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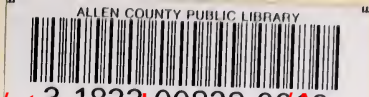


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GENEALOGY COLLECTION

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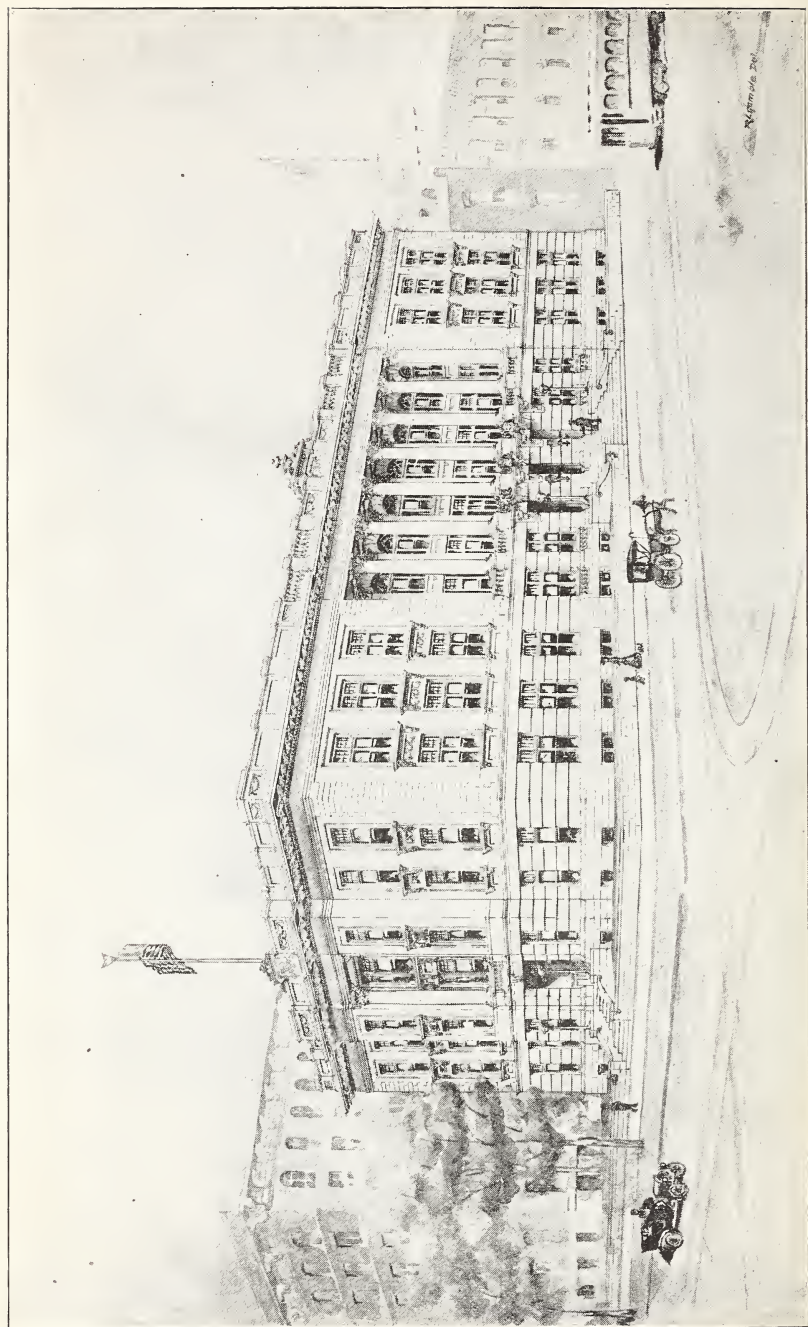


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# COLLECTIONS

(Previous Volumes, "TRANSACTIONS.")

OF THE

## KANSAS

### STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1909-1910.

EMBRACING

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS; SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS IN  
CENTRAL KANSAS; THE WYANDOTTE CONVENTION; MANU-  
FACTURES IN THE KANSAS DISTRICT; THE SOLDIERS OF  
KANSAS; THE KANSAS SCHOOL SYSTEM; THE CHEY-  
ENNE, PAWNEE, CHIPPEWA, MUNSEE, AND SAUK  
& FOX INDIANS; THE GERMAN-RUSSIAN SET-  
TLEMENTS IN ELLIS COUNTY; EARLY DAYS  
ON THE UNION PACIFIC; THE EXPEDI-  
TION OF VILLAZUR; THE STORY OF  
LECOMPTON; AND PERSONAL  
NARRATIVE.

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

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VOL. XI.

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STATE PRINTING OFFICE,  
TOPEKA, 1910.

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NOTE.

The word "Transactions" on the title page of this series has been changed to "Collections," to conform with the character of the publication. Originally the transactions of the Society, business and otherwise, were published in the same volume with historical papers, but each feature has assumed such importance as to require a separate volume. The "Transactions" of the Society are now all contained in biennial reports, the last being the sixteenth, while the "Collections" are the same series as "Transactions."

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 Anthony, Daniel R., jr., Leavenworth.  
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 (Born August 10, 1898.)  
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 Bernhardt, Christian, Lincoln.  
 Bigger, L. A., Hutchinson.  
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 Campbell, J. W., Plevna.  
 Capper, Arthur, Topeka.  
 Carson, C. W., Ashland.  
 Clark, Elon S., Topeka.  
 Clarke, Fred B., Seattle, Wash.  
 Clarke, Genevieve Slonecker, Blue Mound.  
 (Born June 20, 1908.)  
*Cole, Geo. E.*, Topeka.  
 Coleman, Mrs. A. E., Manhattan.  
 Conover, John, Kansas City, Mo.  
 Crawford, Samuel J., Baxter Springs.  
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.  
 Curtis, Charles, Topeka.  
 Davidson, C. L., Wichita.  
 De Rigne, Haskell, Kansas City.  
 (Born July 11, 1906.)  
 Everhardy, J. L., Leavenworth.  
 Fairfield, S. H., Alma.  
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 Frizell, E. E., Larned.  
 Frost, John E., Topeka.  
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 Humphrey, Mary Vance, Junction City.  
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 Jewett, Edward B., Wichita.  
 Johnson, Elizabeth A., Courtland.  
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 (Born October 12, 1902.)  
 McGonigle, James A., Leavenworth.  
 McKercher, F. B., Peabody.  
 Mackey, Wm. H., jr., Junction City.  
 Manning, E. C., Winfield.  
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 Martin, Donald Ferguson, Kansas City.  
 (Born February 19, 1909.)  
 Martin, George Haskell, Kansas City.  
 (Born August 1, 1907.)  
 Martin, Geo. W., Topeka.  
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*Mead, James R.*, Wichita.  
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Total number, 120.



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## THE ELEVENTH VOLUME, HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

The eleventh volume of the Kansas Historical Collections reaches a high-water mark in historical publication, for it is the best volume yet published by the Kansas State Historical Society, as well as one of the best state publications ever issued from whatsoever source.

The editorial work has been done with painstaking care, and the foot-notes proving or disproving historical statements are in themselves of inestimable value, many coming from original sources drawn from the manuscript and archives collections of the library of the Historical Society.

Every person desiring the book must pay postage or express, the postage being 26 cents. All interested in the book should have a membership in the Society, either active, \$1 per year, or a life membership at \$10.

The articles are all worthy of special mention, but perhaps the one which will be read with surprise as well as interest is the "History of Manufactures in the Kansas District," by Mr. R. L. Douglas. Few Kansans realize the increasing magnitude of our manufacturing interests, and in this careful compilation will be found a valuable contribution to the history of the state.

"Swedish Settlements in Kansas," by Doctor Bergin, marks an epoch in the life of the state, as also "German-Russian Settlements in Ellis County," written by Rev. Francis S. Laing. Preserving this valuable data before the first generation has entirely passed away is a labor of love and of patriotism, and in the years to come the descendants of these hardy colonists will be grateful to the wisdom that recorded the history of the migrations of their people.

"The Boundary Lines of Kansas" is especially opportune at this time, when Kansas is celebrating her half-century anniversary of statehood, the paper being an historical epitome of the physical making of the state. Much of this history is new to the reader, being from original sources, and in it George W. Martin shows in an inimitable manner the political methods of that day. Considering our boundary line at this late time, we may well rise up and call the Wyandotte Constitution fathers blessed.

The article by Capt. J. G. Waters, "Fifty Years of the Wyandotte Constitution," is of interest, giving the personnel of the convention and the outcome of its deliberations, and while he marks it as a "commonplace document," he shows that it has worn well.

"The First Appearance of Kansas at a National Convention," by A. G. Procter, is a unique bit of history delightfully told. There are still those who do not realize that Kansas, in 1860, was the throbbing heart of the Nation and who will read the story of her sitting as an honored guest in the deliberations of that body with surprise.

Contributions to the military history of the state, prefaced by a patriotic poem by B. B. Smyth, are found in the admirable articles under "Soldiers of Kansas." The military biography of Col. Lewis R. Jewell preserves for all time the gallant deeds of that little known but heroic

Kansan. Added luster is reflected upon the glory of the Seventh Kansas in the article by General Fox, and "Memorial Monuments and Tablets" shows the gratitude of a people to their soldiers and heroes.

Daniel Geary's letter, giving "War Incidents at Kansas City," and the "Life of Capt. Marcus D. Tenney" relate something new historically. Judge Stillwell's "Personal Recollections of the Battle of Shiloh" shows us that while "war is hell," yet there is still time in the life of a soldier to note the "Johnny-jump-ups," to hear the whistle of the redbird, and feel the soft spring air.

The Indians receive valuable notice, especially in a most interesting account of "The Sauks and Foxes in Franklin and Osage Counties," by Mrs. Ida M. Ferris. The paper by Rev. John Dunbar is likewise valuable, and the Historical Society is fortunate in being permitted to publish it. It was written when this part of the world was young, and the Indians were not those of to-day. Papers by Rev. Joseph Romig and Henry C. Keeling are also of much interest.

Probably one of the most readable and detailed accounts of the Villazur expedition of 1720 ever published is in this eleventh volume in a paper by Prof. J. B. Dunbar. Much time and research has been spent upon the subject by the author, and the binding together of the innumerable fragments into a well-told story of this historic expedition was a great labor and one of increasing historical value. Professor Dunbar had much of the detail from the Pawnee Indians themselves, which adds to the life and interest of the narrative.

"The Kansas School System," by Clyde L. King, will be found of value in reference work, beginning with the first efforts of the state toward education and coming down to present-day methods.

A paper of exceeding interest is found in J. D. Cruise's "Early Days on the Union Pacific." Well qualified to write of that first railroad history by reason of his connection with it, the reader is given the benefit of his knowledge and experience.

The personal note, always pleasant in history, is struck by such delightful papers as those of Mrs. S. B. White, Col. George W. Veale, Ely Moore, jr., A. R. Greene, Theodore Weichselbaum, Newton Ainsworth, and the stories of "Pioneering in Wabaunsee County." These gossiping reminiscences bring the early days closer and leave us with a warm place in our hearts for those who endured the stress of the day.

The story of old Fort Hays embodies something of the romance of the plains and is told in a pleasing way by Prof. J. H. Beach. A chronological sketch of Kansas City, Mo., by H. C. McDougal, is valuable both in point of history and arrangement, beginning as it does at the "beginning" and coming down to 1909. A word must be said of the biography of Frank M. Gable, the story of a man who, as a boy, passed through the hardening process of pioneering in Kansas; it was a great school, that pioneering, and the graduates show that it was worth while.

It is impossible to make mention of all the good things in this volume or all the good work done for it. The significance of Kansas history is too great and has too many phases to discuss in a brief book notice. If Mr. Charles Harker Rhodes could be subsidized as a missionary, Kansas history would be a vastly more popular study.

ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY—CONCLUDED.

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 Smith Center.—S. H. Boggs.  
 St. Louis, Mo.—W. H. H. Tainter.  
 Syracuse.—Caroline E. Barber, Evelin P. Barber.  
 Tecumseh.—Dr. J. A. Read.  
 Topeka.—Zu Adams, O. W. Bronson, F. D. Coburn, William E. Connelley, Geo. W. Crane, John P. Davis, Chas. P. Drew, B. F. Fleniken, Lucy S. Greene, Clad Hamilton, Geo. A. Huron, Arthur M. Hyde, Judge W. A. Johnston, Howell Jones, Geo. M. Kellam, Lucy D. Kingman, W. W. Mills, Arthur L. Nichols, L. M. Penwell, Mrs. Caroline Prentiss, J. W. Priddy, Frank K. Sanders, Harry E. Valentine, Geo. W. Veale, Geo. W. Weed, Mrs. Ward Burlingame, Peter Fisher, Dr. Elmore S. Pettijohn.

Tribune.—Clement L. Wilson.  
 Wabaunsee.—Geo. S. Burt.  
 Wa Keeney.—A. S. Peacock.  
 Walnut Grove, Ariz.—T. B. Carter.  
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 Wichita. Kos Harris, Mrs. W. H. Isely, J. H. Stewart, Henry Wallenstein, Samuel F. Woolard.  
 Yates Center.—Mrs. Mary W. Campbell.  
 York, Pa.—Dr. I. H. Betz.

Total, 220.

At the date of this publication, October 15, 237 members have paid dues for the current year, June 30, 1911, including the following new names:

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 Bavaria.—Theodore H. Terry.  
 Belleville.—John C. Hugin.  
 Brandsville, Mo.—William Whitney Cone.  
 Cedar Rapids, Iowa.—William Harvey Miner, Luther A. Brewer.  
 Council Grove.—Anderson G. Campbell.  
 Evanston, Ill.—Henry J. Patten.  
 Great Bend.—George W. Thatcher.  
 Haddam.—Frank R. Jenkins.  
 Humboldt.—Mrs. Margueritte Skidmore.  
 Hutchinson.—J. F. Warren.  
 Kansas City, Kan.—Walter Gillespie Phelps, Winfield Freeman, Silas W. Porter, Eliot Porter.  
 Kansas City, Mo.—Mrs. Annie Lane Johnson, Charles H. Moore, F. M. Brigham.  
 Lawrence.—Paul R. Brooks.  
 McPherson.—H. A. Rowland, B. A. Allison, Andrew Engberg, D. P. Lindsey, G. W. Allison, Thos. C. Sawyer, Sadie L. Champ-lin, John G. Maxwell, Henry L. Maxwell.  
 Manhattan.—William H. Andrews, E. B. Purcell, Elizabeth Hoyt Purcell.  
 Mankato.—D. H. Stafford.  
 Meade.—George B. Allen, O. R. Stevens.  
 Miles.—William Robert.

Moline, Ill.—J. B. Oakleaf.  
 New Orleans, La.—W. O. Hart.  
 New York, N. Y.—E. F. Burnett.  
 Ogden.—Theodore Weichselbaum.  
 Olathe.—N. Ainsworth, George H. Timanus.  
 Osborne.—Robert R. Hays, Duane W. Bliss.  
 Roxbury.—James Muir.  
 Russell.—Dean Olin Smith.  
 Scott City.—L. S. Runnels.  
 Sterling.—W. Q. Elliott.  
 Stockton.—George Yoxall.  
 Syracuse.—Mrs. Gates Powell, Wm. J. Powell.  
 Topeka.—Patrick H. Coney, David Orville Crane, Frank Snow Crane, Arthur B. Poole, W. W. Denison, A. M. Harvey, Reese V. Hicks, C. S. Triplett, Beatrice Burge.  
 Troy.—Charles Edwin Brown.  
 Twin Mound.—Orel O. Hiatt.  
 Vesper.—John C. Baird.  
 Veterans' Home, Nappa county, California.—Hercules H. Price.  
 Wabaunsee.—Charles Lines Burt.  
 Wa Keeney.—E. D. Wheeler.  
 Wellington.—M. R. McLean.  
 Wichita.—Mrs. M. W. Himebaugh.



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## PREFACE.

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HERE is another installment of that most interesting and unequalled story of human experience and development—Kansas history. We can issue these publications but once every two years, which fills us with regret because of the material we must crowd over. As a state we have reached our fiftieth mile-post, and the story has not been half told. Interest in our history has not ceased with the passing of the years; that of forty years ago, twenty years ago and to-day is just as unique and absorbing as that from 1854 to 1865.

But so much has happened in the fifty years since statehood began that the territorial pioneer, and to some extent his labors, must give way to the settlement of strange peoples—the Swedes, the German-Russians, the Mennonites—unknown and unexpected when the fight for free soil was on; to railroad construction and manufactures. We must make note of oil, gas, cement, salt, great agricultural wealth, bank deposits—things preposterous and unthought of at the time when the character of our history was established in self-sacrifice and blood. The soliciting and reception of material pertaining to the territorial period has, in a measure, given way to that of later days, but the research work of the scholar and student will disclose the testimony of the pioneer fresh and interesting for all time. It is said that one of the speakers, turning from the group of distinguished guests invited to witness the driving of the last spike on the Union Pacific road, declared to the handful of neglected pioneers who had gathered at the feast unasked, that they themselves were the real builders of the road, that their courage and sacrifices had made the steel rails necessary. So that no matter how far the history of Kansas may drift in material things, the convictions and the sacrifices of the territorial pioneer will never be lost. William E. Connelley has said, somewhere in his writings, that a thousand years from now the romances and the novels will have their plots along the east border line of Kansas. Indeed, this idea is already assuming interest and proportions in “Quivira” and “The Price of the Prairies,” by Margaret Hill McCarter, “A Certain Rich Man,”

by William Allen White, Connelley's "Quantrill," and a few other local publications of a distinctively historical nature.

The eleventh volume contains the story of Kansas with equally important features and a variety of incidents which has characterized all the publications of the Society. The expedition of Villazur from Santa Fe across western Kansas to the Platte, so ably and clearly set forth by John B. Dunbar, is probably the last of the prehistoric incidents to be presented. Prof. Clyde L. King tells us how the cause of education has kept pace with progress in material things. The Indian contributions are of great value, representing a citizenship of these prairies, now extinct, much of which has merged with credit in the white citizenship remaining. The appearance of Kansas at the first national convention, told by the only surviving delegate, Hon. A. G. Procter, shows where the excessive modesty prevailing in Kansas came from; the delegates were begged to nominate a candidate for vice president with Lincoln, but declined because of modesty. The papers concerning our Swedish friends, and the German-Russians of Ellis county, who have contributed such thrift to the commonwealth, will be of increasing value as the years go by. A descendant of the German-Russian colony, when invited to prepare the paper, remarked: "How wonderful! to be invited by the Kansas Historical Society to tell who we are! If our people had had such an opportunity when they left Germany and settled in Russia how interesting and valuable it would have been!" How fast the descendants are Americanizing, and how interesting the past will be to the Kansas born! The personal narrative in this volume equals the best we have ever published.

The Secretary is under continued obligation to the officers and members of the Society for their patience and support: to Miss Zu Adams, Miss Clara Francis, George A. Root, and Mrs. Frank Montgomery, for their ability and scholarship as displayed in these pages, and to all the employees for faithful service. To the intelligence and skill of the employees of the state printing office great credit is due. And to the friends who by their contributions have made the book so useful to the public and to students the people of Kansas owe a lasting debt of gratitude.

G. W. M.

## ADDENDA.

Page 13, note 5.—William W. Ross died June 6, 1890, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. May Ross Snyder, 2823 Orchard avenue, Los Angeles, Cal. His daughter Della, wife of Lee R. Andrews, died February 1, 1904, in Alameda, Cal.

Page 21—Gustaf Johnson.—Insert, preceding last paragraph:

“As Johnson and his company came to Solomon river, where they had first planned to settle, they found on the bank of the river three dead cattle, and asked a cowboy how these animals had happened to die. He said then, that the water in the river was so poisonous that whatsoever being drank from it died. On such a river the Swedes dared not settle, and hence went further west in search of land.”

Page 30.—Add to bottom of page:

“The first child born of Swedish parents in this valley was Gustaf Adolf Nordland, born in Salina May 5, 1867. The first white person born within McPherson county was Knut Johan Norstram, born a little west of where Lindsborg is now situated, January 13, 1869.

“The first white person to be buried in this valley was Mrs. Jan Nilson, who died December 31, 1868.

“The first couple married in McPherson county were Lars Huldquist and his first wife, who were married in November, 1868.

“The first sermon preached in this neighborhood was preached in Burgt Johnson's dugout by the river, in the spring of 1868, by Rev. S. G. Larson.”

Page 31.—Rev. A. W. Yale, district missionary of the Southwest Baptist Association, at Lakin, Kan., writes, under date of June 11, 1910:

“In regard to King City there is but little to say. It had a precarious existence of only a few years. I moved to McPherson in December, 1872. At that time Lindsborg and King City were the only post offices in the county. King City had a general store, a drug store that made a specialty of ‘snake bite’ medicine, a small hotel, and a few dwellings. McPherson had just started, and being near the center of the county it absorbed King City. A post office was established at McPherson, April 1, 1873. I read the story of the ‘Swedish Settlements’ with great interest. I know many of the persons mentioned. The meeting-house illustrated on page 31 interested me, as I saw it in 1873. It was built of stone, a much better wall than the picture would indicate, up to about half of the gable, and finished up to the comb with sod. It had a thatched roof, a dirt floor, and the seats were slabs with pins for legs. It no doubt represented more sacrifice and simple, genuine piety than its more pretentious successor. In 1872-’73 a general store was owned at Lindsborg by Nelson & Schancke. Mr. Schancke was a clerk in the land office at Salina (and also at Junction City, under J. R. McClure and Geo. W. Martin, registers). It seems to me there ought to be a short history written of the Kansas militia that guarded the frontier posts, Marion and Wichita, in the fall of 1868. I was in Marion, but too young to tell much about it. George W. Moulton, second lieutenant, is still living, and he might have sufficient data to write it up.”



Pages 34, 35, add to note 7:

"SCANDIA, KAN., February 21, 1871.

"Gov. J. M. Harvey, Topeka, Kan.:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY—Informed through the papers that the representative of Republic county, N. T. Van Natta, in the house of representatives, has presented a bill for granting aid of seed wheat to the poor, destitute citizens of said county. I have to state in regard to this that the people of Republic county, as far as the west part concerns, as being mostly settled by my countrymen, the Scandinavians, is not in favor of this beggarly motion of Mr. Van Natta's. The Scandinavians in this county have never yet used the generosity of the legislature to dispose of public funds, and will not do so this year either. I recollect that your excellency last year, by letter directed to Reverend Bergenskiold, made inquiries to ascertain if the Scandinavians in Republic county wanted assistance in grain. Reverend Bergenskiold was then directed to tell your excellency that the Scandinavians in Republic county would not receive any such aid because there was no necessity thereof, and for this year the necessity for such aid is still less.

"The time may perhaps come when we will need aid, and if we then call for it we are satisfied that help will be given.

"With greatest respect, your excellency's most obedient servant.

(Signed)

N. O. WILKE."

Page 54.—After first paragraph, top of page, insert:

"On the 26th of May, 1910, a resolution was passed in the United States senate, in the same form as it passed the house, authorizing the states of Missouri and Kansas to adjust their boundary lines. It provides that the states may enter into compact to fix their boundary lines to conform to changes made necessary by the changes in the bed of the Missouri river. The river makes so many changes that part of Missouri is now on its west side and part of Kansas on the east side. Each state is authorized to cede to the other land that has been affected by these changes on such terms as they may agree upon. The two states are authorized to agree upon the jurisdiction each shall exercise over crimes committed on the river so long as they are not inconsistent with the laws of the United States."

Page 55.—After first paragraph, top of page, insert:

"MR. DOUGLAS: I ask the permission of the Senate to submit at this time a report from the committee on territories in relation to the Nebraska bill, which was set apart for to-day. The committee have had their attention called to the southern boundary of the proposed territory of Nebraska, as fixed by the bill already reported, which is on the line of 36° 30'. Their attention has been called by the chairman of the committee on Indian affairs to the fact that the boundary would divide the Cherokee country, whereas, by taking the parallel of 37 north latitude as the southern boundary, the line would run between the Cherokees and the Osages. We have concluded, therefore, to vary the southern boundary, in order not to divide the Cherokee nation by the terms of the bill.

"Then there are two delegations here who have been elected by the people of that territory. They are not legal delegates, of course, but they have been sent here as agents. They have petitioned us to make two territories instead of one, dividing them by the fortieth parallel of north latitude—the Kansas and Nebraska territories. Upon consulting with the delegates from Iowa, I find that they think that their local interests, as well as the interests of the territory, require that the proposed territory of Nebraska should be divided into two territories, and the people ought to have two delegates. So far as I have been able to consult the Missouri delegation, they are of the same opinion. The committee, therefore, have concluded to recommend the division of the territory into two territories and also to change the boundary in the manner I have described."—Congressional Globe, 1st session, 33d Congress, part 1, page 221, January 23, 1854.



Page 70, note 37.—Topeka *Capital*, July 31, 1910:

"The state tax levy for Kansas will be \$1.05 on the thousand dollars valuation this year, the fiftieth year of statehood. Last year the levy was \$1.25 on the thousand. The reduction is 20 cents on the thousand, or a 16 per cent reduction. These figures were given out yesterday by the State Tax Commission. The total equalized valuation for the state for 1910 is \$2,752,098,126. For 1909 it was \$2,511,260,285.26, showing an increase in the valuation of this year of \$240,000,000. The total amount of state tax that will be raised by the levy of \$1.05 per thousand on the given valuation is \$2,889,702.56. The valuation on the different classes of property fixed by the State Tax Commission shows an increase in every class. The total valuation for personal property for 1909 was \$505,065,221; for 1910 it is \$554,151,451. The total valuation for lands in 1909 was \$1,210,193,155; for 1910 it is \$1,353,190,173. The total valuation on lots for 1909 was \$377,557,856; for 1910 it is \$424,623,964. The total valuation on the property of the public utilities for 1909 was \$416,314,476; for 1910 it is \$420,132,536."

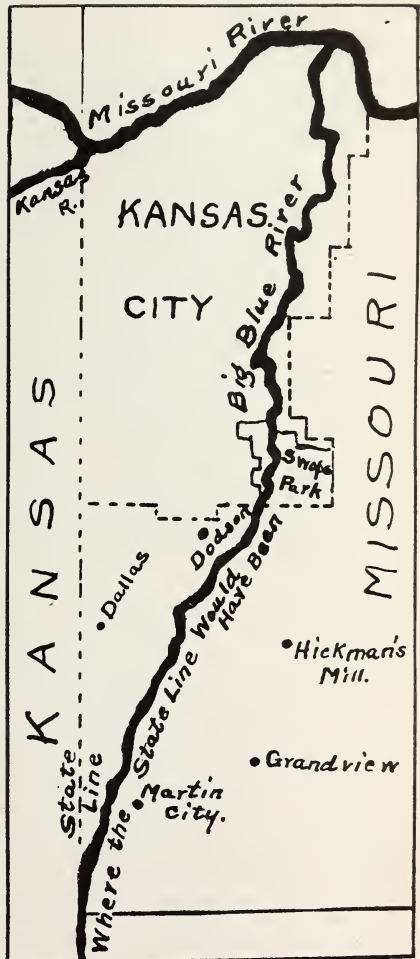
Page 73.—Addition to paragraph, concerning the transfer of Kansas City to the territory of Kansas:

"Col. Robert T. Van Horn, in the *Kansas City Star* of May 29, 1910, said:

"In the situation in which the proslavery party in Kansas territory then was, the possession of Kansas City might have been a determining factor in the contest. The town was the river port for all the surrounding territory. It naturally was proslavery, being the trading post for all that section of Missouri that raised "hemp and niggers." The wisdom of the Kansas party that wanted the town for the future state's metropolis has been vindicated by events.

"The scheme was a practical one, and if properly engineered must have succeeded. I believe to-day that if it had been carried out Kansas City would have reached its present greatness many years ago. That it did n't succeed is the fault of one man. Missouri was willing, Kansas was willing, Congress was willing, I believe. We failed to connect the different ends, that is all.

"I do not know in whose mind the plan originated. Mobillion McGee, who owned a farm in Westport and was



a member of the Kansas territorial legislature, was one of the agitators. His farm would have been in Kansas if the plan had gone through. It was proposed to run the state line so as to include all the territory west and north of the Big Blue river, from the point where it crossed the Kansas line down to its junction with the Missouri, within the territory of Kansas. The territorial legislature was then in session at Shawnee Mission. A caucus was held and the plan approved. I was present at some of the deliberations, and later went to Jefferson City on the same errand. The Missouri legislature was willing to do its part if the consent of Congress could be obtained. There was some correspondence, I believe, with Senator Atchison and General Stringfellow on the subject, but the details are not fixed in my mind. The whole scheme "died a bornin'," as it were, and I really had no knowledge of what was done outside of my own part. There must have been a plot at Washington as well as at this end, but who was in it and how far it got I never knew. I do know, however, that our agent failed us, and I always have believed that if he had done his part Kansas City would to-day be the metropolis of Kansas, geographically as well as potentially.'

"At this point Colonel Van Horn's recollection stops. He admits there were secret influences at Washington that defeated the plan and that they were exerted through a woman who cast a love spell over the agent of the plotters and turned him from his purpose. The name of this agent Colonel Van Horn would not divulge.

"'He was a widely known Kansan,' the colonel said, 'and after the war took a prominent part in the politics of that state. He died a few years ago, keeping inviolate the secret of his romance in Washington, and as I was his friend and fellow plotter, I must be no less discreet. All that I can say is that the Washington charmer not only kept my friend from communicating with our allies in Congress, but kept him out of Kansas for more than two years. Part of that time they were in Europe together, I believe.'"

Page 120.—To follow last paragraph:

"Charles Ware, superintendent, reports that the Armstrong shops of the Union Pacific have a capital invested of \$229,525. The value of repairs in 1909 was \$350,729. Total number of cars repaired, 26,653; number of locomotives, 117; average number of employees, 374.

"The superintendent of the Rock Island repair shops at Horton reports average number of employees 700, and value of all repairs \$819,000; capital invested in plant not known.

"William O'Herin, superintendent of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas shops at Parsons, reports capital invested in shops, \$1,438,515.45; value of repairs annually, \$604,000; average number of employees, 1028."

Page 149.—Run in after first paragraph at top of page:

"I built the first flour mill that was ever built in the territory of Kansas before it became a state. This was in, I think, 1855 or '56. When the lands of the territory of Kansas were thrown open to settlers I was clerk on the steamer New Lucy Bertram, running from St. Louis to St. Joseph. I left the river and, with my father-in-law, Mr. William Palmer, and my brother-in-law, W. J. Palmer, took up land and located the town site of Palermo, in Doniphan county, Kansas, twelve miles below St. Joseph, Mo. My partner in the mill was William Kimber, and the firm name was Mahan & Kimber. We had a general store, and adjoining the flour mill (which was a three-story-high frame building) we had also a sawmill, which, I believe, was the first sawmill ever erected in the territory. This mill was a convenience to the settlers of Doniphan and adjoining counties, and the mill was crowded with farmers from all over these counties. This was before the county seat of Doniphan was located. Myself, Cary B.

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

Whitehead, John Stiewalt, Judge Joel P. Blair and several others went to the high spot on the prairie about seven miles northwest of Palermo and there drove the stakes in the ground and put up an American flag and called it Troy, the county seat of Doniphan county, which I learn is now quite a large and prosperous town. When the war between the North and the South broke out I left Kansas and went back on the river, steamboating again, and the boat I was then placed in command of (the Omaha) took a regiment at St. Louis, Mo. (the Fifty-seventh regiment Ohio volunteers), down to Vicksburg, with General Sherman. Afterwards I went to Memphis, Tenn., and engaged in business there; and after the surrender I planned and built the waterworks at Memphis, and then went back to my native state, Missouri, and superintended the construction of the waterworks at Kansas City, Mo., which was then a small town, claiming 16,000 people, but I don't think there were over 12,000. After that I planned the waterworks at St. Joseph, Mo., but didn't build them. I was born in Palmyra, Mo., on the 23d of April, 1826. I am now engaged in manufacturing fire apparatus at Chicago."—F. M. Mahan, 2023 West Lake street, Chicago.

Page 152.—The gradual reduction process of milling referred to by Mr. Douglas at the top of this page is what is commonly known in Kansas as the "roller process." Charles A. Pillsbury, of Minneapolis, Minn., who is largely responsible for the improvement in American milling methods, explains, in an article prepared by him in 1895, that "The difficulty in grinding spring wheat by the old process [crushing between burr stones] was with the middlings, or that part of the kernel between the bran covering and the starchy central body." Mr. Pillsbury says further: "In 1868 E. N. La Croix, a French millwright, came to Faribault, Minn., and experimented in making a middlings purifier like one he had seen in France. In 1870 he removed to Minneapolis and continued his experiments. At length a machine was made and a sample shipment of flour sent to New York. Word came back by wire that the new flour was selling at fifty cents a barrel higher than other brands. Geo. T. Smith produced a superior machine, and those millers using his middlings purifier received an advance of from two dollars to four dollars per barrel the third and fourth years. Thereupon Geo. H. Christian, representing the Washburn mills, a number of head millers from other mills, and myself representing the Pillsbury mills, went to Europe and made a thorough study of the Hungarian 'high milling' or gradual reduction roller and middlings process. As a result some of the Minneapolis mills adopted the Hungarian process bodily, middlings purifier and all, and in a few years were compelled to throw away some of the complex machinery with which they were loaded. The Pillsbury mills, however, adopted only what seemed to be the best features of the Hungarian process, such as the rolls, made modifications all along the line, and retained the American middlings purifier invented by Mr. Smith. We found that the Hungarian system needed simplification to increase its efficiency, to save labor, and especially to avoid dangerous accumulation of mill dust."—From article on "Flour Milling in America," in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1904. Accompanying the above article is a table in which Kansas ranks ninth of thirty states in the production of wheat.



