our vicinity we decided that the water came from melting snows in Colorado or heavy rains in western Kansas. I wanted to abandon the house, but my son called my attention to the trees on the banks of the stream, saying we could see from them there was no danger; they had withstood all freshets. My fears were calmed. By evening the water had raised from between fifteen to twenty feet, and was on a level with our

cabin floor. It kept raising in the night and we took refuge on the roof, where I lay awake gazing at the stars until morning. At daybreak Waldo took the horse, which had been lariatied to the corner of the house, and reconnoitered. Our place, situated at the junction of the Saline and Table Rock creek, between the two streams, was covered to a depth of nearly two feet. For miles, it seemed to me, was an expanse of water. Waldo returned; I climbed onto the horse, astride, my arms clasping the horse's neck, my skirts wrapped as closely about me as possible, and my feet held up to avoid the water. Waldo led the horse perhaps a half-mile north to the former crossing of the Saline. There we could see the people on the further bank. Near the crossing had been an enormous cottonwood tree. This was now partially washed out, had fallen into the stream, and, clinging by some of the roots, was tossed slowly backward and forward by the current. This was the only landing visible, and I climbed from my horse to this foothold. Then I stood up and called to the people on the further bank. They were soon attracted by our cries, and called repeatedly to me to "hold on." They afterwards said they thought I was floating down-stream on the log. The men were soon at my side with a skiff, and I was safe on the north side of the Saline. My son came across in the same manner, and the horse, turned loose, swam over. We stayed a couple of days with our rescuers, and then returned to our cabin, the floor ankle deep in mud.

Our attempt at crop and garden was washed out by the flood. The drought followed, and after the drought came the grasshoppers of 1867. They covered the earth and stripped the prairies of everything green, including the leaves of the cottonwoods on the river bank. Food was costly in those days. I paid ten cents a pound for salt, seventy-five cents for poor butter—hard to get at that price. I sold my watch for sixty dollars and bought a Texas cow. My son and nephew being absent, the duty of milking devolved upon me, a novice. I took a pan and tin cup, and approached the cow in a conciliatory manner. She licked my hands, listened to my soothing words, and allowed me to milk. She licked my slat sunbonnet during the process, and always did thereafter, as she might have done her sucking calf. When she dried up I sold her. It was not until then that I learned that she had never allowed a human being to touch her before I made the attempt, and no one was able to come near her after she left me. She was finally killed by lightning. That year I bought a yoke of work oxen for \$100, and a mare, Molly, half Indian pony, a beautiful animal, for \$120. Her colt I sold the next year, when it was weaned, for \$100. In the spring of 1868 I put in a crop, but raised nothing.

Early in August the Indian raids commenced in our county. I was acquainted with most of the women—Mrs. Alderdice and family, Mrs. Morgan and Miss White. Mrs. Morgan and Miss White were recovered in the Indian Territory in March, 1868, having been carried off the previous October. Mrs. Morgan's story is a pitiful one. Both women were dreadfully abused at the hands of the Indians. But Miss White, on her return, took it as an awful incident well over, made a little income from rehearsing her story to interested writers, sold her photograph, married a good man, and let time haze her memory. When they returned to their homes they were besought by newspaper men and book writers to give an account of their experiences, and furnish their portraits for publication. This Mrs. Morgan refused to do. She never told any one what befell her while with the Indians. She

considered it a disgrace, and that a relation of it only added to the infamy. Her brother, Mr. Brewster, felt as she did. Mrs. Morgan was a beautiful woman, yellow hair, blue eyes, and a lovely complexion. She lived for some years, but her mind gradually failed, and I was told she died in an asylum—I have supposed a Kansas asylum—only a few years ago.

The Indian raids at last moved the government to do something in defense of our frontier. Col. Geo. A. Forsyth raised a company of frontiersmen from our locality, most of the men having been soldiers in the Rebellion, and went on the Indian expedition which terminated in the fight at Beecher's Island, on the Arickaree branch of the Republican, in northeastern Colorado, September 17-19, 1868.⁴ My nephew, Henry H. Tucker,⁵ was one of these men. The bone of his left arm was shattered in that fight, and as it was two weeks before it was attended to, he never afterward had the use of it. The thumb and index-finger of the right hand were also ruined. After being cared for at Fort Wallace for a time he came down to Salina, where I looked after him until his wounds were healed.

It was learned very soon after my arrival in Ottawa county that I had been an army nurse. As there was no doctor in the country, my services were always in demand as midwife, or for any other case beyond the knowledge of the family of the sufferer. This took me frequently from home, and enlarged my acquaintance with the people all over that section. At this time, in the early fall, on my return from such an errand, I would sometimes find my cabin empty, my son being engaged with other neighbors on the lookout for marauding Indians. I remember one night, having nothing to protect myself with, I brought the pitchfork in and stood it up by my bed, then laid down and slept until broad daylight. I recall with what surprise I found both myself and pitchfork there safe and sound the next morning. How I could have forgotten my fright in sleep was a surprise to my neighbors, and was probably so to myself.

About the first of September a young man by the name of Schermerhorn came for me to go to his brother's wife, Mrs. Alonzo Schermerhorn. I had agreed to care for her when called, and so went along, asking no questions. When within a short distance of Schermerhorn's ranch I heard firing, and inquired what was the occasion. The young man said: "The Indians have attacked the blockhouse above here, and we have sent to Fort Harker for the troops." It was too late to turn back then if I had cared to. Mr. Schermerhorn met me at the door. When he handed me out he said, "Mrs. Haines, my wife's life depends upon you; I know you have no fear. I will put the bed in the wagon and take my wife away, if you say so." I went in and looked at her, and told him her condition did not admit of her being moved. "Well," he said, "if the Indians come down upon us and the worst comes, I will kill my wife." I remonstrated at such talk just then. He replied, "Wouldn't you rather die than fall into the hands of the Indians?"

NOTE 4.—A photograph of the monument erected by the states of Kansas and Colorado to commemorate the battle of Arickaree, fought September 17-19, 1868, with accompanying explanation, is printed in volume 9, *Kansas Historical Collections*. Col. Geo. A. Forsyth's account of this battle is published in *Harper's Monthly* for July, 1895.

NOTE 5.—Mr. Tucker's death occurred on his farm near Roosevelt, Oklahoma, March 6, 1908, at the age of 67. Besides his service as a frontier Indian fighter in Kansas, Mr. Tucker served in the Rebellion as a member of Co. G, 20th Ohio vol. inf., and was mustered out with the company August 28, 1861. He afterwards served as first lieutenant in Co. B, 143 Illinois volunteers, and was mustered out September 26, 1864. In the spring of 1869 he acted as a courier, informing the settlers on the upper Saline of an Indian invasion. His son, H. H. Tucker, jr., is the secretary and treasurer of the Uncle Sam Oil Company.

I said "Yes; but there is no need of talking about that. The troops will likely be here in time." We went in. He loaded two pistols and placed them with a bowie-knife on a chair near the bedside. His wife, a girl of sixteen, watched these preparations. He told her there would be no danger so long as I seemed cool. It seemed to me as though she never took her eyes off me. Mr. Schermerhorn stood with his loaded gun at a four-paned window facing toward the besieged blockhouse, which was about a mile distant. The troops would come from the same direction. The young woman's mother was there also. I have no recollection of her saying anything. I have never been able to recall any incidents of the two hours before the troops came, except that when the child was born I tore a strip from the string of the white apron I wore, tied the cord and cut it with the bowie-knife. When the troops came like the wind from the direction of Fort Harker the Indians fled. The tension being over I fainted away, there being nothing further for me to do. They thought they would never bring me to. When I did revive, General Sulley, a white-haired man, was standing near the couch. He asked me if I had been hurt. I told him, "No; I have been scared to death." This was a vagabond body of Indians, perhaps 400 in all, which had stayed behind when the soldiers were chasing the main body met at the Arickaree.

Colonel Benteen led the troops which came to our rescue from Fort Harker. They were colored men, part of the Tenth cavalry. They did not give chase to the fleeing Indians, but were ordered to camp there at the blockhouse. General Sulley followed in an ambulance and camped with the troops, making that point his headquarters. The people were ordered to camp around Schermerhorn's.

A call was made for a scout or messenger to go to a squad of the Tenth Colored cavalry camped at the Great Spirit springs. My son Waldo volunteered, and was sent on this duty. He was absent about two weeks. The troops at that point were out of food, and were obliged to hunt in the neighborhood. While he was there they had a skirmish with a small body of Indians in which one of the latter was killed. My son's report of the burial was that "they sent him head first to the happy hunting-grounds by the way of the Great Spirit springs." When the spring was finally cleared out, in later years, the remains of a human skeleton were found in it. My son said he had no doubt that it was the Indian whose moccasin stuck out as he saw him go head first into the waters of the spring. I was sick for about two weeks. When my son got back I was well enough to be taken in a wagon to Salina, where I stayed with Mother Bickerdyke. I lay sick there a good while. Mr. Alonzo Schermerhorn, I understand, still lives in the neighborhood of Ogden. This first baby lived only about six weeks. It seemed to be frightened from the first, and its eyes were always moving as though looking for something.

That fall Governor Crawford came up on the Saline and Solomon to look over the country and see the damage the Indians had done. He said some one ought to come down to the capital and see what could be raised for the destitute settlers. I seemed to be the only one who had a general knowledge of the state of affairs, or could go, and I went. Governor Crawford told me to wear my best clothes, to go to the best hotel and talk for the people; to say nothing about my own hardships. I think I must have made that trip in October, for Governor Crawford was in his office at Topeka. I remember

it rained while I was there, for pools of water stood on the floor of the governor's office. I went to the Tefft house. A Mrs. Greer had come with me from Salina and looked after me. I went to bed. Arrangements were made for a meeting in the Methodist church. Mrs. Greer came and got me up, and took me to the church. I went upon the platform with the others, but when I went to make my talk I fainted away. The meeting went on without my aid. John Ritchie was appointed to take charge of the matter of raising relief goods. Two cars were loaded with food and clothing, and I returned with them to Salina. I think an announcement was made at church Sunday of the relief meeting, and I believe our meeting was called in the afternoon.⁶

I later made a second trip to Topeka, Lawrence, and Atchison, in search of relief. This time ex-Senator Thos. H. Baker, of Irving, Marshall county, managed the solicitation of aid, and Governor Green occupied the chair of the executive. At Lawrence I was obliged to go to bed again, and the doctor said I needed rest, and proceeded to give me something which made me lie flat on my back and still, until the goods were raised. The third time I came down I went to Leavenworth with a little German girl. I had a pass then, and Mike Sheridan met me on the train on his way to Leavenworth. He wanted to give her in charge of a woman, so gladly turned her over to me. She had been ransomed from the Indians at Medicine Lodge, and had been taken by the troops to Fort Harker. She would not talk to the men, and had been dumb to all their attempts to elicit any information. After a short time with me she became as talkative as any child of her age with an old friend. She said that the Indians at Medicine Lodge had her mother's and sister's scalp-locks. I asked her how she knew that. She said: "Mamma's hair was yellow and sister's too, and I saw the Indians kill them." They tomahawked her sister. The baby cried and they killed it, and then they killed her mother. I think her father was on a scout away from home when his family was captured.

Finding that I was unable to care for myself, I accepted the offer of

NOTE 6.—"Mrs. Haines and Mrs. Doctor Greer, from the upper Saline river, came into town on Thursday to ask our people for clothing and food to enable the settlers in that section of the state to live through the winter. It is known to our citizens that owing to the drought in that locality the crops were very light. What little was raised was destroyed by the grasshoppers and the Indians. Not only did the Indians destroy what little crops were raised, but killed and drove off the stock of the settlers, leaving them entirely destitute of the means of living. They are in the same situation that nearly the whole state was in in 1860. The eastern portion of the state has had good crops and our people in the main have been blessed with prosperity. If these people are not helped they will be forced to leave, which will bring the 'frontier' much further east than it is."—*Topeka State Record*, October 17, 1868.

"The meeting at the Methodist church called for last Sunday to devise measures to collect food, etc., for the sufferers on the upper Saline river was well attended. Rev. Mr. Leak was called to the chair, and F. P. Baker appointed secretary. Mr. Leak stated the objects of the meeting, and Mrs. Haines, from Salina, gave an affecting account of the needy condition of the people. They were without food, clothing, bedclothes, crockery, and had but little shelter. In answer to the question how the articles gathered were to be distributed, she said she was personally acquainted with every family and its needs, and that she would make the division here, and put up in separate packages what she designed for each family. The city was divided into sixteen districts, and a committee of ladies appointed to solicit. The committee are as follows: Mrs. Swallow, Mrs. Baldwin, Mrs. Ogden, Mrs. Clarkson, Mrs. J. C. Miller, Mrs. S. Gordon, Mrs. H. W. Farnsworth, Mrs. Baittey, Mrs. Bliss, Mrs. Howard, Mrs. J. M. Spencer, Mrs. Osterhout, Mrs. T. J. Anderson, Mrs. Mileham, Mrs. M. Anderson. General Ritchie was appointed chairman of the committee and H. W. Farnsworth treasurer. Mr. J. C. Miller and Mr. Platt were appointed a committee to solicit vegetables, corn, etc., from farmers. The committee were to collect all it was possible to ship this morning, as a telegram was received from Salina saying that their necessities were great."—*Record*, October 20, 1868.

As a result of this meeting the sum of \$174.60 was collected, of which Mrs. T. J. Anderson collected \$99. She also reported the gift of new goods worth \$60. Mrs. Haines and Mrs. Greer, after allotting the goods, reported that there were sufficient to make all comfortable for the winter, though more food was needed, and an effort was made to load one or two cars from the farms in the neighborhood of Topeka.

Judge William Harrison, of El Dorado, to care for me. I married him and returned with him to his home in El Dorado, where I lived for over twenty years. He died suddenly at the residence of his daughter, near Augusta, where he was visiting, May 1, 1890. I met Judge Harrison at Topeka, in April, 1866, during my first month in Kansas. He was in attendance upon a grand jury, and we had kept up a correspondence.

GEORGE MONTAGUE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by GEORGE W. MONTAGUE, of Arlington, Ore.

MY father, George Montague, was born in New Jersey in 1810, served an apprenticeship of seven years at the cabinet-maker's trade, and then went to Philadelphia, Pa., where he entered school and completed his education. He was married to Miss Jane Jones on the 14th day of February, 1830, by Rev. Nicholas O'Donald, and soon after marriage moved to Pittsburg, Pa. Here their first child was born, and they called him John Bradley Montague.

They next moved to Louisville, Ky., and not finding work at his trade he went to work in a soap and candle factory and continued at that business until he learned the trade, and then moved to Maysville, Ky., where he set up a factory for himself and did a very large business. Here he also dealt in ice, and was one of the city council. At Maysville several more children were born, including the writer. He remained there until 1843, when he sold out and moved to Iowa, settling in Van Buren county, which county he represented in the first Iowa state legislature, serving for the years 1846 and 1848, two sessions. While in Iowa he bought and sold several farms. He was also a justice of the peace in Van Buren county. During the gold excitement in California in 1849 he hitched up two yoke of oxen to a linchpin wagon and in company with two brothers, Obadiah and Austin Akers, crossed the then almost trackless plains to that state in search of the precious metal, being gone on that trip three years, enduring all kinds of hardships, and returning to Iowa in 1852, broken down in health and not rich in pocketbook.