Page 257, first paragraph, top of page, and page 268, second paragraph from bottom.—Col. Theodore Roosevelt when he emerged from darkest Africa into civilization cabled, April 11, 1910, Gov. W. R. Stubbs, his acceptance of an invitation to be at Osawatomie and dedicate the John Brown battlefield as a state park. The date of the battle was August 30, but the ceremony was appointed for August 31 to accommodate another engagement of the ex-president. Colonel Roosevelt started from Oyster Bay Tuesday, the 23, 1910, greeted by monstrous crowds everywhere, making his first stop at Cheyenne, Wyo. He reached the western line of Kansas at 5 P. M., Tuesday, the 30th. He made short stops at Horace and Tribune, in Greeley county. He reached Osage City at 7:30 A. M., the 31st, where he was received by Gov. W. R. Stubbs. At Ottawa he made a short talk, in which he said:

“I naturally have a peculiar association with Kansas. It was a Kansas delegation that first definitely overcame my reluctance to be vice president, and therefore ultimately got me to be made president. I am so glad to be back with you, to be back here in the West, to be back in the United States.”

He reached Osawatomie at 9:30 A. M. He was conducted first to the Masonic Temple, where a reception was held. From there the program provided for a journey in automobiles to the old cabin of Rev. S. L. Adair, situated a mile and a half north of town, often the refuge of John Brown. Then luncheon at the State Hospital for the Insane. The afternoon exercises began with a parade reviewed by Colonel Roosevelt. In line were the Thirteenth regiment band from Fort Leavenworth, part of the Fifteenth cavalry, company D of the Kansas National Guard, G. A. R. veterans, members of the Woman's Relief Corps in automobiles, and civic societies. The parade passed the modest monument erected to Capt. John Brown, in a pretty little park a few blocks north of the business district, and dedicated in 1877. After a brief stop at the monument the parade continued to the battlefield, two blocks farther on. There followed introductory remarks by Cora M. Deputy, president of the board of trustees named by the legislature to manage the park, and by Governor Stubbs; then Colonel Roosevelt delivered his address dedicating the grounds as a state park. We quote this further historical statement:

“There have been two great crises in our country's history; first when it was formed, and then again when it was perpetuated. The formative period included not merely the Revolutionary War, but the creation and adoption of the constitution and the first dozen years of work under it. Then came sixty years, during which we spread across the continent, years of vital growth, but of growth without, rather than growth within. Then came the time of stress and strain which culminated in the Civil War, the period of terrible struggle upon the issue of which depended the justification of all that we had done earlier, and which marked the second great period of growth and development within. The name of John Brown will be forever associated with this second period of the nation's history; and Kansas was the theater upon which the first act of the second of our great national life dramas was played. It was the result of the struggle in Kansas.

which determined that our country should be in deed as well as in name devoted to both union and freedom, that the great experiment of democratic government on a national scale should succeed and not fail. It was a heroic struggle; and, as is inevitable with all such struggles, it had also a dark and terrible side. Very much was done of good, and much also of evil; and, as was inevitable in such a period of revolution, often the same men did both good and evil. For our great good fortune as a nation, we, the people of the United States, as a whole can now afford to forget the evil, or at least to remember it without bitterness, and to fix our eyes with pride on the good that was accomplished."

On Tuesday, the 30th, Hon. William A. Calderhead, of Marysville, and Capt. Joseph G. Waters, of Topeka, made very earnest and enthusiastic John Brown speeches.

Pages 269 to 271.—The Memorial Hall Building Commission, at a meeting held May 24, 1910, concluded to abandon the construction of the building until after the session of the legislature in 1911. Under the terms of the law it was impossible to proceed, because the bids for the superstructure far exceeded the amount of the appropriation. If it had been determined to use inferior material it was still impossible to proceed, because the greater portion of the appropriation would have lapsed before the work could be performed. The site cost the state \$15,000, and \$22,393.44 has been expended on the foundation, making a total of \$37,393.44 the state has invested. The appropriation was \$200,000; \$15,000 for site, \$135,000 to be used before June 30, 1910, and \$50,000 for the year ending June 30, 1911. To change the alley to suit the commission, the neighboring property owners were taxed \$5113.33, and to get the corner lots within the appropriation the city council gave the board of education credit on its water contract of \$4000, and the Commercial Club gave \$500, thus making the site cost \$24,613.33. The state encampment of the Grand Army, at its meeting in Hutchinson in May, requested that the building be made of marble and granite.

Page 272.—Following first paragraph:

"A monument to the memory of those of company H, Twentieth Kansas, who fell in the Spanish war, will be erected in Oak Hill cemetery at Lawrence this year [1910], the money for it, about \$1000, having been provided. It will be fourteen feet high. On one face of the pedestal will be chiseled the names of those members of company H who did not return when the regiment was mustered out. The other faces will contain the entire roll of the company with its officers and principal engagements. The statue will bear the inscription, 'Erected by Co. H., 20th Kansas Infantry, 8th Army Corps, Spanish-American war, 1898-'99.'"

Page 272.—Third paragraph from top:

"A massive granite shaft twelve feet ten inches high now crowns the resting place of Gen. Henry Leavenworth, in the National cemetery at Fort Leavenworth. It bears the following inscription: 'Henry Leavenworth, Colonel 3rd U. S. Infantry, Brevet Brig. General U. S. Army. Established Fort Leavenworth May 6, 1827. Born December 10, 1763; died July 21, 1834.' General Leavenworth died in the Indian territory. His remains were carried via New Orleans to Delhi, N. Y., for interment. Through the thoughtfulness and energy of Henry Shindler, they were removed May 30, 1902, to the National cemetery at Fort Leavenworth. The shaft is a thing of beauty."

Page 341.—Mr. Harry E. Gillette, surveyor of Franklin county, in a letter of August 30, 1910, says that R. C. Lutton has owned the quarter section upon which the Sauk and Fox Indian agency was situated in that county since July, 1872, and has within the year moved the old agency building from its original foundation.

# INTRODUCTION.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KANSAS HISTORY.

An address delivered before the Southern Kansas Teachers' Association at Winfield, by Charles Harker Rhodes,<sup>1</sup> in the fall of 1905.

THE social significance of Kansas history lies in the political rather than in the physical determination of its early settlers. By this I mean that the natural struggles of our pioneers against environment do not *per se* constitute a claim to memory. Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, were likewise peopled with rugged settlers—men who blazed just as difficult paths through the dusk of primeval forests; men who scarred the sealed prairies with just as weary furrows; heroic fathers who shielded sleeping households from midnight tomahawks just as deadly; undaunted, patient stoics, who suffered just as bitter privations as befell the lot of isolated Kansans. But the pioneers of Kentucky and her kindred states were drawn to those regions by the lure of free land. Actuated by an egoistic impulse, they left behind them the comforts of civilization and sought in the solitudes of the wildland to rear them a home. True, they dealt with elemental forces, but their problems were chiefly economic, and after an essential period of stress and struggle these straggling settlements assumed some measure of stability and the permanence of a new commonwealth was assured.

But how different is the case of Kansas! When in 1854 it became evident that the South would make a supreme effort to capture this territory, the North was mightily stirred. The spirit of Puritanism, that in New England was atrophying from lack of exercise, now found opportunities for active expression. The Kansas crusade began with Eli Thayer as its Peter the Hermit. Men of ease, and wealth, and influence; noble women of culture and refinement; youths of family, with social allurements; adventurer and visionary; savant and simpleton; righteous man and renegade; from all avenues of life came volunteers to save Kansas from the Southern Saracen. Undoubtedly the majority of Northern immigrants came for homes; but their primary motive was altruistic. They suffered privations and incurred grave dangers for the sake of a great principle involved. Here is a Puritanic pioneerism—the distinguishing trait of early Kansas—not Puritanic in the individual living, for there were mean men among those pioneers; not Puritanic in the sense of austere religionists, for many of our early Kansans were decidedly irreligious; but Puritanic in the collective idealism which motivates the settlement.

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NOTE 1.—Charles Harker Rhodes was born at La Rue, Ohio, October 10, 1880, the son of William A. Rhodes and Ida Brown Rhodes. In 1886 the parents moved to Kansas and settled at Cairo, Pratt county, where the father conducted a general store. In 1892 the family moved to Wellington. In 1899 Charles Harker Rhodes graduated from the Sumner county high school. In the fall of 1900 he graduated from the University of Kansas. He was granted the fellowship of American history, and returned to that institution for his master's degree. For his thesis he made a study of the Lecompton Constitution in Congress. He also read before the State Historical Society a paper, "Was the English Bill a Bribe?" He was principal of the Winfield high school, 1905 to 1907. He resigned to take a traveling position with Allyn & Bacon, of Chicago. His present home is at Hennessey, Oklahoma.



It is inaccurate to say that New England saved Kansas. The contest for Kansas was a question of numbers, and the great body of Northern colonists came from the Middle West. But while the Ohio valley furnished the thews and sinews, it was the spirit of old New England that gave leavening force to this dominant body. Kansas thus became an expression of nineteenth century Puritanism, and in this fact lies the social significance of the history of our state. The spirit of Puritanism, chastened by time and enriched by precedent, is now transplanted from the bleak and rocky shores of the North Atlantic to flourish on the warm prairies of Quivera and from this new center to radiate powerful influences throughout the country. The elements of this great principle become local motor forces. They enter into our citizenship. They shape our laws and color our constitutions. They influence and often regulate our social, industrial and political relations. Puritanic pioneerism, as the scientist would put it, has become a congenital characteristic and works unconsciously. It is the birthright of these later generations, and only in the consideration of this heritage of blood and iron can that complex mosaic called Kansas character be rightly appreciated; for in its final analysis, the chief element of this Kansas character is opposition to restraint of liberty, and this antagonism belongs to Puritanic blood.

Both the social and the political significance of Kansas history are dependent upon a national point of view, according as a qualitative or quantitative aspect is desired. Kansas history must be studied in the concrete if its real meaning is to be derived.

The political significance of Kansas is best revealed in a brief résumé of the legislative history of the state.

The South realized keenly its waning power in Congress. The acquisition of Texas and our disgraceful aggressions upon Mexico, actuated by the economic necessity of southern expansion, had failed largely of their primal purpose. The Texans, proud of their national achievements, refused to allow the partition of their state into four or five slaveholding commonwealths according to the original program, and the fruits of a Southern measure were thus lost to slavocracy. Baffled here the busy South picked a quarrel with inoffensive Mexico and rifled her empire of her choice domain, only to find the slave virtually excluded from the land of this conquest as well. Territorially speaking the South now found itself in a *cul de sac*. And at the same time it was haunted by that imperative economic law which makes the life of slavery depend upon expansion. Balance of power between the sections had become a vain, delusive hope. The North, conscious of its waxing strength, had grown aggressive, and the trend of events seemed to indicate that it had given its ultimatum that no more slave states were to be admitted to the Union. This feeling, together with the natural incompatibility of sectional interests, had meanwhile given rise to a growing sentiment of secession, especially among the Gulf states. Agitation, confidence, wealth in the North! Bitterness, distrust, and decline in the South! Then came the possibility of incorporating Kansas in the slaveholding area, and to this issue rallied the South for its supremest effort.

After a debate in Congress which shook this reeling Union like a mighty earthquake, the Kansas-Nebraska act was signed on May 30, 1854, which threw this territory open for settlement. The doctrine of popular sovereignty legalized in this organic act made the contest for Kansas a matter of organized occupation. The Union in '54 thus radiated two distinct beams of



theory, and Kansas was the lense which revealed the great angle of sectional divergence. The Missourians were maddened by the corporate activities of Northern emigrant associations, and the story of their invasions, of the strife, struggle, and ultimate victory of the Northern hosts need not detain us here.

The illegal government instituted by the invading Missourians was tolerated by the Free-Staters as *de facto*, but ignored by them as *de jure*. Their attitude of protest is well manifested in the peaceful revolution accomplished by the Topeka movement. By 1858 it was recognized throughout the country that an overwhelming majority of the settlers of Kansas were for freedom. In the South it was quite generally conceded that slavery as an institution could never flourish in the latitude of Kansas. And yet, in this year, in the face of these well-known conditions, occurred the real crisis of the Kansas issue—the first blow of the Civil War. The discussion in the Thirty-fifth Congress centered around admission under the Lecompton constitution; and the Kansas question in this session was understood to symbolize the irreconcilable conflict of sectional interest. For this reason we find it attached to every question, regardless of relevancy, wherever there was a conflict of sectional interests involved. Kansas was thus an efficient obstruction to all forms of legislation. If all the discussion of constitutional questions evoked by the Kansas issue were collected, it would constitute a magnificent treatise on the fundamental principles of American public law, comparable in scope to the federalist papers. Were all the political theories and doctrines that grew out of the Kansas question brought together, the collection would form one of the most satisfactory presentations of political science ever published. Were the theories of industrial relations advanced in this discussion assembled we would have a textbook on economics. And finally, if some energetic Kansas-loving student would collect and collate all the morals evolved in the birth of his commonwealth, he would contribute to philosophy a mine of unexploited data for a system of social ethics. Such was the scope of the Kansas question!

That Kansas could never remain a permanent slave state was conceded by the South. Then why does this Democratic senate of 1858 struggle so strenuously in the face of known conditions? Is the South acting in bad faith when it attempts to force Lecompton upon an unwilling public? Let us see. Nationalism is almost dead now, and in its place has arisen a sectionalism which entertains social theories that are mutually exclusive. And yet in this controversy both sections are consistent according to their points of view. Accept the Southern premises and its conclusions follow inevitably. To the impartial investigator, however, each side is intolerant; each faction is ungenerous; each section uncompromising.

What was the South trying to do in the case of Kansas? Two lines of action are discernible. The secessionists of the Gulf states were adroitly laboring to commit the North to an ultimatum which in effect would declare against further expansion of slavery. In the event of such a declaration secession would be justified politically and the burden of disunion would be thrown upon the North. They therefore labored to bluff the North into the acceptance of a proposition which they knew it could not accept. In truth they would have been disappointed had the North in a spirit of compromise admitted Kansas as a slave state. It was a mere feint. But there was another group of Southerners, patriotic men, who appreciated the imminence

of disruption, who viewed with alarm the rising tide of secession, and sought to reassure their constituencies in the admission of Kansas as a slave state. In pleading this, they frankly urged national expediency alone. They put the matter above the question of absolute justice in their appeal for the Federal interest. The bill that passed the senate on March 23, 1858, admitting Kansas under Lecompton, revealed positions utterly irreconcilable, a situation that admitted of no compromise. It was a flash from the midnight sky, that laid bare before the feet of the nation the yawning abyss of disunion, and in this thunderbolt could be heard a Jove-like voice bidding the Union prepare for a fatal struggle between two political principles one of which must expire. So much for the political significance of Kansas.

Excepting Missouri and California, the admission of no western state was fraught with such momentous consequences as that of Kansas. And for this reason there ought to exist here a great local patriotism. Does there? How many children are growing up into a realization of the great principles underlying the foundations of Kansas? How many students are genuinely interested in the strife of our early citizenship, or are aware of the large significance of Kansas history? How many of the present generation have felt the idealistic uplift that the essence of Kansas induces? How many!

The old-timers who made freedom a fact in Kansas and who pledged their lives to principles are fast passing away—unfortunately unwept and unsung by an indifferent posterity. But, thanks to the efforts of our State Historical Society, the memories and deeds of these old Roundheads are being preserved, and in the publications of this Society and in the Congressional Globe from 1854 to 1860 is Kansas history to be found.

The bequest of our Puritanic pioneerism was that vital principle of Kansas character which is in inherent opposition to restraint of liberty. It is the expression of this trait that has given Kansas an individuality, and when the mighty impulse of this principle dies down Kansas character will descend to the dead level of mediocrity.

Is there a present-day importance to Kansas history? Is this Puritanic principle of opposition to remain a vital ideal in Kansas life? Or is it merely an ephemeral factor that passed away with the accomplishment of the purpose that gave it birth? The events of the past few months have answered this question.

It took thirty years of arduous agitation to produce the Kansas conflict, civil war and personal freedom. To-day there is another call for freedom. At this moment we are embarked upon another era of agitation which is destined to deliver us from industrial bondage. Kansas, true to her instincts, struck the first blow at Standard Oil oppression. The nation stood aghast at our impudence. A half century rolls around and once more the eyes of the world are on Kansas. Perhaps the inevitable conflict that our Lawsons and Tarbells and Steffens will precipitate will be waged by the generation we teachers are now training for the duties of life. It therefore behooves the loyal teachers of Kansas to commune with the spirit of our departed past and enthuse and warm and vivify the lives of our students with the faith of our pioneer fathers. Kansas is the lodestone of the nation. The East looks to us in this crisis for guidance and for strength, and "if the salt have lost his savour wherewith shall it be salted."

# ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

## COMING IN AND GOING OUT.

Address by the president, COL. GEORGE W. VEALE,<sup>1</sup> of Topeka, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-third annual meeting, December 1, 1908.

I AM now passing out of office as president of the Historical Society of Kansas, a society organized for the purpose of perpetuating and preserving historical events connected with the state and territory of Kansas. Although the Society is admired by many of our people, it is also made light of by others, who call it the "dumping ground" for all the cast-off books, manuscripts, pictures, etc., that people have no room for in their houses and care nothing for. These critics forget that what may be uninteresting to the second generation is history to the third.

The Society should be the pride of all the citizens of the state. What would we know of the past but for the preservation of our records? Tradition is not sufficient for this age.

Much has been written by magazine and newspaper writers with reference to events transpiring in Kansas during our territorial days and our more recent statehood, all of which has been commendable to the authors and of interest to the public, and constitutes a part of the records of this Society.

Though I am not a magazine writer, a newspaper man, a philosopher or a story-teller, I have a few recollections of the past of which I may be permitted to speak, a few things which have transpired within my knowledge during my fifty years' stay in Kansas, which I wish to relate. If I seem to say too much regarding myself I hope to be excused, for it is only that you may know who I am and where I came from that I speak of myself.

I first saw the light of day in Daviess county, Indiana, May 20, 1833. If I had not been born I never would have lived in the beautiful sunlight of nature—never would, therefore, have made any history for myself or have been able to observe the historical events of my time. I grew to manhood principally in Hoosierdom. My father was born and raised in South Carolina; my mother in Shepherdstown, Shenandoah Valley, Virginia. They met in Daviess county, Indiana, and were married there in 1813. My father taught the first school in Daviess county, in 1809, as is shown by the records of that county now on file in its courthouse. My father served in the war of 1812, and was wounded on the Wabash fighting the Indians. He died in 1858, still bearing the ball he received in that engagement.

I was married to Miss Nannie Johnson in the city of Evansville, Ind., January 20, 1857. I married because I wanted to, and further because I got the girl I wanted, and no man ever had a more devoted or better wife

NOTE 1.—GEORGE W. VEALE has been a citizen of great public spirit. In 1857 he assisted in building a steamboat to ply on the Kansas river. He represented Quindaro in the first Kansas railroad convention, held at Topeka, in 1860. He represented the city of Topeka in the state senate of 1867 and 1868, and in the house of representatives for the years 1871, 1873, 1877, 1883, 1887, 1889 and 1895. He was state agent for sale of railroad lands, 1866 to 1869, under act of February 23, 1866. He resides on Fillmore street, in Topeka, in his seventy-seventh year.



that I have had. She has ever been loyal to her own womanhood, her family, her friends and to our adopted state. Mrs. Veale was the daughter of Col. Fielding Johnson, one of President Lincoln's first appointees in Kansas. Within one month after his inauguration he appointed Fielding Johnson agent for the Delaware Indians, in which position he served until about the close of the war. He was prominent throughout the Rebellion in many ways. Besides performing his official duty as Indian agent he was useful in keeping the Indians loyal to the government, and in looking after the families of the soldiers who had enlisted and gone to the war.

The Kansas volunteers who went out to the war early in '61 did not receive any pay from the government for several months. Thomas Carney, a large grocery merchant at Leavenworth, and later governor, through the influence of Colonel Johnson, furnished the families of these soldiers in Wyandotte and Leavenworth counties groceries and such other things as they were unable to get for themselves, and when the boys received their pay they forked over to these benevolent friends the last cent due them for these supplies.

My wife and myself left the city of Evansville March 29, 1857, on the steamer "White Cloud," in company with the family of the late Judge Crozier, of Leavenworth. We landed on Kansas soil at Quindaro on the 7th day of April, and there we began the responsibilities of married life. I began merchandising, because I had been in that business in the city of Evansville.

Quindaro was a historic free-state town, situated on the banks of the Missouri river, in what was then Leavenworth county, and was afterwards taken from Leavenworth county with a part of Johnson county and made the county of Wyandotte.<sup>2</sup> Quindaro was the name of Abelard Guthrie's wife, and the name was spelled, in Wyandot, "Seh Quindaro."<sup>3</sup> She was a Wyandotte Indian woman. Her husband, Abelard Guthrie, was a white man, well informed, and was delegate to Congress from Nebraska in 1852.<sup>4</sup> He was a native of Ohio, and was the instigator and prime mover in laying out the new town of Quindaro. Wyandotte at that time (now Kansas City, Kan.) was a strong proslavery town, controlled by men who owned slaves. Mr. Guthrie, being an ardent free-state man, sought Governor Robinson, S. C. Pomeroy, S. N. Simpson and several other free-state men and organized a free-state town, located on Mrs. Guthrie's land, with other lands that they had purchased for that purpose. The little town grew amazingly for a while—two years or more.<sup>5</sup> At one time it had pretensions of being a city. It had a city organization—mayor and council—who met weekly to deliberate on matters concerning the interests of the thriving town. Quindaro had two good hotels, one of them quite large; two prosperous churches,

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NOTE 2.—*Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 8, p. 452.

NOTE 3.—"Seh Quindaro" is the name of the Big Turtle Clan of the Wyandot Indians for "woman," and meant originally "the female turtle covering up the eggs in the sand." The word is made up of syllables from words which also have reference to the object for which she is covering up these eggs—that they may be hatched out by the sun—so that a free translation of the word might mean "the daughter of the sun." Quindaro had a large infusion of white blood from both parents. The romantic story of Mrs. Guthrie's ancestry is given by Mr. William E. Connelley, who is also the authority for the above note, in his address on the "Emigrant Indian Tribes of Wyandotte County," Kansas City, 1901.

NOTE 4.—*Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory*, by William E. Connelley, pp. 28, 78.

NOTE 5.—Typewritten copies of the fragmentary journals of Abelard Guthrie are in the possession of the Historical Society, and contain much material regarding the rise and fall of Quindaro.

Methodist and Congregational, both with good buildings for worship; also a large livery barn, with hacks and stages leaving every morning for the interior towns of the territory, carrying mail and passengers. At one time it had about 1000 population, all branches of business being represented—lawyers, doctors, mechanics of all kinds; one newspaper, called the *Quindaro Chindowan*,<sup>6</sup> owned by a company of leading business men and edited by J. M. Walden, at that time a youth just out of college and an ardent free-state man. In 1858 he was elected a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, where he served with distinction. At the present time he is a ruling bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

V. J. Lane, at the present time editor and publisher of the *Wyandotte Herald*, at Kansas City, Kan., was at that time the postmaster at Quindaro, and had his office in the store of Johnson & Veale. Alfred Gray, now deceased, was a prominent man there. He was county commissioner of Leavenworth county in 1858, and later was a quartermaster in the volunteer service, in the Fifth Kansas cavalry, and still later became secretary of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, where he served with distinction and credit to himself and with great satisfaction and benefit to the state. Charles Chadwick, a lawyer, was another of Quindaro's prominent men. In 1861 he became private secretary to Gov. Charles Robinson, and in the succeeding year became adjutant-general of the state.

There were many other most estimable and useful citizens of that famous little village. The advent of Gov. Robert J. Walker into the territory was by means of a Missouri river steamer. There were no railroads at that time west of the Mississippi, save the one from St. Louis to Jefferson City, a distance of 125 miles. Governor Walker's first speech in the territory was made at Quindaro, from the boiler deck of the steamer *New Lucy*. The boat had landed at Quindaro and was discharging some heavy freight, machinery for a big sawmill, I think, and the captain informed us that he had the new governor aboard. "There he is now," said the captain, "up on the boiler deck." So we set up a howl for "Governor Walker." He came forward and made us a very nice little talk, which was of a pleasing character, saying that he hoped to make himself useful to the people of the territory, as he afterwards did. After a thorough investigation of affairs in Kansas he wrote the State Department at Washington that without the submission of the Lecompton constitution to the people of the territory a peaceful settlement would be entirely impracticable, and that resistance to the "bogus laws" was still threatened. Walker succeeded, with the help of Secretary Stanton, in submitting the constitution to a vote of the people, which resulted in its final defeat.

Your humble servant was the first sheriff of the new county of Wyandotte, appointed and commissioned by J. W. Denver, then governor of the territory, afterwards a general in the Civil War, and for whom Denver City (Colorado) was named. Denver City at that time was in Kansas, the summit of the Rocky Mountains being the western boundary of our territory.

The Kansas policy of President Buchanan, and his predecessor, President

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NOTE 6.—The file of the *Quindaro Chindowan*, in the Historical Society's collection, covers the first year of its publication, May 13, 1857, to June 12, 1858, Nos. 1 to 52. The last number contains Mr. Walden's valedictory. The paper did not suspend with this issue, but was continued for some time by the Quindaro Board of Trade, of which Alfred Gray was president. Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols was one of the principal contributors.

Pierce, in territorial days was most abusive, outrageous and tyrannical towards our free-state men and measures.

At Quindaro we had a steam ferry, and the roughs from Missouri would demand free ferriage. They came over in gangs to vote, and many times helped themselves to whatever property they wanted, and occasionally shot some free-state fellow just for fun—their principle of action being anything to prevent Kansas from becoming a free state.

In the spring of 1857 I heard the then secretary of the territory, Mr. F. P. Stanton, make a speech at Lawrence, in which he said he was here for peace, but that the territorial laws must be obeyed; and if they were not, and we free-state fellows wanted war, that we could have it, and with it the knife to the hilt. But this did not frighten anybody. We were used to that kind of talk, and before Stanton left us, the following December, he was converted to the free-state policy. After this matters moved quietly along, and it really became safe for a free-state man to ride from the Missouri river to Lawrence, and even to Fort Scott.

When the new county of Wyandotte was organized and Wyandotte made the county seat, Quindaro began to wane. The powerful influences from the county seat began to be felt. Another sun had risen, the beams of which did not reach Quindaro. However, the prophecies of its free-state friends failed to hold up the load of public opinion in favor of the new county seat, and in spite of its commercial advantages Wyandotte grew but little during the war.

In 1864 the Union Pacific railway, then the Kansas Pacific railway, began to operate its road as far west as Lawrence, and reached Topeka in 1865, Junction City in 1866 and Denver City in 1868, and is the greatest railroad thoroughfare at this time crossing the state of Kansas.

Quindaro died easily; no more struggles after the war. She has now, however, an endearing monument upon her site, the Freedmen's University of Kansas (under the patronage of the state, and known as "Western University"). It was at Quindaro that I raised my company of men for the war under the first call of the President for volunteers. I have my commission yet, dated April 29, 1861, signed by Charles Robinson, governor.

Methods for making Kansas a slave state had passed to the beyond by the fall of 1858. During that spring we had had the Leavenworth constitutional convention. All of the well settled portion of the territory was represented in it by able and efficient men. Their deliberations resulted in a constitution which did not recognize slavery in Kansas, and under which we failed to be admitted as a free state. In 1859 we had the Wyandotte constitutional convention, held at Wyandotte (now Kansas City, Kan.); and then the men of methods and measures—the brilliant men of our territory—deliberated, and made the constitution under which we were admitted into the Union of states as free Kansas. There were many very able men in this convention, both Democrats and Republicans. The result of their deliberations will outlive the whole number of that distinguished assembly of delegates. The manuscript journals of the convention are on file among the archives of this Society.

The year 1859 was rather a quiet one, and 1860 was the dry year—so dry that in our part of Wyandotte county we did not get a mess of beans or of roasting ears to eat; it was all dried fruit from the states. The lower



jaw of many of our citizens fell, and their faces became as long as the moral law. Many families left the territory, and most of those who stayed had to have help. The undaunted courage and staying qualities of those earlier settlers who remained and fought it out proved them the backbone of our future state. In 1859 we had Samuel Medary, of Ohio, our last territorial governor, who was succeeded by Charles Robinson, our first state governor. The year 1861 brought us statehood. January 21, the day that Jefferson Davis went out of the United States senate as senator from Mississippi, which had just seceded from the Union, the Kansas bill passed the senate, 36 for and 16 against. The bill had passed the house April 11, 1860. The President's signature was affixed January 29, 1861, and Kansas was admitted a loyal state into the Union.

The change to a state government brought the legislature from Leecompton and Lawrence to Topeka, March 26, 1861. The first session of the state senate was held in the Ritchie block, on the southeast corner of Sixth and Kansas avenue, where the session of 1862 and 1863 also met. The senate for a short time in 1862 or 1863 adjourned to the south wing of the Episcopal Female Seminary. The house met in the old Gale block, now Crawford's Opera House, on Kansas avenue, in 1861, and here Lane and Pomeroy were elected to represent the new state in the United States senate. The second session of the house met in January, 1862, in the Gale block, but the session of 1863 met in the Methodist Episcopal church, on Quincy street, between Fifth and Sixth streets. These lots are now occupied by the Kansas Medical College, in a very handsome, commodious building erected by the Odd Fellows and for some time occupied by the A. B. Whiting Paint and Supply Company.

The fourth session of the legislature was held in "state row," as it was called at that time, by reason of a contract that was made by the state with certain parties for the erection of a building for the use of the state officers and legislature until such time as the state could put up a building of its own. The contract for the erection of this block called "state row" was made with Wilson L. Gordon, Theodore B. Mills, G. G. Gage and Loring Farnsworth. As I remember, the contract provided for the location of this building on lots Nos. 131, 133, 135 and 137 (present street numbers 423, 425, 427 and 429) on Kansas avenue, between Fourth and Fifth streets, so that the session of the legislature of 1864 was held in the new buildings that had been completed and were in readiness for them. Thomas Carney, of Leavenworth, was governor at this time, having been elected in November, 1862. The legislature continued to meet and deliberate in the state row until the removal to the east wing of the statehouse, in December, 1869.

The state officers were accommodated in state row as follows: On the ground floor the supreme court held its sessions in the south building, No. 429; the state auditor's office in the next building, No. 427; the state treasurer's office in No. 425, and the secretary of state on lot No. 423. The offices of the governor and adjutant-general were upstairs in the north end of the building.

Kansas has never remained idle. She has used all honorable means to encourage immigration and the building of railroads, and to develop her agricultural and natural resources. Her educational, charitable and reformatory institutions have advanced continually. She has taught loyalty and kept

within the pales of her constitutional law. The best effort for encouraging immigration ever made by Kansas was her agricultural display at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. Extraordinary efforts were used by our people to enable Secretary Alfred Gray of the State Board of Agriculture to carry out his plan for this exhibition. Besides the efforts of the men, societies were organized by the ladies throughout the state. in Topeka<sup>7</sup> they held fairs, where goods and wares were sold. They even had fancy dress balls and danced the minuet. In this event they had the government at Washington represented. President Washington and Martha Washington, with a full circle of cabinet officers and their wives, were present in full court dress—ruffles, wigs, knee pants, and low shoes with buckles on them. Each of the parties participating represented some historic character. Mrs. Veale wore a dress over a hundred years old.

It is needless to say that the Kansas exhibit at Philadelphia was almost perfect, and attracted more attention than that of any other state exhibit on the grounds. The visitors never overlooked the Kansas building, and its effect was long apparent in the increase of our farming population.<sup>8</sup>

The ladies of Topeka raised \$1000 to buy the large iron fountain that stood in the center of the Kansas building; and the same fountain stands in

NOTE 7.—In April, 1862, Mrs. Samuel A. Kingman gave the Historical Society the record book of the Ladies' Centennial Association for Shawnee county. It shows the total amount received by the ladies from the organization of the association, August 7, 1875, to April, 1876, to have been \$1041.98. Mrs. N. F. Handy, chairman of the fountain committee, appointed George W. Glick, Alfred Gray and Henry Worrall to erect the fountain, which was to be of stone. The officers of the association were: Mrs. J. M. Spencer, president; Mrs. N. C. McFarland, Mrs. E. W. Dennis and Mrs. Geo. W. Veale, vice presidents; Mrs. Julia D. Osborn, treasurer; and Mrs. M. W. Kingman, secretary. A letter of Alfred Gray accompanies the record, dated June 23, 1877, in which he notifies the ladies that the fountain is now at their disposal, and about to be stored in the basement of the capitol. See, also, article in this volume on "Monuments and Markers," by the secretary.

NOTE 8.—Next to the action of the territorial pioneers in resisting the curse of human slavery as the policy of the coming state, the greatest and most successful movement of the people of Kansas was the exhibit they made at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, in 1876. Kansas in that early and somewhat feeble day had the nerve to step out and lead off as the first to construct a separate building. The separate state exhibit was a departure from the rules of classification laid down by the United States Commission, and had the effect to withdraw all Kansas products from competition and from the chances of gaining medals and diplomas. It was thought by the state board that the commendations to be gained from the public over a unified display would more than compensate for the loss of awards. After the board had entered upon its separate display the United States Commission varied the rule so as to make collective exhibits the subject of awards. There were six awards to the state and several to individual Kansans. But this was not the ambition or hope of the board.

The exposition opened May 10, 1876, and closed November 10. In the fore part of September the Kansas building was closed for a few days in order to supplant the products of 1875 with the products of 1876. Several carloads of the products of 1876 were shipped from Topeka September 6, and on the 9th arrived at the centennial grounds. The building was closed on Monday, the 11th, and opened on the 14th with formal ceremonies. Over eight million people visited the exposition in about 180 days, and more than one million visited the Kansas building. Many days the crowd was so great that several police officers were required at the entrance to admit people in an orderly manner. The eastern newspapers said that no exhibition on earth ever created such interest as that in the Kansas building. P. T. Barnum, the great showman, visited the building, and was so delighted with the exhibit that he proposed to take the collection and add it to his museum for exhibition in this country, Great Britain, Germany and France. Barnum sent an excursion of a thousand people from Bridgeport, Conn., to see the Kansas exhibit, and at the close many articles in the building were labeled "Purchased by P. T. Barnum."