In the spring of 1855, Mr. Montague again hitched up two yoke of oxen, tied a cow behind the wagon, and with his family started for Kansas, crossing the Missouri river at Weston and arriving at Leavenworth in the latter part of June without incident, excepting that one night he accidentally lost his pocketbook, and after a long hunt next morning concluded to rake over the ashes of the camp fire, and found the gold and silver very black but not seriously injured.

Leavenworth was then a very small town. He was offered a claim of 160 acres in what is now (1905) the center of the business portion of that city, for seventy-five dollars, but he had no idea of stopping short of Fort Riley; and, having letters of recommendation from A. C. Dodge and Doctor Leib to Dr. William A. Hammond and some other officers at Fort Riley, he proceeded on his way and arrived at Pawnee City on the 1st of July, 1855. The next day the territorial legislature met in the building¹ that had been pre-

NOTE 1.—In response to an inquiry, George W. Knapp, of Kansas City, Kan., who was a settler in the old town of Pawnee, writes: "Replying to yours of March 14, 1908, will say: As near as I remember, that building was about 140 or 150 feet from the river bank, as the military road

pared for that purpose. The rest of the inhabitants were camping in tents or small shacks that had been put up in great haste. Here was to be the capital of the new state, and all was excitement and hurry, which lasted only a short time, for on the 6th of July the legislature pulled up stakes and moved to Shawnee Mission.

After securing a contract for burning the lime for the construction of the buildings at Fort Riley, and having made the acquaintance, among others, of two men named Mott and McCoy, who had staked out claims on the Republican river, and who directed us to where we could also find a suitable location, we started on the morning of the 7th of July and followed their directions, which were to cross the Republican river one mile from the fort, then turn to the right and proceed up the south bank of the river until we came to a strip of timber, five miles from the fort, known as the Five-mile timber. We could see a large, rocky bluff about two miles away, and must go straight to that and keep along the bluff one mile farther and we would come to Mr. Mott's claim; the next claim was to be ours, and Mr. McCoy's would join us on the west. After traveling as directed, with grass up to our wagon-box and sometimes much higher, we finally arrived at our destination, pitched our tents in the high grass, and were the first family that had ever settled on the Republican river. The family now consisted of my parents and their four boys, the oldest, John B., having gone to California the year before.

It will be remembered that we had no road of any kind after crossing the Republican river. And now I must describe this beautiful country as we found it. The river-bottom land was from a half to a mile wide, covered with a luxuriant growth of bluestem grass and some other kinds, all of which made the very finest kind of hay; the banks were skirted with timber, mostly cottonwood, but where small creeks emptied into the river there were many kinds of good timber, such as walnut, several kinds of oak, red and white elm, hackberry, locust, coffee-bean, mulberry, ash, hickory, sycamore, willow, and also wild plums and cherries. Wild game was abundant; in fact, this was surely a hunter's paradise, if there ever was one, for this was in the days when the buffalo roamed over the plains, and they were here in endless numbers; in fact I have seen the plains black with them as far as the eye could reach, and from this source we supplied ourselves with meat for the winter for a number of years. We killed one on our ranch and William H. Mackey, sr.,² killed one a mile east of our place, and four or five miles distant we could find the main herd, either in the springtime or in the fall, for they were a migrating animal, going south in the fall and returning north in the spring. But buffalo was not the only kind of game, for the deer ran in bands of ten or fifteen together, and antelope were seen in herds of as many as 500 together. Elk were not so plentiful, but the

ran between the building and the river at that time. The current of the river struck the bank somewhat above the building at that time, but building the steamboat landing diverted the current at that place. But I suppose all trace of that landing has been washed away long ago. Of course, you know that building was not built for a state-house, but was built by the town company for a warehouse." In April, 1908, the walls of this old capitol, still standing, were fully repaired; missing stones, doors, and window-sills and caps replaced, all cracks filled with cement, and a coat of cement-plaster placed on the entire inside of the walls, and the walls covered with a coat of cement to keep off the storms. Suitable signs were placed on the building, and vines planted about it. The cost was about \$400, and the fund was raised by \$5 subscriptions from all parts of the state, through the efforts of Col. Samuel F. Woolard, of Wichita. The river is now within forty or fifty feet of the building, but it is deemed safe for many years.

NOTE 2.—See "Reminiscences of William H. Mackey, sr.," elsewhere in this volume. Mr. Mackey died at Junction City February 26, 1908, at 8:05 P. M.

country swarmed with wild turkeys, and prairie-chickens were in great abundance, also bob-white quails, and plenty of squirrels, with wild geese and ducks and other water-fowl in their season. In the rivers there was an abundance of the finest fish I ever saw in my life, such as catfish from 10 to 100 pounds in weight, buffalo-fish weighing from 10 to 20 pounds, and many other varieties.

So here was a fine place to live if a person was fond of a wild and lonely life. But we did not have much time to get lonely, and only hunted when we needed meat. The first work we did was to dig a lime-kiln large enough to hold 500 bushels of lime; then we chopped the wood, quarried the rock, filled and burned the kiln, and the government sent out six-mule teams and very soon emptied our kiln. We burned another, and another, and continued to do so during that summer and fall.

Once during the summer we went to Fort Riley on business and found that nearly every one whom we had known there was dead, including Major Ogden, our best friend and the one who had given us the lime contract; and many others had run away to escape the cholera, which was the disease that caused all the trouble and reduced the population of the fort fully one-half. But I will say no more about this terrible scourge, as others have written descriptions of it far better than I could possibly do.³ Mr. Mott died of cholera.

After moving to our ranch no one visited us for about two months, when one day a fine large Kaw Indian walked into our camp (about September 7, 1855). He had papers showing that he was chief of the Kaw nation, and said he was hungry. We gave him all he could eat of such as we had, then he wanted some for his squaw, then some for one papoose, then some for another papoose, all of which he got. Then he wanted a sack of flour for his dogs, of which he had seven, but he had to be dismissed without the flour. The next day another Indian came with the same paper, and the third day the old chief came. His name was Pegecoshee, and the two who had been there the two days before were his sons.

Some time in September, happening to look across the river, we saw what seemed to be human beings moving around over there. So my parents, taking the writer, then a boy of twelve years, waded the Republican river, which was very low at that time, and we were joyfully received by our new neighbor, whose name we found was John S. Badger, with his family, from Pennsylvania. I will say here that we found them fine people and good neighbors, and that whenever necessary we helped each other, and never had a jar or misunderstanding in our twenty-seven years of intimate acquaintance, although we lived only half a mile apart.

Along in the fall we managed to get out a set of house logs and had a raising. The house was to be 14x16 feet and eight logs high, clapboard roof and puncheon floor. The writer remembers the following persons who were present and helped us raise, viz.: John S. Badger, Truman L. Pooler, John Reynolds, James Reynolds and George Reynolds. There may have been others, but I do not call them to mind now. All I remember is that we had an unusual amount of jokes, had wild-cherry pie for dinner, and got the house raised without accident.

One day in 1855, while we were digging our first lime-kiln, father noticed

NOTE 3.—Percival G. Lowe's "Recollections of Fort Riley," in volume 7 of the Kansas Historical Collections, p. 101, gives a very full account of this scourge.

a small cloud in the northwest, and told us boys we must get to the tents, of which we had two, as quickly as possible. We lost no time in getting there and were not any too soon, for the small cloud had assumed large proportions and came whirling towards us at a furious rate. One of the tents was swept away at once, and father and mother came into the tent that we boys were trying to keep over our heads. They were wet to the skin and were gasping for breath. Our tent blew down, but we managed to keep under it until the storm passed. Some trees were blown down, the creek, afterwards called Curtis creek, was full, and the prairie was a vast sheet of water. This was the hardest storm we had ever seen, and was undoubtedly the kind that we afterwards learned to call "cyclones."

Mr. Mott, one of the men who had directed us to our claim from Pawnee City, had died with the cholera at Fort Riley, and as we liked his location better than ours we moved onto it and made it our home. We plowed some that year, and later hired two men, named Ross and Tower, from Oskaloosa, to plow forty acres, for which we paid them \$5 per acre, or \$200. We did not raise anything in 1855 but some buckwheat. We were quite successful in our farming and lime-burning, and were soon in very comfortable circumstances.

There were no Indians in our immediate vicinity except the Kaw or Kansas Indians; but other Indians passed through our country frequently, going on buffalo hunts and returning from the same. These were the Delawares, Wyandottes, Pottawatomies and Sacs and Foxes, and they often had battles with their enemies, the wild tribes—the Pawnees, Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahoes. On one occasion, a few years after our settlement, and when Chapman creek and the country west of us had been settled to some extent (fall of 1857), the settlers from Chapman creek, with their families and everything they could bring with them, came rushing over to our house with the news that the Indians had killed all the settlers on the Smoky Hill and were coming down our way. So my father corralled all the wagons, made the women and children as comfortable as possible, put out guards, sent the writer (then about fourteen years old) to notify the settlers on the Republican river, and then he saddled his pony, took his gun, and started out to find out about the Indians. About three o'clock that night the writer got back, and found that the settlers had responded to the call to the number of eighteen men, well armed for those days, and ready for the fight. Among those present were Abraham Barry, Marshall Barry, John King, three Younkins, Peter Dobbing, Joe Radahow, the Bartells, Mr. Farnham, and others I cannot call to mind just now. From our own neighborhood were John Furrow and his two sons, Enoch and James, we four boys, Mr. Badger, and some others. From Chapman creek were David Pritchett, James Pritchett, Mr. Sorrels, Mr. Freeman, and others. About this time father came in from his scout, having secured information to the effect that it was a band of Pottawatomies who had fought a battle with the Pawnees on Pipe creek, and had been celebrating their victory with a war-dance near the mouth of Chapman creek.⁴ Every one seemed delighted except the writer, who was very much disappointed, because he wanted to share in the glory

NOTE 4.—From a report of this disturbance, made by Gov. Robert J. Walker to Secretary Cass, it seems that it occurred about the 1st to 3d of August, 1857, and was occasioned by an attack of the Cheyennes on a band of Pottawatomie hunters. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 4, p. 373.

of an Indian fight, but who learned afterwards that it was not so funny to fight Indians after all.

At another time we saw some Indians, about a dozen, slipping along the river bank, and going up into our timber. We felt sure they were up to some mischief and so notified our neighbors, John M. Curtis (for whom the creek was named) and Peter McLaughlin. We kept watch until about one o'clock A. M., when we saw the Indians coming from the timber. Mr. Curtis, who had been a sergeant in the Second United States dragoons, formed us into line, and we marched out to head the Indians off, which we did without any trouble. When Mr. Curtis commanded them to halt, they stopped with their guns on their shoulders backwards, or muzzle to the front. This meant peace, so Mr. Curtis said, and so it proved. They had been in the timber hunting turkeys by moonlight, and were returning to their camp, which was on the other side of the river. They had a canoe tied to the bank a short distance below where we stopped them. They were Pottawatomies, and were of ordinary size, but they looked very large to the writer at first, for this was the first time he had ever marched upon what he supposed was an enemy; but not the last.

One night about one o'clock we heard our bars fall and rushed out with our guns to find our horses, of which we had fourteen, all out but one. We saw one Indian, and the writer's brother took a shot at him, but he got away. After a good hunt we put our horses back and went to bed. Once we had a horse belonging to Pat Lennon tied to the fence, and a tent pitched against the fence on the opposite side in which we boys and Pat slept that night. Some time during the night the horse was stolen, no doubt by an Indian, but we never heard of him again.

An immigrant train was attacked at one time on the Republican river, forty or fifty miles above our place, and about half of the immigrants killed, and about everything they had destroyed. A courier came in and brought the news to the King-Younkens settlement, twelve miles above us, and a party went out and buried the dead and brought back the living to Major Barry's place. They were almost starved when found and in a pitiable condition.

In 1858, while Capt. William Gordon, of Bala, was returning from Utah, where he had gone as a wagon-master, driving besides a band of horses and mules of his own, he met a Pawnee Indian with about a dozen head of horses. Gordon knew the horses, for the Indian had stolen them from Gordon's neighbors. He took the horses but was unable to drive the two bands, so the Indian watched his chance, and while Gordon was after his own band the Indian managed to get on one of the stolen horses and get away with the stolen band. Gordon came in and reported, then returned with a party of his neighbors and took up the trail and followed it to the main Pawnee camp, on the Platte river. Here they compelled the chief to have the horses brought in and delivered to the Gordon party, who brought them home. Gordon was afterwards captain of company F, Sixth Kansas cavalry, in which the writer served three years. He was a very brave soldier and a good man. I have heard that he is still living in Bala, Riley county, Kansas.

Where the bench of table-land on which Junction City now stands intersects the Republican river there was a large camp of Kaw Indians in 1855 and 1856, and a quarter of a mile southeast, and on the very edge of this table-land, was their burying-ground. Many of them died in 1855 from

cholera, and it was here they shot and buried a young squaw because she had bled her father in the arm and thus killed him because he was old and feeble and sick, and was a burden to her, of which she wanted to be relieved. Once, in 1855, while passing this camp, the Indians came out and wanted my father to come to a tent and see a sick Indian who was rolling, tumbling and screaming at a fearful rate, and to all appearances had the cholera. Father happened to have some turpentine that he had just obtained in Fort Riley, and he gave this fellow a large dose, and went on home, but whether the Indian died or got well we never found out. At another time we saw seven of these noble red men of the forest crossing the river in a large canoe, which was propelled by seven squaws who were wading and pulling and pushing the canoes through the shallow water. This was a native American mode of navigation.

These Indians often came to our house, were always hungry, always begging, and would steal if not watched, but were always friendly to us, and we always used them well. Sometimes when passing their camp the squaws and papooses would come out and scare our oxen by shaking their blankets, and make them run away. Once mother was in the wagon and the oxen ran about a quarter of a mile and gave her a very rough ride for that distance, but finally stopped without upsetting.

My father helped to organize and conduct a lodge of the Sons of Temperance, to which the writer also belonged. I can call to mind the following members: George and Jane Montague, their children William, Ellis J. and George W. Montague; Lew Harris and wife; Captain Cobb and wife; Samuel Orr and wife and Mrs. Orr's daughter, Miss Josephine Morgan (afterward Mrs. William S. Blakely and now Mrs. George W. Martin); Fred Marvin; Misses Sally and Mary Davidson; and we frequently reinstated our brother Ben. H. Keyser, the first editor in Junction City, who died December 3, 1859. He was a brilliant orator, and his plea to be reinstated was irresistible. All the names of this lodge were placed under the corner-stone of Blue Mount College, at Manhattan, which was laid in 1859, and at the laying of which George Montague delivered the principal address.

The first lumber that was hauled to Junction City was hauled there from Pawnee City by Ellis Montague for John P. Wiley, who afterwards established a general merchandise store and was Junction City's first merchant.

The first school taught on the Republican river was in Smoky Hill township, and was taught by Miss Mary Graham, in the Curtis home. The first wedding in Dickinson county was at the mouth of Chapman creek, at the Lennon home, when William Shane was united in wedlock to Miss Mary Lennon; I think it was in 1856.