One report says: "Public funds were never better expended in a state's interest than in the appropriation made by the last Kansas legislature. The benefits accruing are beyond estimation; there is absolutely no measure to gauge them by. It is much for Kansas that she should be marked the leading state exhibitor at the nation's centennial, but it is more that the magnificent display of products should people her grand valleys and boundless plains with the brains and muscles of the East."

The Boston *Advertiser* said: "All the riches of Kansas are spread out before the eyes of the peoples of all the continents in the most seductive manner possible. It makes a man regret that he lives in the Middle states to gaze on such a display. It sows in fruitful soil that seed of unrest which may be found somewhere in every true American's organization."

The Boston *Watchman* said: "Bleeding Kansas! It is not her wounds that have reopened, but, thank God, her Centennial state building."

John W. Forney, at a political meeting in Philadelphia, September 1, spoke of a visit to the Kansas building with George A. Crawford: "As we crossed the threshold I found myself stand-

the park at the junction of Topeka avenue and Twelfth street, Topeka, at this time.

It was in state row that I rendered my first service to the state as a legislator. I served two years in the senate, 1867-'68. We had annual sessions then. After this I served a number of terms in the house, fourteen years in all, I think it was. It was down in this old state row that Edmund G. Ross was elected to the United States senate to succeed James H. Lane. Governor Carney had also been elected there to the United States senate in 1864, but his election proved to be premature, and he did not get his seat. It was Governor Carney that first gave our new state credit. He was a rich man when he became our governor, and in order to sell our bonds gave his personal guarantee with the bonds for the prompt payment of the interest as it accumulated and the payment of the bonds at their maturity. Governor Carney was one of the most loyal, benevolent and useful men of his day in Kansas. His deeds of worth and valor will long be remembered by our people.

ing, as it were, in a great educational temple [cheers]; a tide of memories rushed through my mind as I took in the dazzling scene. Kansas was the field on which the first modern battle was fought in favor of the declaration of independence [great cheering]. Kansas was the key that unlocked the tremendous future [cheers]. Kansas was the magician that solved the hard problem of human slavery [cheers]. Kansas was the apostle that liberated the white party slaves of the North and the black chattels of the South [cheers], and to Kansas I owe my own emancipation from the thralldom of slavery in our own politics [cheers]. Have you ever seen this Kansas building, fellow Republicans? If not, then take care that you do see it, for it will teach you many things. Recollect that it is the map, the photograph, the condensation, the history of the unspeakable value of Republican principles. . . . First, a map of Kansas, itself a romance, every schoolhouse marked with a star [cheers]; then a room with the files of nearly 150 newspapers [cheers], then a singularly beautiful tracery woven from the grasses and grains of Kansas, roofing the temple itself with a golden lining; then rows of the varied seeds and cereals of Kansas; then a cabinet of minerals; then a collection of woods; and finally, many specimens of art and architecture, and books and bookbinding, and a fragrant combination of summer apples and plums, and over all the figure of the old bell of independence, woven in straw, that rung liberty out to all the nations of the world on the Fourth of July, 1776 [cheers]."

This wonderful exhibit was in the hands of the following board of managers: George T. Anthony, president, Leavenworth; W. L. Parkinson, vice president, Ottawa; Alfred Gray, secretary, Topeka; George W. Glick, treasurer, Atchison; George A. Crawford, Fort Scott; John A. Martin, Atchison; T. C. Henry, Abilene; Charles F. Koester, Marysville; E. P. Bancroft, Emporia; W. E. Barnes, Vinland; R. W. Wright, Oswego. Those mostly responsible for the matchless taste and skill displayed were Alfred Gray, George A. Crawford, George T. Anthony, aided by the genius of Henry Worrall.

The result of this one effort far exceeded anything since. In 1875 the population of Kansas was 528,349; in 1880, 996,096, a growth of 464,179. In 1885 it was 1,268,562, a growth of 272,966. In 1890, 1,423,585, an increase of 155,023. In 1895, 1,334,734, a decrease of 88,851. In 1900, 1,444,708, an increase of 109,974. In 1905, 1,544,968, an increase of 100,260. In 1909, 1,707,491, an increase of 162,523.

In a report made to the United States Commission by George A. Crawford, February 8, 1881, dated in New York, is the following statement of the benefits derived by Kansas from her exhibition:

"In 1874 Kansas suffered from the combined affliction of the financial panic of 1873, the drought, and the raid of the grasshoppers. The crops of 1874 were devoured. The legislature was called in special session to provide relief, but to no purpose. Half the counties and one-third of the people were on record asking aid.

"Contributions from the East were solicited. A relief committee was in session in the state capital distributing aid.

"At this crisis the legislature of 1875 appropriated \$5000 for the collection of products that had then no existence. The people planted in the spring of 1875, and the grasshopper reaped. The second and third plantings furnished those products that astonished the millions at Philadelphia.

"In March, A. D. 1876, \$25,000 additional was appropriated, and \$8625 for publications, and with this total of \$33,625 the Kansas exhibition was held at the Centennial.

"As soon as parties saw our products in the Kansas building they commenced going to Kansas. Kansas editors to the number of about sixty came and saw, and told the story for themselves. Then came about 8000 Kansas visitors. The result was, Kansas waked to new life and hope.

"Immigration set in. House smade empty by those who had moved back East were reteneanted in the winter of 1876-'77. Lands came in demand. Thousands visited the state, on tours of observation, who will yet come to stay. There were more of these, perhaps, than of those who located. But all spent money, and made times better.

"The census of May, 1880, shows an increase of 464,179 over the population of 1875. The number of people in 1876 was about the same as 1875. The loss by emigration to the mining regions would more than offset the natural increase in population. It is safe, therefore, to say that, in four years since 1876 Kansas has gained 464,179 inhabitants by immigration. Estimate these by the money they bring and the value of their labor, and you have a grand result."



If I were to undertake to speak of all our good, true and loyal public men in Kansas it would make a large volume. Therefore, I will leave their records to be read as they are found in the books in the library.

Kansas has grown to be a great state; one of the foremost agricultural states in the Union. Her Historical Society has also grown until there is no more room for its expansion in the statehouse.

Many things are transpiring annually to make it more important that the state should foster this institution and provide liberally for its support. I sincerely hope, before I pass out, to see an historical-memorial building erected somewhere in the shadow of this building that will be a credit to the state and an enduring monument to her soldiers and public men.

It has been said that Napoleon's last words<sup>9</sup> were, "I am dying; what will the world say now?" I am not known as Napoleon was, but I am known somewhat in Kansas. I have tried to be faithful, and trust that I have been useful to my state and to the localities in which I have lived. When I shall have passed out, they may say, "Another old settler is gone to the other shore." The passing out may be easy, but climbing the ladder on the other shore may be much more difficult. Napoleon was passing out of the visible universe that he had viewed for so long into another world, and he wondered to himself, "What will the world say now?" The Milky Way and the solar stars were no longer giving light to him. And so it shall be with all Kansans when their day shall come. Let us make our record good.

## FIRST APPEARANCE OF KANSAS AT A NATIONAL CONVENTION.

An address by Hon. A. G. PROCTER,<sup>1</sup> of St. Joseph, Mich., before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its thirty-fourth annual meeting, December 7, 1909.

IT seems like a chapter of ancient history to tell of Kansas at a national convention fifty years ago, but it was an event historic and interesting, marking the awakening of the nation to a new duty, under a leadership that surprised the world. And Kansas was there, the special guest, taking her place among the most favored, doing her part in that great moral uplift,

NOTE 9.—Scott's biography of the Great Soldier says that "*Tete d'armee*" (head of the army) were the last words uttered by Napoleon on the day of his death, May 5, 1821. Some days before he had said to the priest, Vignali, who attended him: "I am neither a philosopher nor a physician. I believe in God, and am of the religion of my father. It is not everybody who can be an atheist. I was born a Catholic and will fulfill all the duties of the Catholic church, and receive the assistance which it administers." Then, turning to a physician whom he seemed to have suspected of heterodoxy, he said: "How can you carry it so far. Can you not believe in God, whose existence everything proclaims, and in whom the greatest minds have believed?"

NOTE 1.—A. G. Procter was born at Gloucester, Mass., in the year 1838, coming to Kansas early in 1857. He was first employed by Col. James Blood, of Lawrence, and was sent by him to Emporia in the summer of 1857 to take charge of his branch store at that point. Mr. Procter was an active and popular business man, well known all over the southwest part of the territory, was selected by all the representatives from that section as their candidate for the national convention of 1860, and was chosen by the Republican territorial convention as one of the six delegates, being at that time but twenty-one years of age, and the youngest member of that historic assembly. From 1861 to 1864 Mr. Procter was the special agent of the Cherokee Indians, stationed at Fort Gibson, having charge of the reinstating of those Indians in their homes, from which they had been driven. His services in that work were very highly appreciated by Secretary John P. Usher, under whose authority he acted. At the close of the war he sold his Emporia business and moved to St. Louis, where he established an extensive wholesale business, in which he was successful. From there he moved to Chicago, and was for years at the head of a large business enterprise, retiring in 1889 to St. Joseph, Mich., where he now resides, in the enjoyment of good health and pleasant surroundings. Mr. Procter has never lost his interest in Kansas, and for nearly fifty years has been in close touch with his early pioneer friends at Emporia. At the Republican national convention of 1908, at the request of the Michigan delegation, he was invited to the platform as an honored guest of the convention.

giving us "free homes for free men" in the territories and paving the way for freedom everywhere.

The Republican national committee, at its meeting in New York early in 1860, issued a call for a national convention, to meet in Chicago, May 16, to name a candidate for President and to declare its principles and its policy. At this meeting Kansas was invited to send six delegates, to be selected by a convention representing every part of the territory.

It was something new, inviting a territory to take part in a national convention on an equal footing with the states, but we were making a good fight of special service to the party, and in recognition of this fact the compliment was extended.

The territorial convention met at Lawrence, April 11, and named as its six delegates: A. C. Wilder,<sup>2</sup> John A. Martin,<sup>3</sup> William A. Phillips,<sup>4</sup> W. W. Ross,<sup>5</sup> John P. Hatterscheidt<sup>6</sup> and A. G. Procter. I believe I am the only one of this group left to tell the story.

We met at the Planters' Hotel, Leavenworth, got acquainted, and came to Chicago together. A nice suite of rooms at the Briggs House had been reserved for us, and we found ourselves comfortably housed and well provided for from first to last.

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NOTE 2.—ABEL CARTER WILDER was born in Blackstone, Mass., March 18, 1823, and was an elder brother of Daniel W. Wilder, of Hiawatha, Kan. He was educated in the common schools, and inherited the political faith of his father, Dr. Abel Wilder, of Mendon, Mass., an ardent antislavery man. At the age of eighteen he became a merchant in his native town, and later in Woonsocket, R. I., and engaged in this business with his brothers upon his removal to Rochester, N. Y., in 1850. Here as a member of the Merchants' Library Association he secured for its lecture course leading antislavery speakers. In March, 1857, he came to Leavenworth and entered the land business. An active free-state man, he became one of the most cheerful and enthusiastic advocates of free Kansas, was largely instrumental in rescuing Leavenworth from the proslavery party in 1857, and later entered warmly in the anti-Leocompton fight. Mr. Wilder was a delegate to the Osawatimie convention of May, 1859, was made secretary of the first Republican state central committee, and was chairman of the Kansas delegation to the Republican national convention at Chicago, and voted for Seward. He escorted Seward during his visit in Kansas the following September. In 1860 and 1861 Mr. Wilder was chairman of the Republican state central committee, and in 1864, at Baltimore, again represented Kansas as a delegate to the Republican national convention. He was also a delegate from New York to the conventions of 1868 and 1872. August 7, 1861, he was appointed brigade commissary by President Lincoln and stationed at Fort Scott. He was elected to Congress in November, 1862. Though declining a renomination in 1864, he was defeated in convention by only eleven votes. October 28, 1863, Mr. Wilder married Miss Frances Hunter, of Rochester, N. Y., and returned to that city in the fall of 1865, to become one of the publishers of the Rochester *Evening Express*. He was elected mayor of Rochester in 1872, but resigned the following year because of ill health, and traveled in Europe and afterward in the United States. He died in San Francisco, December 22, 1875.

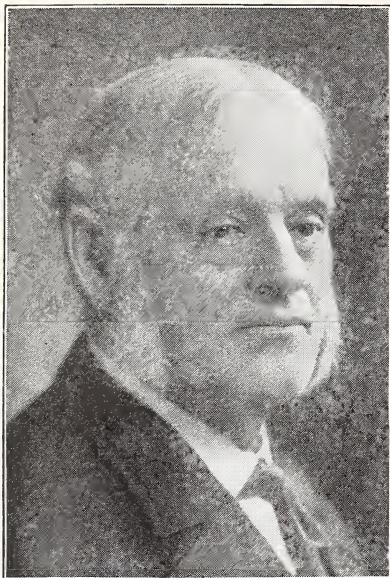
NOTE 3.—Sketch in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 7, p. 410.

NOTE 4.—Memorial exercises, in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 5, pp. 100-113.

NOTE 5.—WILLIAM WALLACE ROSS came to Kansas by ox team in the spring of 1855, and located on a farm near Lawrence. That October he assisted John Speer in the publication of the *Kansas Tribune* at Topeka, and later, with his brother, E. G. Ross, continued its publication there until the summer of 1858. In September, 1859, the brothers established the *Kansas State Record*, at Topeka, and continued its publication until 1868. Mr. Ross was an active free-state man and served as a delegate to the Leavenworth constitutional convention. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Republican national convention at Chicago. He was agent of the Pottawatomie Indians from 1861 to 1864, and mayor of Topeka in 1865. He was born December 25, 1823, in Huron, Ohio, son of Sylvester F. and Cynthia Rice Ross. The family moved to Noble county, Indiana, in 1839, and to Wisconsin territory in 1846. Deprived of schools, young Ross gained, while working on the farm, a liberal education by his own exertions, conversation with his father, and the use of the ample library of a neighbor. Having begun the printer's trade at Janesville, he became foreman of the Milwaukee *Free Democrat*, and participated in the rescue of the colored man Grover from the Milwaukee jail, the first rescue under the fugitive slave law. Miss Mary Elizabeth Berry, whom he married in March, 1855, accompanied him to Kansas. She died in October, 1858, leaving one child, May, now Mrs. M. P. Snyder, of Los Angeles, Cal. His second wife was Miss Julia Whiting, of Topeka. Their daughter Kate died in Topeka, June 19, 1882. Another daughter, Della, was also a resident of California, but is now dead. She was twice married. Mr. Ross's third wife, Miss Sara Betts, died after one year of married life. Late in life Mr. Ross removed to Coronado Beach, Cal., and died early in June, 1889, at the home of a daughter in Los Angeles. While still a resident in Topeka Mr. Ross engaged in the dry goods business for a time, and had large mining interests in Colorado. At his death he left considerable property.

NOTE 6.—Sketch in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 10, p. 211.





HON. A. G. PROCTER,  
St. Joseph, Mich.

Sole survivor of the first delegation to a  
national convention from Kansas,  
1860.

From the very first we were the recipients of special attentions. Kansas was so in the public eye at that time that we attracted the hearty greetings of the big delegations, who were profuse in cordial messages, especially those from the Eastern states, and the calls we received greatly impressed us with the interest the whole North felt in the manly struggle we were making out there on the border.

It seemed to be understood that Kansas would support the candidacy of Mr. Seward, although we were not actually instructed to do so. Mr. Seward had been the great friend of free Kansas in the senate from the first. He had charge of the bill then before the senate for the admission of Kansas as a free state, and had given to it his best talent and influence, so we felt under special obligations to reciprocate. Outside of this, it seemed to us that he was, of all men mentioned, the one best fitted. He was a great statesman, the real

representative leader of the party in the senate; with large experience in national affairs; a great orator, a ripe scholar, and strong with the leaders of the antislavery movement all over the North. It seemed to us that if the party had the courage of its convictions it would find no more brave or acceptable candidate.

Mr. Seward's campaign was in charge of Thurlow Weed, of New York, a veteran party leader, a "Warwick" in New York politics for years, and his following was confident and aggressive. It has always seemed to me that had the Seward element been able to cast its vote on the first day of the convention Mr. Seward would have received that nomination by a large majority. But it was not so to be.

Mr. Weed sent a messenger to us, inviting the Kansas delegation to his room at the "Richmond" for a conference. Our chairman, Wilder, introduced us and we took seats with Mr. Weed around his parlor table. Though introduced casually, as we entered, I noticed that he addressed each of us personally in the course of conversation, calling us by name, which seemed to me at the time to be something remarkable.

His argument for the nomination of Mr. Seward was put in a quiet way, but wonderfully effective. Weed was certainly a past master in diplomacy.

He said: "The country is drifting on to perilous times. It will tolerate no experiments, no expediency, no uncertainty in its candidate or its policy. We must name our strongest man, our most advanced statesman, and especially one who is well experienced in national affairs. Any other policy



would be cowardly and would incite distrust. It is no time to hesitate. We must avow our convictions, name our leader and go forward, deserving the confidence of the country! I can see no man who can fill this demand as can Mr. Seward."

Mr. Weed was very complimentary to Kansas and treated us with marked courtesy.

We had hardly reached our room when Horace Greeley called. Greeley knew Colonel Phillips well, so we easily fell into friendly greetings.

Greeley interested me greatly. He seems to me to have been a kind of cross between David Harum and Josh Whitcomb. He was certainly interesting.

"Boys," he said, as he tossed his big white hat into the center of the table, "they may talk as they please about Seward—about his being the great leader, the great statesman and the representative man of the party. I am here to tell you, and to satisfy you—every one of you—that Mr. Seward could not be elected if he were nominated."

As he said this he brought his fist down on the table with a bang that made his old hat jump.

"There are states absolutely essential to our success that Mr. Seward cannot carry. I will bring to you men from these states who will verify what I am saying." And sure enough he did, bringing to us Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, Gov. Henry S. Lane of Indiana, and Governor Kirkwood of Iowa, each of whom assured us that the nomination of Mr. Seward would be disastrous in each of these states, and gave their reasons.

Greeley was unquestionably the real leader of the anti-Seward forces, and altogether the most able and earnest. He laid great stress on the need of making a nomination that would be reasonably sure of carrying the election. Any other policy, he said, meant disintegration and utter ruin to the party. "We must name a man we can elect, and must put aside every other consideration," said he.

"Whom do you want, Mr. Greeley?" asked Colonel Phillips.

Greeley hesitated, and said: "I think well of Judge Bates, of Missouri. He is a very able man, and comes from a section of the country we ought to consider carefully. Mr. Lincoln may be found to be available. He is a very adroit politician, a great debater, has a strong hold on his friends; but he lacks experience in national affairs, which will make his nomination hazardous. I am not sure yet what is the best thing to do." And this, from the avowed leader of all the opposition to the organized forces of Mr. Seward, only about thirty hours before the time for taking the first ballot, shows the condition of things up to that time.

The first day of the convention was devoted to the temporary organization and the naming of the different committees. Our delegation had one member on each of the leading committees. Wilder was on platform; Phillips on credentials; I was on the committee on rules and order of business.

Our committee met the next morning in one of the parlors of the Tremont House, made up of one delegate from each of the states represented. Corwin, of Ohio, was chairman of our committee.

As we got down to our work it was soon clear that there was to be sharp rivalry between the Seward and the anti-Seward forces. Eli Thayer, representing a district in Oregon as proxy, introduced a motion for calling of the states in a certain order, leaving out any mention of call of territories, which

of course was meant to cut out the six votes of Kansas, and giving to the representatives of the territories honorable seats as guests of the convention. I objected to this immediately, and the Seward men on the committee took up the fight on our side. I was not quite sure at the time just how our invitation was worded. I spoke to Judge James, of New York, who sat next to me, of this, and he said: "See your national committeeman as soon as you can and get a copy. We will keep up the fight until you return."

So I skipped out to find Martin F. Conway, our member, and luckily I discovered him just at the hotel entrance.

I told Conway what was being attempted and what I wanted to know. He pulled the copy of his resolution, which had been adopted, out of his pocket and read it to me. It was all right—inviting us to participate in the work of the convention. "Take this with you," said Conway, "and give them hell."

I hurried back with the paper in my hand. The discussion was on when I entered, and as the speaker closed on my entering, Corwin said: "We will now hear what our young friend from Kansas has to say."

I braced up and commenced my bluff by saying that Kansas could hardly be expected to come to a national convention to take a back seat; that we must have all the rights and privileges of any other delegation or we would withdraw. That if this convention should attempt to deprive us of any of our rights we would appeal to the open convention. I then read the resolution inviting us to participate in the work of the convention, and concluded: "Gentlemen, we are here by that invitation, and we propose to stay and do our part in the work before us."

I then moved that the whole matter be dismissed, which carried by an almost unanimous vote.

As I sat down, Judge James and "Pig-iron" Kelley reached out their hands and whispered, "Well done, my boy; Kansas is all right." And that is how near Kansas came to getting "honorable seats." We were not looking for bouquets in those days.

As the time for reaching the balloting drew near the lines became more tightly drawn and the feeling more intense. We realized more and more the awful responsibility, and the need of a tried leader to carry us through the impending struggle, for the conviction was growing every hour that there was a conflict at hand that might involve the very existence of our nation, and the thought of it made us pause.

At this juncture there came to the front, from a source not before taken into consideration, a movement led by the men of the border states. This body of resolute men from Maryland, the mountains of Virginia, from eastern Tennessee, from Kentucky, and from all over Missouri had organized and had selected Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, as leader and spokesman.

They were as earnest a group of men as I have ever met. They asked for a conference with us, which we arranged without delay. The Kansas delegation was the first to receive them. It may have occurred to them that Kansas was awake to what was coming, and would more likely appreciate the full force of their logic.

The company completely filled our room. There was something about the atmosphere of that meeting that seemed to mean business. Mr. Clay was a man of strong personality. He had all the mannerisms of a real

"Kentucky colonel"—very courtly, very earnest and very eloquent in address.

"Gentlemen," said he, in starting, "we are on the verge of a great civil war."

One of our delegates said: "Mr. Clay, we have heard that before."

Mr. Clay straightened himself up, and with a real oratorical pose he exclaimed: "Sir, you undoubtedly have heard that before; but, sir, you will soon have it flashed to you in a tone that will certainly carry conviction!"

He went on: "We are from the South. We know our people well. I say to you, the South is getting ready for war! In that great strip of border land reaching from the eastern shore of Maryland to the western border of Missouri stands a resolute body of men, determined that this Union shall not be destroyed without resistance! We are not proslavery men, not antislavery men, but Union Republicans, ready and willing to take up arms for the defense of the border! *We are intensely in earnest!* It means very much what you do here—much to you, but more to us. Our homes and all we possess are in peril. We want to hold this Union strength for a Union army! We want to work with you for a nomination that shall give us courage and confidence! We want you to nominate Abraham Lincoln! He was born among us, and we believe in him! Give us Lincoln for a leader, and I promise you that we will push back the disloyal hordes of secession and transfer the line of border warfare from the Ohio to the region beyond the Tennessee, where it belongs! We will make war on the enemies of our country at home, and join you in driving secession to its lair! Do this for us, and let us go home and prepare for the conflict."

No one could give a satisfactory report of that appeal. It was the most impressive talk that I had ever listened to. It brought us face to face with the grim specter of civil war.

This delegation, headed by Mr. Clay, made this appeal to most of the delegations of the different states, and its effect was instantly felt. There was a getting together of Lincoln sentiment all along the line. They formed the group around which the earnest Lincoln men rallied and organized their forces. I honestly believe that this was the movement that gave Lincoln his nomination. It was the turning point, for it awoke all to a realization of what was before us, and compelled a recognition of a new element on which might rest great results for good or evil. In short, it set us all to thinking.

The one thing most effective against the nomination of Lincoln was the fact of his inexperience in national affairs, for we all came to realize that we were fast drifting toward a terrible struggle that would demand the highest order of leadership. We realized that not only our home affairs would need the most able statesman that we could find, but that the complications in our foreign affairs demanded the very highest order of diplomatic genius, and that Mr. Lincoln, though admitted by all to be a most adroit politician and wonderful in debate, had never been called upon to show that he possessed a single one of the qualities at this time most in demand; and though the point was urged and pressed that Mr. Lincoln could be elected, there were some who felt that, even though that were true, we could not afford as a party to take the chances of placing a man without experience at the head of public affairs at such a time.

This conflict seemed more and more to impress us with the great responsi-



bility resting upon us. We simply put our trust in God, and He gave us—Abraham Lincoln! We were building better than we knew.

The next morning after the nomination things quieted down. We met to name a candidate for vice president, and to conclude the work of the convention.

There came to our Kansas delegation at this time a number of influential delegates from the New England states headed by Anson Burlingame, asking Kansas to nominate for the vice presidency N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts. Banks was at the height of his popularity at this time and was recognized as a brilliant leader and coming power in the East.

Burlingame urged us to make the nomination, as a Kansas nomination would carry weight all over the North; more he thought than from any other source.

We held a quiet caucus over this, and, strange as it may seem, we declined the proposition, deciding not to present this name or any other. We felt that we were too young in the fold to assume any such responsibility, and so notified Mr. Burlingame. It was simply a case of modesty—something quite unusual in Kansas political history.

There remained now the work of satisfying the country that we had made no mistake. This was more of a task than we had imagined. The country was slow to realize. They told us that they had asked for a statesman and we had given them a rail-splitter. But when at the last, during the summer, Mr. Seward announced that he was ready to take the field for Mr. Lincoln, and when he came forward, with an earnestness and eloquence that surprised us all, urging his countrymen to make sure of the election of Mr. Lincoln if they would save the country, the whole North responded with a wide-awake campaign and every northern state swung into line with its Lincoln electors.

And when, through the succeeding four years of trial, Mr. Lincoln so happily displayed his great ability and complete fitness, we of the convention rested, and still rest, in the assurance that our work after all was well done.

## THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS IN CENTRAL KANSAS.

An address delivered by Rev. ALFRED BERGIN,<sup>1</sup> before the Kansas State Historical Society at its thirty-fourth annual meeting, December 7, 1909.

THE First Swedish Agricultural Company, organized at Chicago, Ill., April 17, 1868, and the Galesburg Colonization Company, organized in the fall of the same year, are mainly responsible for the Swedish settlements in central Kansas.

There were, however, Swedish settlers and minor settlements even prior to the formation of those two companies.

The first Swedish settler in Kansas was undoubtedly John A. Johnson, who came from Galesburg, Ill., in 1855. He settled at Mariadahl, in the neighborhood of Cleburne. His brother, N. P. Johnson, came in 1856. In 1857 C. J. Dahlberg and Peter Carlson, with their families, arrived, and also C. P. Rolander, N. P. Axelsson, and J. A. Sanderson came in 1858. In 1859 John A. Johnson's mother, three brothers and four sisters arrived from the old home in Horn parish, Ostergötland, Sweden.

The little colony increased by new arrivals from Galesburg and from Sweden, and a Lutheran church was organized in 1863 and a house of worship erected in 1866. The name of the church, Mariadahl, was given to the congregation in honor of the first person buried in the new country, Maria, mother of the Johnsons.



REV. ALFRED BERGIN, PH. D.  
Pastor Bethany Church, Lindsborg.

NOTE 1.—ALFRED BERGIN, B. D., A. M., Ph. D., was born in Västergötland, Sweden, April 24, 1866. He came to America in 1883, graduated from Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn., 1892, and from the Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill., with the degree of B. D., in 1894. In the latter year he was also ordained as pastor in the Augustana Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. He has served congregations at Sanborn, North Dak., Warren, Minn., and Cambridge, Minn. In 1904 he was called as successor to Dr. Carl Swensson, as pastor of Bethany Church, Lindsborg, Kan. While pastor at Cambridge, Minn., he attended the State University, at Minneapolis, Minn., and received from this institution the A. M. degree in 1899, and in 1904 the degree of doctor of philosophy. He is a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Geographic Society, the American Forestry Association, the Swedish-American Historical Society, the Kansas Historical Society, the Swedish Church Historical Society of Upsala, Sweden, the National Health League, etc. While in Minnesota he served as director of Gustavus Adolphus College, and statistician of the conference. He is now on the board of directors of Bethany College, vice president of the Kansas Conference of the Augustana Synod and president of the McPherson district of said conference. He is editor of the *Kansas Young Lutheran*, assistant editor of the *Lindsborgs-Posten*, and contributes to several Swedish-American publications. In 1898 he published "*Nagra ord i viktiga fragor*"; in 1904, *The History of Cambridge, Minn.*; in 1905, *The Law of the Westgoths*, from the manuscript of Aeskil, 1200 A. D.; and in 1909, *The History of the Swedish Settlements in Central Kansas*. It is upon this work, containing 368 large pages, and published by the Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., that this essay is based.

Peter From, from Ockelbo, Sweden, took a claim in the West Fork valley, Marshall county, in 1858. He was instrumental in gathering more of his countrymen to his new home, and was in a way the cause of the settlement at this place.

Anders Palm, from Lund, Sweden, took up his abode in Lawrence in 1858. He bought machinery for a windmill<sup>2</sup> in Sweden and brought it to Lawrence in 1862, when he erected the windmill famous in the annals of Kansas.

P. J. Peterson, from Sandsjö, Sweden, came to Lawrence at about the same time as Palm.

John P. Swenson was born in Stockholm, Sweden, February 19, 1814. He settled near Enterprise, on Swenson creek, in 1858. He was visited by Jäderborg the same year at Christmas. Swenson had a good education, and had been court reporter in Skåne, Sweden, but had poor success as a farmer. He moved to Junction City in 1862, and later to Concordia, where he died January 20, 1895. Two of his daughters live in Junction City. Mr. Swenson was elected to the city council of Junction City in 1871 and 1873, and again in 1876, serving six years. He was elected in 1872 a member of the State Board of Railroad Assessors, serving two years. In 1868 he was very active in gathering a lot of his countrymen to work on the Union Pacific, southern branch, now the M. K. & T., south from Junction City. Swenson's first settlement in America was at Lexington, Mo., in 1853.<sup>3</sup>

L. O. Jäderborg came from Galesburg to Salina in 1858 in the company of Colonel Phillips with Doctor Gran and several persons. The place did not appeal to them, so they all went back. Jäderborg, however, stopped at Fort Riley, where he, through the aid of L. B. Perry,<sup>4</sup> a ferry owner, built a blacksmith shop. He preempted, in the spring of 1859, some land near Enterprise, and, after having been in the war, took up his residence here in 1865. When Jäderborg was at Salina there was not a single dwelling place either here or in Enterprise. They followed simply the government trail between Riley and the western forts. There was, however, one little hut at Junction City and another at Mud Creek (Abilene) west thereof. Jäderborg, his wife, son Thure and daughter Lydia are now residing at Lindsborg, while Julia, who is married to E. Lindahl, lives on the old farm, which contains 1100 acres.

Anders B. Carlgren was the first Swede in the Smoky Hill valley south of Salina. He came here January 18, 1864; settled February 15 in the same year on section 30, township 13, range 2, Saline county, and lived there until 1893, when he returned to Sweden, where he died in 1895. He was

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NOTE 2.—WILLIAM L. PALM, son of Anders, recently presented a large painting of the windmill to the Historical Society. The members of his father's family had all removed from the state, and he thought the picture would be of interest to Kansans. The windmill furnished power for an extensive foundry and machine works in the early days, and the first plow cast in Kansas was made there.

NOTE 3.—Two certificates for the purchase of land, signed by G. W. Veale, agent, in the "office State Rail Road Lands," Topeka, have been found among the papers of the Archives Department. One is to John Breaton and C. M. Albinson for 560 acres of land in Cloud county (S. 10, T. 5, R. 4 W.), and is dated November 1, 1868. This was transferred the same month to John P. Swenson, at Junction City. The other certificate is for land purchased by Robert Henderson of Junction City.

NOTE 4.—L. B. PERRY and wife settled on the island near Fort Riley in 1856. They were from Missouri, near St. Louis. For nine years Mr. Perry operated a ferry on the Kaw river between Whiskey Point and Fort Riley; he farmed, and also ran a sawmill. Whiskey Point and Island City were at one time opposite Fort Riley near where the Junction City Country Club is now located. They left Geary county in July, 1867. Perry became interested in a Santa Fe wagon train; in 1869 he was in the grocery trade at Fort Scott, departing finally for Texas.



born in Bitterna, Västergötland, Sweden, in 1819, arrived in America in 1863, and after wandering on foot through Missouri and Kansas came to Saline county at the time stated. He lived, to begin with, in a hollow cottonwood tree, and later built a dugout and a log cabin. There was then no settlement or settler west or south of Carlgren in this valley. Salina was then not a large place.



JOHN A. and N. P. JOHNSON.  
First Swedish settlers.

G. A. Johnson, from Husby, Ostergötland, Sweden, settled next to Carlgren, in 1867. Peter Johnson, from Alem, Småland, Sweden, came the same year; also, Andrew Johnson and family, a nephew of Carlgren.

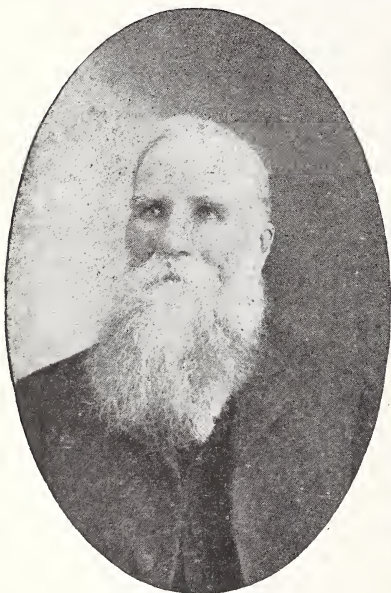
In the latter part of April, 1866, Gustaf Johnson, from Hofva, Västergötland, Sweden, visited the territory where Lindsborg now is located. He drove from Junction City, in company with L. Hultqvist, P. Spångberg and A. G. Linn, from Västergötland; H. J. Nordlund and Ahlqvist, from Skåne; Erik Också, from Västmanland, and Karl Johnson, from Småland. At their return, May 1, every one, together with nine other young Swedes, filed on a quarter along the Smoky Hill just where Lindsborg now is situated. Johnson is yet in Lindsborg, a hale and hearty old man, but all the other pioneers have either died or moved away. Some of their descendants are, however, here on the old homesteads.