The Junction City *Sentinel* was the name of the first newspaper published in Junction City, or the county, and the writer, George W. Montague, was employed as printer's devil and helped set up the first paper, but could not be spared from the farm very long, so did not get to be a millionaire newspaper man. The name of the editor was Ben. H. Keyser, who ran it about a year. It changed hands many times, and names as often, and was succeeded by the Junction City *Union*. In 1861 another paper, called *The Kansas Frontier*, was started, which on March 10, 1862, was partially destroyed, and on the 15th of the same month was completely destroyed by some soldiers belonging to company F, Sixth Kansas cavalry, and company C of the Eighth Kansas infantry. A man by the name of Wood, a black-

smith, was shot in the leg by a soldier named Payne, who was drunk at the time. Wood died some time afterward.

George Montague was a candidate for representative to the legislature on the Democratic ticket at one time,⁶ and received a large number of votes, more than his party ticket, but was defeated. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal church and of the Masons and Odd Fellows, and was held in the highest esteem by all who ever knew him.

Mrs. Montague died October 31, 1862, and was buried in the family graveyard in a place that had been selected by herself. She was a good woman, who had never had an enemy, and always tried to keep peace between the neighbors.

Mr. Montague was afterwards married to Mrs. Dill, but was taken sick with pneumonia, and died on the 3d of December, 1863, and was laid to rest beside his wife. The funeral was in charge of the Masons of Junction City. He was father to ten children—eight boys and two girls. Five boys grew to be men, as follows: John B., who started from Iowa to California on April 24, 1854, and who now resides at Walla Walla, state of Washington; he had one child, named Bertha; William W., who served in Company H, Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, and was attacked with brain fever while in the service and died in the hospital at Washington, D. C., June 11, 1903; Ellis J., who was once a county commissioner of Davis (now Geary) county, Kansas, and who emigrated to Oregon in 1883, and died at Roseburg, Ore., on the 3d day of April, 1897; he had three sons who grew to manhood—George B., John G. and David, and two daughters, Rebecca and Belle. The youngest son, Lewis C. Montague, was born in Iowa, July 25, 1848, and is now living in Eight-mile valley, Gilliam county, Oregon. He has eight children—Samuel U., Charles R., Edward O. C., Erwin J., Irene (now Mrs. Kintzley), May, Laura and Lilly.

George W. Montague (the writer) was born in Maysville, Ky., on the 2d day of March, 1843, and emigrated to the Pacific coast from Kansas in 1882. He was married in Kansas to Miss Mary L. Yates, to whom twelve children were born, nine of whom are still living, as follows: Melissa J. (now Mrs. Clayton Shane), Lewis L., James H., George E., Asher, Valera E. (now Mrs. Robt. Carnine), Robert E., Minnie F. (now Mrs. Wilson), and Elsie L. Mrs. Montague died at the family home on January 15, 1899. Mr. Montague was again married on January 17, 1900, to Mrs. Clara Weed, of Oregon City, Ore., and the entire family are now living at their several homes in Eightmile valley, near Arlington, in Gilliam county.

NOTE 5.—George Montague was the Democratic candidate for the Territorial legislature, November 8, 1859, for the eleventh district, composed of Riley and Clay. He received 174 votes, but was defeated by Daniel L. Chandler, who received 268 votes.

JUDGE MARK W. DELAHAY.

A reminiscence by his daughter, MISS MARY E. DELAHAY, of Leavenworth.

THE subject of this sketch, Mark W. Delahay, a native of Talbot county, Maryland, was born a slaveowner, being the only white child on three plantations. His maternal ancestors were Friends, and he, too, was averse to buying and selling slaves. His paternal grandfather was the first person to manumit slaves in Maryland. My father had scarcely attained his majority when he was imbued with the spirit of emigration and wended his way to Illinois. Having inherited quite a fortune for those days he embarked in numerous enterprises, and, from all accounts, Colonel Sellers did not surpass him in the number of his speculations or meet with greater success. After investing his money he turned his attention to journalism, solicited for *The Battle Ax*, and wrote articles for the paper while traveling. Then he studied law, was admitted to practice in the various courts of Illinois, and was soon taken into partnership with Edward D. Baker, the eminent jurist, statesman, and soldier. He spent a portion of the winters at Springfield during the session of the legislature, and associated with such men as Jesse K. Dubois, Lyman Trumbull, Gen. James Shields, Gen. John A. McClernand, Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, Judge Henry E. Dummer, Judge Nathaniel Pope, Richard Yates, Murray McConnel, and many other old-timers I cannot now recall. In 1853 he, at the solicitation of his cousin, R. D. Hopkins, moved to Mobile, Ala., formed a partnership and entered upon the practice of law. During his residence there Mr. Douglas paid a visit to Mobile, and was banqueted by the lawyers of the city at the old historic Battle House. (Mobile has wakened up and rubbed off the moss at an astonishing rate in the past few years, thanks to Kansas money and energy.)

The winter of 1854-'55 my father went to Washington, where he had cases in the supreme court and a claim in Congress for clients. Mr. Douglas' squatter sovereignty bill, cutting off the territories of Kansas and Nebraska from the Indian Territory and opening them to settlement, had then become a law. Illinois friends argued with my father that he was too young a man to settle down in a staid old town like Mobile. He had better "go west and grow up with the country." Being fond of pioneer life he readily contracted the "Kansas fever," and wrote to my mother to get ready to emigrate to Kansas in March, 1855. Like the good wife she was, and a true pioneer's daughter, she proceeded to buy bolts of muslin and other goods and set to work sewing early and late, by hand, to get her little family ready for the long trip by boat up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to Kansas. The family embarked in April, at New Orleans. On reaching St. Louis, after a two-weeks journey, friends there who were more familiar with the new country told my father that if he took his family with him he would have to camp, as there were no houses to be had; that Leavenworth contained only a few dozen shanties, and one barn-like hotel. So he sent the family up the Illinois river by boat to the home of my grandfather, Joshua Hanks, in Scott county, Illinois, while he proceeded up the Missouri river with a printing-press and other requisites for a printing-office. ('Twas while fishing on the

banks of the Illinois river that Mr. Lincoln and my grandfather Hanks traced and claimed relationship.) The first issue of the paper appeared July 7, 1855.

Father was then a Douglas Democrat, and through his paper, *The Kansas Territorial Register*, was to espouse the cause of slavery in the new territory on these lines, *i. e.*, the settlement of the territory by emigration from all quarters of the country, then to abide by a vote of the people as to whether it should be a slave or a free state. But the South was not so minded. My father then came out flat-footed for a free state. October 23, 1855, he, with other free-state men, met at Topeka to frame a state constitution to present to Congress, and he was chosen delegate to Congress under that constitution. From Leavenworth there was also at this convention Marcus J. Parrott and S. N. Latta. During his absence from Leavenworth to attend a convention at Lawrence for the nomination of officers under this constitution, December 22, and very cold weather, our neighbors on the east side of the Missouri river, being highly incensed at the position my father had taken in politics, crossed over the ice, mobbed the office of *The Territorial Register*, demolished the press, carried it to the river, cut a hole in the ice and slid it into the Missouri. They then strewed the type in the street, and would have burned the office but for the friendly intervention of Col. Wm. Russell, of the firm of Majors, Russell & Waddell, overland freighters, who claimed the building as his own. On the return of the delegates from Topeka they were warned to leave the territory. Five hundred dollars was the price offered for my father's head. These brave men were in the minority, and, while the river was bridged with ice, had a poor show for holding their own; so, concluding that prudence was the better part of valor, they departed New Year's eve in a wagon by night, all armed to the teeth, to drive overland, traveling by night and spending the day at Indian huts, until they reached Jefferson City, Mo., where they could take the railroad to St. Louis, thence east. The family could not follow until navigation was open on the Missouri river.

The winter was one of the longest and most rigorous in the history of the state, and we were isolated from our neighbors weeks at a time. My mother was brave and fearless, and did not want to give up her new home. As it was not safe for my father to return the family had to go to him. Accordingly we left in July for Alton, Ill., the nearest point to St. Louis and the Missouri river, where we sojourned nearly three years. In the meantime the fury of the border war abated, and my father returned to Kansas in the spring of 1857, with another printing-press and located in Wyandotte. Here he published a new paper, the *Wyandotte Reporter*, practiced law and ran a hotel for a year or two, while the boom lasted there. When it waned, he removed to Leavenworth.

During the Fremont and Dayton campaign, my father returned to Illinois as frequently as he could to take a hand, as it were, on the old stamping-ground. He once took my eldest brother and me up to Springfield to a grand Fremont and Dayton meeting. There was speaking in the open air during the day, and at night in one of the legislative halls of the capitol. We were seated in the gallery for safety while my father went below in the hall. While the band played and the cheering was going on we children were entertained, but when the political argument was in progress, we soon wearied, grew sleepy, and wanted to go home. Suiting the action to the longing, we left the gallery and found our way out on the street, but did

not know the way to the home of our host, Doctor Lord. Some one seeing our dilemma conducted us to our abode. My father found us safely tucked in bed when he returned home with his friend.

Then came the famous campaign of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas. They came to Alton while we were still sojourning there and held their last joint debate from the balcony of the new city hall October 15, 1858. My father was in Kansas at the time. Mr. George T. Brown, editor of the *Alton Courier* (later sergeant-at-arms of the United States senate during Mr. Lincoln's administration), was master of ceremonies on that occasion. He was a warm personal friend of the family, and knowing that the speakers also were our friends, he invited me to accompany him to the speaking, which I did, being the only little girl in the balcony. While Mr. Douglas spoke Mr. Lincoln held me in his arms, and while Mr. Lincoln spoke Mr. Douglas held me in his arms. I remember, also, that Mr. Lincoln received the largest number of bouquets. In the spring of 1859 we returned to Leavenworth. May 14 of the same year Mr. Lincoln wrote to my father at length on the formation of the Republican party in Kansas. This letter I have in my possession.¹ In December of 1859, at the earnest request of my father, Mr. Lincoln came to Kansas,² the only time he ever was west of the Missouri river, and was my father's guest for one week. He spoke at Elwood, Doniphan county, in Atchison, also in Leavenworth, on the political situation, and met many politicians of the state during his stay. One day there were invited half a dozen gentlemen to dinner to meet him. Among them were Judge Pettit, Marcus J. Parrott, S. N. Latta, Gen. J. H. Lane, and others I do not recall. In keeping with those early days, the maid of all work took care of the baby in the kitchen, while I assisted my mother in the dining-room. I remember an incident during the meal while conversation waxed warm on the subject of politics. My father rose to carve, as was his habit, and pausing, knife in hand, remarked, "Gentlemen, I tell you Mr. Lincoln will be our next President." Mr. Lincoln replied, "Oh, Delahay, hush." My father retorted, "I feel it, and I mean it." After this prediction was verified, in Kansas it was spoken of as Delahay's prophecy.

In 1864, when the nominating convention met in Baltimore, my father was one of the Kansas delegates.³ A little incident occurred at this time.

NOTE 1.—(Copy.)
W. M. Delahay, Esq.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 14, 1895.

MY DEAR SIR—I find it impossible for me to attend your Republican convention at Ossawatimbe on the 18th. It would have afforded me much personal gratification to see your fine new country, and to meet the good people who have cast their lot there; and still more, if I could thereby contribute anything to the Republican cause. You will probably adopt resolutions in the nature of a platform; and, as I think, the only danger will be the temptation to lower the Republican standard in order to gather recruits. In my judgment such a step would be a serious mistake—would open a gap through which more would pass out than pass in. And this would be in deference to Douglasism, or to the Southern opposition element. Either would surrender the object of the Republican organization—the preventing the *spread* and nationalization of *slavery*. This object surrendered, the organization would go to pieces. I do not mean by this that no Southern man must be placed upon our Republican national ticket for 1860. There are many men in the slave states for any one of whom I would cheerfully vote to be either president or vice-president, provided he would enable me to do so with *safety* to the Republican cause, without lowering the Republican standard. This is the indispensable condition of a union with us. It is idle to think of any other. Any other would be as fruitless to the South as distasteful to the North, the whole ending in common defeat. Let a union be attempted on the basis of ignoring the slave question, and magnifying other questions which the people just now are really caring nothing about, and it will result in gaining no single electoral vote in the *South* and losing every one in the North.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE 2.—An account of this visit is given in vol. 7, Kansas Historical Collections, pp. 536-552.

NOTE 3.—The Kansas delegates to the Chicago convention, May 16-18, 1860, were: A. Carter Wilder, John A. Martin, William A. Phillips, W. W. Ross, A. G. Proctor and John P. Hatterscheidt. At the National Union convention, Baltimore, Md., June 7-8, 1864, when Lincoln re-

In his room at the hotel one evening with his son Willie and a number of his friends after an arduous day, he proceeded to remove one of his shoes (they were congress gaiters and of ample size), remarking to his son that he felt like there was something in the toe of his shoe. Willie tapped the heel of the shoe on the floor and shook out of it a full-grown mouse, much to the amusement of all present.

After the nomination of 1860 my father visited Mr. Lincoln at Springfield and received instructions for campaign work. He and Gen. J. H. Lane spent several weeks in the autumn working like Trojans in the doubtful districts of Indiana and Illinois, and carried them in November for Mr. Lincoln. The election over, my father came by Springfield to congratulate him in person. In acknowledgment of my father's service Mr. Lincoln presented him with the largest and finest banner he had received in the memorable campaign with Mr. Douglas. This banner is now in one of the rooms of the State Historical Society at Topeka. He offered my father the Chilian mission, which he declined. Then he appointed him surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska, and later to the United States district judgeship, to succeed Judge Archibald Williams.

The portrait of Mr. Douglas in my possession was painted in Illinois before the civil war, by an artist named Lasseur. "Uncle" Johnnie Wilson,⁴ as he was familiarly called, kept a hotel in a small town in Illinois, where the artist boarded, and in lieu of the money for his board left the Douglas portrait with Mr. Wilson, promising to redeem it some time, but never did so, so Mr. Wilson brought the portrait to Topeka, Kan., and my father bought it from him about thirty-five years ago.

Early in the unpleasantness between the North and South in 1861, before troops could be brought to Washington, Gen. J. H. Lane formed a military company of men from Kansas then in the city, under the name of "The Frontier Guard," of which he was captain. My father was first lieutenant and Col. Jobe S. Stockton was second lieutenant. They guarded the White House, sleeping with their arms in the east room, also doing guard-duty at the Chain bridge and other points in and around Washington, until troops were sent from New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, etc.

Also, in 1844, my father was interested in raising a regiment of soldiers in Illinois to help drive the Mormons from Nauvoo, whence they emigrated to Salt Lake, Utah.

ceived the second nomination, the following delegates represented Kansas: James H. Lane, M. H. Insley, A. C. Wilder, F. W. Potter, T. M. Bowen and M. W. Delahay.—Proceedings of the First Three National Republican Conventions, 1856, 1860, 1864, 1893, pp. 174, 253.

NOTE 4.—UNCLE JOHNNIE WILSON kept the Rowena Hotel in Leocompton in 1858-'60, the Capital House in Topeka, and the Breevort House at Leavenworth, in the order named. The secretary says that he always set a good table, and remembers stories in Leocompton of how he hunted, bareheaded, in the Kaw bottoms in the drought year of 1860, rustling vegetables for his guests.