As soon as Johnson and his company had settled in this vicinity some more of their friends came to stay with them, and in the fall of 1866, as well as during 1867, quite a few families arrived, some from the Eastern states and others from Sweden. Among these were Gust Höglund, I. M. Nelson, P. Hedlund, P. Elving, Major Holmberg and others. But not before the formation of the First Swedish Agricultural Company, in 1868, in Chicago, was there any great influx of settlers to this neighborhood.

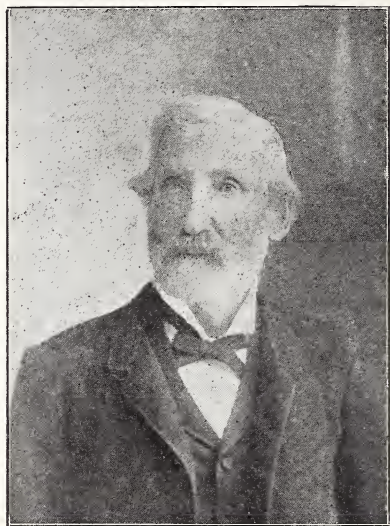
The newcomers were all poor. Some had been in the war. They had to seek somewhere to earn their living until the soil would produce something. They were given employment at Forts Harker, Dodge and Scott, and on the Union Pacific and Santa Fe railroads. As most of them were young men, they simply stayed on the land long enough to comply with the law, and those who had families of course left them on the homestead. There was an abundance of buffaloes, antelopes, turkeys, and no lack of venison, if they could

only manage to get some bread. Their first corn and wheat was ground at a windmill a little south of Salina. Texas herds, grasshoppers and droughts were very hard on the scanty crops in these early years.

In 1868 the Rev. J. B. McAfee, then adjutant-general of the state, became interested in securing railroad rates, and in other services, to many Scandinavians then in Chicago. Awaiting the action of agents they had been looking over the states of Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin. He secured a rate of \$10.50 from Chicago to Kansas City and less than half rate from Kansas City westward. On account of a severe famine in Sweden about that time, many thousands came to the states above named, and some purchases of land were made for them in this state, notably in the counties of Republic, Jewell, Cloud, Mitchell, Ottawa, Lincoln, Saline and McPherson. Rev. S. G. Larson visited Kansas in the spring of 1868 in the interest of this movement. The Indian troubles, as detailed in General McAfee's report for that year, were not very encouraging to immigration.



L. O. JADERBORG.



A. B. CARLGREN.

Sven August Lindell, from Barkeryd, Småland, Sweden, left for America in 1866. On the steamer he discussed with some other young Swedes on board the feasibility of organizing some kind of a colony and buying land in Iowa. The plan was, that as all were poor, some could go away to seek work, while others stayed at home and broke open the soil, etc. Lindell came to Galesburg, Ill., to Ohio, to Chicago; and wherever he went he would talk of his pet plan, to get a home of his own. He discussed it also with Magnus Carlson, J. G. Bergsten and John Ferm, in Chicago, and the result was the formation of the First Swedish Agricultural Company in Chicago, April 17, 1868.

The intention was to have a company of 100 persons, who each should

buy 160 acres of land. As there was cheap land in the Smoky Hill valley in Kansas, they decided to buy 16,000 acres from the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company. They heard of the droughts in Kansas, but thought that if God was willing to lead them here, he would also give rain. S. G. Larson, S. P. Lindgren and Dan Lindahl, were sent to look over the land and make purchase. They decided on a tract nine miles north and south and six miles east and west in the southern part of what is now called Saline county and the north part of what is now McPherson county. The plan was to buy the railroad land and homestead the intervening government land. They did not get all the land they applied for, but the homestead land in between gave them sufficient territory for their colony just the same.



PASTOR OLOF OLSSON.

The members of the company were not all located in Chicago. Those in Chicago had friends and relatives in Sweden, and there were a large number of them in the province of Värmland who became members even at the start. John Ferm wrote to John Johnson, in Backa, at Kroppa, C. R. Carlson, at Filipstad, and Rev. Olof Olsson, at the parish of Persberg. These then interested their friends in the enterprise, and with eighty families, numbering about 250 persons, Rev. Olof Olsson set out for the New World and Kansas in May, 1869. He arrived at Salina in the latter part of June of that year, and became from the very start the leading man in the colony.

The colonists were sincerely religious, of a pietistic color, and influenced greatly by the teachings of C. O. Rosenius and P. Fjellstedt. They were earnest Lutherans, and desired above everything else to establish their church in the place where they were to make their home. They would begin the digging of their dugout with prayer, and prayer and Scripture reading always had its place in the program for the day. They were rigorously honest, trustworthy and law-abiding. Hardly had they begun the erection of their huts before they undertook to build a house of worship. Their first church, simple and primitive, was erected on section seven, Smoky Hill township, McPherson county, out of stone from the bluffs, and in it the first service was held New Year's morning at five A. M., 1870.

They were by no means clannish, but desirous of unity and order. Within the colony they naturally favored people of their own nationality and belief.



Hence the constitution of the company as well as the constitution of the church is written so as to admit only sincere believers in Jesus Christ of Swedish-Lutheran faith.

It might be of some interest to copy the minutes of the first meeting of the Agricultural Company, the constitution of the company, the land contract and the constitution of the church, for all were of importance to this early colony, whose influence has been so great in the development of our great and glorious state :

"MINUTES of the meeting held at 190-192 Superior street, Chicago, Ill., April 17, 1868, in order to organize a Swedish Agricultural Company within the United States.

"1. The meeting was opened by reading of I Corinthians, 13th chapter, and prayer.

"2. John Ferm was elected chairman *pro tem.* and S. P. Lindgren, secretary.

"3. A constitution was proposed and it was decided to discuss the same item by item.

"4. The preamble and the fifth paragraph were adopted.

"5. The meeting adjourned to meet next Friday evening to continue the discussion, and was closed with prayer."

How long a time it took to agree upon a constitution cannot be learned, but the following was the result of the deliberations :

"CONSTITUTION FOR THE FIRST SWEDISH AGRICULTURAL COMPANY,  
OF CHICAGO, ILL.

"I. The name of this corporation shall be the First Swedish Agricultural Company.

"II. Everyone received as a member of this corporation shall be a believing Christian, adhere to the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran church, be industrious and thrifty, and exert himself for the upbuilding and development of the company.

"III. Each member shall, when operations begin, contribute \$100, and after that \$25 the first day of every third month while this organization exists, but should any member not be able to contribute the full amount, he shall be debited by the sum so lacking, besides six per cent interest.

"IV. Every member is in duty bound to work for the maintenance and success of the corporation. Should anyone be negligent in this respect or oppose the progress of the company, or in some way shirk his duty as a member, he will have to be satisfied with such decision concerning himself as a majority of the members pass.

"V. While this corporation exists all members shall have equal rights and duties. After five years are passed shall the common property be divided in the following manner:

"(a) A committee of seven shall value all the property of the company. The land shall be divided into forty-acre lots. Cattle and other property shall be divided according to its value. This committee shall consist of the president, secretary and one director, two other members, and two who are not members of our company. The committee shall be selected at a special meeting called at least six months prior to the time for dividing the property. When valuation has been completed the property shall be divided among the members of the corporation.

"(b) The land thus valued shall on a specified day be sold at auction to the highest bidder among the members of the company. No lot less than forty acres can be bought or sold, and no price less than that put by the valuation committee can be accepted. With cattle and other property the same rule shall obtain. Pay for property thus bought shall be deducted from each buyer's share in the company.

"(c) What money is received above the price of the appraisers shall be distributed equally among the shareholders and shall become due and be collected at such time and in such manner as is decided upon on the day of auction.



"(d) For the administration of such matters as may need attention, as open accounts and unfinished business transactions at the dissolution of the company, a committee of administration, or an administrator, shall be chosen.

"(e) Should some one desire to leave the corporation prior to the expiration of the five years, he shall either get a successor satisfactory to the corporation, who will take upon himself all obligations of such a member, or he shall have no right to claim any of his deposited capital before the expiration of five years, and then minus the interest only. If the corporation should then be in straightened circumstances he shall receive from the administrator a note of such kind as shall then be decided. But shall the corporation during the five years lose or not gain anything, then shall the remaining members have the right to receive their full depositions first without interest, and from the remainder those who have left the company may take as long as it lasts.

"(f) The corporation shall, as soon as any operations have been begun, elect seven officers, or more if necessary, and they shall serve for one year. They shall be: president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and three directors, and shall be elected at the annual meeting of the corporation.

"(g) Should any member while the corporation lasts become sick or suffer some accident that would unfit him for performing his duty according to paragraphs II and IV, he shall not be expelled but be treated in as lenient a manner as the condition of the corporation will allow.

"(h) Should any member die during the existence of the corporation, his heirs, provided they do not desire to remain in the company, shall be treated in accordance with paragraph IV; but if they desire to remain their duties will be those of the constitution as a whole.

"(i) A general meeting shall be held in the last part of June or the first of July every year, and besides as often as conditions demand. The president shall give notice of every such meeting to each member in good time.

"(j) Whosoever has any complaint against the corporation, or anything to recommend to the same, its members or officers, etc., shall address the president, when it becomes his duty to convene the board of directors. If that cannot settle the matter, refer it to a general meeting. Complaints against the president shall be brought before the vice president.

"(k) Alterations and amendments to this constitution cannot be made except by a two-thirds majority vote, and after such have been discussed at a previous meeting.

#### "INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICERS.

"The president's duties are: To preside at the sessions of the corporation and at the meetings of the board of directors; see to it that everything is done in a proper and orderly way; not allow more than one to speak at the same time, but give each one that so desires an opportunity to speak, provided he deliberates on the question before the house. He shall further see, too, that each question is thoroughly discussed and, if possible, passed upon, before he lets another question be presented; sign all documents; and as the head and leader of the corporation he shall be a firm character, sincerely quench all disorder and insubordination, but with kindness and love treat want and virtue. Special emphasis is laid upon his duty to care for the widows and orphans within the corporation as far as the circumstances of the company allow

"The vice president shall, in the president's absence, perform his duties.

"The secretary shall write and keep the record of the decisions of the corporation and its board of directors, and besides keep a record of the income and outlay of the corporation similar to that of the treasurer.

"The corresponding secretary shall receive and reply to all the correspondence of the company, and inform absent members of the doings of the corporation if these concern any individual member. Concerning letters that demand a meeting of the whole company he shall immediately inform the president.

"The treasurer shall receive all money coming to the corporation and

pay out according to the decision of the same. He can pay no sum larger than ten dollars at one time without asking the board of directors, but must a payment be made so quickly that the board cannot convene, and the corporation should lose financially if payment is delayed, then he may pay such dues with the consent of the president or some director. He shall further keep the books in proper shape at all times, and present in a written report the condition of the treasury to each annual meeting. If he should misuse his great trust, the board of directors shall have the power to depose him, and the president shall have charge of the books until an extra meeting be called, when the case shall be considered and if necessary a new treasurer elected.

"The duties of the directors shall be to have at heart the welfare of the corporation; defend the same against false reports; prevent strife and divisions, if such should arise among the members; to assist by kind advice and information the members and officers; be present at all meetings and vote conscientiously and impartially, and also assist the officers by correspondence or otherwise as the circumstances may demand.

J. FERM, *President*.

J. G. BERGSTEN, *Vice President*.

S. P. LINDGREN, *Secretary and Treasurer*.

S. A. LINDELL, *Corresponding Secretary*.

A. P. LINDE and J. O. LINDH, *Directors*."

The charter is of a later date. The company was formed, bought land and made settlement, but did not know the need of incorporation. As soon as it found out that incorporation was necessary, this was attended to. This explains why the charter differs in some respects from the constitution, and why it is of so late a date.

"CHARTER of the 'First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson County,' prepared and adopted in pursuance of an act of the legislature of Kansas, 29th day of February, A. D. 1868, as follows, to wit:

"FIRST.

"The name of this corporation shall be The First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson County.

"SECOND.

"The purpose of this corporation shall be the promotion of immigration, the encouragement of agriculture, and the purchase, location and laying out of town sites and the sale and conveyance of the same in lots and subdivisions or otherwise.

"THIRD.

"The business of this corporation shall be transacted at Lindsborg, in McPherson county, in the state of Kansas, and at the city of Chicago, in the state of Illinois.

"FOURTH.

"The term of existence of this corporation shall be twenty years.

"FIFTH.

"The number of directors of this corporation shall be eleven, and for the year next ensuing they shall be the following-named persons, that is to say: John Ferm and John Henry Johnson, who severally reside in McPherson county in the state of Kansas, and Andrew M. Olson, who resides in Saline county, state of Kansas, who are respectively citizens of the state of Kansas, and Peter Colseth, Andrew P. Montan, John O. Lind, Swen Samuelson, John G. Bergsten, Nils Johnson, Carl A. Carlson and August P. Brandt, who severally reside in the city of Chicago in the state of Illinois.

"SIXTH.

"This corporation has no capital stock. The property of this corporation consists of certain parcels of land, some whereof are situated in McPherson county, and some in Saline county, in the state of Kansas, amounting in the

aggregate to thirteen thousand one hundred and sixty-eight  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres of land, which said land was heretofore contracted for in behalf of this corporation from the Union Pacific Railway Company, by a certain contract in writing bearing the date first day of September, A. D. 1868, on which contract sundry payments of principal and interest have been made on behalf of this company of the purchase for said land to the amount of ten thousand dollars or thereabouts, together with divers and numerous articles of personal property, goods and chattels, consisting of domestic animals, horses, cattle, sheep and swine and agricultural and farming utensils, machines, and implements, amounting, together with the land aforesaid, in value to the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars or thereabouts. Witness our hands this 28th day of February, A. D. 1870.

PETER COLSETH,  
J. O. LINDH,  
CARL A. CARLSON,  
N. JOHNSON,  
JOHN FERM,  
ANDREW PETER MONTEN,

S. SAMUELSON,  
AUGUST P. BRANDT,  
JOHN G. BERGSTEN,  
J. H. JOHNSON,  
ANDREW M. OLSON."

"CONTRACT.

"Land Department of the Union Pacific Railway Company, E. D.

"This agreement, made this first day of September in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, between the Union Pacific Railway Company, E. D., of the first part, and the First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson County, Kansas, of the second part,

Witnesseth, That in consideration of the stipulation herein contained and payments to be made as hereafter specified, the first party hereby agrees to sell unto the said second party the following-described lands in the state of Kansas, viz.:

Description.	Section.	Town.	Range.
	19	16	3 west.
	21	16	3 "
	23	16	3 "
	27	16	3 "
	29	16	3 "
	31	16	3 "
	33	16	3 "
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	35	16	3 "
N $\frac{1}{2}$ and SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	35	16	3 "
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	35	16	3 "
	1	17	3 "
	3	17	3 "
	5	17	3 "
	7	17	3 "
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	9	17	3 "
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	9	17	3 "
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	9	17	3 "
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	9	17	3 "
W $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	11	17	3 "
W $\frac{1}{2}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	11	17	3 "
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	11	17	3 "
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	11	17	3 "
	13	17	3 "
E $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	15	17	3 "
E $\frac{1}{2}$ and SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	15	17	3 "
S $\frac{1}{2}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	15	17	3 "
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	17	17	3 "
NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	17	17	3 "
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	17	17	3 "
W $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	19	17	3 "
SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	19	17	3 "
S $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	21	17	3 "



Description.	Section.	Town.	Range.
E $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	29	17	3 west.
N $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	33	17	3 "
SE $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	33	17	3 "
E $\frac{1}{2}$ of NW $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	33	17	3 "

Containing, according to the United States survey, thirteen thousand and sixty-eight  $\frac{8}{100}$  acres, for the sum of twenty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-nine  $\frac{8}{100}$  dollars, with the interest annually at the rate of six per cent. Payment has been made and received of five thousand nine hundred and twenty-five  $\frac{8}{100}$  dollars (\$5925.97), and the remaining principal, with the annual accruing interest, shall be paid at the general land office of the first part in five annual payments, at the time and in the manner following; that is to say:

	Day.	Month.	Year.	Principal.	Interest.	Amount.
First payment.....	1st	Sept.	1869	.....	\$1,422 22	\$1,422 23
Second " .....	1st	Sept.	1870	\$5,925 97	1,422 23	7,348 20
Third " .....	1st	Sept.	1871	5,925 97	1,066 67	6,992 64
Fourth " .....	1st	Sept.	1872	5,925 97	711 12	6,637 09
Fifth " .....	1st	Sept.	1873	5,925 96	355 56	6,281 52

"And the said second party, in consideration of the premises, hereby agree to place at least fifty families upon said land in south half T. 16 S., R. 3 W., and T. 17 S., R. 3 W., within eighteen months from this date, and further agree that within two years from this date and in each of the then next ensuing two years they or their legal representatives or assigns will improve, by tillage or some other course of good husbandry, at least one-tenth of said lands, so that at the expiration of said four years not less than three-tenths of the premises embraced in this contract shall have been used for cultivation; and further, the second party agree that they will make punctual payment of the above sums as each of the same respectively becomes due, and that they will regularly and seasonably pay all such taxes and assessments as may hereafter be imposed upon said premises. In case the second party, their legal representatives or assigns, shall pay the several sums of money aforesaid punctually and at the time above limited, and shall strictly and literally perform all and singular their agreements and stipulations aforesaid after their true tenor and intent, then the first party will cause to be made and executed unto the said second party, their heirs or assigns (upon request at the general land office of the first party and the surrender of this contract), a deed conveying said premises in fee simple with the ordinary covenants of warranty; and in case said second party shall be unable to make any of the payments under this contract when the same shall become due, and shall make affidavit to this effect, the first party agree that of the lands hereinbefore described there shall be deeded to said second party by said first party a sufficient number of acres to represent the purchase money paid under this contract at the time of such failure or default; but the lands to be so deeded in the event of such default and in consideration of the money paid on this contract shall be selected from the lands aforesaid by the agent of the second party and by land commissioner of the first party, and in the event of disagreement between the agent of the second party and said land commissioner the decision of the president of the Union Pacific Railway Company, E. D., shall be final.

"The lands to be selected shall be sold at the present selling price for such tracts as they stand upon the books of the said first party, and not at the uniform price of two  $\frac{2}{100}$  dollars per acre as herein rated. The first party agree to donate to said second party, or to such parties as they may designate, without cost to said second party, one hundred and sixty acres of land in section seventeen (17), in township seventeen (17) south, in range three (3) west of the sixth principal meridian, in the state of Kansas, for church and school purposes, provided that a church is erected on said tract in good faith within five years from date of this agreement; and in case of any failure or departure of the second party to fully execute on their part this contract in any essential particular, the agreement to donate the one



hundred and sixty acres for church and school purposes shall be null and void.

"And it is hereby agreed and covenanted by the parties hereto that time and punctuality are material and essential ingredients in this contract and said parties of the first part reserve the right immediately upon the failure of the party of the second part to comply with the stipulations of this contract to enter upon such land aforesaid as may by such default revert to the first party and take immediate possession thereof, together with the improvements and appurtenances thereto belonging, and the said party of the second part covenant and agree that they will surrender unto said party of the first part such land and appurtenances without delay or hindrance, and no court shall relieve the party of the second part from the failure to comply strictly and literally with the contract; and it is further stipulated that no assignment of the premises shall be valid unless the same shall be indorsed hereon, and that no agreements or conditions or relations between the second party and their assigns or any other person acquiring title or interest from or through them shall preclude the first party from the right to convey the premises to the second party or their assigns on the surrender of this agreement and the payment of the unpaid portion of the purchase money which may be due to the first party.

"In witness of which, the Union Pacific Railroad Company, Eastern Division, has caused these presents in duplicate to be signed by the commissioner and the secretary of the land department, under the seal of said company, and the second party has hereto set signatures on the day and year above written.

JNO. P. DEVEREUX, (Seal.)

*Commissioner.*

CHAS. B. LAMBORN, (Seal.)

*Sec. U. P. R. Co., E. D.*

JOHN FERM, *President.* (Seal.)

S. P. LINDGREN, *Secretary.* (Seal.)

"Countersigned by SAMUEL J. GILMORE, *Secretary.*"

"State of Kansas, Saline county, ss.

"I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a contract from the U. P. R. Company, E. D., with First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson County, as filed in this office for record the 22d day of March, A. D. 1869, at ten A. M. And there was thirty-five cents international revenue stamps thereon and properly cancelled.

E. LINCOLN,

*Register of Deeds.*

"CONSTITUTION OF THE BETHANY SWEDISH EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF LINDSBORG, KAN.

"1. The name of our church is the Bethany Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, Lindsborg, Kan.

"2. The congregation accepts the confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, but wishes to stand in a friendly and brotherly relation to Christians of other Protestant denominations.

"3. Since the congregation, according to the Word of God, is convinced and confesses that participation in Holy Communion on the part of the unconverted does not have a helpful but hurtful influence, she cannot admit to this sacrament any one unless such a person has been carefully examined by the pastor and the deacons concerning the genuineness of his conversion.

"4. Each and all desiring to become members of this congregation shall apply for admission to one of the deacons, but cannot be admitted before the pastor and the deacons have thoroughly discussed his application.

"5. Persons who are to become members shall publicly, before the congregation, promise faithfulness to God and his Word, and by general prayers be welcomed and blessed.

"6. Children born of parents within as well as without the church shall at the suitable time be by the pastor instructed in the truths of Christianity, and, if they desire to become participants in Holy Communion, received into

the congregation in the same manner as aforesaid concerning reception of members.

"7. Only such persons shall be elected as deacons and trustees who are recognized by the church as true and believing Christians, as far as human judgment according to God's Word is able to decide.

"8. Each deacon shall, by personal conversation, endeavor to find out in what state of spiritual development he who seeks admission into this congregation may be, and thereafter report his findings to the church council (the deacons, with the pastor as chairman), which then shall decide according to paragraph 3 concerning the applicant.

"9. The deacons shall be consecrated before the pastor and the congregation by giving a solemn promise of faithfulness to God and the congregation and by prayer. (Signed.)

C. CARLSON,  
C. JOHANSON,  
M. CARLSON,  
JOHN H. JOHNSON,  
JOHN TRAIN,  
P. PETERSON,

E. O. STAF,  
OLOF SVENSON,  
A. ERICKSON,  
A. JOHN NILSON,  
JAN JANSSON,  
ERIK ERSON.

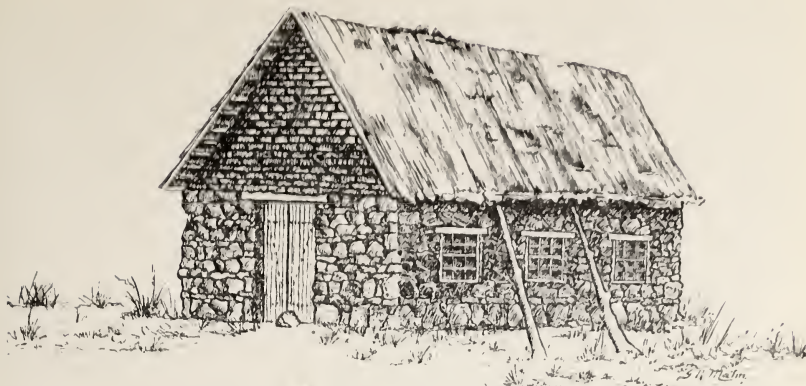
"LINDSBORG, KAN., August 19, 1869."

#### THE GALESBURG COLONIZATION COMPANY

Was organized in the fall of 1868. Rev. A. W. Dahlsten, pastor of the Lutheran church at Galesburg, Ill., was the prime mover in this enterprise. At a meeting held in his church, where Olof Thorstenberg was chairman and J. P. Strömquist secretary, and where over 300 persons were gathered, it was decided to send a committee to Kansas to investigate conditions for settlement, and, if found favorable, to buy land for the contemplated colony. This committee consisted of Doctor Dahlsten, Olof Thorstenberg, Gustaf Johnson, John Rodell and Wm. Johnson. After having visited this valley they bargained with the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company for twenty-two sections of land in Saline and McPherson counties, and then brought the railroad company's land agent home to Galesburg. Here each member bought his own piece of land, and the company was at once dissolved, but it had served its purpose and brought hundreds of thrifty and industrious young Swedes to the plains of Kansas. The twenty-two sections bought were located northwest, west and southwest of the land bought by the Chicago colony. This purchase served only as a nucleus for a larger settlement, however, for not only was the intervening homestead land taken possession of, but all available land in the whole neighborhood, and within only a couple of years there was no land to be had in this valley. One of the largest settlements of Swedes in the United States had been formed, and central Kansas was no more a *terra incognita* or a grazing ground for the buffalo or the Texas herds.

The settlement has grown until it covers a territory thirty miles north and south and twenty to twenty-five miles east and west, and proves to be one of the garden spots of Kansas. About 20,000 Swedes or descendants of Swedes are found here to-day, and some have a right to be counted among the most well-to-do and influential people within the borders of the state.

The colony owes its prosperity in no small way to the gifted and industrious leadership of Dr. Olof Olsson, the founder of Lindsborg, and the well known and brilliant Dr. Carl Swensons. The influence of both these men has been of national dimensions, but no less great within the borders of our state.



The first Church in Central Kansas.

Lindsborg, the central city of the colony, has over 2000 inhabitants, nearly all of Swedish descent. It is considered the cleanest city in Kansas, and has a good sewer system, waterworks and electric light plant, owned and controlled by the city, and harbors within its borders Bethany College, an institution supported by the Swedish Lutheran Church, having annually over 900 students, counting among its faculty members Kansas' foremost landscape-painter, Sven Birger Sandzen, and famous all over the United States for its splendid Messiah concerts.

The city of Lindsborg was laid out by J. H. Johnson and C. R. Carlson, in the fall of 1869. Johnson became its first postmaster, and was one of the commissioners appointed by the governor to call the first election and organize McPherson county in 1870. The first election was held at Sveadal, March 24, and 197 Republican and 1 Democratic votes were cast. In the fall of the same year the county seat was moved to Lindsborg, which then consisted of one building erected by the Agricultural Company. In 1873 McPherson became the county seat. Lindsborg has never had a saloon or an opera house. Its first public school was held in the courthouse in 1871, and Mrs. Warner was the first teacher. There were but half a dozen children.

Salina, Fremont, Salemsborg, Assaria, Falun, Marquette and Smolan are situated in the territory of the Galesburg company.

Salina was the distributing point for the whole settlement, and very naturally some of the Swedes stopped and made their homes there. N. P. Nelson, Gust Engstrom, Anders Vikberg, C. A. Holm, M. A. Thelander, Anders Hart, Anna G. Hart, S. Lundberg, C. Thelander, Carl Söderberg, G. Eklund, Frank Eklund, Hans Ostberg, F. O. Rydbeck, P. J. Peterson, John Johnson, Emma Larson, Mathilda Anderson, Christine Holmberg, Sven Mattson, N. P. Engwall and Carl Fält were the very first settlers. Several of them had families. Although there always have been a large number of Swedes in Salina, they never were the controlling element.

Fremont received its first settlers in 1868. In December of that year J. P. Strömquist settled near the place where the church now is, and early in the following year a large number of Galesburg people followed in his steps. Among the first ones we find J. P. Rodell, Isak Håkanson, G. Ceder-



holm, C. J. Strömquist, the six Dahlsten brothers, C. N. Lundqvist, C. J. Håkanson, S. A. Palmqvist, A. P. Håkanson, J. M. Carlson, F. G. Håkanson and C. J. Sundgren. A church building was erected in 1870, which is yet in good condition, although long since too small for the congregation. This is the oldest house of worship in existence in central Kansas.

Salemsborg belongs to the same settlement as Fremont. Its history is therefore similar to Fremont's. One of the first houses built was the sod church, which was used for the first time September 29, 1869. Among the very first settlers we find C. J. Brodine, L. J. Larson, I. M. Danielson, August Frost, Capt. J. Ekholm, J. Sandberg, S. A. Appelqvist and John and Olof Thorstenberg.

Assaria is an outgrowth of Salemsborg. Måns Peterson, B. P. Hessler, Svan Johnson, Sam. Peterson, Chas. Thorstenberg, John Trulson and John Johnson are some of the first settlers. The prosperous little village within the settlement has a population of about 350.

Falun is also an outgrowth of Salemsborg. Its oldest inhabitant is Eric Sundgren, who came from Dalarna, Sweden, in November, 1868. In the following spring L. J. Anderson, L. J. Larson, Jacob Malmgren, J. G. Hedberg and C. J. Sandberg arrived. It was also here that Eric Forsee, who was the leader of a colony from Bishop Hill, Ill., took up his abode in 1869. Major Forsee was a veteran of the Civil War. The settlement includes a thrifty little village of about 100 persons.

Smolan is another outgrowth of Salemsborg. Charles Frank, its first settler, came in the company of J. P. Strömquist in 1868, and took up his residence here sometime before Christmas that year. The settlement contains a village of about seventy inhabitants.

Marquette is a branch of Fremont. Andrew Erickson, the first settler, came in December, 1868, and was in Strömquist's company. He settled just where now is a flourishing village of about 800 persons.

New Gottland is a settlement adjacent to Lindsborg and McPherson. Its first settler, C. J. Hanson, located in March, 1871. In April of the same year, Sven and Gust Burk, and in June A. T. and N. T. Olson and Hans Nelson arrived. Later, in the fall, there was a large influx of settlers. The first services here were held New Year's day, 1872, and Dr. Olof Olsson organized the congregation in July the same year.

McPherson has a population of about 4500 people, quite a number of whom are of Swedish descent. The Swedish settlement is, however, a branch of New Gottland. J. A. Swenson, H. A. Lindberg, John Post, G. A. Sohlberg, J. P. Löfgren, Gust Post, Carl Bengtson, A. J. Gustafson, J. A. Thulin, Alf. Rotsten, C. Anderson, C. A. Sellberg, N. N. Lincoln, Oscar Eklund and Nils Moden are some of the first citizens.

New Andover is, in a way, also an outgrowth of the Galesburg colony. It is in fact a part of the Fremont settlement. Among those who were first to settle here are Anders Bolin, August, Aron and J. P. Johnson, Erik Johnson, N. Nygren, John Carlson, Anders and Peter Swenson. The church building is situated a little east of the famous "stone corral," near the Santa Fe trail.

Enterprise received its first Swedish settler in 1858, when Swenson and Jäderborg selected their claims, and Jäderborg was especially instrumental in inducing his countrymen to come here. The colony is, however, not large.





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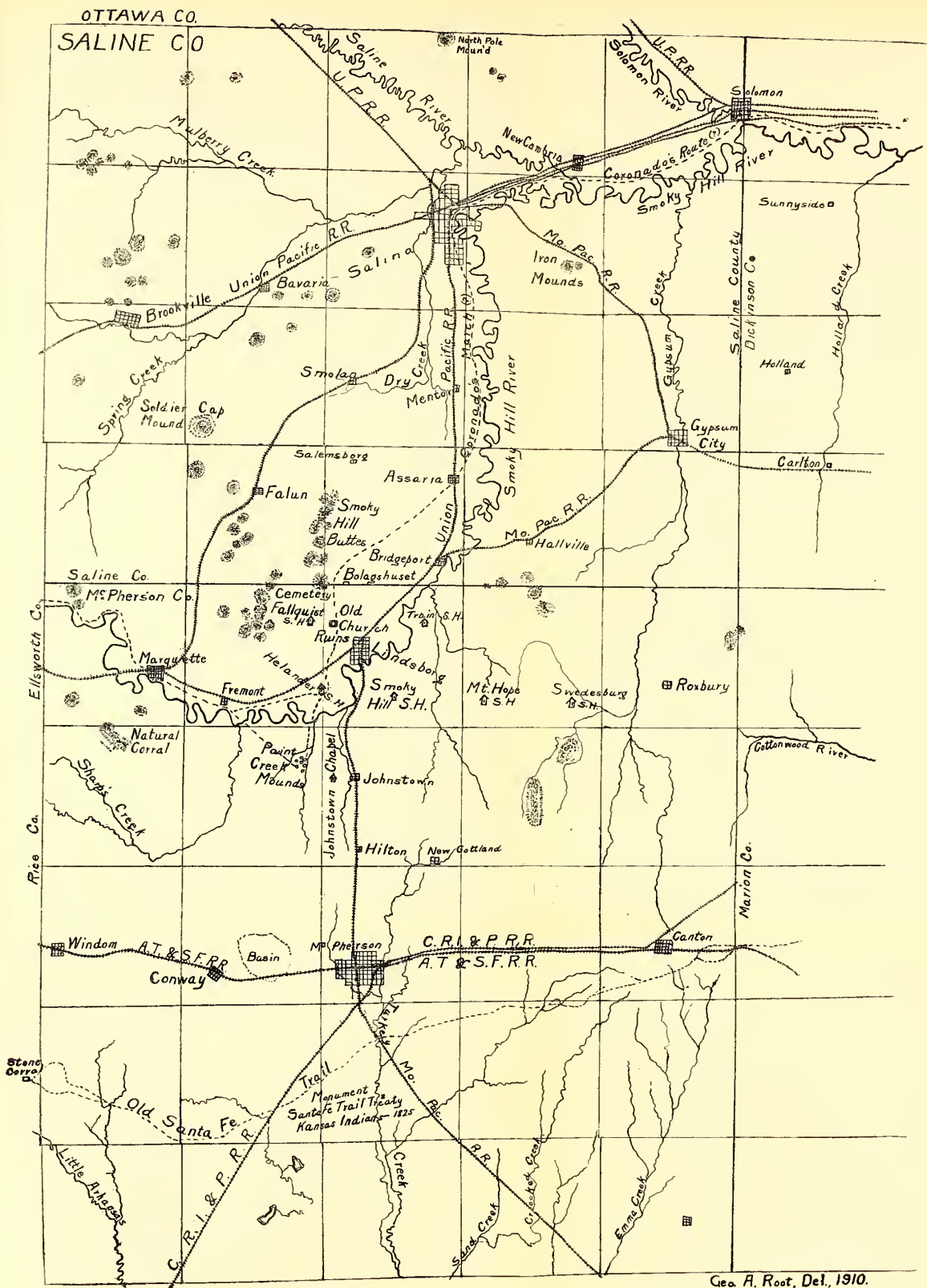
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THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS IN CENTRAL KANSAS.



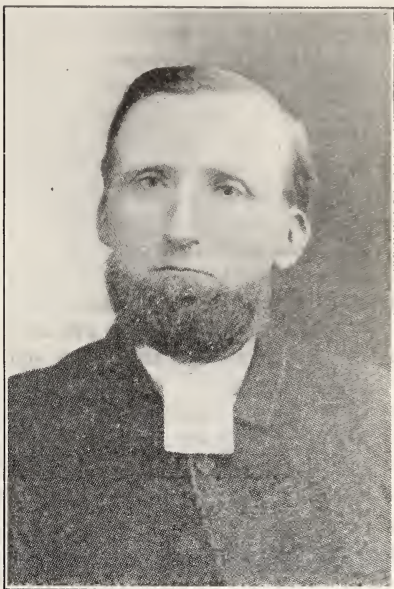


Marion Hill, near Dwight, dates back as far as 1875. The first arrivals were J. Rolph, S. Ek, J. Leander, N. Nelson, J. Johnson, P. Martinson, N. Johnson, Mrs. Tysell and Mrs. Landin.

Burdick dates from 1881. Its first settlers were J. Setterstrom, P. Björkbäck and J. Gustafson. The colony is, however, growing, as people are yet moving in from Illinois.

Hutchinson received its first Swedish citizens in 1869. They were Fred Ryde, M. Nyberg, F. Walker, J. Swenson, P. Svenson, S. J. Leeberg, N. J. Patrick, P. Talbot, and Miss Leeberg. Sven Eskilson came in 1871. The colony has, however, never been large. There is even here a little congregation which has existed since 1886.

Garfield is a village of about 200 inhabitants, several of whom are Swedes. Those who first settled here are John A. Nelson, John Delander, Fred Nystrom, N. F. Carlsson, Adolf Simonson, Per Erickson, O. W. Olin, Alfred Polson, and S. P. Abrahamson. All came in 1879. This was once quite a prosperous colony, but a large number, scared by the droughts, left. Those who remained, however, do not regret now that they did so. The last years have been blessed with good crops.



DR. A. W. DAHLSTEN.

Page, Sharon Springs and Stockholm are results of the Swedish Colonization Company, organized in Lindsborg June 11, 1897. J. Peterson was elected president, C. J. Strömquist secretary, and J. M. Erickson treasurer. Its aim was to locate Swedes of Lutheran faith in larger colonies on the plains of the West, and settlements were made at the aforementioned places.

In 1885, C. J. Falk, John Samuelson and Gust Larson came to Page. They were followed in the next years, however, by quite a number of countrymen from Page county, Iowa, and Fillmore county, Nebraska.

In 1887 Oscar Felix settled at Sharon Springs. John H. Edberg and Anders Peterson came in 1888. J. Holcomb, J. M. Erickson, Olof Engstrom, S. N. Nelson, J. P. Peterson and S. J. Holland came soon after.

In 1887, Nels Larson and Svedlund settled at Stockholm. Mat Holcomb, F. Videgren, T. Martinson, Olof Larson, Anders Olson, Nils Olson and S. Glad came soon after, some from Illinois and some from eastern Kansas.

In 1885 quite a number of Swedes settled north of Healy, in Gove county, and about the same time another colonization attempt was made in Trego county, but, like other settlements in western Kansas, these have had poor success. The severe droughts have been the main hindrance to progress.

Conditions have, however, been more favorable of late, and hope has again been kindled in the hearts of those who have remained.

In 1869 there was an effort made to establish a settlement on Spillman creek, Lincoln county, northwest of Salina, but the Indian massacre on May 30 of that year<sup>5</sup> put an end to this enterprise as far as the Swedes were concerned. Those that were not killed by the Indians left, and a few came to Lindsborg and have since lived here.

Among these are John T. and Peter M. Elmqvist, of Lindsborg, and Peter J. Johnson, who now lives at Marquette. Besides the raid on Spillman creek the old people tell of another, in 1867, by some of the Osages, who took with them a woman and child<sup>6</sup> from the vicinity of Sharp's creek. The Indians hurt the settlers otherwise in no way, but they would, of course, now and then come to them and beg, and, if chances were favorable, also steal.

We have now enumerated the larger gatherings of Swedes in central and western Kansas. Swedes are, however, found in most every city and county of the state, as well in the western as in the eastern part.

There are several large colonies along the Solomon, Republican<sup>7</sup> and Blue rivers, also at Osage City, Savonburg, Topeka, Kansas City (Kan.), St. Marys, Ottawa, Iola, Vilas and Chanute.

It is estimated that there are about 30,000 people of Swedish descent in central and western Kansas and about 50,000 in the whole state. This is considered a conservative estimate, but is nothing but an estimate, as there are no means by which the exact number can be ascertained.

Although they are not unfamiliar with the language of the land, the church language of the Swedes in Kansas has hitherto mainly been the Swedish, and the different denominations claim membership as follows: About 15,000 of the Swedes, gathered in sixty-six congregations in Kansas, belong to the Lutheran church, here represented mainly by the Augustana Synod of North America, which synod is one of the larger bodies that make up the general council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America.

NOTE 5.—See account of monument erected at Lincoln Center, in the article by the secretary, in this volume, on "Memorial Monuments and Tablets."

NOTE 6.—The captives were Mrs. Bassett and her infant of a few days. The mother being too weak to ride, they were left upon the prairie, and were found by Mr. Bassett and some neighbors, who were absent at the time of the capture. The infant died from exposure.—Cutler's History of Kansas, p. 811.

NOTE 7.—In 1868 the Scandinavian Agricultural Society of Chicago selected land for a colony in Republic county, and located fifteen Swedish settlers the first year near the present town of Scandia. During the years 1869 to 1871 a large immigration of their countrymen, both from the United States and Sweden, arrived, and the colony by 1883 numbered at least a thousand members. The sawmill sent out by the Chicago support of the colony did good service in furnishing native lumber from the timber along the Republican, and was later converted into a grist mill.—Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 1038. I. O. Savage, in his History of Republic County, 1901, mentions that at the election of 1869 for permanent location of the county seat, New Scandia received forty-two votes and the winning town, Belleville, fifty-nine. But five other votes were cast.

[Archives Department, No. 524, class 970.]

"To his Excellency, Governor of the State of Kansas: Undersigned actual settlers in the new Scandinavian settlement in the Republican valley, in the county of Republic, state of Kansas, hereby petition that a company of fifty soldiers may be sent to camp near this settlement, as safeguard against the Indians, of whom now and then a few are seen near this settlement, which is on the exposed border of this state. As several hundred Scandinavians intend to come here to settle by next spring, it is the only salvation to keep the Indians out this winter; if they are allowed to commit any depredations now it will prevent the further settling of this country by a good and hardy race of settlers.—New Scandinavia, December 4, 1868.

G. Petteson, A. E. Ostbery, Ferd Wessen, G. Asbjornsen, Tho Svendsen, J. R. Sandrett, Th. Wohlfort, A. J. Stodberg, J. A. Lundin, A. Enborn, A. Berggren, A. J. Brundbek, A. Larsson, J. Oleson, Carl Lysholm, B. J. Giersing, G. A. Ohsfeldt, M. Johnsen, Carus Clase, A. Baikstrom, P. Larsen, Carl Fredrik Holmberg, P. E. Walin, C. E. Halmberg, Edward Carsten, G. F. Holm-

These support Bethany College, at Lindsborg; the Orphanage, at Mariadahl; the Old People's Home, at Lindsborg, and give some aid to the Swedish Hospital at Kansas City, Mo. Besides, substantial aid is given to the Augustana College and Theological Seminary at Rock Island, Ill., and the Lutheran Deaconess Home at Omaha, Neb.

*Lindsborgs-Posten*, a Swedish weekly, *Bethany Messenger*, the college weekly, and the *Kansas Young Lutheran*, a bilingual monthly, all published at Lindsborg, serve as organs of the Swedish Lutheran Church within the state.

The Mission covenant counts 1600 members, gathered in twenty-six congregations within the state. These support an academy at McPherson attended by 142 students, and have as their church organ the *Kansas Missions Tidning*, a Swedish monthly published at Lindsborg.

The Swedish Baptists count 820 members, distributed in fourteen congregations within the state, and support a home for the aged in Clay Center, called Sunset Home.

The Swedish Methodists number 385 persons, distributed in seven congregations, and are planning to establish a home for the aged at Clay Center.

The Free mission has a congregation of about thirty members in Lindsborg.

What number of Swedes belong to the English-speaking denominations it is impossible to say.

The influence of the Swedes in politics has been considerable. Dr. Olof Olsson was instrumental in passing some of the good laws of our state, and Dr. Carl Swensson was for years one of the leaders, not only within the state, but within the nation. Here are the names of those who have held political offices within McPherson and Saline counties:

*McPherson County.*

1214027

County commissioners: John H. Johnson (special commissioner), March 1, 1870 to May 9, 1870; John Ferm, first district, May 9, 1870, to January, 1874. John P. Strömqvist, Lindsborg, first district, January, 1874, to January,

berg, L. C. Hanson, C. H. Brunsilius, P. A. Brunsilius, T. Sjöström, N. Hansen, C. Bergman, P. Janson, J. P. Holmström, J. P. Borgesson, Henrik Olssen, C. Aug. Holmström, Erik Olsen, August Haakonson, John Erikson, M. Snedahl, A. G. Andersen, K. E. Johnsen. John Breaton, agent for the colony."

On the margin is this description: "Section 17, township 3, range 4 west." The present town of Scandia is located in a portion of section 17.

From manuscripts found in the Archives Department of the Historical Society it is learned that John Breaton, agent for this colony, returned to Chicago, and in February, 1869, was interested in the publication of a "Scandinavian-English newspaper of Agriculture and Economy."

Christian Anderson, of Scandia, was agent of the Scandinavian Agricultural Society in 1872, and John Engström, of Lawrence, was its agent in 1873.

B. J. Giersing, a member of the Scandia colony, returned to Chicago, becoming secretary of the society in 1872. He wrote several letters to Secretary of State Smallwood, which disclosed the fact that the Scandinavian Agricultural Society of Chicago held a patent dated November 23, 1869, for about 7083 acres of railroad land, for which Englehart H. Hansen, of Republic county, had paid \$3,854.82, to be held in trust for the Scandinavian Agricultural Society. Mr. Giersing complained that two sections of their lands in Cloud county had been sold by a railroad company to D. Steeler and J. F. Jay. From further correspondence it seems that the government paid back the purchase money for these two sections to Steeler and Jay.

In the correspondence of Geo. W. Veale, state agent for railroad lands, there were found many applications from Swedes and Norwegians for lands in Cloud, Republic, Riley and Pottawatomie counties.

Niels Christenson wrote from Randolph post office, February 28, 1868, inquiring for lands in his locality, stating: "We have a settlement of Swedes here, and we wish to locate as many of our countrymen as near here as possible, for better to maintain our churches and schools."

S. D. Houston, of Junction City, wrote to Mr. Veale, October 26, 1868, recalling his application for section 18, township 2, range 4 west, near present Shadahl, stating that many Swedes had settled near by and he would give way to them.

See, Andreas, p. 967, for mention of this Scandinavian colony, some of whose members went to Jewell county. John Dahl, killed by Indians, 1869.



1878; John P. Grant, second district, January, 1880, to January, 1886; C. J. Strömquist, first district, January, 1891, to December 16, 1892, (resigned).

County clerk: John Rundstrom, special county clerk, March 1, 1870, to May 9, 1870; O. E. Hawkinson, two terms, January, 1892, to January, 1896; J. O. Strömquist (first officer born within the county), two terms, January, 1905, to January, 1909; Gust Nyquist, January, 1909, to January, 1911.

County treasurer: Anton Hogwall, two terms, August 7, 1876, to October 13, 1880; P. J. Lindholm, two terms, October, 1886, to December, 1890; Andrew Goodholm (appointed), February 18, 1890, to October, 1890; John P. Grant, two terms, October, 1894, to October, 1898; C. J. Strömquist, two terms (five years), October, 1898, to October, 1903.

County attorney: Charles Ferm, January, 1877, to January, 1879; F. O. Johnson, two terms, January, 1898, to January, 1902.

Clerk of district court: S. J. Swenson, May 9, 1870, to January, 1873.

Coroner: John Runstrom, May 9, 1870, to January, 1872.

Sheriff: Hans Wickstrom, January, 1872, to January, 1874; Emil Gustafson, two terms, January, 1907, to January, 1911.

Register of deeds: Eben Carlsson, two terms (five years) January, 1900, to January, 1905.

Probate judge: S. A. Sward, four terms, January, 1903, to January, 1911.

County superintendent: Olof Olsson, one term, May 9, 1870, to September 18, 1871.

Representative: Olof Olsson, one term, November 11, 1870, to January, 1873; C. A. Swensson, one term, January, 1889, to January, 1891; C. J. Strömquist, two terms, January, 1893, to January, 1897; Charles Lander, three terms, January, 1905, to January, 1911.

County assessor: D. H. Grant, January, 1908, to January, 1909.

State superintendent of public instruction: Frank Nelson, two terms, January 1899, to January, 1903.

#### *Saline County.*

Commissioners: Olof Forsee, 1880-1882, 1908; Peter Svedlund, 1888-1889, 1897-1898; N. O. Carlson, 1892-1893; Wm. O. Benson, 1904-1908.

County clerk: John Anderson, 1875-1876.

Clerks of district court: N. Petersen, 1874-1878; N. Ferlen, 1882-1884; C. J. Fredrickson, 1884-1890; F. O. Ostenberg, 1890-1894; Aug. Svedenborg, 1894-1898; J. E. Rydberg, 1898-1902; Alex. Hederstedt, 1902-1906; Aug. V. Anderson, 1906.

Sheriffs: Olof Forsee, 1883-1891, 1897-1898; E. M. Anderson, 1891-1895; J. Malmgren, 1895-1897; Aug. Svedenborg, 1899-1904.

Register of deeds: Chas. Sandeen, 1875-1877.

Representatives: Eric Forsee, 1872-1874; Nels Peterson, 1880-1882.

Railroad assessor: M. M. Danielson, 1871-1873.

#### BUSINESS LIFE IN LINDSBORG PRIOR TO 1900.

As early as the year 1866 a trading point was established in this community on the banks of the Smoky Hill river, on section 9 (Rostad), and conducted by Sam Shields. The merchandise was hauled from Leavenworth by team. Most of the trading done here was with the Indians, from whom buffalo hides were taken in exchange for merchandise. These hides were then taken to Topeka and exchanged for the actual cash. This store was abandoned in 1868.

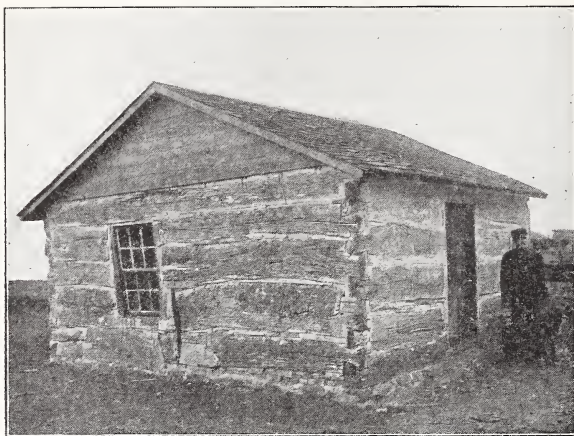




DR. CARL SWENSSON.

The early trading point for the Swedish people in this part of the valley was Salina. It was to this point that they must go when they wished to provision themselves or to dispose of their grain. A journey to Salina meant an absence of two days in most cases, as the slow moving ox teams, which were the beasts of burden in those days, could not make the journey in less time. Those who were fortunate enough to have a team of horses could make the journey heavily loaded in one day, but this day was extended far into the night. Often one of the settlers would make the trip and purchase provisions for himself and many of his neighbors, and this arrangement saved the individual many trips, except when he wished to market his products. Salina was even the general trading point for several years after a point had been established in this vicinity, as the stock carried was small

and not complete enough to satisfy the simple wants of the settlers. The Swedish Agricultural Society store, owned by people in the East, was a place usually patronized by our people.



Oldest house in McPherson county. Built by  
C. F. Norstram, June, 1868.

The first store in the Swedish colony was established in the spring of 1869, by John Henry Johnson. It was located in a log house on C. F. Norstrom's farm, just west of Lindsborg. Of course, the supply carried was very small, consisting of coffee, sugar, flour, pork and tobacco. This store was continued for several years on Mr. Norstrom's farm and then moved to the town site and merged with the store known as the Swedish Agricultural Society store. J. H. Johnson was appointed Lindsborg's first postmaster, December 1, 1896. In the fall of 1869 a similar trading place was begun on the south half of the southeast quarter of section 30, by Maj. L. Holmberg.<sup>8</sup> The supplies carried here were also very small. This place was called Sveadal, and Mr. Holmberg was appointed postmaster, mail being hauled from Salina by wagon once a week. The business was continued for several years, but finally the stock was moved to the town site and closed out.

In the spring of 1870 we have the first business venture on the town site of Lindsborg. This was a stock company, owned by the Swedish Agricultural Society of Chicago, and farmers of this vicinity. S. P. Lindgren was the manager, and the name of the company was the Swedish Agricultural Society. A two-story, thirty by forty frame building was erected on the corner now occupied by J. O. Sundstrom, and called the Colony building. The store was conducted on the ground floor, while the upper floor was used for the various gatherings of the colony. The upstairs was also used for a courthouse and offices for the county officers. Religious services were held here, and it is related that at times the Indians came and disturbed the worshippers. In 1871 the post office was discontinued at Sveadal and the

NOTE 8.—In the spring of 1870 a military company was organized for protection from the Indians, L. N. Holmberg, captain.—Cutler's History of Kansas, p. 811.

merchandise moved to the Colony building. The business was carried on under the above management until 1871, when the stock was purchased by C. R. Carlson, and he in turn conducted it until 1872, when Daniel Johnson purchased an interest. Of course, even at this time the stock of merchandise was very small, occupying a room sixteen by thirty feet. It is related that the boot and shoe department of this store consisted of six pairs of boots hauled from Salina. The dry goods department consisted of a few bolts of pink calico, also taken from the same place. The firm known as Carlson & Johnson continued the business in the Colony building until 1875, when a small stone building was erected on the present site of D. Johnson & Co.'s store and the stock moved to that place. Both gentlemen continued in business until 1891, when Mr. Carlson retired and Mr. Johnson alone took charge of the business and has conducted the same to the present day.



SVEADAL, 1869.

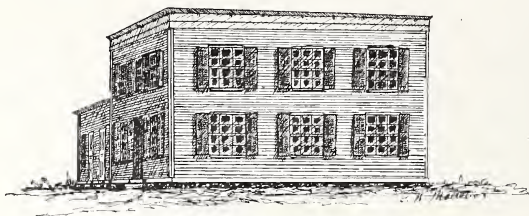
Doctor Rundstrom was the first practicing physician in the colony. He never moved to the town site, but held his office at his farm, two miles west of town. Doctor Rundstrom came to the colony in 1869, and continued his profession here until 1883. Doctor Axelson came in 1871 and located at Rose Hill, and had his office on his farm north of the above-named place. Dr. J. B. Curtis in 1872 located on the town site and continued to practice here until he moved to Denver.

In October, 1871, N. P. Nelson and L. G. Schancke established a general merchandise store in the frame building now owned by the Lindsborg Hardware, Seed and Implement Company. The building erected at this time was used until 1907, when it was moved back on the present site, where it serves as a warehouse. In the year 1872 John Fern was appointed postmaster and the post office was moved from the Colony building to the store named above. In 1873 J. Henry was appointed postmaster. This same year Mr. Nelson retired from the firm and Mr. Schancke conducted the store, with Mr. Haglund as partner, until 1882. In this year the store was sold to Peter Felling, who continued as sole proprietor until 1884, when C. Cederholm entered as partner and the business was carried on by the above gentlemen until 1877,



when Mr. Felling sold his interest to Hans Wickstrom, who conducted the business until 1889, when the stock was sold.

In 1872, J. B. Curtis established a drug store on the site now occupied by the Farmer's State Bank. Doctor Curtis continued this business until the spring of 1881, when it was sold to Doctors Murphy and Day, who after a short time sold to Doctor Curtis and George Carbaugh. In 1884 this stock was purchased by Eben Carlsson, who conducted the business until 1892. This business was moved in 1887, when the new building was erected. In 1892 Mr. Carlsson sold to Frank Lewin and John Gustafson. In 1896 Mr. Lewin retired, and the business was held by Mr. Gustafson until 1900, when John Stockenberg entered as partner. Their present quarters were erected and occupied in 1902.



The Colony Building.  
See Note 13.

A. G. Holm and Mr. Fallquist started a harness and shoemaking shop in 1872. In 1874 Mr. Fallquist sold his interest to Mr. Holm, who has continued his business on the same site for the past thirty-six years.

With the growing of the colony also came the necessity for tools with which to till the soil and harvest the crops. In 1873 an exclusive hardware and implement store was erected on the site of the First National Bank building. The building as it stands to-day was erected the same year. The members of this firm were N. P. Swenson and John A. Swenson. N. P. Swenson previous to this time had conducted a blacksmith shop. The business was carried on until 1880, when the stock was sold.

Charles Johnson, in 1872, procured a charter allowing him to build a dam in the Smoky Hill river for power purposes. The same year a small mill was built on the river bank. As the crops were not large nor the demand very great, little attention was paid to the flour mill for some years, and a sawmill was erected south of the mill and the power used mainly for sawing timber. But as the country became more densely populated there was a demand for the products of the mill. In 1882 J. G. Bergsten purchased the power and built a new and larger mill, called the Smoky Valley Roller Mills. The dam was also at this time rebuilt. From this time on the mill was run to its full capacity. In 1880 Mr. Theodore Teichgraeber purchased the mill and power dam and retained ownership until his death, in December, 1907. In 1897 the mill burned to the ground and the present mill was erected. During the years various additions, such as the new dam, elevator and ware-rooms, have been added. The business is continued by the sons of Mr. Teichgraeber.

In 1874 John Welin built a blacksmith shop on the site now occupied by the Bethany Book and Printing Company. In the same year he purchased



the shop owned by N. P. Swenson, located on the corner now occupied by B. G. Gröndal, and continued his work until 1885.

In 1874 Jacob Christian started a blacksmith shop on the east side of Main street, which he kept up for several years. Peter Granquist was later accepted as a partner. In 1885 Mr. Granquist purchased the shop, and was succeeded by O. Berglund a short time afterward. He owned it until 1902, when it was purchased by Janne Johnson and Oscar Holmberg, who still retain the business.

In 1874 the furniture business was begun in Lindsborg by L. F. Anderson, on the site now occupied by Erickson Bros. A small building was erected at first, and in 1883 the present brick building was erected. Mr. Anderson continued the business until 1899, when he sold it to Frank Lindberg, who had possession for four years, and in turn sold to Emil Anderson, who in turn sold to Erickson Bros., the present owners of the business.

During the years 1871 to 1874 other businesses were begun, but they were not of a permanent kind. In the fall of 1872 Mr. La Boyteaux started a hotel and boarding house on the present site of the Brunswick Hotel. Mr. Nix in 1873 built a blacksmith shop on the present site of the Rosberg furniture store. In 1873 William J. Henry built the Union Hotel, which has since that time been occupied by various hotel men. In 1874 a general merchandise store was established on the lot south of the Farmers' State Bank building by G. Nelson and Olof Swedlund. This building was burned out after a short time and the business was never resumed.

The coming of the Union Pacific railroad in 1879 marks a new era in the history of the community. Up to this time there had been no market for the grain and products of the farm. When a farmer wished to dispose of his grain he must haul it twenty miles or more to Salina, thereby losing time and subjecting himself to much inconvenience. Naturally, when he had received his money at Salina, he would do a great deal of trading at that place. This was a hindrance to the struggling business of the Lindsborg community. We find, however, that in a few years after the building of this road many business houses of a permanent nature, such as elevators, lumber yards, coal yards and banks, came into existence. We also find the people cementing themselves closer together, for on July 8, 1879, the city of Lindsborg was incorporated and John A. Swenson elected mayor.

When, in the fall of 1887, the Missouri Pacific railroad also laid its main line through the city the commercial facilities were greatly improved.

J. O. Sundstrom, in the fall of 1879, and in company with J. G. Bergsten, started a store on the present site. The Colony building at that time occupied the lot, but this was moved and used for a dwelling house. Messrs. Sundstrom and Bergsten erected on the corner a building fifty by fifty feet. In 1881 J. Hasselquist entered as a partner and remained a member of the firm until 1882. In 1884 James G. Bergsten sold his interest to Mr. Sundstrom. Mr. Sundstrom still owns the store, and as the years have gone by and the business expanded various additions have been built.

In 1879 John Anderson erected an elevator west of the Union Pacific track. He also handled broom corn. In 1880 Charles Gunnerson erected an elevator east of the Union Pacific tracks, called the Farmers' Elevator. These two additions to the city gave the farmers a market for their grain and products and necessarily were a help to the other business of the town.

The brickyard was established in 1879 by J. A. Swanson, on the banks of the Smoky Hill river, south of the city. The yard was continued at that point until 1901, when, as the supply of clay was limited, the yard was moved and now occupies the corner of Francis Johnson's farm. Since the removal the yard has been enlarged and modernized.

The press made its appearance in 1873 when Dr. O. Olsson published *Nytt och Gammalt*, a Swedish monthly. The first English paper was called the *Localist*, and was published by Wm. McClintock in 1879. The following year it was published by Walter Younger for six months, and then by J. H. Hyde for six months. In 1880 the paper was purchased by John McPhail. For several years it was published under lease by other papers. It was finally absorbed by the *Smoky Valley News*, which was established in 1881 by August Ringwall, who continued to publish the same until 1891. During the time the name of the paper was changed to the *Lindsborg News*. In 1891 and 1892 the paper was published by G. E. Eberhardt. In 1893 it was sold to Frank Nelson and J. B. Nelson, who owned it until 1900, when it was bought by Miss Anna M. Carlson and Martin T. Blomgren. Miss Carlson and Mr. Blomgren continue the paper to the present day, and now occupy a new building erected in 1906. *Kansas Stats Tidning* was moved from Salina to Lindsborg by Mr. Ernst Skarstedt in 1880. In 1882 *Kansas Posten* was established by Dr. Carl Swensson. The associate editors were J. A. Udden and A. Nelander. It was discontinued after two years. A Swedish paper called *Pedagogen* was published in 1884 in alternate editions of English and Swedish. The name was later changed to *Framat*, when it was moved to Kansas City, and finally from there to Chicago, where it was published under the name of *Fosterlandet* up to 1907. The present name is *Fylgia*.

In 1879 Arthur & Allen established a hardware store on the site now occupied by J. M. Nelson & Co. These people continued the business for one year and then sold out to Gibbs & Gebbard, from Salina, who conducted a branch store here. J. M. Nelson and Chas. Lander in 1883 bought this stock. This store had been moved, so that when Lander & Nelson began business the stock was in the Crathy building, on the east side of Main street. In 1884 W. W. Shirwin was taken as partner but remained in the firm only one year. Lander & Nelson continued in the Crathy building for two years, and then moved to what is now known as the grocery department of J. O. Sundstrom's store. The business was continued at this place up to 1890, when they moved to their present quarters. In 1902 A. A. Abercrombie and Fred Anderson purchased Mr. Lander's interest. Mr. Nelson still retains his share.

A lumber yard was established in 1879 by Eberhardt & Sudendorf. It has since been owned and operated by the Eberhardt Lumber Company, G. A. Anderson, and John V. Johnson & Co. Mr. Johnson in 1906 sold the yard again to the Eberhardt Lumber Company, who still retain the interest.

In August, 1879, a book store was established in the Union Hotel by John Ekblad. After continuing some time in this location he entered partnership with O. Hamberg, who in the same year had established a jewelry store on the site now occupied by Gustafson & Stockenberg. In 1883 Mr. Ekblad sold his interest to H. V. Nelson. Messrs. Nelson and Hamberg continued the business for a short time, when the stock was divided. Mr.

Eberhardt purchased an interest with Mr. Nelson and the building now occupied by the Goodholm book store was erected. In 1885 Fred Goodholm and John Ekblad, who had been absent for a couple of years, purchased Mr. Nelson's interest. This firm conducted business until 1898, when Mr. Goodholm purchased Mr. Ekblad's share, and in 1902 purchased Mr. Eberhardt's share. Mr. Goodholm has associated with him Ruben Goodholm as jeweler and optician.

In 1879 C. Lundquist came to Lindsborg, and to this day still conducts his tailor shop on the east side of Main street. In the same year Ober & Co. established a general merchandise business on the site north of the Brunswick Hotel. This business was closed out in 1884. Also this year William Schwenson established a grocery business on the site now occupied by O. B. Runbeck. This business was sold out in 1886. A. C. Pearson established a coal yard this year. This yard was owned afterward in succession by N. P. Swenson and E. Jerrett.

In 1882 John A. Swenson organized the Bank of Lindsborg. In 1886 it was changed to a national bank, and is at present the only national bank in the county. The bank is capitalized at \$50,000. The present officers are: John A. Swenson, president; C. F. Norstrom, vice president; C. M. Norstrom, cashier.

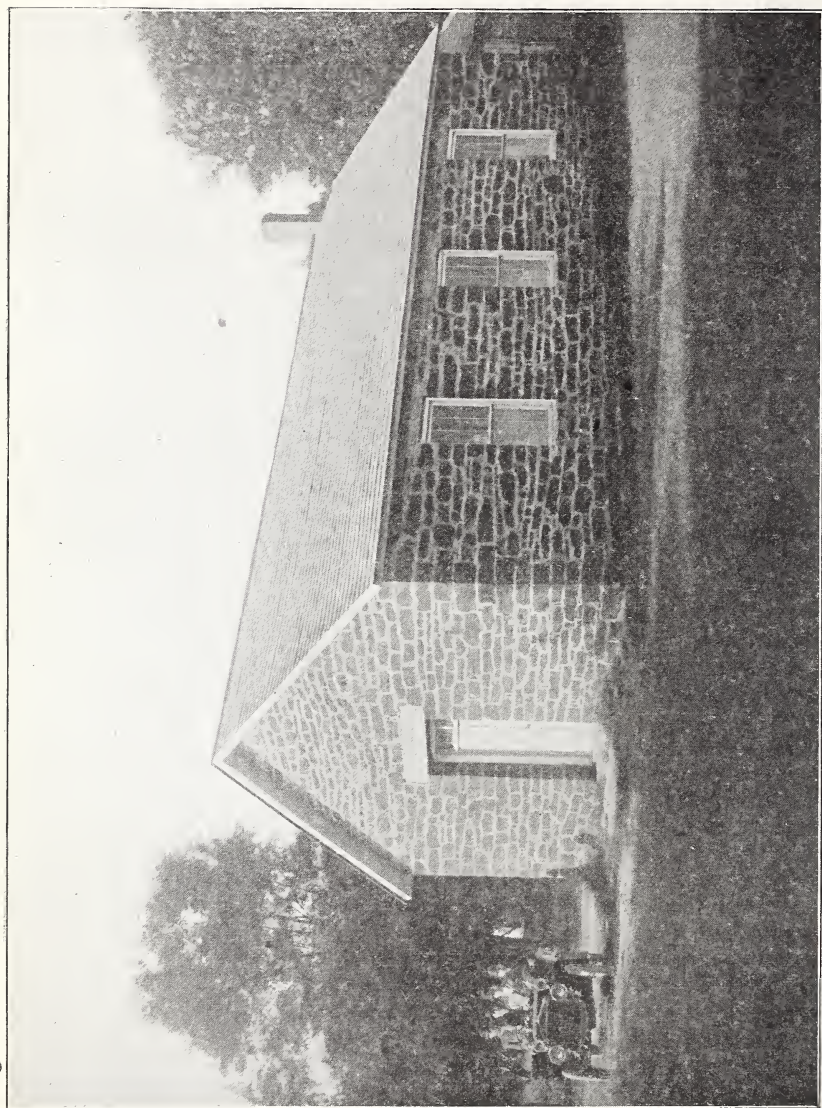
In 1881 Britian & Wheeler established a hardware store on the site now occupied by J. M. Nelson & Co.'s warerooms, on the east side of Main street. In 1885 Oscar Johnson and John Pihlblad purchased the business. Mr. Pihlblad after a short time retired from the firm, Mr. Johnson continuing the business to 1883. The store then occupied the building held by J. M. Nelson & Co. In this year J. W. Bengston, John Swenson and Luther Swenson purchased the stock from Oscar Johnson. In 1889 the stock was moved to the present site. In 1896 Luther Swenson and John Swenson severed their connection with the firm, and J. W. Bengston conducted the business until 1898, when Frank Lewin purchased an interest and remained an active partner until 1906. In 1902 C. A. Lundstrom entered the firm, and in 1906 purchased Mr. Lewin's interest. The present building was erected in 1906-'07. The present name of the firm is The Lindsborg Hardware, Seed and Implement Company.

John Gibson and A. Lincoln established a lumber yard in 1881. Mr. Lincoln and Henry Johnson, for the four years previous to this, had run a livery stable on the site now occupied by the Commercial State Bank. Gibson & Lincoln remained partners until 1886, when John Gibson retired from the firm and J. Duncan purchased his interest. Mr. Duncan remained a member of the firm until 1891, when Mr. Lincoln purchased his interest and continued the business until 1896.