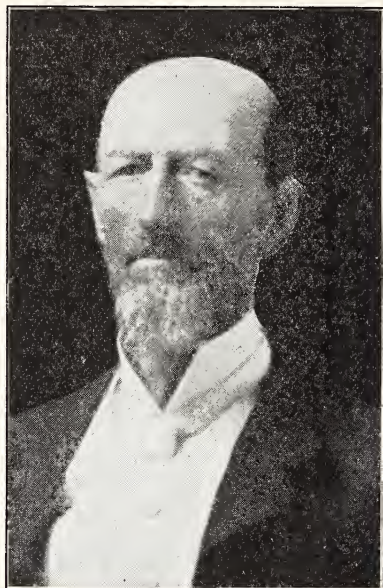
LOOKING BACKWARDS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by WILLIAM H. MACKEY, SR.¹

MISS ZU ADAMS, assistant secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, has kindly requested me to give a retrospect of my early experiences in Kansas, which I will do to some little extent. I am not much struck on writing of myself, of what I have done, or left undone, but will write of the interesting experiences I have had in the West.

Our company of about sixty persons was organized in Cincinnati, Ohio, and at Covington, Ky., about equal numbers from each place.² We chartered a steamboat, the Express, at Cincinnati, to take us to Ashland, Kan., early in April, 1855, and made the trip to Westport Landing, now Kansas City.³ On reaching there we could get the boat no farther, as there was not water enough in the Kansas river to float it, so we let the boat go back east, and hoofed it over the country to our destination. Quite a number of the company bought oxen and wagons. I remember of getting a meal at Journey Cake's, but we did not sleep there. I killed two prairie-chickens near the Shawnee mission.

With some others I came out overland with James Ryan and his family of wife and two children. One of Mr. Ryan's children died the evening we arrived at the Lawrence town site. We buried the remains the



WILLIAM H. MACKEY, SR.

NOTE 1.—WILLIAM HENRY MACKEY was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1828. His father, William Mackey, was born in Scotland, and his mother, Elizabeth Henry, in Virginia. He was married to Anna E. Boher, at Covington, Ky., July 20, 1853, by Rev. J. J. Hill, of the Methodist church. A portion of his boyhood he served in a printing-office, but the trade he finally adopted was that of carriage-builder. They celebrated their golden wedding July 20, 1903. He died in Junction City at 8:05 P. M., Wednesday, February 26, 1908, seventy-nine years and five months of age. His wife and four children, William H. Mackey, jr., United States marshal for the district of Kansas, Miss Ella Mackey, Mrs. J. E. Clemens, and Milton Mackey, are still living.

NOTE 2.—Johnson S. Williams, of Manhattan, has recently given the Historical Society the record-book of the Kentucky Kansas Association, the company referred to by Mr. Mackey. It contains the names of eighty members. Just when the party reached Kansas is not shown, but a receipt dated "Ohio river, Steamboat Express, March 27, 1855," shows that at least the locating commissioner, N. B. White, and probably the pioneer committee, C. L. Sandford, J. S. Williams, H. J. Adams, M. Weightman and Franklin G. Adams, were on their way west. The account of these six, in the handwriting of the last named, is folded in the little volume, as is also a plat of the town of Ashland, which had been filed in the probate court of Davis county August 22, 1857, as attested by E. L. Patee, clerk. The records of the Ashland Town Association are also written in this book.

NOTE 3.—Our oldest child, Georgia Alice May Mackey, died on the boat April 8, 1855, the day before we reached Westport Landing. She was nearly a year old. We were both old enough to take things as they came, but it was hard for my wife. She remained at Westport Landing for nine weeks, during the cholera epidemic, and nursed a number who died of cholera. She had no fear of it.

next morning near where we camped. Mr. Ryan also brought out our provisions.

There may have been some sky-scrapers on the Lawrence town site when we passed through, but the only one I recall was a sod house, with bunks for sleeping purposes, cooking and housework being done on the outside. We journeyed along west until we found some men cutting house logs on the river bank. They told us they were intended for a house on the Topeka town site. That was the first we heard of Topeka. But we did not tarry at that place, for we had another place in view, the town site of Ashland, about fourteen miles southeast of Fort Riley. We camped at a mill, I think Bourassa's, one night. When we arrived at our destination we found those who had preceded us camped on the river bank below the cottonwood trees. The wind was blowing, the sand was flying, and the female portion were rubbing their eyes and crying, and declaring that they were going home, which a good many did. One man built a raft of logs, put his family on it, and "lit out" for the mouth of the river. How he got away from that place I have no knowledge; but the most of the company remained. I built a log house on our town site, with the assistance of my good lady, who took hold of one end of a six-foot saw in order to make clap-boards for the roofing. Well, we thought that fun. But we put up the house and moved in, which was not much of a job, for our household goods had not arrived. But we enjoyed every bit of it, and still smile when we think of it—Mrs. Mackey coming out of a large millinery store in the East and taking one end of a six-foot cross-cut saw. It at least shows the mettle in her make-up.

While we were building our house we boarded with M. D. Fisher and family. There were several other families boarding there at the same time. We occupied a room on the first floor. Our furnishings were not numerous but answered for the occasion. The building was a log house, probably sixteen feet square on the inside, with roof and dirt floor. There were facings split out of cottonwood timber for the facings of the door, which had not been put on, as they had no boards for the door; instead we used blankets. The facings we used for a bedstead by placing them end to end across one side of the room, and with cut poles on this frame and the whole thing covered with prairie grass, it made a comfortable sleeping-place. This arrangement was for the married people. We arranged it so that one lady could go to bed at one end, the husband next, then another husband, then his wife, and so on. I think the bed held several families, there being only one family that had children. The single men slept outside when the weather was good—and it seldom rained in the early settlement of Kansas. We thought we were entirely out of the rain belt, but one evening the clouds looked threatening, and those that usually slept outside brought their blankets in, expecting to sleep on the inside. But when the rain came there was a sluice of water about five inches deep on the floor, and consequently they did not do much sleeping that night. Some of the outsiders had been brought up in luxury, and though this was a change for them, they all seemed to enjoy the frontier style of living. They all remained and did well, and some became very prominent in making this state what it is to-day—a banner state.

In September, 1855, I took charge of the smith shops at Fort Riley. At the winding up of the cholera at the post, and after Major Ogden's remains were taken up and sent east, I put an iron railing around the grave to mark

the place. To-day there is a nice monument on the lot. During August, when cholera was prevalent there, I visited the post daily.

In December I left Fort Riley, intending to locate in the city of Leavenworth, but instead bought of a Mr. Whorton his shop and good-will in the town of Easton, twelve miles west of Leavenworth, where I did a good business for four years. The place was so tough that we left at the end of that time. We arrived there the third day after the murder of Captain Brown,⁴ and it was shooting, cutting and killing all the time, so it was not a very pleasant place to live in. While there our eldest son, W. H. Mackey, jr., now United States marshal for Kansas, was born, July 28, 1856.

When I sold out we returned to Covington, Ky., and spent the winter, but being dissatisfied, returned to Kansas. When I left Easton a man near town owed me a big bill. I went up to his place before breakfast and got a bunch of cattle. These I took down to Leavenworth and sold, but prices were so low that I did not average over forty dollars a yoke. One yoke of young cattle I could not sell, and paid twenty dollars to a man to winter them. When I came back, in the spring of 1860, the Pike's Peak emigration had commenced, and I sold the youngsters for \$110.

On our trip from Fort Riley to Leavenworth county, in December, 1855, the only means of traveling at my command was by ox-team. The snow was two feet on a level from Riley to Leavenworth, and the cold was intense. But we were younger then than now. There were two men in our traveling party, the man who owned the team and myself, together with my wife. We could only travel a short distance each day, so when we struck a cabin any time in the after part of the day where we could be accommodated we would stop for the remainder of the day and night. But we often put up where our meals were limited. For instance, at the stage station at Rock creek, where they were supposed to furnish something for the comfort and welcoming of man, we found only corn flapjacks and milk. Their teams had gone to Leavenworth for supplies but had not returned. The next day we struck the Pottawatomie reservation, and to put up at one of those old French stopping-places was a treat. We lingered all through the reserve, although it was a little expensive. We had had no vegetables that winter except one bushel of potatoes that were frozen harder than cobblestones, for which I had paid \$2.50. We used them, nevertheless, and were glad to get vegetables of any kind and at any cost. But we struck it rich at old Chief Le Fromboise, at Silver Lake. We remained there several days and feasted. The old buck had two wives and a big family all at home. But he certainly was a good provider.

Our next stopping-place was Big Muddy creek, Jefferson county, at a one-room house. The family consisted of a man and wife and children of all sizes. When I asked for entertainment the host said, "Oh, yes." I looked around and saw no sign of anything to eat. There was but one room for all of the outfit, with pigs taking up a big portion of the space. I thought it looked a little squally, for naturally everything was covered with dirt. The good lady commenced to get supper by putting the children to doing the churning. It was too much for one of our party. He elbowed the little ones from over the churn and finished that part of the work. In the meantime the lady had been out to a hole in the ground and brought in a nice,

NOTE 4.—Rees P. Brown, of Leavenworth, was killed the night of January 18, for participating in an election held at Easton, June 17, for state officers under the Topeka constitution.

fresh ham. With that and hot biscuits and good coffee, we fared nicely. All the men and children slept on the floor, and with the comradeship of a few pigs all kept warm. The two ladies had the use of the one bed. That night the landlady had some prairie-chickens dressed, or undressed, and put into a stew-kettle and set them in the corner of the big fireplace, where they cooked slowly all night. They were the best-cooked chickens I ever ate, before or since.

This trip was just the initiation we needed to enter a new territory, and now we could say we had had experiences about all sides of life. It was a tough trip, but it was the breaking in that we needed. I shall always look back to it with real pleasure. I think to rub up against the rough corners of the world is the very best education we can get.

Col. James A. Harvey came through Easton, Leavenworth county, with his free-state company, in September, 1856. Franklin G. Adams was one of his men. When I heard they were coming I told the storekeeper, John M. Gallagher, whose wife, by the way, is still living, to treat the men to whatever they wanted in the way of refreshments, sardines, crackers, cheese, tobacco, etc., at my expense. At that time and place we could n't run into a restaurant and order refreshments. When the pro-slavery military companies came through Easton the head of a whisky barrel would be knocked off and tin cups hung around the brim. Although I was a free-state man, and my neighbors knew it, my having come from Kentucky to Kansas was greatly in my favor among them, there being but four of my way of thinking in a community of Southern sympathizers.

Harvey's company took all the good horses from the pro-slavery settlers about Easton. James Willoughby,⁵ who had a sawmill on Stranger creek run by horse-power, saw his horses' traces cut and the horses led off by the free-state boys. Reverend Oliphant, a Campbellite preacher, who lived on a farm about a mile and a half from town, lost a fine horse, which evidently escaped from her captors and returned to her owner some days later. Although the free-state men had only followed the tactics of the pro-slavery men before them, I felt sorry for my neighbors, who were kind to me. When Thomas A. Minard, the leading free-state man of our community, suggested that we ought to try and recover the animals, I offered to accompany him. He said the Easton people could have kept their horses if they had not been cowards. He decided to get two of the pro-slavery neighbors to go with us. I went up to the house to see my wife, and said: "Anna, I'm going off for a few days, but will come back all right." She did not like the idea, and said I was going off to get into trouble.

I took an early lunch and we started out. Jim Roberts and Josh Turner, pro-slavery men, were our companions. When we got about six miles out of Easton we met William F. Dyer, of Osawkee, driving towards town with his wife. He was a good man, though he differed from me in politics. We told him we were going to get some stock back that Harvey had taken. He said he would go back with us, but his wife said "No you won't." So they drove on towards Easton. We rode on until we came to where Winchester now stands, and got down on the grass to rest by the log house and well, for,

NOTE 5.—The volume of Kansas claims published in 1861 contains affidavits by the administrator of the estate of James Willoughby, from whom mules and harness to the amount of \$1300 were taken by Harvey's free-state company about the 8th of September, 1856. Willoughby had operated a horse sawmill near Easton. He had died in May, 1857, leaving a wife and two children. Marshall H. Comstock, of Easton, was one of the witnesses.

although it was September, the day had been sultry and we were tired. While we were lying there a company of Georgians and South Carolinians came up from a ravine near by. We kept quiet, for we knew we could not escape if they wanted to capture us. We were unacquainted with any of the party. They questioned us, found we were free-state men, and then the leader said, "Consider yourselves under arrest." He then got off his horse and stepped in front of us, and inquired of each of us our names. When he heard Minard's name he took some papers out of his pocket and selected from the bunch a commission as captain of a free-state company made out in Minard's name. It had been found in the house of a Mr. Donaldson who lived between Winchester and Holton. He asked Minard if he was the man. Minard acknowledged the commission, but said he was not always straight, and that it had been given for that reason to Donaldson. (Minard was sometimes given to drink, which cost him the loss of this commission.) The paper damned the whole party. Our horses were taken from us. The Captain started his men and we were ordered to fall in behind. We were taken to Hickory Point, and stopped for lunch at a tavern kept by H. A. Lowe, formerly forage-master at Fort Riley. His military friends had recommended this station to him as a convenience to them and a place of profit to him. He was an immense man, and was sitting on his porch in a great chair made of two-by-four lumber, as we camp up. He came down when he saw me. I had been in charge of the smith shop at Fort Riley and had become as well acquainted with Captain Lowe as with any one in the territory. I was glad to see him. He shook hands with me and asked my politics. I told him I was a free-state man. He turned on his heel at my reply and never spoke to me the rest of the day.

We were given a mock trial, found guilty of being spies, and condemned to hang. Lowe's house was a double cabin with a porch in front. The halter-ropes were hung up underneath this porch. Lunch was then called. We were taken in and seated at the first table, but we had small appetites. As I went in I noticed as a guard at the door a South Carolinian about seven feet tall and as thin as a match, and thought if he was cut in two in the middle he would make two men. On the table, stuck into a ham, was a long-bladed butcher-knife. I resolved that on rising from the table I would grab the knife and make an effort to fight my way out. I knew they would shoot us, but that would beat hanging. If we remained quiet we would certainly hang. Just as we got through eating, Bill Dyer, who had left his wife at Easton and returned to go with us, came up. Our captors told him they were going to furnish a little fun by hanging us. He said, "No, I'll be damned if you do," and told them to bring up our horses. As he was the leading pro-slavery man of that county they obeyed him, though with a bad grace, and stood open-mouthed when we rode away. We left Hickory Point immediately, and proceeded towards Lawrence by way of Lecompton. On reaching Lecompton I went up to the hotel and to bed. I slept all night, and after an early breakfast we proceeded towards Lawrence. We met Governor Geary and his escort on the road. He inquired who we were, evidently seeing that we were a mixed company, and told us to go on and behave ourselves. Any one with one eye could tell a pro-slavery man as soon as he saw him.

At Lawrence we found that Harvey's camp was about a mile from town, and went out to it. There I found Mr. Adams, and had an introduction to

Colonel Harvey, whom I had already met at Easton. He told us to come to him in the morning, and that we should then have all of our horses that we could identify. We then returned to town and found all was in a hubbub. An expedition was being gotten up for Hickory Point to reinforce Lane. I wanted to go with the company, as we would then be with Harvey in the morning. But as I was really too ill to travel the men induced me to wait over. The next morning we started on, crossing the river at Lawrence, intending to go home, as Harvey had gone to meet Lane, and taken the horses we had hoped to recover. I was miserable and too ill to travel far, so that my party decided to leave me at a house on Buck creek in southern Jefferson county. When I awoke the next morning a woman was standing over me. I asked her where her husband was. She replied that he was hiding in the brush, which convinced me that they were free-state people. After eating a bowl of chicken broth I felt greatly revived, and continued my journey on horseback, cutting across country in the direction of Easton.