The "Steam Mill" was built and operated in 1882 by S. P. Carlton. Since that time in the line of succession Messrs. Jerrett, Ginder and G. E. Eberhardt have operated the mill. In 1892 the plant was purchased by G. I. Toevs and Mr. Kohfeld. Since then it has been enlarged by new buildings, such as warerooms and elevators. The firm, which is now a stock company, has just completed a five-story mill, with a capacity of 700 barrels daily. This is the largest mill in McPherson county.

Edw. Rosengren established a broom factory in 1880. Mr. Rosengren has been engaged in the manufacture of brooms in Lindsborg for twenty-eight years.





OLD SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH, FREMONT, KAN., 1870.



In 1882 Dr. G. E. Berquist came to Lindsborg and located. Doctor Berquist has practiced medicine in this county for thirty-six years, and is the oldest physician in the county. In December of the same year N. P. Nelson and Doctor Berquist started a drug store on the site now occupied by Rosberg's furniture store. In 1884 Mr. Nelson retired and Doctor Berquist continued the business until 1889, when the business was sold to August Ekstrand. Mr. Ekstrand continued the business for eleven years, and in 1900 sold to Oscar Berglund, the present owner.

A furniture store was established in 1884 by C. V. Rosberg, on the site now occupied by Mr. Lewin. The business was conducted there for one year and then moved to the present location. In 1897 the building and stock were destroyed by fire and a new building was erected. Mr. Rosberg was the first licensed embalmer of the city.

The Swedish American Insurance Company was organized February 14, 1885. C. J. Störmqvist was its president from 1885 until 1893. Since then Francis Johnson has held that office. F. G. Hawkinson, F. Goodholm, and C. J. Strömqvist have served as secretaries. S. L. Linderholm and C. F. Norström have served as treasurers. The company insures property against fire, lightning, windstorms and cyclones. The insurance now exceeds \$5,000,000. It erected its own building in 1905.

In 1886 the Farmers' State Bank was organized by A. E. Agrelius. The present bank building was erected in 1887. This bank is capitalized at \$30,000. The present officers are George Shields, president, A. E. Agrelius, cashier.

In 1887 the Brunswick Hotel was built by a stock company, and in line of succession up to 1897 was under lease by C. J. Clausen, Mrs. McCarty, Peter Schulz, A. B. Jenkins and J. D. Nelson. In 1897 Mr. Weddle became the proprietor and has continued the management to the present time. This building was given to Bethany College in 1894, and disposed of by the College to S. H. and G. Shields, the present owners.

B. G. Gröndal, the photographer, came to Lindsborg in 1887, and has continued in his profession up to the present time. In 1908 he erected a new gallery of the most modern type.

Oscar Anderson established in 1888 an exclusive shoe business on the east side of Main street, on the lot north of A. G. Holm's harness shop. Mr. Anderson continued this line up to 1904, when he sold a half interest to N. J. Thorstenberg. At this time a large building was erected on the west side of Main street into which they moved, and a line of gents' furnishings was added. On May 20, 1906, Mr. Anderson died at Excelsior Springs, Mo. Messrs. Thorstenberg, Gustafson and Lind, now own the business.

In 1888 Emil Anderson opened a laundry on College street, and continued this until 1907, when the plant was purchased by Thomas Johnson. Mr. Johnson erected a building on Main street and moved the plant.

In 1890 N. J. Thorstenberg purchased the Farmer's Elevator, which was erected in 1882 by a stock company formed by the farmers of this community. In 1896 Amos Thorstenberg entered the business with him. In 1898 the large elevator along the Missouri Pacific track was built. This firm did an extensive business, operating along the line of the Missouri Pacific to the Colorado line. In 1904 Thorstenberg Bros. sold to the Hall-Baker Grain Co., who in turn have sold to Ludvig Nelson. He has changed the elevator to an alfalfa mill. William Lillian now owns it.

G. N. Malm came to Lindsborg in 1894 and started a painting and decorating business, entered in partnership with his brother, E. E., in 1898, and with another brother, C. G., in 1907, and is at present at the head of the well-known decoration firm, Malm Bros.

The Bethany Book and Printing Company had its beginning in 1895, when A. Ringwald began to publish the *Lindsborg Record*. In 1896 Doctor Swensson started *Lindsborgs-Posten*, and in 1900 its present place of business was erected. Here is found not only the Munter & Carlson Jewelry Store, a well furnished book and music store, but also a printing establishment, where *Lindsborgs-Posten*, the *Lindsborg Record*, the *Kansas Young Lutheran*, *The Bethany Messenger*, *The Bethany Bulletin* and *Vingardsarbetaren* are published.

Andrew Beckstrom in 1898 purchased the grocery stock of C. Lundquist, who for the preceding ten years had conducted a grocery store on the site now occupied by the Peterson millinery store. The store was continued on this site up to 1901, when the new building south of the Bethany Book and Printing Company was erected, and a general merchandise line was put in. The firm A. Beckstrom & Co., as it was then known, continued to 1908, when the business was incorporated under the title of the Lindsborg Mercantile Company.

Since 1900 many business enterprises have been started, among which are: Train Bros. Hardware Company; The Commercial State Bank; Wilber & Davis Grocery Company; O. B. Runbech Grocery Company; Ericson Bros., furniture; Jacob Peterson, millinery; Carlson & Anderson Lumber Company; John A. Holmberg, plumbing; J. A. Lysell, harness shop; E. S. Orndoff, feed store; Olson & Johnson, blacksmith shop; Gunnerson & Lysell, painters; Gibson & Tudor, bakery; Anderson, coal yard; Lundgren & Johnson, coal yard; the telephone company, and, most important, perhaps, of all, The Hagstrom Bros. Manufacturing Company, already famous all over the country for their "Blowout" patch, electric cord adjuster, spark plug, porcelain tube cutters, automobile tire sleeves, etc.

## THE WYANDOTTE CONVENTION.

## FIFTY YEARS OF THE WYANDOTTE CONSTITUTION.

An address by Capt. JOSEPH G. WATERS,<sup>1</sup> of Topeka, before the Kansas State Historical Society at its thirty-fourth annual meeting, December 7, 1909.

THE Missouri compromise, by its restrictive terms, led the people of the North to believe that slavery was in process of ultimate extinction. The organic act establishing the territory of Kansas was directly an invasion and repudiation of the settlement which had been agreed to in the compromise act, and was the result of the dominance in Congress of the slave oligarchy then controlling the national government. The organic act left it to the people of the territories to vote slavery up or down. Everybody North and South knew that this meant a conflict waged on the soil of Kansas. The territory of Nebraska, coming into the Union on the same terms with Kansas, was separated from the field by the 200 miles of Kansas territory intervening, Kansas being the buffer to ward off all conflict so far as it affected Nebraska. Nebraska organized its territory without turmoil, and its history since then as a state has been respectable, quiet and without feature. It is a good state—nothing in its annals to quicken the pulse, and nothing to rouse the blood to high endeavor; nothing in its history to remember, other than it is full of good people and has been and will be prosperous and great in a conservative and presbyterian way.

After the Kansas organic act had been passed, adherents of slavery, animated by the entire solid South, hastened to the territory to aid in fashioning a slave state in harmony with the then government and according to the Dred Scott decision. The opposing free-state force, coming from the North, largely from the new western states, was possessed of as high a purpose as a people could have—"free homes," "free speech" and "free

NOTE 1.—JOSEPH GROFF WATERS was born October 18, 1837, in Campbell county, Kentucky. With his parents and family went to Fort Madison, Iowa, in the spring of 1838, Iowa then consisting of its lands, sky, some Indians, and the garrisoned fort at Fort Madison. The family changed residence to Keokuk, Iowa, in 1849, the father dying there. The mother and children moved to Macomb, Ill., in 1855. Studied law and was admitted December 25, 1857. Went into the war as private, carrying a gun until the summer of 1862; was made lieutenant in company C, Eighty-fourth Illinois volunteer infantry. Had been private in company A in that regiment, and as such was wounded at Stone river, December 31, 1862. At the battle of Franklin brought up to the field and helped distribute the ammunition, 800,000 rounds, or twenty wagon loads, with which the battle was fought; was wounded while serving this ammunition; recommended for promotion to the regular service; was wounded at battle of Nashville; was hurt in the head at Atlanta; was breveted captain for the Franklin fight; was on the firing line every time a gun went off in the army of the Cumberland. On the staff of Gen. Nathan Kimball, commanding a division in the Fourth Army Corps as aide, assistant adjutant-general and judge advocate. Mustered into the United States service as lieutenant in Fifteenth, then Twenty-fourth, then Thirty-third infantry, and was honorably mustered out in August, 1869. Came to Topeka and has lived here since, and expects and hopes to end his days here. Has been somewhat extensively engaged in the practice of the law. Has defended a hundred or more murder cases—thirty-six in one batch at Paris, Tex.—and never had a man hung; has been fairly successful in the practice; has written something, and made some addresses. If the people retain their patriotism he would like to have some of them read hereafter; and if this government shall go down with commercialism and corrupt ways, he wants to have all the recollection of himself lost, too; has never held office nor drank whisky, and does not believe there is a man living who can point to any of his public addresses in which there is a sentence or paragraph that was not intended to pump cheer into those who heard it, to give them heart, and to speak well as clear an utterance as he could for patriotism and the very highest ideals of life and citizenship. This day, as these lines are written, in full health, he has great pleasure that he was born when he was, lived through a heroic period, humbly shared in its stirring and manly events, and surviving all came at last down into the Canaan and lived, loved and died in its pastures, supremely blest and happy, with a regret that he left so many good people behind him.



men," were words to paint on any high banner of crusade, and they meant enough to fill the soul with heroic action.

The story has been often told of the conflict here. It embraced the highest emotions and the most brutal passions. The times demanded sacrifice, self-denial and poverty. For over three years such a warfare was fought on Kansas soil before the convention met at Wyandotte to formulate a constitution. It may impress one that under such circumstances the inspiration and high purpose of those years of frontier strife would glow throughout the provisions of that instrument; that there would be somewhere in its terms the flash of blades for freedom, and the strong first utterance of a giant who had torn the shackles from his fettered limbs. The truth is it is a commonplace document. The great warriors of the territorial battles, who wore the unsheathed swords, whose apparel showed plainly the crease and wear of their holstered belts, long-haired, unkempt, and who had done picket duty on the skirmish line, were not delegates to that convention. Eighteen lawyers were members of that high convocation and they dominated the entire instrument.<sup>2</sup> There were many able men, and throughout their deliberations they gave their best thought, judgment and wisdom in the preparation of a constitution for the new state. There

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NOTE 2.— MEMBERS WYANDOTTE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

James M. Arthur, Centreville, Linn county; farmer; was born in Indiana about 1817 and died prior to 1882.

John T. Barton, Olathe, Johnson county; physician; was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, about 1831, and died in Missouri several years ago.

James Blood, Lawrence, Douglas county; merchant; was born in Vermont, March 25, 1819, and died in Lawrence, February 4, 1891.

N. C. Blood, Baldwin, Douglas county; merchant; was born in Bolton, Vermont about 1817, and died in Lawrence, October 21, 1870. N. C. and James Blood were brothers.

James G. Blunt, Walker, Anderson county; physician; was born in Hancock county, Maine, July 21, 1826, and died in Washington, D. C., July 25, 1881.

Frederick Brown, Leavenworth, Leavenworth county; manufacturer; was born in Germany about 1826, and died in St. Joseph, Mo., prior to 1882.

Jonathan Coleman Burnett, Mapleton, Bourbon county; farmer; was born in Morristown, Vt., March 19, 1825, and died at Wichita, Kan., July 2, 1899.

John Taylor Burris, Olathe, Johnson county; lawyer; was born in Butler county, Ohio, December 22, 1828, and still lives at Olathe.

Allen Crocker, Burlington, Coffey county; farmer; was born in Bloomington, Ind., February 27, 1825, and died near Burlington, Coffey county, Kansas, February 13, 1874.

William Parker Dutton, Stanton, Lykins (now Miami) county; farmer; was born in Charlestown, N. H., October 1, 1817.

John W. Forman, Doniphan, Doniphan county; merchant; was born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, October 18, 1818, and died near Canton, Mo., September 19, 1898.

Robert Cole Foster, Delaware, Leavenworth county; lawyer; was born in Logan county, Kentucky, September 10, 1834, and died at Dennison, Tex., January 6, 1910.

Robert Graham, Atchison, Atchison county; merchant; was born in Ireland about 1804, and died in Atchison county in 1868.

John P. Greer, Topeka, Shawnee county; lawyer; was born in Montgomery county, Ohio, October 21, 1812, and died at Topeka, November 28, 1889.

William Riley Griffith, Marmaton, Bourbon county; farmer; was born in Tippecanoe county, Indiana, May 8, 1820, and died at Topeka, February 12, 1862.

James Hanway, Shermanville, Franklin county; farmer; was born in London, England, September 4, 1809, and died at Lane, Kan., May 9, 1882.

Samuel Hipple, Leavenworth, Leavenworth county; land agent; was born in Perry county, Pennsylvania, in 1815, and died in Atchison county, January 21, 1875.

Samuel E. Hoffman, Neosho, Woodson county; lawyer; was born in Pennsylvania about 1835, and now lives in St. Louis, where he has been engaged in the banking business.

Samuel Dexter Houston, Manhattan, Riley county; farmer; was born in Columbus, Ohio, June 11, 1818, and died at Salina, February 28, 1910.

E. M. Hubbard, Highland, Doniphan county; merchant; was born in Green county, Kentucky, May 15, 1828, and died prior to 1884.

William Hutchinson, Lawrence, Douglas county; farmer; was born at Randolph, Vt., January 24, 1823, and died in Washington, D. C., May 18, 1904.

John James Ingalls, Sumner, Atchison county; lawyer; was born in Middletown, Mass., December 29, 1833, and died at Las Vegas, N. M., August 16, 1900.

Samuel Austin Kingman, Hiawatha, Brown county; lawyer; was born in Worthington, Mass., June 26, 1818, and died at Topeka, September 9, 1904. (See Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 9, pp. 55-66.)

Josiah Lamb, Mound City, Linn county; mechanic; was born in Indiana about 1817, and died prior to July 30, 1882.

George H. Lillie, Emporia, Madison (now Lyon) county; lawyer; was born in Ohio about 1824, and died prior to July 30, 1884.



is no sentence anywhere written into the instrument as passed, however, that seems to have been written by some free-state lance, in which he gave return shot for those fired at liberty during that long, heroic warfare.

During all the years preceding, in the settlement of the territory, the slave escaping from his master sought the camps of the free-state men, who divided their meager fare with him and shared their plaids, and then took him a Sabbath day's journey nearer the north star. After all such thrilling experiences they wrote the word "white" in the constitution and left the slave with broken shackles out in the cold, marveling in his dusky soul for a privilege of freedom denied him—a man in posture but deprived of a potency that made him desire without hope, and yearn without heart.

The strongest allies of the free-state forces were their woman folk, who gave them all the material help they demanded, bound up wounds, gave them higher courage, the utmost devotion, and, above all, their prayers. Sharing their fortunes, both of defeat and victory, why had not the psychological moment arrived to make her a voter, the convention having chivalrously given her the homestead? But it did not do so.

These are only queries that beset me in thinking over those magnificent days when freedom was being fought for, and then reading the prosaic in-

C. B. McClellan, Oskaloosa, Jefferson county; merchant; was born in Wayne county, Ohio, May 7, 1823, and is still living at Oskaloosa.

William McCullough, Council Grove, Morris county; farmer; was born in Scotland about 1815.

A. D. McCune, Leavenworth, Leavenworth county; lawyer; was born in Ohio about 1828, and died prior to July 30, 1884.

William C. McDowell, Leavenworth, Leavenworth county; lawyer; was born in Ohio about 1828, and died in St. Louis, July 16, 1867.

Caleb May, Pardee, Atchison county; farmer; was born in Madison county, Kentucky, January 19, 1816, and died at Eustis, Fla., August 27, 1888.

John A. Middleton, Nottingham, Marshall county; lawyer; was born in Pennsylvania about 1834. He removed from Kansas to Montana in 1864.

Ephraim Moore, Holton, Jackson county; manufacturer; was born in Ohio about 1821. Luther R. Palmer, Louisville, Pottawatomie county; physician; was born in Chatham, Columbia county, New York, January 9, 1819, and died at St. Mary's, Kan., in April, 1883.

Paschal S. Parks, Kickapoo, Leavenworth county; lawyer; was born in Indiana about 1833. After passing some years in Kansas he returned to his native state, where he died about 1879.

William Perry, Leavenworth, Leavenworth county; lawyer; was born in New York state about 1831, and died in Colorado prior to 1882.

Robert J. Porter, Troy, Doniphan county; merchant; was born in Pennsylvania about 1831, and died prior to 1882.

Hiram D. Preston, Burlingame, Shawnee (now Osage) county; farmer; was born in New Hampshire about 1831. He died prior to July 30, 1884.

John Ritchey, Topeka, Shawnee county; farmer; was born at Uniontown, Ohio, July 17, 1817, and died at Topeka, August 31, 1887.

Edmund Gibson Ross, Glenross, Wabaunsee county; printer; was born in Ashland, Ohio, December 7, 1826, and died at Albuquerque, N. M., May 8, 1907.

James A. Signor, Humboldt, Allen county; surveyor; was born in New York state about 1834.

Benjamin Franklin Simpson, Paola, Lykins (now Miami) county; lawyer; was born in Belmont county, Ohio, October 24, 1836. He still lives at Paola.

John P. Slough, Leavenworth, Leavenworth county; lawyer; was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1829, and died in Santa Fe, N. M., December 16, 1867.

John Stiarwalt, Palermo, Doniphan county; farmer; was born in Ohio, about 1814, and died prior to 1882.

Samuel Adams Stinson, Leavenworth, Leavenworth county; lawyer; was born at Wiscasset, Me., November 24, 1831, and after a residence of some years in Kansas returned to his native town, where he died, February 20, 1866.

Edwin Stokes, Clinton, Douglas county; manufacturer; was born in Pennsylvania, about 1824.

Solon Otis Thacher, Lawrence, Douglas county; lawyer; was born in Hornellsville, N. Y., August 31, 1830, and died at Lawrence, Kan., August 11, 1895.

P. H. Townsend, Big Springs, Douglas county; lawyer; was born in Salisbury, New Hampshire, in 1825, and died prior to July 30, 1884.

R. L. Williams, Franklin, Douglas county; merchant; was born in Kentucky about 1817.

James M. Winchell, Superior, Osage county; farmer; was born in Avon, Livingston county, New York, in 1823, and died at Hyde Park, N. Y., February 2, 1877.

John Wright, Leavenworth, Leavenworth county; farmer; was born near Greencastle, Ind., June 4, 1827, and died at Fort Scott in December, 1870.

Thomas S. Wright, Granada, Nemaha county; lawyer; was born in Pennsylvania about 1809, and died some time prior to 1882.

Benjamin Wrigley, Troy, Doniphan county; lawyer; was born in Ohio about 1830, and died prior to 1882.

strument that bore but little of the flower of its battles. John Brown at the time this convention was in session had formulated a plan of attack on slavery—a pigmy challenging the government, a mouse attacking the mountain—and within three months thereafter had vented his pentup soul in open, victorious battle. The delegates to this convention had seen the same bitter experiences that John Brown had felt, and no ruffle of a border war, no marque or reprisal appeared in its provisions, no mighty utterance of a people who had fought the last and greatest battle for the freedom of the territories.

The constitution<sup>3</sup> was the thought of many, for like instruments from other states were drawn on for its provisions. The school system was provided for in the wisest manner. It will be the heritage of all children in our border. Every sanctity and bulwark has been thrown around its funds. There is no illiteracy in Kansas, and the more the intelligence of a people, the more the need of a great school fund and system that rots not, like granite, but protected as a sacred trust flourishes forever in the hearts of the people. In a population of 1,700,000, we spend over \$12,000,000 annually on our schools. The school is the apple of the Kansas eye. The constitution provides for a homestead that is as benignant as the home could desire. It is wholly within the wife's grasp, and so long as she says "No," the roof will shelter her brood and no adversity, calamity or husband can destroy it. Compared to somewhat similar provisions in other states, that of our commonwealth is by far the best of all. The supreme court, with a wisdom wide horizoned, has interpreted every provision of the homestead in favor of the wife and children. Every proffered amendment to the constitution is viewed with concern for fear that in some way a meddlesome hand and a blind eye may repeal this provision. I think it apt to say that the laws of Kansas have been kindly to women; they have made her an equal heir with

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NOTE 3.—The Wyandotte constitution, our fourth, was made in the month of July, 1859, and signed on the 29th. It was adopted by the people of the territory October 4, 1859, by a vote of 10,421 for and 5530 against. A year and four months elapsed before the admission of the state into the Union, January 29, 1861, when the constitution became operative. This was the fourth attempt at a constitution. The convention met at Wyandotte (now Kansas City, Kan.). October 18, 1859, the Commercial Club and the city of Kansas City, Kan., gave a banquet in honor of the body which met in their city and formed the constitution. It was a brilliant gathering, characterized by wit, eloquence, and much good cheer. Three members of the convention of fifty years ago, John T. Burris, Samuel E. Hoffman and Robert C. Foster, were present. There were six survivors at the end of fifty years. In addition to the three named there are: S. D. Houston, Salina; C. B. McClellan, Oskaloosa, and B. F. Simpson, of Paola.

October 9, 1855, forty-seven delegates were elected to make a constitution, by a vote of 2710. They met in Topeka October 23, 1855. An election was held December 15, 1855, and 1778 votes were cast for the constitution. This was called the Topeka movement, and was a protest against the proslavery territorial government. It had no legislative authority, and was denounced as revolutionary. The legislature which assembled under it was dispersed by federal troops July 4, 1856. July 3, 1856, the house of representatives at Washington, by a vote of 99 to 97, passed a bill admitting the territory under this Topeka constitution. The bill was introduced by Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania. It was never considered in the senate.

The territorial legislature, February 10, 1857, created the Lecompton constitutional convention. Delegates were elected June 5, 1857, and the convention met September 4, 1857. The constitution formed by them received 6226 votes at an election December 21, 1857, only proslavery men voting. In the meantime the free-state men secured control of the territorial legislature. This body met in Lecompton and submitted the Lecompton constitution to another vote, when 10,226 votes were cast against it. Notwithstanding this complication, the senate at Washington, by a vote of 33 to 25, passed a bill to admit Kansas under this constitution. The house adopted a substitute by a vote of 120 to 112, and the result was the English bill, which ordered another vote on August 2, 1858, when the Lecompton constitution was overwhelmingly beaten.

The legislature of 1858, also free-state, authorized the Leavenworth constitutional convention. This body formed a constitution May 18, 1858. It was presented to Congress January 5, 1859, but no action was taken on it.

April 11, 1860, the United States house of representatives voted, 134 to 73, to admit Kansas under the Wyandotte constitution, the bill being introduced by Galusha A. Grow. Twice during the next eight months the senate defeated a motion to consider the Kansas bill, when Mr. Seward finally raised it January 21, 1861, and it passed by a vote of 36 for and 16 against, and was signed by the President on the 29th.

her husband and given her a restricted suffrage—a wedge and maul to rive the log.

The bill of rights is like that of any other state. Beyond any ordinary constitution the people may adopt is the power of the courts to interpret its provisions. In many cases the courts have given us judge-made law, limiting the meaning or enlarging it. Even with the best men of the land on the bench, that will be the way of it until the end of time, provided judges are permitted to do so. The parliament is its own expounder, probably; but when great events possess a people, or the huge power of business and commerce, or of patriotism, urge the courts to find a new meaning or drop an old one, it will be done in such neat, cogent and instructive opinions, that the wonder grows on us why it was not always thus. The dictionary is a great reservoir with which to make respectable logic and sage conclusions. Oklahoma has attempted to put every thing in its constitution—hedging against the judiciary, protecting themselves against themselves, curbing the legislature and preventing the due and onward course of public opinion from change in interpretation. Her constitution has been criticized by two Presidents of the United States, and no doubt they had a right to criticize, yet as a private citizen I dare not take this privilege with a people, or with the ideas they have crystallized into law.

In our constitution suffrage has not yet been given to woman, except in a diluted way, and she is still classed with idiots, felons, Indians, Chinese and the like. The time is coming when she will be given the full electoral right. From then on it will be easy sailing into the millenium. The general good will then count on a majority. The mercenary, coarse and corrupt will be in decadence. The right of a mother to vote will be exercised for the protection of her children. It was a mistake that the Wyandotte convention did not make her a full elector.

We have a prohibitory amendment that is accepted as the settled and forever policy of the state. It is absolutely glorious. No one understands the quality of breathing pure ozone milked from the cool sunrise air so much as the man who steps down and out of an overcrowded immigrant car in which he has taken in the composite odors of many countries. It is wonderful how nice and sweet and clean a state is without saloons. Business houses, great railways, the daily newspaper, and applied personal intelligence and experience, as much as the repressive law, have accomplished this unmitigated blessing for Kansas.

The conservatism of other states in their constitutions had much to do with the conventional form of ours. Moderation and an obedience to the long recognized provisions of other states held the Wyandotte convention in leash.<sup>4</sup> After fifty years of wear and tear it would be hard to suggest a more excellent constitution. I do not mind me that any one of its provisions is unworthy of the state, and the whole instrument is a good one to build to. I have this to say—that the freed negro, without knowledge and fairly ignorant, should have stood back and waited until the women of Kan-

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NOTE 4.—It may be well to recall while reading this paper that Kansas had already framed three constitutions, two free-state and one proslavery, in which the partisan sentiments of the authors were too apparent. In voting down the Lecompton constitution the people of Kansas had virtually won the battle for the free state, and in 1859 were anxious to secure through the Wyandotte convention the machinery for a stable state government that would have to receive its final sanction from a Congress and President still in the hands of their political enemies. The members of the convention could not afford to risk their goal by the expression of unnecessary sentiment.



sas had been given the right to vote, not because of color, but because one should have had it and the other should have waited.

The salient features of our constitution are the system of schools, the comprehensive, enlightened and humane provisions for the care of the helpless classes, the homestead, the advancement of women, and the prohibitory amendment.

In other matters, we are abreast of our sister states. The real constitution in Kansas is the people themselves. Theirs is the sovereign will. No paper provision can suppress a conscience or perpetuate a wrong. We will always have in Kansas a people alive to their own progress and advancement along every high, chivalric and manly line and the fervent champion of every phase of morals. Kansas is great and wealthy. If her people will it, as they surely will, her grand future is beyond the domain of speculative prophecy. The weakness or vagueness of a written constitution is not important with such a people.

Students of history may well mark the path of the people over the obstructions of their own constitution when they remember that, while the constitution of the United States protected the master in his slave property, the slave nevertheless was bearing arms as a free man before that provision was changed ending slavery here and, by its example, ending slavery over the whole surface of the globe. The king of Belgium was the last surviving relic of slave piracy and slavery. It took a war to do it, but the higher law found its abode in the hearts of our people beyond the limitation of any instrument that could be fashioned by the brain of man. When a people look upward to the stars, there is no obstruction of the earth that can hide their glitter. Kansas in her laws, under her constitution, is much; but her soul, her tremendous history, her hopes and expectations, are beyond the purview and provision of any constitution.

I prophesy, as I have always prophesied, that this is and always will be the grandest state in the Union; the highest exposition of civilization on the earth, and the greatest people the Lord has ever created; and this regardless of the present constitution.



## THE BOUNDARY LINES OF KANSAS.

An address by GEO. W. MARTIN, Secretary of the State Historical Society, before the Old Settlers' Association at Alma, September 28, Independence, October 16, and at the Banquet at Kansas City, Kan., October 18, 1909, in honor of the Wyandotte Convention.

A REVIEW of all that happened leading to the establishment of the boundary lines of Kansas takes us back to the very beginning, and shows with absorbing interest how everything concerning negro slavery focused toward a conclusion upon this rectangle of beautiful prairie now called Kansas. The Jefferson proviso of 1784 and the ordinance of 1787 indicated a settled policy against the extension of slavery. Notwithstanding this Louisiana was admitted into the Union with slavery in 1812. There was no particular occasion or demand, so history tells us, for this, especially as the language of the treaty under which the territory had been acquired from France was also plainly against it. In 1818, six years later, Missouri applied for admission into the Union. There were, in 1820, 1,469,061 slaves in the whole country, outside of Louisiana. In the case of Missouri it was proposed to incorporate into the bill a clause requiring that the constitution of the new state should contain an article prohibiting the further introduction of slaves, and gradually abolishing existing slavery. There was violent opposition. The provision prevailed in the house, and was rejected in the senate.

In the next Congress the controversy was renewed with increased violence. And here the famous Missouri compromise was born. Missouri was allowed to come into the Union with slavery, but a section was incorporated in the act excluding slavery forever from all the territory acquired from France, not included in Missouri, lying north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. The constitutionality of this provision was submitted by President Monroe to his cabinet. Four of them, being from the South, gave written affirmative opinions, and so the President, also from a slave state, signed the bill.

Missouri could not have been admitted as a slave state had not certain members from the free states been reconciled by the incorporation of this prohibition in the act of admission. However, it is not the purpose of this paper to pursue the wearisome question of slavery, but rather look up the boundary lines of Kansas, which cannot be done and ignore this significant line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north. There can be no history of Kansas without reference to this line; nor can we follow this line without some slight reference to the institution of slavery, and how the *ante bellum* statesmen straddled the line in 1850, and again in 1854.

Slavery was permitted in Missouri by a vote, March 2, 1820, of 27 to 15 in the United States senate, and 90 to 87 in the house. Missouri was admitted March 2, 1821, but the conditions were not complied with until August 10, 1821, when the President proclaimed the state in the Union. The compromise line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  is the south line of Missouri, "west, along the same, to a point where the said parallel is intersected by a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river." This is the first mention of the east line of Kansas. But June 7, 1836, Congress changed the west line of Missouri

north of the Kansas river from the meridian to the Missouri river, by adding to that state the Platte purchase. This was the first violation of the compromise of 1820, thus adding free-soil to slave territory. And so we have the east line of the territory and state of Kansas following the Missouri river from Kansas City northward. If it had not been for this change Kansas would have been a perfect oblong, including the Missouri river and five of the best counties in that state.

The admission of Missouri, the annexation of Texas, the creation of Oregon territory, the compromise act of 1850, and the Nebraska-Kansas bill, form a chain of historic incidents not surpassed.

Texas was admitted as a state March 1, 1845. The Missouri compromise was reaffirmed in the bill thus: "And such states as may be formed out of that portion of the said territory lying south of 36° and 30' north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union, with or without slavery, as the people of each state asking admission may desire; and in such state or states as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited."

The bill creating the territory of Oregon became a law August 14, 1848. It reaffirmed the ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from all the Northwest territory.

This line of 36° 30' north latitude runs parallel with the south line of Kansas, about thirty miles distant, through Oklahoma. So that Kansas was surely pledged to free soil. In the early discussions of the slavery question the Mason and Dixon line was frequently referred to as the dividing line between freedom and slavery. This was the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, established in 1763-67, by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. It ran due west from the Delaware river 244 miles, in north latitude 39° 43' 26". It was resurveyed in 1849, and found to be correct. It was a mere trifle in importance as compared with the line of 36° 30' which led up to the Kansas controversy.

Trouble again arose in 1850, and another compromise was made renewing the line of 36° 30'. The territories of New Mexico and Utah were created, to be admitted as states when ready, with or without slavery, as the people might determine (New Mexico being south and Utah north of 36° 30', Utah being pledged to freedom by the original act), California admitted with a constitution prohibiting slavery, the passage of the fugitive slave law, and abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. These five acts are known as the compromise of 1850.

But in 1854 Senator Douglas was the champion of a bill practically repealing the Missouri compromise of 1820. He proposed in the Nebraska bill "to leave the people of the territories perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States." This opened the ball, the Free-soilers of the North asserting that this revived and reestablished slavery north of the line of 36° 30'. Everybody, I take it, knows all about the effort of the South to establish slavery in Kansas, from which territory it had been excluded, and the wonderful history which followed.<sup>1</sup>

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NOTE 1.—The Kansas-Nebraska bill was the act of Congress by which the territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized, 1854. It turned out to be one of the most important acts in the legislative history of the United States. It precipitated the final phases of the slavery

The original title read "An act to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas," and the movement was then referred to as the Nebraska question. But the violence of the controversy in the attempt to force slavery into Kansas overshadowed Nebraska, and so it has ever since been known as the "Kansas-Nebraska act." As originally organized the territory of Nebraska extended from the fortieth parallel (the present south line of the state of Nebraska) to British America, and from the Missouri river to the Rocky Mountains. A portion of Colorado, that part of North Dakota and South Dakota lying west of the Missouri river, and all of what is now Montana and Wyoming east of the summit of the Rockies, were taken from Nebraska. Nebraska was admitted into the Union as the thirty-seventh state, in its present shape, March 1, 1867.

The territory of Kansas was formed as follows: "Beginning at a point on the western boundary of the state of Missouri, where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same (about thirty miles north of the southwest corner of Missouri, or 36° 30' parallel of north latitude); thence west on said parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico; thence north on said boundary to latitude thirty-eight; thence following said boundary westward to the east boundary of the territory of Utah, on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence northward on said summit to the fortieth parallel of latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the state of Missouri; thence south with the western boundary of said state (being a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river) to the place of beginning."

The following letter concerning the southern boundary line explains itself:

"WASHINGTON, March 24, 1910.

"Geo. W. Martin, Esq., Secretary Historical Society:

"MY DEAR MR. MARTIN—I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 21, 1910, requesting information as to the reasons for the choice of the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude for the southern boundary line of the state of Kansas, and asking whether there was a fraction of Osage land lying south of this parallel of latitude. You invite attention also to what appears to be a narrow strip of the Osage Reservation lying in the Indian Territory north of the Cherokee lands, as shown by plates CXXIX and CXXX, Eighteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology.

"An examination of the plates to which you refer indicates that the strip of land mentioned was formed by a correction line, or auxiliary base line, which extends across the entire northern part of Oklahoma and is located some six or seven miles south of the northern boundary of that state.

"The thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude appears to have been fixed as the southern boundary of the territory of Kansas by section 19 of the Act of Congress organizing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, approved May 30, 1854 (10 Stat. L., 277, 283), and there is nothing in this office to show the reasons for its choice as such southern boundary.