When I was about three miles from home, I heard some one call, "Halloo." I looked about but could see no one. Soon the call was repeated, followed by my name. I then saw a man's head sticking out of the bushes near me, and upon investigation found it was my partner, James Comstock,⁶ a free-state man who was too outspoken regarding his abolition views. A pro-slavery military company had been organized in Easton during our absence, headed by Capt. Marsh Comstock, a citizen of the town, and my partner had been run out of Easton the night before—Saturday night—and was in hiding. He told me it was worth my life to go on to town; that I was proscribed. I made light of his warning, but he insisted that I join him in the brush. As I was about to continue my journey, he called my attention to a party on horseback on the brow of a hill at some distance, and said that was the party that was hunting for me, and that I had better take his advice. I took to the brush at once. I was ill, and as soon as I could picked my way to Josh Turner's house and went to bed.

My wife was in great trouble about me. John M. Gallagher, who had promised me to look after her wants during my absence, tried to induce her to eat her meals, which she refused to do. On Sunday she went a half mile up the road to the boarding-house of Tom Minard, thinking that if we came that way she could warn us that Captain Comstock's company had threatened to kill us if we returned to town. While she was at Minard's gate with William, our son, in her arms, Mr. Oliphant rode up. She asked him what he thought of our not coming back. He replied, "I do not want to discourage you, but I believe they are every last one killed. They have become so hellish on both sides that I think they have all been killed." There had been fighting at Hickory Point the day before, and the pro-slavery company had talked of going up to help their side, but they had got drunk and remained in town. Josh Turner let Mrs. Mackey know where I was by Monday morning, September 15, and as soon as I could be moved I was taken home, and was sick in bed for three months.

Soon after I was taken home Henry Simons, a young wagon-maker in my employ, a nice fellow who made his home with us, was chased through our house by a party of ruffians. Later he crept up to our window and told my

NOTE 6.—James Comstock, of Easton, made an affidavit before the committee to adjust claims for losses during the Kansas troubles of 1855-'56, in which he claims that Capt. A. B. Miller took from him a horse worth \$110.—Report, 1861, pp. 1485, 1487.

wife to roll up his clothing in a bundle and put it down on the creek bank, where he could get it, as he was going to leave the country, and that if letters came to him to send them to him at a certain address. This we promised to do. Later two of our pro-slavery townsmen, Samuel J. Kookogey, a clerk and constable, and J. C. Pearson, who seemed to be friendly, offered to escort him beyond the danger line, and departed with him. We received mail for him for at least a year after he left, which we forwarded as requested, and answered the replies from his friends. We finally came to the conclusion that these two pretended friends had taken him away and killed him. His only fault seemed to be that he had served in an artillery company in Lawrence when he had been run out of Easton.

While I was living at Easton I had a man by the name of Evans working in my shop. He was married to a Southern woman. In order to keep him and please his wife, I fitted them out with household furniture enough to make them comfortable, and bought his wife a pony. It was the custom for women in those days to ride about on horseback. Farmers rarely had buggies. C. C. Linville, a carpenter of Easton, was given to telling mean stories, manufactured from whole cloth, about his neighbors. He told one on Evans's wife which so enraged Evans that he threatened to kill him. He went home, got his revolver and started to hunt up Linville, whom he met on the road, and asked if he had told the story. Evans drew his pistol at Linville and Linville knocked it up. This feat was repeated by the two five times. Then they both turned and ran. They left town permanently. Evans's wife went to him later, and this left the household goods and pony unclaimed in the town. To secure myself, I decided to attach them, and to do this was obliged to go down to Leavenworth, not a very safe place for a free-state man. I started on horseback. As I approached Leavenworth on the Salt creek road I noticed a group of Kickapoo Rangers approaching the town on the road from Kickapoo. I wanted to escape their company, which I should surely have done had I not reached the junction of the two roads before they did. Still I did not dare to appear afraid, and they soon came up with me. The leader accosted me with a question as to my name, and another where I came from to Kansas. To the latter I replied "From Kentucky," which seemed to satisfy him, at least for the moment.

I was not much of a talker, but I kept him talking on non-political subjects until we reached town. Here I soon selected a vacant lot to lariat my horse, and the rangers rode on, none the wiser in regard to my politics. I then walked on into town, had my dinner, and was looking for the office of a justice of the peace, when the leader of the rangers again met me, and remarked on a disturbance going on at the levee, suggesting that I go down there with him. We found a steamboat just coming in loaded with pro-slavery men who had been "fighting Jim Lane" so they said. I was a little timid about meeting any pro-slavery man I knew, on account of my abolition sentiments, which were pretty well known among my acquaintances. The first man to step off the boat was one whom I had often done work for, and was on good relations with. I called him by his first name, Elihu (I do not remember his last). He always called me "Old Kentuck," which he did this time, greeting me with great cordiality, being about half drunk. I told him what I wanted. He took me under his charge and conducted me to the office of R. R. Rees, then an elderly man, and told him that I was a friend of his and to help me to anything I wanted. Rees made out my pa-

pers and as I started to go asked if I was armed. I told him I carried none. He said it was too dangerous times to go unarmed, and pointing to a pile of guns in the corner of his office told me to select the best I could find. Fearing more to offend him than the dangers I might meet on my homeward way, I went to the pile and selected the least rusty one, and provided myself with a few cartridges and caps. I found my horse and took a cut across the country for home, avoiding the roads. When I got out as far as the government farm I dismounted and hid my gun, etc., in the grass by the fence.

Some years afterwards, while living at Junction City, having taken the first degree in Masonry I took my wife with me to a public installation. Who should I see sitting on the platform but my old friend Rees, the justice of the peace of Leavenworth county in 1856. His visit to Junction City was in 1862-63. I did not make myself known to the old gentleman, as I did not care to refresh my memory of border days.

In March, 1865, I went to Fort Larned and took charge of the smith shops at the post for the quartermaster. Each company had a horseshoer to do post work, so I had nothing to do for the companies unless they came with an order from the quartermaster. This was when freighting with New Mexico was done with Mexican teams, and no train was allowed to pass Larned with less than fifty wagons, and then they were allowed an escort of soldiers to take them to the line of Mexico. I had the privilege of doing their repair work while they were at the post, which was a pretty fat job, as my pay went on at the same time.

About this time there was a company that came to the post, I do n't know where from, we called the "galvanized company." One of the officers of this company was a Dutch lieutenant built like a beer keg, and very pompous. He came to my place one day and, tapping me on the shoulder and pointing out his horse, ordered me to shoe the same, and left the shop. When he returned, he found his horse where he had left him, and not shod. He came into the shop snorting. I told him I had no time to shoe his horse, and he left. In the afternoon he came back and told me his horse was outside, and he must have it shod. I then told him to bring me an order from the quartermaster. He said, "No, I will get one from the commander of the post," which he did. As I was working for the quartermaster, I did not recognize his order. The next morning he came in and handed me a five-dollar gold piece and asked me to shoe his horse, which I did, and would have done on his first call if he had not commanded me to do it. So you see I always get some mirth besides pay for my work.

In the latter part of August the commanding officer, I think Colonel Cloud, sent four messengers out to Fort Zarah, about three miles east of where Great Bend now is, on the east bank of the Walnut, a half mile above the mouth. They were attacked by Indians. I think they must have been surprised at Ash creek, the first stream north of Larned, as the arrows indicated, and started back to the post, but there was but one got in to report. The garrison was called to the parade-ground immediately. I was standing in the door of my adobe hut as a chap was passing. I thought he looked as though he did not care for that trip. There were not many soldiers to go out, so I hailed him and said I would give him a two-dollar-and-a-half gold piece for the use of his horse, and would take his place in the ranks. He threw me the bridle and I took the horse and was off with the squad of men.

Three miles east of the fort we found the first body, literally filled with arrows. About two miles further on we found another body filled with arrows, the hands taken off at the wrists, the feet taken off at the ankles, the heart taken out, and the head scalped. The third body was found within about 500 yards of the crossing of Ash creek, filled with arrows, hands and feet taken off, the head skinned and heart taken out and laid on the body. About a hundred yards off a wolf was scampering off with one hand. One of the men shot the wolf and we got the hand. While we were gathering up the last body we spied the Indians making a dash for a train that was just passing Pawnee Rock. We made a dash for them. The train formed its corral at once, and the Indians, seeing us coming up on the opposite side of the corral, bore off to the Arkansas river and we after them. But they had too much advantage in the start, and were all on the opposite bank among the sand-hills by the time we struck the river. We returned to the Rock and escorted the train into Larned. We had our dead with us, which were buried next day with military honors.

During the summer I bought a bunch of cattle, mostly calves, some of which were too young for a long trip, so I left the cattle until the latter part of November. I left the fort in October. On my return for the cattle I met one of my townsmen, Mr. G. E. Beates, at "Oxhide," a noted camping-place. Mr. Beates was in charge of a freighting outfit for Messrs. Streeter & Strickler, of Junction City. His train had stopped for dinner on their return from Larned. He tried to persuade me to not attempt to go farther, as I was alone. He said it would be almost impossible to pass Cow creek without being taken in. But I had no intention of turning back. I continued to the west, passed Cow creek, and nothing happened. That night I camped at Fort Zarah, and next day lit out for Larned. When within a couple of miles of Ash creek I began to think of the Indian raid in the summer previous, and the more I thought of it the more my hair would raise. Finally I thought I saw any number of the heads of Indians along the creek bank, and began to think of my running the gauntlet. I had a splendid pony for cattle, but I knew he was not fast enough for Indians, and as I saw just the heads of the enemy above the tall bluestem and they did not move, I was satisfied they had me spotted. I made up my mind to go on, and when I saw them make a move I would slide off the pony and take to the grass. Meanwhile I was closing up on them, and finally got so close I could see they were stumps of trees that had been cut for use at the fort. So the fright left me and I went on to the fort and proceeded to gather up my cattle.

The second day after my arrival I started the cattle just at noon, and at dusk I had only gotten to the lower crossing of Pawnee river. But I had the cattle pretty well worn out, as well as myself, and while I was rounding them up rain commenced to fall and the wind began to blow; then it changed to snow. I knew it would not do to make a fire, for that camp-ground was a favorite resort of the Indians. So I tramped and rode around the cattle all night, mostly to keep from freezing, for the rain and snow kept up most of the night. The next morning I started out and had no trouble. The third night out I made camp about two miles east of where Great Bend is now located. The next morning about daybreak the ground began to tremble, and the vibrations increased so that for a considerable time I thought a heavy earthquake was on; but the vibrations seemed to pass, and by the time it

began to get light I realized that it was a tremendous herd of buffalo just over the bluff to my left. Finally they made their appearance east of me, coming around the point of the bluff, and made direct for the Arkansas river, which was not far off. By this time it was light enough for me to see them plunging into the river. I could not leave my stock to go and investigate, but I know there must have been hundreds of them drowned, for they went pell-mell over the bank into the river. I made the round trip without accident. I met my friend, Mr. Gurdon E. Beates, on my return. He remarked that it could hardly be done the second time so successfully, but I had no occasion or desire to repeat that feat, for I never thought myself a very brave chap. But I had my cattle home with but little difficulty, but some experience.

SKETCH OF MRS. WILLIAM H. MACKEY, SR.

Written for the *Club Member*, by MRS. ALICE PECKHAM CORDRY, of Parsons, Kan.

"She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff.

"She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy."

"Her children arise up and call her blessed."

IN thinking of our friends there is always some characteristic in looks or manner we recall as soon as their name is mentioned. Sometimes it is the eyes that seem best remembered; or the mouth or the smile that

means the most to us. Again it is the hands, be they pink and soft, or rugged and knotted by hard work, that touch the heart strings most as we think of some dear one. So it is when I think of my dear friend, Mrs. William H. Mackey, sr., of Junction City. The thought of her dear, loving hands, that have given me so many sweet and happy hours, brings loving thoughts of her; for she is "the friend who smiles when she smooths down the lonely couch, or does other kind deeds." Hundreds of people she has thus blessed since her coming to Kansas in 1855 will truly say, "Blessed are those beautiful hands and the loving heart that prompts their every action."



MRS. ANNA E. MACKEY.

to Covington, Ky., where later she met and married her husband, William H. Mackey, July 20, 1853. Five years ago this month they celebrated their golden wedding in Junction City, and in the State Historical rooms at the state-house hangs a picture of Mr. and Mrs. Mackey and two of their devoted friends, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. W. Martin, taken at this time.

The love of Mr. and Mrs. Mackey for each other was truly ideal; and it is only the hope that soon the good King will send for her to come to the "beautiful country" and be with her loved one that enables her to bear with patience his death, which occurred February last. Hand in hand for over fifty-four years—one in hope, love, and sincere trust in the Father of all—they came through pioneer trials as gold from the refinery. They emigrated to Kansas in the spring of 1855, members of the Kentucky-Kansas colony. The chosen route was down the Ohio river and up the Missouri, on what was then called a "high-water boat." They left the the boat at Westport Landing, now Kansas City, Mo. Sorrow overtook the young couple on the boat in the death of their little girl baby, only a few months old. The little body was buried in Westport, and, after the home place was decided on, Mr. Mackey returned to remove the remains, but imagine their sorrow when no trace of the grave could be found. The many deaths so soon after of the victims of the cholera made the people very careless about marking the graves. Six weeks were spent by Mrs. Mackey in Westport getting things together for their new home in central Kansas. They lived in a house of two rooms with some friends. It was then that the terrible epidemic of cholera raged, and Mrs. Mackey, having no dread of the disease, became a welcome nurse to many of the sufferers. And her hands—dear, beautiful hands—did many acts of mercy. She has said that during the prevalence of the disease sleep was almost impossible, as the sound of making rude coffins was heard at all hours of the night and day.

At the end of six weeks the Mackeys started with five friends for Ashland, the town established for the new colony. Their wagon was drawn by mules, and the weather added nothing to the pleasure of the trip. At one time they were lost on the prairie, and for hours they wandered with no idea of location. When about to give up in despair they found a pole fence, and it appeared to them the most beautiful thing they had ever seen, and the most welcome. Following this they came to a lone cabin, and the inmates set them on the right road to Ashland, where they finally arrived in 1855. Here during the summer months they tried to make a home, but it was rough pioneering. They met for the first time the terror of prairie fires. All the corn they could raise was sod corn, and it was not very large or plentiful. Mrs. Mackey soon learned to make bread by first grating the corn. Housekeepers nowadays think it is hard to make bread even with a bread-mixer and a fireless cooker.

Mr. Mackey was a blacksmith and carriage-builder by trade, and in September left Mrs. Mackey with friends in Ashland and went to Fort Riley, where he was foreman of the smith shops. Before his going to the fort cholera had raged there for a time.

The little town of Pawnee, where the first territorial legislature was held, was within two miles of the fort, and when the government survey was made it was found that the town was on government land. The houses were ordered to be removed from the town site, and some were torn down over the heads of those who would not comply with the order. Mr. Mackey was wont to say that he forged the iron hooks with which the United States officers tore down the offending buildings. Tiring with what he thought tameness in the land, he went to Ashland for his wife, and December found them in Easton, a small town twelve miles northwest of Leavenworth. There he found plenty doing, and anxious times were the lot of his poor

wife for a while. Mr. Mackey, being a free-state man, found many enemies there. In the spring of 1856 the present United States marshal for Kansas, Mr. W. H. Mackey, jr., appeared on the scene. After hearing the story of his mother's hardships during those troublesome times, one will understand where the marshal gets his bravery and his Sherlock Holmes keenness for criminals.

On one occasion, at Easton, Mrs. Mackey and baby, with a hired girl, were left alone while Mr. Mackey and three other citizens of Easton followed Col. James A. Harvey's command in an effort to recover the horses recently stolen by the free-state company from the citizens of Easton. A few days after Mackey's party had left, the girl went to the spring for water and there met a friendly pro-slavery man, who told her that Mr. Mackey would be killed if he returned home. The girl told Mrs. Mackey, and the wife at once began to plan how she could save her husband. She finally took her baby on the arm, and with steps quickened by the thought of her husband's danger started for Minard's, on the side of town she thought her husband would return. Meeting a Campbellite minister, her burden was made heavier by his prophecy that her husband and his companions were probably already killed. Staggering along with sorrowful heart she at last reached her friend's home, and there grieved for her loved one, until the next day an old man came to her with a message from Mr. Mackey.

His escape from his enemies at the time was almost a miracle. He and his partners had been eating their dinner and resting their horses in a grove, when suddenly they were surrounded by a gang of pro-slavery men. The latter wasted little time, held a mock trial, and had ropes ready for the free-state men, when a friendly pro-slavery man, a friend of Mackey's, ordered the thing to go no further, and the would-be lynchers let the free-state men go. Before he could get home he was taken very sick, and sent his wife the message that was so welcome to her. She gathered up a few belongings, and with the baby and her faithful girl went to where her husband was, and nursed him back to health. Before this was accomplished though, other trials came that showed Mrs. Mackey's mettle. The free-state men of the neighborhood had all been obliged to leave Easton at this time, and the women had all gone to Fort Leavenworth for protection. Mr. Mackey was too sick to be moved, so Mrs. Mackey and her girl stayed with him. Mrs. Mackey planned her line of defense in case the ruffians should come to bother them. She had the girl bring in a store of wood and fill the tubs with water, which she kept boiling hot, to throw on any one who dared to disturb them. She says she is glad that no one came, for she surely would have used it if they had. When the new governor and his proclamation made things more safe, no one was happier than Mrs. Mackey.

Another interesting story she tells is of the pursuit of a young man who worked for Mr. Mackey by the pro-slavery crowd. One day he came hurriedly in the front way and, scarcely pausing a moment, asked her to put his clothes out on the bank of the creek that night as the "hellions" were after him, and passed on out of the back door. Soon a crowd of men appeared at the front door and wished to search the house for him. This Mrs. Mackey allowed them to do, and delayed them all she could. That night the boy came to the window and told them good-by, and said he would

write to them if he reached a certain place alive, but he was never heard of again.

Seemingly worn out with so many troubles, the Mackeys went back East; but she said they could not get a breath of air there, and so came back to Kansas. This time, in 1859, they took up a claim six miles east of Manhattan, and lived in a double log house with friends till theirs was finished. A company was trying to build a new town, Kosciusko, and they persuaded the Mackeys to live on the town site to prevent a man from jumping the place. The log cabin, partly built, had no roof, and so they set up their high-poster bed and covered it over with comforts from post to post. In spite of this, in the morning the bed was covered with snow, and it was bitter cold. Happily a neighbor remembered their plight and came and took them to his house.

In this same December they moved to Junction City, where they have lived ever since, except the years from 1885 to 1888, when they lived at Manhattan while their daughters attended college. Mrs. Mackey is the mother of six children, four of whom are living: William H. Mackey, Ella R., Mrs. J. E. Clemons, and Milton, all of whom live in Junction City, near or with their mother. For forty-five years she has resided in Junction City, and as a member of the First Methodist church, of which she and her husband were charter members, she has lived a life of true Christian piety. Every one loves her, and she has always been a friend of rich and poor, through health and wealth, in sickness and in trouble. Always ready to do for others, her dear hands are blessed forever. She has watched the state grow from a desert peopled with a quarrelsome lot of wanderers to the most beautiful, prosperous and united commonwealth in the Union, and we say she has done what she could to make it so. And as the time draws near when she will go to the "Beautiful Country," she may be comforted by the thought that the good she has done in this wonderful state will live after her, and she will not be forgotten.

Mrs. Mackey died at the residence of her son-in-law, Mr. J. E. Clemmons, near Junction City, at four A. M., Thursday, August 13, 1908.

ADDENDA.

Page 68, add to note 13:

"BLOOMFIELD, N. J., April 23, 1908.

"*Geo. W. Martin*: By an awkward mishap I failed to give one of the sources of the Coronado paper sent you some time since.

"Antonio de Herrera, historiographer to the king of Spain, in his 'General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, Commonly Called the West Indies, from the Earliest Discovery Thereof,' gives a brief summary of the Coronado expedition into Kansas that deserves mention. His presentation is to the effect that after reaching the river of St. Peter and St. Paul (the Arkansas) the advance was continued northeast to a larger stream, evidently the Kansas river, and thence was made an advance further north to a still larger river. Naturally we would suppose this stream to be the Platte. It is barely possible that such an advance was made by a part of the thirty men who formed the party; yet, considering the brief time occupied in the tour into Kansas, and minor explorations made therein immediately after their arrival, there was scant time left for a tour so far north as the Platte, with their already sorely jaded horses. They must have simply accepted statements made by the Indians with whom they sojourned while in the region of the Kansas. The vicinity of the Kansas and especially its tributaries is described as presenting frequent groves of various kinds of trees, and the narrative indicates that this fact specially attracted the favorable attention of the Spaniards. It would seem, therefore, scarcely natural that, upon seeing the Platte, the absence of timber and the peculiarities of the stream, no mention should have been made of the vivid contrast that exists as to the diverse character of the streams and the growths upon their courses. This fact was so striking that personally I am satisfied that neither Coronado nor any of his men actually saw the Platte.

Very sincerely yours, JOHN B. DUNBAR."

Page 141.—Martin Van Buren Jackson, father of Atty.-gen. Fred S. Jackson, quoted in foot-note No. 91, died at his home, in Eureka, Greenwood county, Saturday morning, August 1, 1908, after a lingering illness.

Page 169, paragraph 4, line 1, F. P. Stanton note.—A letter from Secretary Lewis Cass to James W. Denver, dated December 11, 1857, stating that the calling of the extra session of the legislature in 1857 by Stanton had given grounds for his removal from office, will be found in volume 5 of Kansas Historical Collections, page 419.

Page 211, John Lockhart, additional item.—"A military company of light infantry was organized at Gardner, Johnson county, last week, with thirty-six members. Jno. Lockhart, esq., was elected captain, and Geo. Tucker first lieutenant."—*Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, January 2, 1858, page 2, col. 1.

Page 171, third paragraph, third line:

"LAWRENCE, May 27, 1908.

"*Geo. W. Martin, Secretary, Topeka, Kan.*:"

"DEAR MARTIN—Yours of the 25th instant received, asking for location of building in which the first free-state legislature met in Lawrence. The first free-state legislature met in the three-story brick and stone building owned by Babcock & Lykins, located on the north half of lot 25, Massachusetts street. The street number is 709.

The lots on which the Free-State Hotel was located adjoin this lot on the north.

"My recollection is that the legislature of 1858 met in the same building. The legislature of 1859-'60 (of which I was a member) met in a two-story stone building located on lot 13, Massachusetts street—street numbers 633 and 635. The building was erected and first occupied by Hutchinson, Harlow & Co. as a general merchandise store. There were two sessions of this legislature. The regular session met at Lecompton and adjourned to Lawrence. Gov. Sam. Medary vetoed the adjournment bill, which was passed over his veto, but he refused to go to Lawrence. By prearrangement with his excellency the legislature adjourned and was called in extra session, which met again at Lecompton and again adjourned to Lawrence, and this time the governor came too. Yours very truly, PAUL R. BROOKS."

- Page 237.—In foot-note giving a list of the survivors of original company B, Second Kansas regiment, should be added Michael N. Stearns, of Lincoln, Kan. He enlisted from Salina, and served four years and three months. He was born in France, sixty-two miles from Paris, and when sixteen years old came to America. He settled on the Saline in 1858, and in Lincoln in 1872.
- Page 244.—William Davis Blackford was born at Erie, Pa., June 12, 1833, and died in Washington, D. C., May 5, 1907. He left a widow, Frances Theresa Blackford, and three children—William Riley Blackford, Frances Pillsbury Blackford (now Mrs. Willis Hazleton) and Frederick Harmon Blackford. He was a member of the house of representatives, 1861. He settled in Lawrence in 1857. In 1861 he went to Washington and obtained a position in the senate document-room. In 1897 he was superintendent of the senate annex, which place he held at the time of his death.
- Page 251.—Simeon B. Mahurin was born in Grayson county, Kentucky, December 12, 1830. His ancestors emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky in the early settlement of that state. In 1836 his parents came to Macon county, Illinois, where he grew to manhood and engaged in farming, and in the fall of 1850 was married to a Miss McCarty, of Richland county, Illinois. In the fall of 1856 he came to Kansas and located in Bourbon county, and in the fall of 1859 was elected to the state legislature of 1861. He was free-state in politics. After the war he located in Howard county, now Elk, and died in 1893, and is buried near Howard City. He held several minor offices. F. M. Mahurin, a prominent business man and farmer at Howard City, is his son.
- Page 252.—Dr. J. T. Neal was a prominent physician with a large practice at Barnesville, Bourbon county, Kansas, from 1858 on. He was a very popular man and had a profitable practice. He was a radical free-state man. Ex-senator J. W. Bainum, of Mapleton, says that at one time when he (Bainum), was teaching school near where Amos, Mo., now is, on the Kansas City Southern road, a man was shot and they wanted a doctor. The border partisan feeling was so strong at the time that nobody in the neighborhood dared cross the line into Kansas. Neither did they think that Doctor Neal dare cross the border. So they got Bainum, whose home was at Mapleton, in Bourbon county, to ride over to Barnesville, Kan., and get the doctor and give him a safe conduct to attend the wounded man. He was United States Consul to Jamaica, and died there in the '60's.

Page 371.—MY DEAR SIR—Is it too late for me to add an additional paragraph or foot-note to my article on the "Cheyenne Indian Massacre on the Middle Sappa"? I presume it is, but I recently secured some additional information that I wish could have been used. A party of hunters who visited the scene within a very few days after the massacre found many of the children of that ill-fated band had their skulls crushed presumably by the butts of the carbines in the hands of the soldiers. It has been graphically described to me by an eyewitness whose varacity is beyond question. I am sorry I did not know of this while preparing my paper.—*William D. Street.*

Page 428: *The Nineteenth Kansas.*—The following material was secured too late for use in the preparation of Mr. Hadley's paper, and is here published as throwing additional light on the march. Governor Crawford's story gives the commander's hasty recollection of an experience of forty years back, the satisfactory termination of a frontier warfare, which had rendered his position as executive one of constant anxiety for the safety of the border settlements and overland travel. The diary of Lieutenant Thrasher, supplemented by the memory of James R. Mead, with his exact knowledge of localities between Topeka and Wichita at that time, will straighten out that itinerary, adding two more camping-places to the list, as well as more interesting local history.

THE NINETEENTH KANSAS VOLUNTEERS.

(Interview with Gov. Samuel J. Crawford, June 19, 1908.)

From 1865 to 1869 we had an Indian war on our western border every summer, mainly with the wild tribes—Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches. Every spring when the grass came up the young men of these tribes would come in and raid the western border settlements of Kansas and Nebraska, and during these four years a great many people were killed and an immense amount of property captured or destroyed. At that time the commerce from New Mexico nearly all passed over the old Santa Fe trail from Kansas City and St. Louis to New Mexico and Arizona, generally in large wagon-trains operated by Mexicans and some of our Kansas people. Along in 1866-'68 the Kansas Pacific folks were building that road through Kansas to Denver, and these Indians were opposed to the building of the road, and did everything they could to stop its progress.¹ At the same time they would attack the Santa Fe trains loaded with goods for the merchants in New Mexico and Arizona, and a great amount of property was destroyed, and many people killed. So the plains Indians kept our western border and the overland roads in a turmoil from early in the spring until late in the fall of each of these years.

Finally, during the summer of 1868, roving bands of Indian war parties raided our settlements on the Solomon and Republican. They killed and wounded a good many people, destroyed much property, captured quite a number of horses, and carried into captivity two women—a Mrs. Annie Brewster Morgan and Miss Sarah White. Late in the fall of 1868 they at-

NOTE 1.—Henry M. Stanley, in the first volume of "My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia," London, 1895, gives an account of efforts made by the United States authorities in 1867 to pacify the plains Indians, who were violently opposing the building of the Pacific railroads through their hunting-grounds.

tacked a wagon-train coming in from New Mexico and killed all the teamsters in the train, burned the wagons, stole the horses and mules, and also carried into captivity a Mrs. Clara Blinn² and her little two-year-old child Willie.

After the attack on the Solomon, August 12 to [13, 1868, I telegraphed President Andrew Johnson the details of the depredations committed in that raid, the number of people who were killed and captured, and tendered him a regiment of volunteers to assist in protecting the border settlements. In October General Sherman was authorized to call for a regiment of cavalry, which was speedily organized and equipped for a winter campaign.

On the 5th of November the regiment, 1200 strong, marched from Topeka to join General Sheridan at Camp Supply, in the Indian Territory. We crossed the Arkansas on the 14th of November, and after a march of 150 miles through a rough, unknown country, through what are now the counties of Sedgwick, Sumner, Harper, and Barber, Kansas, and Woodward, Oklahoma, with snow from six to twelve inches deep, the advance reached Camp Supply on the 28th. Here I found Generals Sheridan and Custer with the Seventh cavalry awaiting our arrival. On the march from Wichita to Camp Supply I subsisted the command on buffalo meat, which we obtained on the march in abundance.

On the 7th of December General Sheridan moved southward with the Nineteenth Kansas and Seventh United States cavalry to the Washita river in the panhandle of Texas, and thence down the Washita in close pursuit of the five wild tribes, until they were overtaken some fifty-five miles west of Fort Cobb, on the 15th of December. One band was overtaken by General Evans, from Texas, west of the Wichita mountains, and defeated, on Christmas day. The Indians we had been pursuing had retreated before Sheridan on a forced march of five days through deep snow and intensely cold weather. Not being able to travel further or to escape our command, they went into camp and sent out a number of chiefs under a flag of truce, and surrendered to Sheridan. We took about twenty of their chiefs prisoners to hold as hostages until the Indians would bring in the captured white women they had in their possession and give evidence of their good faith in carrying out their terms of surrender. Sheridan also directed them as soon as the weather would permit to move southward from the Washita to Cache creek, some fifty miles from old Fort Cobb. At the same time Sheridan moved by way of Fort Cobb, and directed the Nineteenth to cross the Washita and move in advance of the Indians. The Nineteenth reached Cache creek on January 7, I think it was, the Indians accompanying the command. A few days later Sheridan and Custer came over with the Seventh cavalry and established Fort Sill near the eastern extremity of the Wichita mountains.