"This parallel did not, however, form the dividing line between the Cherokee and Osage Nations, the lands belonging to the former which were located in Kansas being a narrow strip approximately 2½ miles wide and lying just north of the thirty-seventh degree.

"By the act approved January 29, 1861 (12 Stat. L., 126), admitting Kansas into the Union as a state, the thirty-seventh degree of north lati-

struggle, which resulted in the Civil War. It led to the reorganization of political parties. It started a renewal of the contest between the North and the South over a question which had been regarded as settled for many years, at least by the compromise measures of 1820 and 1850. It stirred the passions of the people of both sections, gave rise to bitter and protracted controversies, both in and out of Congress, and doubtless considerably hastened a resort to arms. This bill sealed the doom of the Whig party; it led to the formation of the Republican party; it raised Lincoln and gave a vent to his great political ambition.—*St. Louis Republic, January 23, 1910.*



tude was again fixed as the southern boundary of the state; but by a subsequent provision in section 1 thereof the lands of all Indian tribes located within the limits or jurisdiction of the territory were expressly 'excepted out of the boundaries, and constituted no part of the state of Kansas until such tribes shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within said state, or to affect the authority of the government of the United States to make any regulation respecting such Indians, their lands, property or other rights, by treaty, law or otherwise, which it would have been competent to make if this act had never passed.'

"Congress thus in effect moved the boundary line of the state so far northward as to exclude the so-called Cherokee Strip and the lands of all other Indian tribes which had not theretofore ceded their lands to the United States, until such time as the said Indian tribes should comply with the requirements of the act.

"By the treaty of July 19, 1866, ratified and confirmed by the act approved July 31, 1866 (14 Stat. L., 799, 804), the Cherokee Nation (see article XVII) ceded in trust to the United States the tract of land in Kansas which was sold to the Cherokees by the United States under article II of the treaty of 1835; also, the strip of land ceded to the Nation by the fourth article of said treaty, which was located in Kansas, and gave its consent for the said lands to be included within the limits and jurisdiction of the state of Kansas.

"Subsequent to the treaty with the Cherokees the rights of the other tribes who had lands in Kansas, with the exception of the Quapaws, were ceded to the United States, and by the treaty of February 23, 1867 (15 Stat. L., 513, 514), the Quapaws ceded all their right, title and claim to lands in Kansas; thereby virtually restoring the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude as the southern boundary of the state.

Very respectfully,

JOHN FRANCIS, JR.,  
*Acting Chief Land Division."*

It is safe to say on a very superficial examination of the volumes and volumes of debates on the Kansas question from 1854 to 1861 that there was no controversy whatever as to these lines. Nor is there anywhere to be found an explanation of why or how these lines were chosen.<sup>2</sup> It just happened so. Nature laid out this beautiful piece of territory and an overruling Providence spared its dismemberment. And what was Kansas originally?

NOTE 2.—As early as 1848 an effort was made to organize a territorial government in the Indian territory west of the Missouri river. In 1844 the Secretary of War recommended an organization. On the 12th of October, 1852, an election for a delegate was held at the Wyandotte council house, and Abelar Guthrie received all the votes cast. There was much opposition to the opening of the territory. Another election was held at Fort Leavenworth and Guthrie defeated a man named Banow by a vote of 54 to 16. Guthrie started for Washington on the 20th of November, 1852. He did very effective work in forcing a consideration of the question of the organization of Nebraska territory. October 11, 1853, Rev. Thomas Johnson was elected delegate to Congress. A bitter fight prevailed between Abelar Guthrie and Thomas Johnson. But several precincts further up the river voted for Hadley D. Johnson, of Council Bluffs, Iowa, the returns from which seem to have been ignored. But our purpose relates only to the origin of the boundary line. For many interesting details of those days, see Connelley's *Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory*. Hadley D. Johnson arrived in Washington early in January, 1854. The following is from a statement by Mr. Johnson in the *Nebraska Historical Report*, vol. 2, p. 80:

"I also found, seated at a desk, in the house of representatives, a portly, dignified, elderly gentleman, who was introduced to me as the Rev. Thomas Johnson. He was an old Virginian, a slaveholder, and a Methodist preacher. . . .

"On being introduced to Mr. Johnson, who seemed somewhat stiff and reserved, I alluded to the manner of my appointment to the present mission, which, like his own, was without legal sanction, but was for a purpose; told him there was no occasion for a contest between us for a seat to which neither of us had a claim; that I came there to suggest and work for the organization of the two territories instead of one; that if he saw proper to second my efforts, I believed that we could succeed in the objects for which we each had come. . . .

"The fates decreed, however, that we were not to hold our seats a great while, for one day the principal doorkeeper approached me as I sat in my seat, and politely inquired who I was, and by what right I occupied the seat; and being by me answered according to the facts, he informed me that a complaint had been made to the speaker; he was under the necessity of respectfully asking me to vacate the seat, as such was the order of the speaker. I replied to him that of course I would do so; but, I added, as my neighbor on my left occupied his seat by a right similar to my own, I felt it to be my privilege to inquire why I should be ousted while he was permitted to remain. On this the doorkeeper turned to Mr. Johnson, who corroborated my statement,



Rev. John G. Pratt, missionary to the Delaware Indians, in comparing Kansas then and to-day, thinks the white man has desecrated nature. He says:<sup>3</sup>

"My first introduction to Kansas was in 1837. Leaving Boston in April with my wife we reached the then territory May 14, being about four weeks in slow but uninterrupted travel. The territory at that time was in perfect quiet, and a most beautiful country it was. Coming from the Atlantic, my first look at a green open prairie on a sunny day seemed to be a look at the ocean, with which I was so familiar, but this was also Flora in her gayest attire; the eye was too limited in its capacity to take in such wide and far-extended area of beauty—the like will never be seen again in Kansas. The coming of dwellers has spoiled all this. Though still the Sunflower state, the earlier dress of nature was more comely—it was nature's beauty."

In 1853, Percival G. Lowe, of Leavenworth, went out with Major E. A. Ogden when Fort Riley was located, and here is his first impression:<sup>4</sup>

"Of all charming and fascinating portions of our country, probably there is none where nature has been so lavish as within a radius of 150 miles, taking Fort Riley as the center. In rich soil, building material, in beauty of landscape, wooded streams and bubbling springs, in animal life, in everything to charm the eye, gladden the heart, yield to the industry of man—here was the climax of the most extravagant dream, perfect in all its wild beauty and productiveness; perfect in all that nature's God could hand down to man for his improvement and happiness."

Rev. Charles Brandon Boynton made an exploration in the fall of 1854, which was published under the title "Journey through Kansas."<sup>5</sup> He says:

"But the first hour's ride over the prairies of Kansas spread before us such a picture, varying every moment and beautiful in every change, as we had no previous conception of, and drew from us continued expressions of a delight that would not be suppressed. One can form no correct idea of the prairies of Kansas by a previous knowledge of those of Indiana and Illinois; and residents in Iowa add the same remark of theirs. How, without the majesty of mountains or lakes, or broad rivers, and with so few colors as here are seen, such an effect can be produced, is worthy the study of artists. It is a magnificent picture of God, that stirs irresistibly and inexplicably the soul of every beholder. Young and old, the educated and the unlearned, alike feel the influence of its spell, and each in his own language gives utterance to his delight and wonder, or stands breathless and mute. There are many scenes in Kansas that can scarcely be *remembered* even with-

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whereupon the "two Johnsons," as we were called, were incontinently bounced and relegate to the galleries.

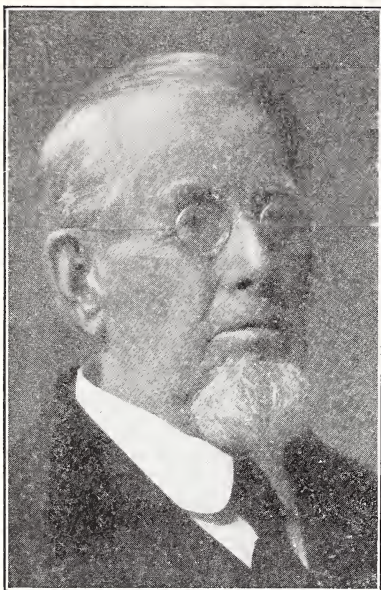
"I never learned, nor did I care to know, whether I was removed at the instance of the friend of Mr. Johnson, or whether a Mr. Guthrie, who had also been a candidate for delegate, had fired a shot at his adversary, the Rev. Thomas. If the latter was the case, in firing he hit two birds. I did not feel hurt by this event, but believe that the dignity of the other Johnson was seriously touched, and himself mortified.

"I ought, perhaps, to mention the fact that, in our negotiations as to the dividing line between Kansas and Nebraska, a good deal of trouble was encountered; Mr. Johnson and his Missouri friends being very anxious that the Platte river should constitute the line, which obviously would not suit the people of Iowa, especially as I believe it was a plan of the American Company to colonize the Indians north of the Platte river. As this plan did not meet with the approbation of my friends or myself, I firmly resolved that this line should not be adopted. Judge Douglas was kind enough to leave that question to me, and I offered to Mr. Johnson the choice of two lines—first, the present line, or second, an imaginary line traversing the divide between the Platte and the Kaw. After considerable parleying, and Mr. Johnson not being willing to accept either line, I finally offered the two alternatives—the fortieth degree of north latitude, or the defeat of the whole bill, for that session at least. After consulting with his friends, I presume, Mr. Johnson very reluctantly consented to the fortieth degree as the dividing line between the two territories, whereupon Judge Douglas prepared and introduced the substitute in a report as chairman of the committee on territories, and immediately probably the hardest war of words known in American history commenced."

NOTE 3.—Letter to Franklin G. Adams, January 12, 1889.

NOTE 4.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 7, p. 101.

NOTE 5.—Page 45.



SAMUEL DEXTER HOUSTON,  
Salina, Kan.

Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, 1859  
Died February 28, 1910.



C. B. McCLELLAN,  
Oskaloosa, Kan.

Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, 1859

out tears. The soul melts in the presence of the wonderful beauty of the workmanship of God."

Max Greene was another early-day explorer in 1855. He also published a book,<sup>6</sup> in which he says:

"Here through the exhilarating crystal air, on every hand, are scenes of natural glory, the sublime of loveliness, whose only appropriate description would be a passionate lyric to flicker along the nerves like solemn harmonies of mighty bards."

The east boundary of Utah, "the summit of the Rocky Mountains" according to what was known at that time, is a very vague and indefinite expression. Another statement of the western line says: "Westward to the summit of highlands dividing the waters flowing into the Colorado of the West or Green river, from the waters flowing into the great basin." It is usually understood that the territory of Kansas extended nearly to the present eastern line of Utah. At that time probably no one knew. A topographical map of the United States, issued in 1907, shows the summit of the Rocky Mountains, called the "Continental Divide," to be a trifle west of Leadville. West of this point the waters flow into the Gulf of California, and east the waters flow into the Gulf of Mexico. The east line of Utah is very near the one hundred and ninth meridian west, but the summit of the mountains is shown to be so irregular as not to be stated by lines. Several of the old maps show the west line of Kansas territory following the

NOTE 6.—The Kansas Region, p. 14.



continental divide. Undoubtedly, therefore, the territory of Kansas did not include the whole of Colorado, but say about two-thirds of it, or a few miles west of Leadville.

The western line of Missouri, "a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river," is the eastern line of Kansas. Thus is designated one of the most conspicuous points on the continent. Here the line is a street cutting in almost equal parts the most interesting and promising city in the land. This street is lined with untold millions of wealth in railroads, packing houses, stockyards, and general manufactures. The mouth of the Kansas river was accurately determined by astronomical observation in 1804 by Lewis and Clark, the explorers, to be latitude  $38^{\circ} 31' 13''.7$  There has always been some controversy as to whether or not the mouth of the Kansas has changed. I see no way of determining whether it changed between the date of the location given by Lewis and Clark in 1804 and the date of the settlement of the boundary line in 1821. The report of the Geodetic Survey in 1902 gives the latitude and longitude of the Second Presbyterian church spire (northwest corner of Thirteenth and Central, Kansas City, Mo.) to be latitude  $39^{\circ} 05' 55.813''$  and longitude  $94^{\circ} 35' 13.448''$ .<sup>8</sup> In 1899 Mr. W. E. Connelley made a careful study of this matter, and concluded that the line is where it always was.<sup>9</sup> Mr. C. I. McClung,<sup>10</sup> who has had much experience in the engineering department of Kansas City, Kan., tells me that the distance between the mouth of the Kansas river and Thirteenth and Central, Kansas City, Mo., is 7392 feet, or one and four-tenths miles.

The fortieth parallel of north latitude was made the boundary line between the territories of Nebraska and Kansas by Congress in the act of May 30, 1854. It seems that in the beginning the Missourians wanted the Platte river, but Hadley D. Johnson, representing more northerly interests, insisted upon the fortieth parallel.<sup>11</sup> There were no surveys then, and there was no controversy in Congress about any portion of the lines. Neither was there any hundred-dollar-an-acre land, and so Congress acted like the fellow who sold a quarter section, and while the buyer was not looking slipped in the deed another quarter to get rid of it. Nebraska was extended north to the British line, and Kansas extended to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, a few miles beyond the present city of Leadville. Immediately upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act John Calhoun was made surveyor-general of Nebraska and Kansas. A contract was made

NOTE 7.—Original Journals of Lewis and Clark, vol. 6, p. 239.

NOTE 8.—Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1902, p. 247.

NOTE 9.—See Mr. Connelley's paper on the "Western Boundary of Missouri," which follows as an addenda to this article.

NOTE 10.—Letter of C. I. McClung to Secretary Geo. W. Martin, dated October 5, 1909.

NOTE 11.—Connelley's Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory, p. 31: "Another factor was entering into the movement for territorial government for Nebraska. This was the fixing of the location of the line of railroad soon to be built between the Pacific ocean and the Missouri river. Iowa wanted the initial point of this road on her western border, and Missouri contended that the valley of the Kansas river was the logical, most central, and most practicable route. Ever since the enormous and phenomenal emigration to California, the initial point of this 'great national highway,' as it had been called by Colonel Benton, had been a matter of contention between the people of Iowa and Missouri, and, to a certain extent, to the country at large. The North, generally, favored Council Bluffs as the starting point, and insisted that the valley of the Platte was the route of greatest utility, from a national standpoint. The South contended that the mouth of the Kansas river was a better location from which to start. The controversy followed the old line drawn between the North and South by the question of the extension of slavery, and was the one matter upon which the factions of the Missouri Democracy could unite."

with John P. Johnson<sup>12</sup> to establish the northern boundary line. It was concluded to make it the principal base line whereupon to start the survey, both on the north in Nebraska and on the south in Kansas. The fortieth parallel was astronomically established in 1854 by Capt. T. J. Lee,<sup>13</sup> topographical engineer, U. S. A. The survey was started on the 18th of November, 1854. The party were eighteen days running west 108 miles. When the Missouri river was closed to northern immigration, in 1856, Nebraska City was a port of entry for Kansas.

At a banquet tendered him January 19, 1910, by the Commercial Club of Lincoln, Neb., Hon. Eugene F. Ware said: "In 1895 I was the attorney of J. P. Johnson, who was a banker at Highland, Kan. One evening he began telling some of his early history, and among other things said that he was a graduate of Harvard College, being a classmate of Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts. He said that they had had or would soon have a celebration of their fiftieth year after graduation. He said that, after graduation, he came to Illinois and got a position in a college, his specialty being mathematics, and that having made the acquaintance of Senator Stephen A. Douglas he became desirous of getting an appointment from the Interior Department to survey or assist in surveying the boundary line between what was to be Kansas and Nebraska. He received the appointment, and came up the Missouri river with a complete outfit, sixteen men, horses and mules, wagons and surveying instruments. They were told to make earthen mounds every few miles in good locations, easy to observe, on the line, and were instructed to go west until they struck the desert, and when they had got fully on the desert line they were to halt and put up a mound, and then they were to go one full day's march into the desert and establish the sixth principal meridian running north and south. Mr. Johnson said they went west until they had fully come to the desert line, and then they went a long day's journey into the desert. From his recollection, he thought it was about thirty-six miles. There, on the Kansas-Nebraska line, they raised a mound establishing the sixth principal meridian, and went to a dry swale some distance off and got rocks and capped the mound. He says a full report was made to the surveyor-general's office on their return to the Missouri river, where the party was disbanded and government property sent to Fort Leavenworth and turned in. When he was telling me this, he said the sixth principal meridian as thus established still remained, and that he had several farms west of it in Jewell and Mitchell counties, which produced fine corn." Such towns as Clyde, Solomon, Newton, Wichita and Wellington now mark the sixth principal meridian.

The southern boundary line of Kansas, the thirty-seventh parallel, was surveyed by Lieut.-col. J. E. Johnston, First cavalry, and finished September 10, 1857. The astronomical determinations were by J. H. Clark and H. Campbell, the survey by J. E. Weyss. The southern boundary of the Osage Nation formed the northern boundary of the Cherokee Nation by treaties with the United States of 1828 and 1833.<sup>14</sup> A map of Kansas and Nebraska, indorsed August 5, 1854, by George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shows the thirty-seventh parallel as the boundary line between the

NOTE 12.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 7, p. 318: "Survey of the Northern Boundary Line," by C. W. Johnson.

NOTE 13.—Gov. Samuel J. Crawford, message, 1865.

NOTE 14.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, vol. 2, pp. 289, 387.



Osage and Cherokee reservations, and it is possible that in outlining the bounds of the new territory the line between these two tribes was adopted as least liable to arouse controversy.

It is an interesting study to follow the organization and development of these plains. At the time of the creation of the territory there had been no surveying other than for Indian reservations. Instead of distinct lines being given in the creation of counties a stated territory was described as so many miles west, so many miles south, etc., the point of beginning being the main channel of the Kansas or Kaw river at the point where the main channel crosses the Missouri line. The proslavery legislature of 1855 created thirty-five counties in what is now Kansas, and the county of Arapahoe in what is now Colorado. The act said that when the surveys were completed the nearest township, section or subdividing line should be the boundary. The counties established by the first act extended only to the west line of Marshall, Riley and Geary. In a separate act the counties of Marion and Washington were established. Marion was a narrow strip extending from about the south line of the present Dickinson county to the south line of the state. Washington extended from about the middle of Sumner to the east line of Las Animas county, Colorado. Arapahoe county covered the Rocky Mountains region, and extended east to the one hundred and third meridian, or a few miles east of the west line of Kit Carson county, Colorado, or to the east line of New Mexico extended north. This left all the region west of Marshall county and north of the south line of the present Wallace and Logan counties under the vague description "all the territory west of Marshall and east of Arapahoe." The county lines were made regardless of routes of travel, and subsequent development made lots of trouble readjusting counties to suit ambitious cities. The channel of the Kansas river would not answer, so we had Wyandotte taken from Leavenworth and Johnson, Douglas and Shawnee pieced out from Jefferson and Jackson, and Riley had to be shifted greatly to suit Manhattan.<sup>15</sup>

October 6, 1856, a few men connected with Fort Riley held an election at Sycamore creek (now Chapman creek, in Dickinson county), and voted for all the region between Marshall and Arapahoe, nearly 300 miles in extent, and elected Benjamin F. Simmons to the legislature. There were thirteen votes cast, ten being cast for Simmons.<sup>16</sup> The record shows that Simmons served through the entire session of the proslavery legislature of January, 1857, and was chairman of the committee on corporations. The ten votes he received at Sycamore were the total cast for him. P. Z. Taylor, a clerk of that election, still lives in Denver. The Historical Society has the poll list of this election. This region, as well as Arapahoe county, was attached to Marshall county by the legislature of 1855 for civil and military purposes.

In 1859 the legislature established the counties of Montana, El Paso, Oro, Broderick and Fremont out of the west end of Arapahoe, leaving this last-named county on the great plains. The names Broderick and Fremont indicate that a different sentiment was in charge of affairs. Of the counties thus established but three remain in the state of Colorado—Fremont, El Paso and Arapahoe.

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NOTE 15.—*Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 8, p. 449, "Establishment of Counties in Kansas," by Miss Helen G. Gill.

NOTE 16.—Archives Department, 324, accession number 110.

All of this territory south of the south line of Wallace and Logan and between Marion and Arapahoe was named Peketon by the legislature of 1860. At the same session the legislature began to encroach on the territory north of the Smoky Hill river, by the organization of the counties of Republic, Shirley (now Cloud), Ottawa and Saline. In 1867 counties were created as far west as Norton, Graham, Trego and Ford.

The legislature of 1868 reached the state line, and established Wallace and Gove counties. Cheyenne and Sherman were created by the legislature of 1873. Thirteen years later, or in 1886, the county of Sherman organized for business—thirty-two years after the creation of the territory and twenty-five years after the admission of the state.

The region known as Peketon was not disturbed until the state legislature of 1867, when the counties of McPherson, Sedgwick and Sumner, and all as far west as Ford and Hodgeman, were created. The counties were organized to the west line of the state in 1889, when Greeley, the last county, was ready for business—thirty-five years after the creation of the territory and twenty-eight years after statehood.

So much for the territory of Kansas. How about the state of Kansas?

After the creation of the territory, and prior to statehood, Kansas had four constitutional conventions. The Topeka convention of October, 1855, the Leecompton convention of September, 1857, and the Leavenworth convention of March, 1858, each accepted the boundaries established in the organic act of May 30, 1854, extending the proposed state westward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains.

The Wyandotte convention, the fourth and last before the admission of the state, fixed the present boundary of Kansas at 102 degrees west longitude from Greenwich, or, as stated in our constitution, the twenty-fifth meridian west from Washington. At a geodetic congress held in Washington in 1884, composed of scientific representatives from all the countries of the world, it was resolved to adopt the meridian of Greenwich as the universal prime or first meridian. The *Encyclopedia Americana* says that geographers of all countries reckon longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, although local geography of many countries may be reckoned from their respective capitals. Sadlier's geography says: "We measure longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, and the meridian of Washington." Colton's geography says: "Longitude is sometimes reckoned in the United States from Washington, and in France from Paris." The west boundary runs three miles west of the twenty-fifth meridian, or 102 degrees, which is explained by the fact that after the adoption of the constitution the surveyors in running the eastern line of an Indian reservation in Colorado established the west line of Kansas, and made an error of three miles beyond the meridian named as our western boundary, so that it is really 102° 2' west from Greenwich.

William Hutchinson, chairman of the committee on preamble and bill of rights, reported on July 15 the present boundaries for Kansas as adopted by the committee. A prolonged discussion was closed the next afternoon by a vote in committee of the whole, placing the western boundary at the one-hundredth meridian,<sup>17</sup> a line about six miles west of Hill City, in Graham county. On July 28, the day before the final adjournment, Caleb May, of

NOTE 17.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention: Proceedings and Debates, p. 172.

Atchison, proposed to amend the clause by making the twenty-sixth meridian, or 103 degrees west longitude, the line,<sup>18</sup> which would be a northern extension of the east line of New Mexico or about the west line of Kit Carson county, Colorado. After some discussion May was prevailed upon to change his motion to the original recommendation of the committee, and our present western boundary was fixed by a unanimous vote. The discussion on this point during the sultry days of July 15 and 16, 1859, are interesting, and I make a few extracts to show in what estimation western Kansas was then held.

William C. McDowell, of Leavenworth, who seems to have fathered the South Platte annexation, says:<sup>19</sup> "I would inquire whether the boundaries given here are the same as those in the organic act?"

Mr. Hutchinson: "They are the same, except the western; . . . after diligent inquiry it was ascertained that the one-hundredth meridian west (Hill City and Fort Dodge) would be in a country which is at present being settled; the one-hundred and first (at Atwood, Colby, Scott, Garden City and Liberal) will probably be settled, but at the one hundred and second degree, or twenty-five degrees west from the boundary, it was believed was placed upon a natural sandy divide, where no part of the population would be cut off that wanted to be with us."

James Blood objected to an amendment making the twenty-fourth meridian west from Washington, corresponding to the one hundred and first west from Greenwich, the western boundary (the longitude of Colby, Scott and Garden City), saying: "I would prefer the twenty-fifth (our present boundary), and if gentlemen will make a calculation they will find that it is not extending our state unreasonably in that direction—about 400 miles. The country out there will not be settled for a long time, and is not of much particular value. I think the proposition is a fair one as submitted by the committee."

Solon O. Thacher<sup>20</sup> understood "that a large portion of this western region from the twenty-third (Hill City) or twenty-fourth (Colby and Garden City) is a miserable, uninhabited region. The only question is whether we shall include within our boundaries a tract of country that is not valuable to us, and confer upon it the benefits of government at our expense. Those of us who have read Horace Greeley's letters from that region, and conversed with gentlemen who have been there, are of the opinion that that portion of the territory is not at all inviting."

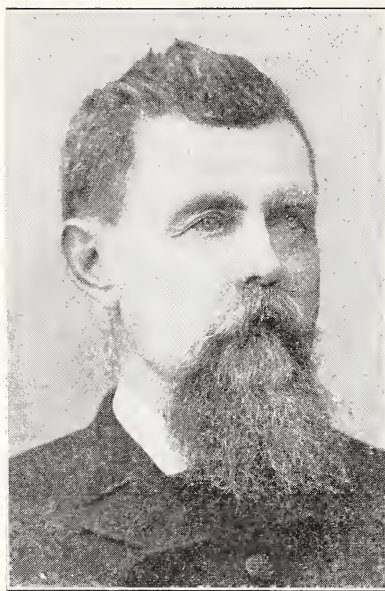
Mr. Hutchinson remarked that "it is simply a question of fact as to how far west this section of country can be inhabited—how far there is timber, water and grass. It is evident that if we place it at the twenty-third (Hill City) or twenty-fourth meridian (three miles west of Colby), that we shall cut off a population that will be greatly discommoded at some future day to travel to meet settlements near the Rocky Mountains. That should be the governing influence in giving the direction of our vote. We are expecting a grant of land from Congress. That will call for alternate sections, in all probability; so the further westward our boundary shall go the greater the number of acres of land we shall get. If it is uninhabited entirely it will

NOTE 18.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention: Proceedings and Debates, p. 409.

NOTE 19.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention: Proceedings and Debates, p. 139.

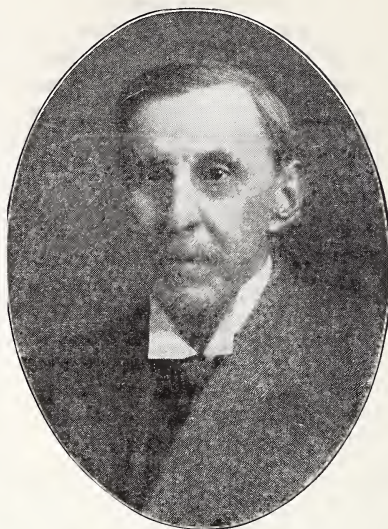
NOTE 20.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention; Proceedings and Debates, p. 141.





JOHN TAYLOR BURRIS,  
Olathe, Kan.

Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, 1859



SAMUEL E. HOFFMAN,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, 1859

never be worth a dollar; we have nothing to pay on it—we have neither to pay taxes on it nor build fences around it. There is no loss, and I think there is no gain.”

Samuel D. Houston, of Riley county, who favored the summit of the Rocky Mountains and also the Platte river, said: “There are arguments in favor of extending our boundary westward; and I should be recreant to my duty were I not to present these arguments. . . . I have learned for the first time, and with astonishment, of . . . a move by the people in defining their boundaries [in which] they were benevolent enough to give away one-half their territory. . . . Were we to do it as individuals we would be charged with insanity. . . . If we can get the boundary designated by Congress in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and get a road to the mountains, I ask if it is not a question of some magnitude whether Kansas shall not have the grand Pacific railroad of the country. You must go to the mountains and get pine with which to fence and build on your beautiful prairies; but if you give away your pineries and give those thoroughfares into the control of other people, how are you going to accomplish this? . . . I believe what I propose is for the best interests of the whole territory of Kansas.”

Mr. McDowell objected to incorporating the mining regions, “their difference of pursuits presenting a people not homogeneous, whose wants will be different and very little in common with ours.”

James G. Blunt proposed again the twenty-third meridian, the Hill City line, and said:<sup>21</sup> “We would then embrace all of the desirable territory



upon this side of that large, sterile plain situated on our west, that would add neither wealth nor importance to our state, but over which to extend our laws and protection would be an onerous burden."

B. Wrigley, of Doniphan county, said:<sup>22</sup> "You put the western boundary upon the twenty-third meridian (Hill City and Fort Dodge); and you have on the eastern side the agricultural district of Kansas, and you have on the west an expanse of territory of equal width and of equal extent, barren, sterile and unfit for agricultural purposes."

Mr. Houston: "Why, gentlemen, we want . . . a connection of this sort that we might get the highest possible price for our products. . . . One would suppose from what gentlemen say of the country that it was a God-forsaken desert; that the lightnings of heaven had poured their streams of death upon it for centuries. But what are the facts? Almost everyone that goes out there tells us that it is covered with immense herds of buffalo as far as the eye can reach, over a vast extent—north, south, east and west. I believe I have as much respect for the buffaloes' opinion as I have for the gentlemen's here in regard to that country. Who ever heard of wild animals seeking a home that is perfectly barren? Why, the grass must be extremely nutritious there.<sup>23</sup> I believe that cotton can be raised on these plains that will supply the demand of the whole country. When we get a railroad out there, can't you tax these herds? When you run a railroad out there, let men make a business of herding. You know very little about that country. . . . One gentleman remarked to me a short time since that he had written hundreds of letters to the East, telling them to come on here; that we wanted to make a pathway to the Rocky Mountains over this very country we are now proposing to give away. I would keep it till we found out all about it. Who ever heard of a man cutting off part of his farm before he had examined it? Now, gentlemen, this territory may be too large for certain schemes of partisanship, but it is not too large to make a grand and a glorious state for the people, and for the interests of the people."

There is an incident relating to the north boundary line of the state of Kansas scarcely known in her history, but in the history of the twin state of Nebraska it constitutes a very important chapter.

January 17, 1856,<sup>24</sup> J. Sterling Morton introduced into the lower house of the territorial legislature of Nebraska a resolution memorializing Congress to annex to Kansas all that portion of Nebraska south of the Platte river, because it would be "to the interests of this territory and to the general good of the entire Union." It was stated that the Platte river was a natural boundary mark—that it was impossible to either ford, ferry or bridge it; it was further thought that such a move would effectually prevent the estab-

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NOTE 22.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention: Proceedings and Debates, p. 157.

NOTE 23.—The year 1909 was the forty-ninth year of statehood. There were sixty-three counties in the state which this year produced from 1,000,000 to 4,000,000 bushels of corn each, and there were thirty-one counties that produced from 1,000,000 to 3,000,000 bushels of wheat. Twenty-four counties in the line with Ellsworth, or west of that range of counties, produced from 1,000,000 to 4,000,000 bushels of corn each, or from 1,000,000 to 3,000,000 bushels of wheat each. The 4,000,000-bushel corn counties and two of the 3,000,000-bushel wheat counties are in the west half of the state—Sumner, Barton and Reno. All the other counties in the west half of the state produced proportionately, according to their population and development. Jewell county, belonging to the west half of the state, this year raised 3,546,558 bushels of corn, and twice since settlement has taken a prize as the ranking corn county in the state.

NOTE 24.—Morton's Illustrated History of Nebraska, vol. 1, p. 396.

lishment of slavery in either of the territories. This was postponed by a vote of twenty to five. The project slumbered until 1858. There was great bitterness between north and south Nebraska at the time, and the annexation sentiment seemed to grow.

In those days Nebraska had other troubles than the unreliability of the Platte river. Kansas was torn in pieces by a great national issue, and our Republican-Populist war of 1893 had a precedent for ridiculousness in the controversy which divided the pioneers of Nebraska from 1855 to 1858. Florence, Omaha, Plattsmouth, Bellevue and Nebraska City were contestants for the territorial capital. The story reads like a southwest Kansas county-seat fight. The first legislature was called at Omaha, January 16, 1855. Omaha was full of people interested in rival towns, who made threats that the session should not be held. In January, 1857, the antagonism to Omaha assumed an aggressive character. A bill passed both houses of the legislature, moving the session to a place called Douglas, in Lancaster county. This bill was vetoed by the governor. In 1858 a portion of the legislature seceded in a small riot but no bloodshed, and attempted to do business at a town called Florence.<sup>25</sup> September 21, 1858, the fifth session met in peace at Omaha, and began to talk about bridging the Platte.<sup>26</sup>

Restlessness was common then, for the Kansas territorial legislature was also hard to please. The proslavery people left Pawnee to sit in Shawnee Mission, and the Free-soilers would not remain at Leecompton, but in 1858, 1859, 1860 and 1861 moved to Lawrence.

About the beginning of the year 1859 several mass meetings were held, and Congress was memorialized to incorporate the South Platte country in the proposed state of Kansas. There was some dissent, of course, but the annexationists seem to have been quite lively. On the 2d of May<sup>27</sup> a mass meeting was held at Nebraska City, which invited the people to participate in the formation of a constitution at Wyandotte July 5, reciting "that the pestiferous Platte should be the northern boundary of a great agricultural and commercial state." They ordained that an election should be held in the several South Platte counties June 7. There are no results of the election given, but Morton's *History of Nebraska*, page 401, volume I, says that in the county of Otoe, of 1078 ballots cast at a previous election, 900 electors signed a petition for annexation, and that this sentiment was representative of the whole South Platte district. Governor Medary's son and private secretary, on the 16th of May, 1859, had written a letter to the Nebraska people, urging them to elect delegates to the Wyandotte convention, and to proceed quietly, "as it would only create an unnecessary issue in southern Kansas at the time, were it freely talked of."

On the 12th day of July, 1859,<sup>28</sup> the following Nebraska men were admitted to seats on the floor of the Wyandotte constitutional convention then in session, as honorary members with the privilege of participating in the discussion of the northern boundary of the state of Kansas, but not to

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NOTE 25.—Morton's *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, vol. 1, pp. 322, 326.