We remained in camp near Sill, then called Camp Wichita, until about the 15th of February, when all but one of the bands of the five wild tribes came in and agreed upon terms of surrender. This band had possession of the two white women captives, and held them some distance from our camp

NOTE 2.—In Custer's *Wild Life on the Plains*, c. 1883, p. 121, is given a tabular statement of murders, outrages, etc., committed by the Indians in the Department of the Missouri and northern Texas in 1868, exclusive of military engagements. In this list the capture of Mrs. Clara Blinn and little son are mentioned, and the destruction of the wagon-train, as having occurred on Sand creek October 6, 1868. Mrs. Blinn, in her letter dated November 7, 1868, says the date was the 9th of October. She and the child were killed November 27, 1868, at the battle of the Washita.

until a part of the two commands was sent out to their place of rendezvous and secured the captives. This ended the most severe and expensive winter campaign that was ever made against the Indians in that country. It also ended in making good Indians out of those savage tribes for all time to come.

Sheridan, Custer and Colonel Moore returned to Hays by way of Camp Supply. I left Sill, I think, about the 15th of February, with an escort consisting of Capt. George B. Jenness and Capt. Roger A. Ellsworth and three men. We came due east through the Chickasaw country, and thence through the Seminole and Creek countries, to Fort Gibson, and up the valley of the Grand river to the Neosho through the Cherokee country, to Chetopa, Kan., and thence by way of Humboldt to Topeka. I think I remained here but one or two days, and then hastened on to Washington. The object of my journey was to make arrangements to pay off the Nineteenth when the regiment should reach Fort Hays.

On reaching Washington I found that no money had been appropriated by Congress for the payment of the regiment, but with the aid of General Sherman and General Grant, who had just been inaugurated President, arrangements were made with the Secretary of War whereby the regiment was paid in full at Fort Hays when the men were mustered out of service, April 18, 1869. The money used for this purpose was taken from the contingent fund of the War Department, and reappropriated by the next session of Congress.

On my return home I reached Chetopa on the 1st day of March. The night before we camped over in the Territory near a cattle-trail. Herds of cattle were passing all night from Texas and the Indian Territory to get into Kansas before the 1st of March, when the quarantine law took effect. The second night in Kansas we camped at Osage Mission, in Neosho county. The next day we reached Iola, and thence by private conveyance to Garnett, where we took the train at three o'clock the next morning, and reached Topeka, via Lawrence, on March 3.

AN ITEM REGARDING THE STATE'S ARCHIVES.

At the beginning of my term as governor I appointed Thomas J. Anderson adjutant-general. Major Beeman was an assistant, and I think we had as many as twenty in all making out the soldiers' records for the term of the war. The work was very carefully done, made out in large volumes. Samuel S. McFadden was one of these clerks. After the close of my administration I wanted some facts contained in these records and went into the executive office, having come up from Emporia, and inquired for the papers. I was told that there was not room in the governor's office for the papers; that the war was over, and they had been piled up in the basement. When I went down and saw them piled up down there I was just simply wild. I knew how valuable they would be to the state. I went right back up to the governor's office and made a racket. He told me he had no appropriation for their care. I advised him to put them all back in the shelves the best way he could, and when the legislature met in the spring he could doubtless get an appropriation for a clerk to care for them and for the needed shelving.

During my administration we incurred in one year an indebtedness of

about \$75,000 for the arming and maintenance of troops on the border. The legislature never questioned the expenditure of a single penny, because we always had a voucher for every penny expended.—*Samuel J. Crawford.*

COPY OF DIARY OF LUTHER A. THRASHER.

Quartermaster Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry, October 15 to December 31, 1868.

October 15.—Out by times and off hunting strays. Found quite a number, and by noon had all but three. Received telegram from Gov. S. J. Crawford, tendering me quartermastership of the Kansas volunteer cavalry regiment. I answered, accepting. Thompson ships seven cars. I take remainder to graze.

October 16.—Out by times. Breakfast at Morris's. Take out cattle—drizzly. Many cattle stampeded last night. Raw, disagreeable day. Received another dispatch from governor, saying all's right. Shippers are again disappointed in cars. Take evening freight for Topeka.

October 17.—Out early. Took cattle out and counted them. One was found in Laurens's herd. Penned at 12 M. Assisted to pen Mr. Eling's and the Pancake herd. Hard running. Thompson & Cravens are pretty lively to-day. Thompson secured a pass for me to Leavenworth and back. On train in evening. Lancaster & Suggs on same train.

[The following entry was written across that of October 17, and crossed out. It evidently belongs to October 18.] Arrived at Topeka at ten A. M. Met the governor, and was mustered first lieutenant and quartermaster of the Nineteenth Kansas volunteer cavalry. Made an issue of commissary stores. Had a long chat with the governor and Colonel Burris in the evening. Put up at the Capitol House.

October 18.—Breakfast at Wamego. On to Topeka. Met the governor this morning. Took ride with the governor in his carriage across the Kaw looking for camp. Parleyvoood with Mr. Brigley. He took dinner with me and Colonel Gentry. Damp, disagreeable day. Retired early.

October 19.—Out early this morning to the governor's office, thence to depot. Foggy and disagreeable. Took train at twelve M. and arrived at Abilene in evening. No arrangements as to pay.

October 20.—Out early to tent. Get up horses and start them by Rease to Topeka. Traded Colonel for mule and got \$5 to boot. Sold Seminole at \$29. Packed our box with our duds and traps. Rainy, disagreeable day. All we lack is settlement to get off.

October 21.—Out early. Wintry. Every one swearing to-day. Try to foot up some things.

October 22.—Major and I settle up square. I received \$1963. Checked my baggage. Gast furnished me a pass to Topeka. Mounted caboose and off. Slow train. Bad luck. Try to sleep, but in vain.

October 23.—Arrived at Topeka this morning at ten. To Capitol House to dinner. Went to see governor. Everything right. Went into business at once. Pretty day. Met Colonel Steel and Major Johnston. All O. K. To camp on borrowed horse. Received letter from Neal Keiffer and Colonel Twiss.

October 24.—Out early. To governor's and met General Forsyth, and had a conversation with him, and made arrangements for future operations.

In camp, thence to North Topeka, and made a draw of companies G, E, and quartermaster stores. Deliver to Captain Dimon fifty blankets.

October 25.—At work hard to-day. Everything is bustle and confusion. Down to see the governor in company with Dimon and Twiss. Good time.

October 26.—To city. Paid bill at Capitol. Drawing supplies and issuing. Met General Card, chief quartermaster.

October 27.—Out early to camp. Find plenty to do. Head over heels in work. Have five loads hauled. Brigley rides across with me. Fine weather. Sutherland came up. Settled Corker note, also settle error.

October 28.—Out early. Dressed in clean duds. All gay. Worked hard last night.

October 30.—Worked hard all day and did but little. Looking anxiously for trunk and things. No go. Lieut. J. D. Parsons went with me to the Curtis House. Good time.

November 1.—Collected forage requisitions, fuel requisitions, and straw. The boys are all right. Fine weather and gay times in camp.

November 2.—Out pretty early. Got dunned by our landlord and paid our bill. To camp and worked hard. Received five horses to-day from corral. Had my ponies taken to camp. Talked to Bradshaw. Will sell the ponies to him. Bought gaiters and gloves. Took a bath and had a time with Brigley and Sam Fletcher.

November 3.—Out by times. Fine morning. Warm. Keiffer takes dinner with me. Everything in confusion. Get up my wall-tent. Move over to camp. Meet Ewing, of Texas. Ride over with Fletcher behind. Gay!

[November 4 to 6, inclusive, no entries.]

November 7.—Out early. Command moves early. Major Johnston and I go in advance to Emporia. To camp, and take supper.

November 8.—Rainy this morning. Repair bridge. On to Alberson's ford of Cottonwood. Train doesn't get in till very late. Hard, rough day. Do not get plenty of forage.

November 9.—Snows this morning. Awful day. Into camp, and forget our troubles in a good supper. Forage secured. Work on papers. Mead called on us, and several other gentlemen.

November 10.—Rode out in advance this morning—Johnston, Crawford and myself. Called halt at Ellis and engaged forage. Command in by sunset. Get full feed for horses. Little muscular action in regard to forage.

November 11.—Out ahead this morning again. Took snack at Fulton's. Bought hay from Mead. Fine camp and plenty of forage.

November 12.—On to Wichita all agay. Have some hard words and late hours with Major Barr. Received fifty-four sacks forage. Up till midnight or later.

November 13.—Tried to settle with Chet. Hard hand. Work till late. Have board of survey on the forage. Go to Kellogg's to dance.

November 14.—Out early. To town on business. Major Barr sent in transfers of forage, but they not being accurate I did not sign them. Command marches at eight o'clock A. M. Marched to Dutch Bill's ranch on Cowskin and went into camp.

November 15.—Rolled out early. Blustery and threatening rain. Strike the Ninnescah at 3:30 P. M. A disagreeable rain-storm sets in, and taking scarcity of fuel into consideration, a very disagreeable night ensues.

November 16.—Very cold and frightfully disagreeable. Our tent down. Made out vouchers to W. W. H. Lawrence for three days, eight teams, at \$6.33 per day. Employed from the 14th to the 16th, inclusive. Date 14th. Had some trouble crossing the river. Made a rapid march of twenty-five miles and camped on Shawacaskah. Fuel scarce and weather cold.

November 17.—Rolled out early. Fine, cold morning, and we march it off rapidly. Make camp on a small stream. Emotional rumors of Indians abroad, in camp. Some are green enough to believe them. I kill a buffalo. Live pretty gay. Retire early. Weather still cool.

November 18.—Out by time and off, in pretty good shape. Make a circuitous march and reach camp late. At about dusk the horses stampede, and frightful confusion and noise prevail for a time. Mule teams are overturned and horses by troops speed away. But few are recovered at bedtime. I saved my horse by risking my life. The horses of the surgeons and a number of other private horses escape with the others.

November 19.—Numerous parties are started out this morning to collect the stampedeers. All but about a hundred are recovered. Major Jenkins and Lieutenant Parsons came in in the evening. Things look rather gloomy. Evening quite cool. Made out papers for companies I, L, and M. Colonel Moore administers several rebukes during the evening.

November 20.—Roll out rather early. Cold and frosty. Make an awful drive to Skunk creek, and camp. Train gets in at ten P. M. Raise good fires and turn in feeling pretty well. Captain Pliley returns to camp minus the stampedeers.

November 21.—Make a road and take train across creek by hand. Pull out briskly. Graze after five-mile march. Clouds up in the afternoon and grows cold and disagreeable. Make camp and build fires. Train gets in in pretty good time. Snow commences to fall and continues up to a late hour.

November 22.—Snow covers the ground to the depth of several inches. Bad egg. Captain Pliley and Lieutenant Parsons are sent out to look for General Sully's supply-train. We strike out and wander around in the storm, and go into camp on fine stream well sheltered by timber. Snow still falling. Stock in a deplorable condition. Rations exhausted, and men reduced to buffalo.

November 23.—Impossible to move to-day. Men are *whining*. Horses and mules starving. Snow falling. In the evening it lay twelve inches deep on the ground. No news as yet from Pliley and Parsons.

November 24.—Move eight miles to-day nearly west to the Cimarron. Awful drive through snow knee-deep, and through gorges and mountain breaks too rough for description. Train failed to arrive in camp. I killed two buffaloes. Am very tired from the exertion, as I took it afoot. Slept most miserably indeed. Some fun, however.

November 25.—Colonel Crawford takes the effective mounted force and starts out for base of supplies, leaving Major Jenkins in command of camp here. One lieutenant from each company left in charge, except company M. Lieutenant Johnston and myself are ordered to remain; also all transportation. The parties under marching orders leave camp at one P. M. Play game of whist in evening. Day clear but cold. Cold increasing as sun declines.

November 26.—Sleep cold last night. Cold this morning but clear. Snow melts slowly; sun shines brightly all day. Writing most of the day, shave

and take bath. Fine evening; have good time. Concluded to sleep with the major. Johnston and I have good time chatting and gassing. Feeling gay and festive.

November 27.—Out on business early. Splendid morning. Sun comes out bright and beautiful. Have a bath-house rigged up and take an exquisite bath. While indulging, Captain Pliley came into camp with a party, reporting supplies thirteen miles off, and the post forty-five miles distant. Bully! Two noble Kaws came in with him. Hardtack has gone down. Wrote to Elias last night. Champney finds some ponies. Let him have mine to go for them. Take nap in evening, and not feeling first rate. To bed late.

November 28.—Out early. Hallett got in last night at four A. M. Sun comes up clear and bright. Air is cool. Twelve M., and no news from train. Play a friendly game of euchre with Major Jenkins, Major Johnston, and Doctor Bailey. Feel the need of some bread, just moderately. Took bath to-day, and while doing so Captain Pliley and Lieutenant Pepoon, of Sheridan's scouts, arrived. Three wagons with subsistence and forage arrived later in the day. Issued of each. Feel bully. Night cool.

November 29.—Broke camp and struck out for Camp Supply. Train laboring hard. Command strings out five miles. Jenkins goes in advance and leaves train with rear-guard. Mules give out. I camp with it on the Cimarron and get forage from Pepoon's camp. We do finely.

November 30.—Roll out early. Arrive at Scout Camp at nine A. M. Roll out after shifting loads, and make Buffalo creek at ten P. M. A swelling of the tonsils is giving me extreme pain and I get no sleep.

December 1.—Commence the march at daybreak. Make Camp Supply at 4 P. M. The portion of the regiment which precedes us we find in camp and doing well. Weather turns cold, a norther making a demand for large fires. My swelling of the neck growing worse and nearly suffocating me.

December 2.—Know but little of what is transpiring, being confined to the limits of hospital tent. Think that I am *hors du combat* for the rest of this campaign. Major Dimon's foot is giving him a great deal of pain. He is sewed up as well as myself.

December 3.—Still lying on the stocks. Miserable in the extreme. Preparations are making for an expedition south. I am determined to go.

“WICHITA, KAN., July 11, 1908.

“George W. Martin, Secretary, Topeka, Kan.:

“DEAR SIR—I have received the advance sheets of the ‘Nineteenth cavalry’ by J. A. Hadley, and an extract from the diary of Luther A. Thrasher. I find they disagree as to dates. Both agree, however, as does Col. Horace L. Moore, that they left Topeka on November 5, and arrived at the mouth of the Little Arkansas on November 12, 1868. From these and my intimate knowledge of their route, my teams traveling the roads constantly, I can follow their march from Topeka to Camp Supply very closely and locate their camping-places.

“November 5, 1868, first night.—Camped on Wakarusa, twelve miles south of Topeka.

“November 6, second night.—Camped half-mile south of Burlingame on Switzler's creek, on road to Emporia.

“November 7, third night.—Camped on west bank of Neosho river at crossing, in timber; two miles east of Emporia.

"November 8, fourth night.—Camped on Cottonwood river, near Cottonwood Falls.

"November 9, fifth night.—Camped on South Fork of Cottonwood, one mile south of "Mitchel's," on the creek and beside the road. They got into camp about sundown. *I met them there.* (See Thrasher's journal of November 9.)

"November 10, sixth night.—In the timber north of El Dorado; on the Walnut.

"November 11, seventh night.—On west bank of Whitewater, at Towanda—Mead's ranch.

"November 12, eighth night.—Mouth of Little Arkansas, Camp Beecher. They arrived at 3 P. M.

"The roads from Topeka to Camp Beecher were very muddy and heavy. Short marches were necessary. All camp sites were well chosen. The country was open and unfenced. Horses and men were in fine condition. There was no grain or hay along the road in quantity. No one had been sent ahead to provide feed at the camping-places. There were some ricks of good hay at my place at Towanda, but no quantity of grain. This was the first camping-place east on the trip from the junction of Big and Little Arkansas.

"At Towanda was my home, known as 'Mead's Ranch,' comprising house, general store, post-office, Indian agency, schoolhouse, stables, corrals, fenced fields, etc. Eighty rods to the north was the home of Sam Fulton, in plain view; north of him were other families, the Kellys, Gillions, and others. South, half a mile, lived Sam Huller, and one mile south of him, Wm. Vann, both with families. The command passed along the road 100 yards north of my place, and Governor Crawford kindly placed a guard about my buildings and property. The command camped on the west bank of the Whitewater, at the crossing, about a quarter of a mile from my buildings. North about forty rods was the home of Dan Cupp. He still lives there. The command camped on the Whitewater the evening of November 11, 1868. My foreman sold them a rick of hay and other supplies. I was away.

"Our trail ran west from Wichita to Cowskin Grove, seven miles. The Caddoes were camped there, and 'Dutch Bill' was trading with them—had a cabin and a squaw. The command camped there the first night after leaving Camp Beecher, probably getting a late start. From there they followed our trail to "Nee-ne-skaw," just below the junction—a plain trail. Here they naturally camped, distance about eighteen miles over a level plain. Thence to the Chikaskia there was a plain trail, twenty-five miles, one day's march. Here, of course, they made camp; no timber. From there on the trail was scattering, indistinct; known only to ourselves. They camped next on a branch of the head waters of Bluff creek. From that on *they were lost*, traveling at random. They camped on Medicine Lodge, several miles above its mouth. Their proper route was by the junction of Medicine and Salt Fork, where there was an abundance of timber, thence southwest to Eagle Chief, where there was plenty of timber. Instead they reached the Salt Fork some miles above the junction, where there was no timber and a difficult crossing. From there on they were struck by a blizzard which nearly completed their destruction. A competent guide could have avoided most of their woes. The stampede on Medicine Lodge was one of those unforeseen accidents which will sometimes overtake the most experienced and careful plainsman.

"In the winter of 1867-'68 the writer personally made three trips with loaded teams—a small train—from Towanda to the North Fork of the Canadian, below where Camp Supply was afterwards built; was caught in a blizzard, was captured by a war party of 100 Cheyennes, but always returned safe and sound without the loss of a man or animal, or suffering any hardship; and we could have taken the Nineteenth cavalry through just as easily.

J. R. MEAD."

Page 442:

George Peacock was killed at Allison's ranch, also his clerk and Mexican herder, on September 9, 1860, by Satanta, war chief of the Kiowas. The "Ranch" or trading station was built by Allison, of

Independence, Mo., in 1857. It was situated on the Santa Fe trail about 100 yards from the crossing of Walnut creek, on the east side, and on north side of the road. Allison died suddenly of heart failure at Independence, and Peacock rented the ranch. Peacock was killed for personal reasons only. Among other things, Satanta came to Peacock and asked for a letter of introduction stating that he was a chief of importance, in order that he might be treated civilly and entertained when he came to camps of freighters, or others traveling the trail, as was customary on the plains. Peacock wrote a letter as follows: "The bearer of this, Satanta, is the dirtiest, laziest, louseyest vagabond on the plains; if he comes to your camp kick him out." The next train that came along Satanta presented his letter of introduction, and to his surprise he met with derision, contempt and abuse; and it occurred to Satanta, who was a very civil, decent and proud-spirited Indian (at least I always found him so), that there was something wrong with his credentials. So he goes to Mathewson's ranch on Cow creek to see Wm. Mathewson, the original "Buffalo Bill," who read the letter to Satanta, who swore vengeance. Mathewson sent word to Peacock as to what he might expect, but he laughed at it. The killing was adroitly planned. Peacock had a tall lookout built on top of his trading house. Satanta, with some of his men, came to the store and told Peacock there was a lot of soldiers coming. Peacock climbed to the top of his lookout to see, when Satanta shot him. If he had treated the Indians decently probably he would not have been disturbed.

J. R. MEAD.

Page 533.—Because of Mr. Chappell's death, questions regarding his article on "Floods in the Missouri River" have been submitted to others. Mr. S. Waters Fox, to whom acknowledgment of aid given in the preparation of the paper was made by the author, has glanced through the proof, and while he mentions a certain lack of technical definiteness of statement due to the view-point of a layman, he mentions only a few misstatements worth modifying, among which are the following: On page 536, in referring to depth of river, Mr. Fox says that in numerous places a depth of over seventy feet during low water has been recorded. Page 543, third paragraph, should read, "The land in the river-bottoms is 'generally' lower near the bluff," and "near the river 'generally' sandy," not 'invariably sandy.'" Page 544, in commenting on the first paragraph, Mr. Fox suggests that a technical knowledge of velocity of current, etc., would have explained the character of deposit. The flood of 1881, mentioned on page 558, was due to the "ponding of water by ice-gorges in the river above Sioux City." The high bottoms alluded to on page 557, Mr. Fox explains, are supposed to have been left by the early post-glacial river. On the same page, the fourth line from the bottom of the third paragraph should read "303.65 feet," not "303.35." On page 551 Mr. Fox emphasizes the fact, implied by Mr. Chappell in the third paragraph, that the flood of 1844 was "chiefly out of the Kaw." Mr. Fox has presented the Historical Society with a copy of his paper on "Technical Methods of River Improvement as Developed on the Lower Missouri River by the General Government from 1876 to 1903," published in 1905.

Page 552, note 38.—In 1757 Josiah Ramsay, a boy of about six years, was stolen from Culpeper county, Virginia, by Indians. His father, Thomas Ramsay, sought him among the prisoners returned by Bouquet's treaty in 1764. He was not able certainly to recognize his

son, but selected a child who, as he grew up, doubted his paternity. He had been too young when captured to remember any incidents of the event, and had been told by his Indian father that he had been obliged to obtain a cow in order to feed him. It is supposed that the boy selected may have belonged to the family of George Coon or Kuhn, who was captured by the Indians on the Virginia frontier about 1756 or 1757. In 1780 young Josiah Ramsay removed to Kentucky. He died at the home of his son, Gen. Jonathan Ramsay, in Callaway county, Missouri, about 1834 or 1835. General Ramsay was a member of the first constitutional convention of Missouri, 1820, and later represented Callaway county in the legislature.—“Doniphan’s Expedition,” by Wm. E. Connelley, Topeka, 1907, p. 641.

Page 622, addition to note 1.—Mrs. Emily Haines Harrison, whose paper on early days in Ottawa county appears in this volume, died in her cottage at Ellsworth August 10, 1908, at the age of eighty-three. The despatch says Mrs. Harrison served as a spy for the Union army in addition to her work as nurse.

Page 623.—The following letter, written by the late Alexander M. Campbell to his daughter, Mrs. N. H. Loomis, dated Salina, February 26, 1905, gives an account of the search for and finding of the body of John Phillips:

“When John Phillips was lost Matthew Maxwell and I stopped all night at the home of Mr. Stephens, a few miles below John F. Hughes’ and Pete’s place. Next morning we were on the broken land on their place; rode around but did not find their house, but found the tracks of John’s horse going towards home. When we got up the hill above the Hughes place we saw smoke from their morning fire. The house was built in a bank of a draw, partly underground, so it was below the level of ground around it. As the Stephens boys said they would go and tell Hughes and others to search for him (John), we kept on the horse’s tracks. When we crossed the divide between the Smoky Hill and one of the heads of Dry creek we lost the track of John’s horse, and seeing a horseman going at a rapid gallop we made for him. As he was apparently coming our way, we wondered why we were so long reaching him. We were anxious to reach him, supposing he had news and was hunting for us. Before we could reach him he turned around, but we finally caught up with him. It was Doctor Crowley. All he knew was that Captain Hanna, with a wagon and quite a party, were following up Dry creek. As the horse was going down the slope towards Dry creek, we expected they would find the horse. So we started for Spring creek, and got home that night. We were out about ten days, returning and changing horses between times. We were both tired. That day, or the day we were on the Hughes place, the Indians found John’s body a few hundred yards from where Matthew and I turned. John and Pete told the Stephenses and they sent, I think, Mr. Waddles. He reached the old store at Salina about two o’clock, just one day after we reached home. Colonel Phillips reached home about the same time. We got horses. Colonel and I started for Stephens’s, through the hills, reaching there before bedtime. Solomon Stephens harnessed up his team and we went to Hughes’s, got the body, and stayed that night, and Solomon brought home John’s body for the colonel. It was cold. All the time his eyes were on that dead boy’s form. Nothing was said, but I knew he was suffering. The Stephenses were kind to the old man, and his wife waited until we returned from Hughes’s before going to bed, then they had family worship. I had known these people before, but always had a great respect for them afterwards.”

Page 650:

"McPHERSON, KAN., August 7, 1908.

"George W. Martin, Secretary, Topeka, Kan.:

"DEAR SIR—In answer to yours of the 5th, will say that the Oxhide mentioned in narrative of William H. Mackey, sr., was undoubtedly a small creek emptying into the Smoky Hill from the south, between Ellsworth and Fort Harker. I have talked with old freighters and they know of no other Oxhide. The trip must have been made along what is known as the old Fort Zarah road. Oxhide creek furnished timber and water and was the first camping-place out from Harker. The next camping-place would be Plum creek, about seventeen miles from Harker, and next beyond that would be Cow creek, in northwest corner of Rice county. Yours truly, A. C. SPILMAN."

NOTE.

Since the printing of the first sheet of this volume there have been added to the annual list of members of the State Historical Society, Evelin P. Barber, of Syracuse, Hamilton county, and J. H. Stewart, of Wichita. Mr. Stewart is state senator from Sedgwick county. Mr. Barber was the leader of a colony from New York that settled in Hamilton county in 1873. The organization was made at Mr. Barber's home in Syracuse, New York, October 23, 1872. S. Russell Jones, E. P. Barber, and D. G. Ackland, were appointed a committee to view the land in Kansas. They visited Fort Scott, traveled the length of the Union Pacific in Kansas, and on Christmas, 1872, they reached Hamilton county, and quickly decided upon that location. That whole region was black with buffaloes. The party reached Hamilton county March 23, 1873, in a blinding snow-storm.

Gen. John A. Halderman, a life member, died in Salem, Mass., September 21, and was buried in Arlington cemetery, Washington, September 23, 1908. General Halderman came to Kansas in 1854, was private secretary to Governor Reeder, major of the First Kansas regiment, a member of the house of representatives, state senator, consul to Bangkok, and America's first minister to the court of Siam. He made a great reputation in diplomacy, and was honored with many decorations.

ERRATA.

- Page 104.—Fourth line above genealogy, should read “appointed treasurer *by* the county board of commissioners.”
- Page 139.—In paragraph under date May 11, 1856, the name “J. B. Donaldson” should be “I. B. Donalson”; his name was Israel B. Donalson. The quotation under date of May 21, 1856, beginning “Gentleman, this is the happiest day of my life,” is properly credited to S. J. Jones, while the speech quoted in foot-note 86 was made by Atchison in camp two miles from Lawrence; the numbers to foot-notes 86 and 87 should be transposed.
- Page 171, line 9 from end of text.—For “afternoon” read “forenoon.”
- Page 206, Oscar E. Learnard, line 9.—Read “James,” not “John,” W. Denver; also, page 169, last line of paragraph 4.
- Page 207, first paragraph, last line.—“Brooklin was situated seven miles northwest of the present site of Barnard. In the fall of 1855 E. O. Brooks & Co. built some cabins here and started a store. At the suggestion of David Sibbet, Mr. Brooks’s name and Linn, the name of the county, were united so as to form the name Brooklin for the name of the town.”—Cutler’s History of Kansas, 1883, p. 1116. On page 60 of the “Kansas Annual Register,” 1864, in the list of Kansas post-offices, the name is spelled “Brooklyn,” Linn county. The same spelling is given on Blanchard’s map of Kansas, 1869. Whether the town share mentioned by Captain Ballard on page 234 of this volume, at the close of the first paragraph, is the Linn county town or another long since dead is not known.
- Page 208.—Sketch of William Prentiss Badger, third line from bottom, should read, “He died at Muscotah, November 7, 1894.”
- Page 262, ninth paragraph, fourth line.—For “code division” read “code revision.”
- Page 295, line 10 of note 1.—For “Wanneta” read “Tonda.”
- Page 300, note 6.—Richard I. Dodge, not “H. I.”
- Page 308.—The picture on this page is labeled wrongly. It should be “Rain-in-the-face in Indian costume.” See picture of Red Cloud and Professor Marsh, page 294.
- Page 310, paragraph 5, line 7, should read “battle of the Washita,” not “Wichita.”
- Page 319, note 4.—For “Irwin’s diary” read “Irvin’s diary”; page 320, second line of fourth paragraph, for “Irwin” read “Irvin”; page 315, second paragraph, first line, the name “Irwin” is right.
- Page 421, first paragraph of “A Kansas Soldier,” eighth line from top, read “the little burg of Maysville,” not Marysville.
- Page 422, tenth line from top of page, read “Rabb’s battery,” not Robb’s. And in the thirteenth line from the bottom of the page read “Cove creek valley,” not Cave.
- Page 485, fourth paragraph, fifth line.—Read “pages 503 and 527,” instead of “pages 530 and 531.”

- Page 487.—Line 5 should read “a few rods north *on* the present site of Wakefield,” not *of*.
- Page 507, fourth paragraph, fourth line.—Read “Job Avery and his wife, Jean, *née* Thacher.”
- Page 513.—Note 110 should follow the word “Wakefield,” at the end of the fourth paragraph.
- Page 520, third paragraph, third line from bottom.—Read “and that their cousin Duncan Clinch,” not “Duncan Church.”
- Page 524, third paragraph, fourth line.—“Union with Scotland,” not “union of Scotland.”
- Pages 530, 531.—Maps. The originals of these two maps were drawn after the body of the history was written. They form no part of sources enumerated on page 485. Mr. Marshall simply illustrated his letter of September 30, 1906, with sketch maps to show precisely what lands were occupied by the families mentioned, viz., Clinch, Buckle, Gaston, Jacobus, Quimby and others.—*J. C. Chapman*.
- Page 640, note 1.—The date of Lincoln's letter should read “May 14, 1859,” not “1895.”
- Page 643.—The site of Ashland was near the mouth of McDowell's creek, on the north half of section 3, township 11, range 7 east, hardly fourteen miles from Fort Riley, even following the convolutions of the Kansas river, and about eight miles in a straight line.
- Page 644, in place of note 4, read: Reese P. Brown, of Leavenworth, was killed the night of January 18, 1856, for defending the polls at the election at Easton, January 17. The election for state officers under the Topeka constitution had been called for January 15, but, because of pro-slavery opposition, was adjourned at Easton to January 17.
- Page 659.—Beman, not Beeman.

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