NOTE 26.—*Ibid.* pp. 322, 360.

NOTE 27.—*Ibid.* pp. 400, 405.

NOTE 28.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention: *Proceedings and Debates*, p. 23. The names of the Nebraska delegation as here given are corrected by Mr. Morton in his *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, p. 402, and Mr. Clarence S. Paine, secretary of the Nebraska Historical Society has made still other changes.

vote: Stephen F. Nuckolls, Mills S. Reeves, Robert W. Furnas, Obadiah B. Hewett, Wm. W. Keeling, Samuel A. Chambers, Wm. H. Taylor, — Niles, [Geo. H. Nixon], John H. Croxton, John H. Cheever, John B. Bennet, Jacob Dawson, and (?) Wm. P. Loan. In the archives of the State Historical Society we find the original application of the Nebraska people signed by Mills S. Reeves, John B. Bennet, Wm. H. Taylor, Samuel A. Chambers, and Stephen B. Miles.

On the 15th the Nebraska delegates were heard, and on the 16th, during the consideration of the west boundary line of the state of Kansas, William C. McDowell, of Leavenworth, a Democratic member, moved the following amendment:<sup>29</sup>

“*Provided, however,* That if the people of southern Nebraska, embraced between Platte river and the northern boundary of Kansas as established by Congress, agree to the same, a vote is to be taken by them, both upon the question of boundary and upon this constitution, at the time this constitution is submitted to the people of Kansas, and provided Congress agree to the same the boundaries of the state of Kansas shall be as follows: ‘Beginning at a point on the western boundary of the state of Missouri where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west with said parallel to the twenty-fourth meridian of longitude west from Washington; thence north with said meridian to the middle of the south fork of the Platte river; thence following the main channel of said river to the middle of the Missouri river; thence with the middle of the Missouri river to the mouth of the Kansas river; thence south on the western boundary line of the state of Missouri to the place of beginning.’”

After a short parliamentary wrangle about separating the north and west lines, Mr. McDowell withdrew the amendment, and the convention voted that the northern boundary remain unchanged.

The Nebraska City *News*, the organ of the South Platte sentiment, was furious over the result. I quote<sup>30</sup>: “The curious may wish to know why this rich boon was refused by the Black Republican constitutional convention of Kansas. It was for this reason: Its acquisition, it was believed by those worthies, would operate against their party. They said South Platte Nebraska was Democratic, and that being added to northern Kansas, which is largely Democratic, would make Kansas a Democratic state; would deprive the Black Republican party of two United States senators, a congressman and other offices. They were dragooned into this position, too, by the Republican party outside of Kansas. Kansas, they are determined at all hazards, shall be an abolition state.”

It was a great deal, amid the sentiment and passion of that hour, to ask the Free-soilers in the Wyandotte convention, following the struggles of the border as far south as Fort Scott from 1855 to 1860, to go back on the people south of the Kaw for an unknown quantity in southern Nebraska. The delegates from Nebraska offered great things in a material way, but politics cropped out everywhere, principally from outside of Kansas. There was no politics then but the slavery issue. Solon O. Thacher said:<sup>31</sup> “Chief among their arguments was one meeting an objection which they supposed would be raised in consequence of the political character of the country proposed to be annexed; and we have been invoked by all the powers of logic and

NOTE 29.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention: Proceedings and Debates, p. 140.

NOTE 30.—Morton's Illustrated History of Nebraska, vol. 1, p. 403.

NOTE 31.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention: Proceedings and Debates, p. 147.



rhetoric to ignore the political aspect of this case—to lay aside whatever feelings might arise politically, and look at the question dispassionately. Now, sir, I say they urge an impossibility. Had these gentlemen from southern Nebraska seen the sky lurid with the flames of their burning homes, the soil of these beautiful prairies crimson with the blood of their brothers and fathers, or their wives and children flying over the land for a place of refuge from crime and outrage, . . . they would not think of making such an appeal to us. . . . Gentlemen must remember that this is the first time in the history of Kansas that southern Kansas has been represented in any deliberative body. Think you, sir, that the people who have just escaped from a prisonhouse that has kept them so long can desire to reënter the clammy dungeon?"

I have carefully looked through the files of several of the Kansas newspapers of that period, and I find a singular indifference to the question of annexation. The *Topeka Tribune* and the *Leavenworth Herald* very freely supported it. The *Lawrence Republican*, T. Dwight Thacher's paper, was strongly opposed to it. There was little else considered then aside from slavery. The *Lecompton Democrat* favored the dismemberment of both Kansas and Nebraska and the formation of a new state lying between Kansas and the Platte rivers. The *Republican* of July 21, 1859, said this scheme was hatched in Washington and nursed in the Blue Lodges of Missouri. Annexation would make southern Kansas a mere appendage to the northern part of the state and completely at its mercy. The editor of the *Republican* made a visit to southeastern Kansas, and in his issue of July 14 reported unanimous opposition to the movement; that the people there neither cared to be annexed nor knew the politics of the Nebraska men. A portion of the Nebraska movement was to make another state south of Kansas river to be called Neosho.<sup>32</sup> In a speech before the convention, July 22, Solon O. Thacher said that three-fifths of the population of Kansas was south of the Kansas river. The Platte gave no river frontage, and would need an appropriation every year to make it navigable by catfish and polliwogs,<sup>33</sup> and the movement would give Kansas three additional Missouri river counties north of the Kansas river, which would not be desirable. A singular feature is that the Free-soil legislature of 1859 petitioned for annexation,<sup>34</sup> while Free-soilers in the constitutional convention bitterly opposed it. The *Lawrence Republican* is the only paper that handled the subject with vigor. I quote as follows from the issue of June 16, 1859:

"The proposed measure, if accomplished, would destroy the community of interests which now exists between the various portions of Kansas. Our people are bound together as the people of no other new state ever were. Together they have gone through one of the darkest and bloodiest struggles for freedom that any people ever encountered; together they have achieved the most significant and far-reaching victory since the Revolution; together they have suffered—together triumphed! At this late day, after the battle has been fought and won, and we are about to enter upon the enjoyment of the fruits of our perilous labors, we do not care to have introduced into our household a set of strangers who have had no community of interest with us in the past, who have hardly granted us the poor boon of their sympathy, and who even now speak of the thrice honored and loved

NOTE 32.—*Lawrence Republican*, July 21, 1859.

NOTE 33.—*Ibid.* July 28, 1859.

NOTE 34.—*General Laws Kansas Territory*, 1859, p. 651. Joint resolution No. 3.

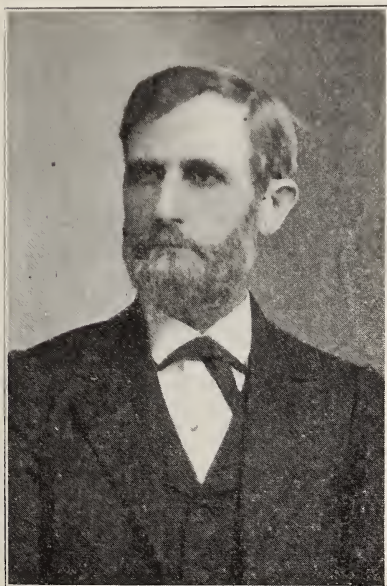


name of Kansas as a 'name which is but the synonym of crime and blood!'" (Extract from a Nebraska City paper.)

On the 23d of July McDowell renewed the subject in the Wyandotte convention by the following resolution:<sup>35</sup>

"*Resolved*, That Congress be memorialized to include within the limits of the state of Kansas that part of southern Nebraska lying between the northern boundary of the territory of Kansas and the Platte river."

This was defeated on the same day by a vote of nineteen for and twenty-nine against. The Democrats refused to sign the constitution, and of those who did sign, four—S. D. Houston, J. A. Middleton, L. R. Palmer and R. J. Porter—voted to annex the South Platte country.



ROBERT COLE FOSTER,  
Denison, Tex.

Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, 1859.  
Died January 6, 1910.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SIMPSON,  
Paola, Kan.

Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, 1859.

Senator Green, of Missouri, in opposing the admission of Kansas under the Wyandotte constitution, said that not over three-eighths of Kansas could be cultivated, that "without this addition (South Nebraska) Kansas must be weak, puerile, sickly, in debt, and at no time capable of sustaining herself."

In the United States Senate on January 18, 1861, he moved to strike out the proposed boundaries of Kansas and insert the following:<sup>36</sup>

"Beginning in the main channel of the North Fork of the Platte river, at a point where the twenty-fifth meridian of longitude west from Washington crosses the same; thence down and along said channel to its junction

NOTE 35.—Wyandotte Constitutional Convention: Proceedings and Debates, p. 276.

NOTE 36.—Congressional Globe, 2d Sess., 36th Cong., p. 444.

with the main stream of the Platte; thence down and along the main channel of the Platte to the Missouri river; thence south along said river and the western boundary of the state of Missouri to the northern boundary of the Cherokee neutral land; thence west along said northern boundary, the northern boundary of the Osage lands, and the prolongation of the same, to the twenty-fifth meridian of longitude west from Washington; thence north on said meridian to the place of beginning."

This was defeated by a vote of twenty-three yeas to thirty-one nays, a greater number of the yeas being those who opposed the admission of Kansas under any circumstances. In support of this proposition Senator Green said:<sup>36</sup>

"It will be observed by an examination of the constitution adopted at Wyandotte, now pending before the senate, that about one-third of the territory of Kansas is cut off on the west. That includes the Pike's Peak region, where the first gold discovery was made, including the Gregory mines, and so on, cutting off that space of territory, which none of the other constitutions ever did. Owing to the character of the country, that reduces it to a small compass to constitute a good state. The gross area is about eighty thousand square miles; but the portion susceptible of settlement and of habitation will not exceed forty thousand; and the best authority I have reduces it to thirty thousand out of eighty thousand square miles. After we pass west of the Missouri river, except upon a few streams, there is no territory fit for settlement or habitation. It is unproductive. It is like a barren waste.<sup>37</sup> It will not even support cattle, or sheep, or anything pertaining to the grazing business. There are no mineral resources in the state to supply any want of agricultural resources. Hence, I propose to enlarge the boundary, not upon the west, but to take the present western boundary and prolong it northerly up to the Platte river, and then follow the line of the river to its junction with the Missouri line, and follow the Missouri line down. It will add to the territory about thirty thousand square miles, about two-thirds of which will be susceptible of settlement. It will then make a good, strong, substantial state. I have the privilege to state, in this con-

NOTE 37.—Total value of Kansas agricultural products for 1909, the forty-ninth year of statehood.....	\$307,538,164 91
Live stock on hand.....	225,147,080 00
	\$532,685,244 91

Assessed valuation of the state for 1909, the forty-ninth year of statehood..... \$2,511,260,285 26

The year-book for 1909 of the United States Department of Agriculture, says that Kansas in the last ten years has been first in wheat, and fifth in corn in 1909. Kansas was first in alfalfa, also last year this state stepped in fourth place on the number of horses, and seventh place in the number of hogs produced. F. D. Coburn, secretary of the Board of Agriculture, has been compiling some figures about Kansas crops and the same crops in other states. The government figures also show that in the last ten years Kansas produced 770 million bushels of wheat while its nearest competitor produced 708 million bushels. This was Minnesota. Kansas was third in 1909, but in nearly all the other years it was first. In the ten years Kansas produced 1608 million bushels of corn which gives it fifth place in that period. Illinois is first; Iowa, second; Nebraska, third, and Missouri fourth.

November 16, 1909, there were in Kansas 248 national banks, 825 state banks, 4 private banks and 3 trust companies. These institutions held deposits on that date as follows: State banks, \$99,507,000; national, \$84,448,908; a total of \$183,955,908. January 31, 1910, the close of the 49th year of statehood, the deposits were: State \$99,505,213; national, \$89,841,068; a total of \$189,346,281, an increase of \$5,390,373.

W. A. L. Johnson, commissioner of Labor and Industry for the state of Kansas, makes the following comparative statement for the ten-year period ending June 30, 1909:

	1900.	1909.	Increase per cent.
Capital invested.....	59,458,256	141,354,677	137.7
Number of salaried officials, clerks.....	3,612	6,148	70.2
Salaries.....	\$3,123,221	\$6,098,368	95.3
Average number of wage earners.....	27,119	51,628	90.4
Total wages of year.....	\$12,197,657	\$31,338,827	165.1
Cost of material used.....	120,737,677	201,321,096	66.9
Value of products, including custom and repair work.....	154,008,544	264,133,757	71.5

See "A History of Manufactures in the Kansas District" elsewhere in this volume, covering coal, zinc, lead, salt, tile, oil, brick, and cement.

P. H. Albright, in the *Winfield Courier*, Christmas, 1909: "The population of Kansas, in round numbers, at this time is about 1,700,000. If our population were as dense as Rhode

nection, that nine-tenths of the people south of the Platte, in what is now called Nebraska, desire this annexation to Kansas."

In the further discussion of the bill for admission, Stephen A. Douglas, January 19, 1861, summed up the trouble as follows:

"There is no necessity for delaying this bill as it would be delayed by the adoption of the amendment. The senator from Missouri well knows that this Kansas question has been here for years, and no consideration on earth could suffice to stop it in this body three years ago, when it came under the Lecompton constitution. It was not stopped then to be amended for the want of judiciary or any other clauses; but it was forced through. We are told, first, that Kansas must be kept out because her northern boundary is not right, when it is the same now as it was then; next, that she must be kept out because the southern boundary is not right, though it is the same now as it was then; again, she must be kept out because of the Indian treaties, though the same objections existed then as now; again, she must be kept out because she has not population enough, though she has three times as many people as were there then; and, finally, this bill must be delayed now because it does not contain a judiciary clause. I do not understand why these constant objections are being interposed to the admission of Kansas now, when none of them were presented in regard to the Lecompton constitution, three years ago, nor in regard to the admission of Oregon, which has since taken place. It seems to me that the fate of Kansas is a hard one; and it is necessary for these senators to explain why they make the distinction in their action between Kansas and Oregon, instead of my explaining why I do not make the distinction between them."<sup>38</sup>

July 22, 1882, a reunion of the members of the constitutional convention was held at Wyandotte. Benjamin F. Simpson and John A. Martin made speeches. Martin was secretary of the convention, and afterwards served as colonel of the Eighth Kansas, and two terms as governor. He said in his address that two influences induced the decision against the South Platte, "one political and the other local and material. Many Republicans feared that the South Platte country was, or would be likely to become, Democratic. Lawrence and Topeka both aspired to be the state capital, and their influence was against annexation, because they feared it would throw the center of population far north of the Kaw."<sup>39</sup> We quote:

"Each party, I think, was guilty of one blunder it afterwards seriously regretted—the Republicans in refusing to include the South Platte country

Island at this time we would have about thirty-eight million; as dense as Massachusetts, we would have thirty-four million; as dense as New Jersey we would have twenty-five million; as dense as Connecticut we would have eighteen million; as dense as Pennsylvania we would have fourteen million; as dense as Maryland we would have twelve million; as dense as Ohio we would have ten million; as dense as Illinois we would have nine million, and as Indiana we would have six and a half million. The population of Rhode Island is now 470 to the square mile; of Massachusetts 420 to the square mile; of New Jersey, 300 to the square mile; others of the extreme eastern states are following close in the wake, while the population of Kansas to the square mile is but 20. If we go to the European countries, the most densely populated is Belgium, with a population of 565 to the square mile; England the next, with a population of 500 to the square mile; Italy with a population of 280 to the square mile; Germany with a population of 238 to the square mile; Austria with a population of 208 to the square mile, and France with a population of 186 to the square mile. . . . It has been demonstrated that sufficient food can be produced on five acres of Kansas land to support a family of ten; or, in other words, one acre of very rich land will support two people. It is not an extravagant thing to say that the fifty million acres of land which Kansas contains will support a population of twenty million people. . . . Those living to-day, who have not yet attained to the age of majority, will likely see a population in Kansas more dense than it is at the present time in the state of Ohio, and this would mean a population of eight million people."

In an address to the Kansas Club, New York, January 29, 1910, David J. Brewer, associate justice of the supreme court of the United States, made the statement that in looking through some old papers recently, he came across a life insurance policy which he carried in 1864, while living at Leavenworth, which was indorsed thus: "Permission to live in Kansas granted."

NOTE 38.—Congressional Globe, 2d Sess., 36th Cong., p. 466.

NOTE 39.—Martin's Addresses, p. 25.



within the boundaries of Kansas; the Democrats in refusing to sign the constitution they had labored diligently to perfect. I speak of what I consider the great mistake of the Republicans with all the more frankness, because I was at the time in hearty sympathy with their action; but I feel confident that no Republican member is living to-day who does not deplore that decision. And I am equally confident that within a brief time after the convention adjourned there were few Democratic members who did not seriously regret their refusal to sign the constitution."

I think the judgment of the people to-day would be that the convention did very well; that for homogeneity of people and interests, the boundary lines of Kansas encompass, encircle, surround and hold more contentment and happiness than any other equal extent of territory. Imagine a northern boundary line as crooked as the Platte river, and a southern boundary as crooked as the Kansas and Smoky Hill. Imagine what an unwieldy and incongruous lot of people and territory there would be from the Platte to the south line of Kansas, and from the Missouri river to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Fifty years of development and history show that the convention made the state just right. Furthermore, we have never heard of any unsatisfactory results from the shape of Nebraska, nor of any failure on the part of Nebraska people to manage the Platte river. I think that the Wyandotte convention, after fifty years, is entitled to the plaudit, "Well done, good and faithful servants." When we recall that Kansas is one of but twelve states in the Union that has lived under one constitution fifty years, the Wyandotte convention surely has this approbation.

The following states have had their present constitutions in use for fifty years or more, barring amendments from time to time submitted to the people: Connecticut, since 1818; Delaware, 1831; Indiana, 1851; Iowa, 1857; Kansas, 1859; Maine, 1819; Massachusetts, 1820; Minnesota, 1857; Ohio, 1851; Oregon, 1857; Rhode Island, 1842; Wisconsin, 1848. In all of these, practically, there has been agitation looking toward constitutional revision, and in some instances constitutional conventions have met and revised the constitutions, but the revision has been rejected by the people. For nearly 200 years Rhode Island did business under her charter, obtained from Charles II in 1663, and it was not until September, 1842, that a constitutional convention met and framed a constitution, which was ratified by the people of that state.

Of the members of the Wyandotte convention there still remain with us: John T. Burris, of Olathe, aged 81 years; Benjamin F. Simpson, of Paola, aged 73 years; C. B. McClellan, of Oskaloosa, aged 87 years; S. D. Houston, of Salina, aged 91 years; Samuel E. Hoffman, 4450 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo., aged 75 years; and Robert Cole Foster, of Denison, Tex., aged 74 years. Their work was adopted by the people of the territory October 4, 1859, by a vote of 10,421 for to 5530 against. [Samuel D. Houston died February 28, 1910, and Robert Cole Foster died January 6, 1910.]

In 1855 the territorial legislature of Kansas was in session at Shawnee Mission, only six miles from the now center of Kansas City, Mo., and the Missouri legislature was in session at Jefferson City. In a sketch of Kansas City, Mo., published by Judge H. C. McDougall in 1898,<sup>40</sup> he says that "As one of the many evidences of the fatherly interest which the citizens of Missouri then had in the young territory of Kansas, it may be noted in pass-

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NOTE 40.—Charter and Revised Ordinances of Kansas City, Mo., p. xvi.

ing that Hon. Mobillion W. McGee, a citizen of this state, who then resided where Dr. J. Feld now lives, out at Westport, was a distinguished and no doubt useful member of that territorial legislature at Shawnee Mission. It would have been greatly to the interest of the proslavery party in Kansas to get Kansas City into that territory. The Missouri statesmen were then anxious to further the ends of their proslavery brethren in Kansas, and Col. Robert T. Van Horn, and a then distinguished citizen of the territory of Kansas (whose name I cannot mention because for thirty years he and his family have been warm personal friends of mine), agreed that it would be a good thing all around to detach Kansas City from Missouri and attach it to Kansas territory. Hence, after visiting and conferring with the legislatures of Missouri and Kansas territory, and being thoroughly satisfied that the Kansas territorial legislature would ask and the Missouri legislature grant a cession upon the part of the latter to the former of all that territory lying west and north of the Big Blue river from the point at which it crosses the Kansas line out near Old Santa Fe to its mouth, Colonel Van Horn was left to look after the legislatures and my other venerable friend was posted off to Washington to get the consent of Congress to the cession. Congress was also at that time intensely proslavery, and through Senator David R. Atchison, Gen. B. F. Stringfellow and others, the Congressional consent to the desired change could easily have been obtained. While agreeing upon everything else as to the rise and fall of this scheme, yet Colonel Van Horn says that upon arriving at Washington, our Kansas friend met and fell in love with a lady with whom he took a trip to Europe, and was not heard from in these parts for over two years." And that is how Kansas missed having one of the greatest cities to be on the continent. But there was then not ten-thousand-dollar front-foot land in those hills or timber.

In 1879 there was again great interest in a movement on the part of Kansas City, Mo., for annexation.<sup>41</sup> The Kansas legislature passed a concurrent resolution declaring that the citizens of Kansas were not opposed to such a movement, and authorized the appointment of a committee of eight, three from the senate and five from the house, to investigate the subject. A memorial<sup>42</sup> was presented to the legislature, signed by George M. Shelley, mayor of Kansas City, and three councilmen, and a committee of five citizens, in which it was said: "We assure your honorable body that our people are earnest and sincere in their desire for annexation, and should the question be submitted to the electors of the territory proposed to be annexed, it would be ratified by a virtually unanimous vote. Already a memorial to the Missouri legislature praying for such a submission of the question has been circulated and largely signed by our people, and will be duly presented by our representatives for the action of that honorable body." On the 7th of March a delegation of 125 representatives of the business and commercial interests of Kansas City visited Topeka. A great reception was held, and speeches were made by Governor St. John, Speaker Sidney Clarke,

NOTE 41.—Senate concurrent resolution No. 6, introduced by T. B. Murdock, passed the senate January 21, 1879, and was concurred in by the house the next day, and the original manuscript is now in the files of the secretary of state. The *Kansas City Times* suggested the annexation movement in its issue of December 14, 1878, and January 1, 1879, gave a full front page to the subject, with map of the territory proposed to be annexed, and interviews with prominent citizens; January 5 the *Times* printed Kansas and Missouri newspaper comments, and the issues of March 6, 7 and 8 devote considerable space to the visit of the Kansas City delegation to Topeka, and the reception and proceedings of the legislature.

NOTE 42.—Kansas Legislature, 1879. House Journal, p. 1100.

Lieut.-gov. L. U. Humphrey and Col. D. S. Twitchell. The Kansas City guests further resolved: "That we are more than ever convinced of the great and mutual advantages that would accrue to Kansas City and Kansas from a more intimate union with the young Empire state." The Kansas City *Times* of March 7 published a map showing the change in the line desired by the people of that city. The proposed line followed the course of the Big Blue from a point on the state line near the southeast corner of Johnson county, running slightly east of north to the Missouri river, at this last point being about six miles east, comprising about sixty square miles of territory. It is highly probable the movement never reached Jefferson City. The Kansas legislature asked Congress to order a resurvey of this east line, and John R. Goodin introduced a bill, but nothing ever came of it.

Verily "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will," as Mr. Shakespeare said. Charles Sumner thus described our situation.<sup>43</sup> "The middle spot of North America, . . . calculated to nurture a powerful and generous people, worthy to be a central pivot of American institutions." William H. Seward said:<sup>44</sup> "Kansas is the Cinderella of the American family." Surely we were cuffed about like a household drudge, and now we are feeding and leading the world. Again, Seward said in Lawrence, September 26, 1860:<sup>45</sup> "Men will come up to Kansas as they go up to Jerusalem. This shall be a sacred city." Henry Ward Beecher, whose Bibles and rifles are a part of our history, said:<sup>46</sup> "There is no monument under heaven on which I would rather have my name inscribed than on this goodly state of Kansas." Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield, Ill., June 27, 1857, said:<sup>47</sup> "Look, Douglas, and see yonder people fleeing—see the full columns of brave men stopped—see the press and the type flying into the river—and tell me what does this! It is your squatter sovereignty! Let slavery spread over the territories and God will sweep us with a brush of fire from this solid globe." At our quarter centennial celebration, held in 1879, John W. Forney said:<sup>48</sup> "If I had been commanded to choose one spot on the globe upon which to illustrate human development under the influence of absolute liberty, I could have chosen no part of God's footstool so interesting as Kansas. . . . Yesterday an infant, to-day a giant, to-morrow—who can tell?"

These excerpts will show the inspiration under which Kansas was born. The character of the proposed state, her institutions, a high idea of public policy and morality, gave tone to all the discussion, marred only by a suspicion on the part of some whether she could in a material sense maintain it all.

And so the only trouble we have ever had about the boundary lines of Kansas has been from the people on the outside endeavoring to get in.

NOTE 43.—Sumner's "Crime against Kansas," U. S. Senate, May 19, 1856.

NOTE 44.—Seward's Works, new edition, vol. 4, p. 617.

NOTE 45.—Ibid. p. 396.

NOTE 46.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, 1886, p. 1035.

NOTE 47.—Ibid. p. 170.

NOTE 48.—Old Settlers' meeting, Bismarck Grove, 1880. Kansas memorial, p. 36.



## THE EAST BOUNDARY LINE OF KANSAS.

By WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, in the *Kansas City Journal*, March 6, 1899.

**I** NOTICE that the old controversy concerning the state line between the states of Kansas and Missouri has broken out afresh this winter. The Kansas legislature has been asked to appropriate the sum of \$5000 to pay the expenses of a suit to settle the matter in the courts. Perhaps it would be as well that this be done. The result will settle nothing not already known to any person and every person having investigated the matter.

In 1884 this matter was all threshed over. At that time many Kansans would consent to no less than six miles of Missouri territory. As investigation proceeded the claim narrowed until the foot of Broadway, in Kansas City, Mo., was fixed as the point beyond which no Kansan could honorably retreat. I was county clerk of Wyandotte county, Kansas, at that time, and an ardent supporter of the Kansas claim—until I made an investigation of the matter. In that year I made an accurate and correct map and plat of every tract of land in Wyandotte county, Kansas, and also prepared an accurate description of each tract, for the tax rolls of the county. It was necessary that I should locate definitely the state line. The map published herewith I have made from notes and information gathered by me at that time, and every figure of it can be verified by official records in the public offices in Wyandotte and Jackson counties, unless such records have since been lost or mislaid. These records are only certified copies of the original surveys of said counties, and the originals are on file in the General Land Office of the United States. They may be inspected by any interested citizen.

The west boundary line of the state of Missouri is the east boundary line of the state of Kansas. The boundaries of the state of Missouri as they exist to-day were fixed by act of Congress, March 6, 1820. Said act describes the western boundary of Missouri as follows: “. . . thence west along the same, to a point where the said parallel is intersected by a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river.” (Land Laws of the U. S. of a Local or Temporary Character, Washington, 1884, vol. 1, p. 418.) This “meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river,” was surveyed and established in 1823 by Joseph C. Brown, and from that day to this has been recognized as the official state line.

After that date and during the progress of the public land surveys portions of the boundary line were retraced by John Lampton and other United States deputy surveyors, the old corners recognized and reestablished, and the lines of the public land surveys closed on the boundary line made by Joseph C. Brown.

The official plats of the public land surveys, both in Missouri and Kansas, show the connections with the mile monuments established in this survey of the boundary line as established by Joseph C. Brown in 1823.

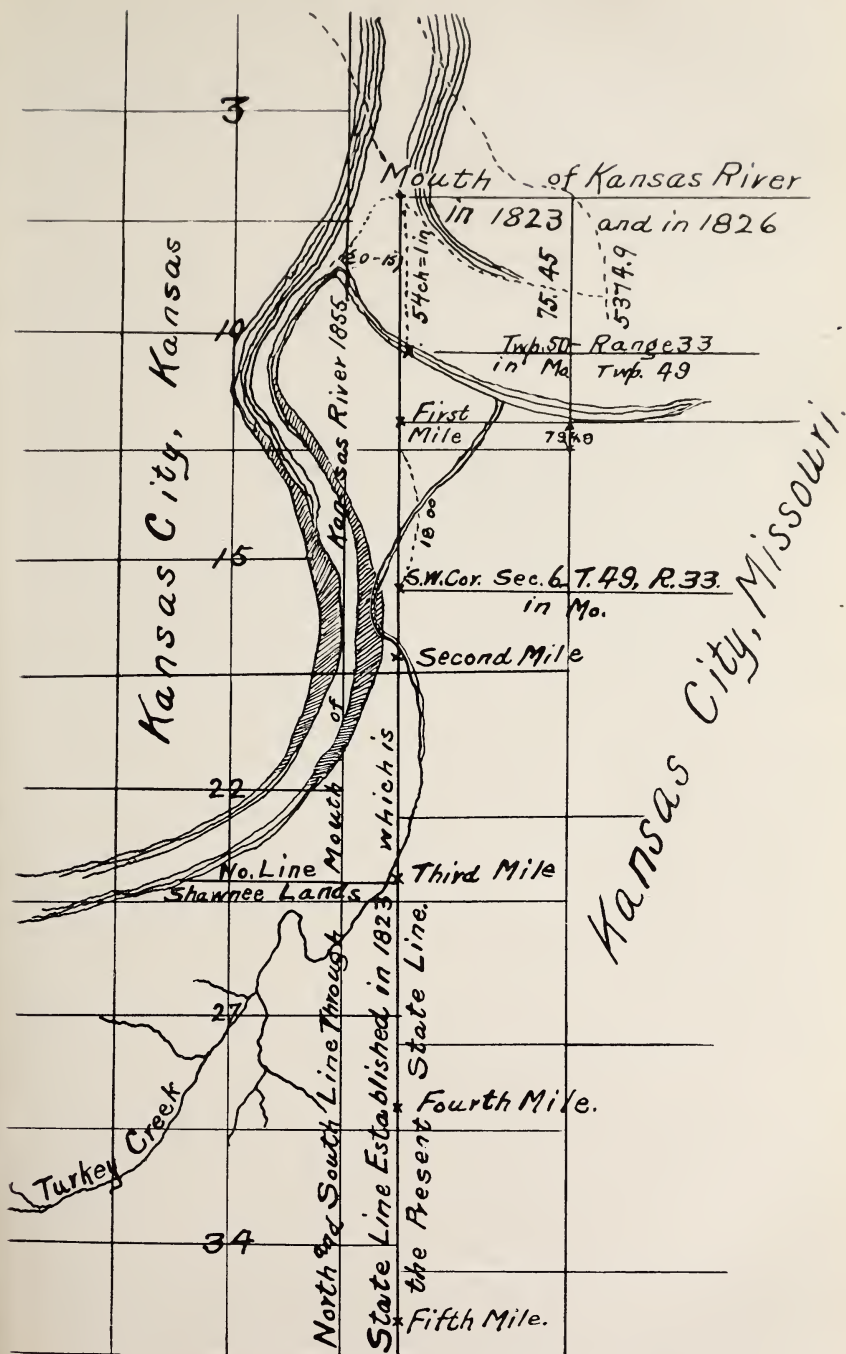
The public land surveys of Jackson county, Missouri, were commenced in 1818. The greater portion of the surveys were executed during the years 1826 and 1827. Township 48 north, range 32 west, was surveyed in 1843. All the surveys along the state line were made prior to or during 1827.

The corners of the township and the sections thereof were established on the "meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river," as established by Joseph C. Brown in 1823. These township and section corners are in existence now. They are well known. The civil engineers and surveyors of both Jackson county, Missouri, and Wyandotte county, Kansas, have them definitely located, and use them in their work of surveying every week in the year, perhaps every day in the year. Remember, they were fixed and established prior to 1827. They are of record in the General Land Office of the United States, and certified copies of them are in the public offices of Jackson county, or were there when I was county clerk of Wyandotte county, Kansas.

The only question that can arise which would affect the west boundary of Missouri would be that of the exact location of the "middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river," in 1820. As no attempt was made to fix this point until 1823, the location made by Joseph C. Brown in that year must hold until it is conclusively shown that the mouth of the Kansas river was changed between the years 1820 and 1823. No claim of this kind has ever been made. The mouth of the Kansas river, in some geologic age, passed now some thousands of centuries, evidently occupied all the space between the bluffs of Kansas City, Mo., and those of Kansas City, Kan.; but the Missouri river then occupied all the space between the bluffs at Kansas City and those some miles north, in Clay county. If the Kansas river ever flowed into the Missouri at any point north of its present mouth it was long enough prior to 1823 to allow a forest of giant cottonwoods and sycamores to grow in its old bed before that date. The field notes and plats of the original surveys of that part of Jackson county along the state line showed the land to have been covered with heavy forest trees. They remained there until within the memory of persons still living.

The mouth of the Kansas river was definitely and very accurately located in 1804. The following quotation is from the History of the Expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark (edition of 1814, vol. 1, p. 18): "26th [June] . . . after nine and three-quarters miles we encamped at the upper point of the mouth of the river Kansas; here we remained two days, during which we made the necessary observations, recruited the party, and repaired the boat. The river Kansas takes its rise in the plains between the Arkansas and Platte rivers, and pursues a course generally east till its junction with the Missouri, which is in latitude 38°, 31', 13"; here it is 340½ yards wide, though it is wider a short distance above the mouth. The Missouri itself is about 500 yards in width; the point of union is low and subject to inundations for 250 yards, it then rises a little above high-water mark, and continues so as far back as the hills. On the south of the Kansas the hills or highlands come within one mile and a half of the river; on the north of the Missouri they do not approach nearer than several miles."

Here is a description of the country about the mouth of the Kansas river which is not far from a good description at the present time. The field notes and plats of the original surveys of the lands of Jackson county about the mouth of the river show the distance to the bluffs to be about the same as given by Lewis and Clark. The claim that the Kansas river ever entered the Missouri near the present Union depot is here settled, by the





language "rises a little above high-water mark, and continues so as far back as the hills."

The contention that the mouth of the Kansas river was changed by the flood of 1844, and those following, cannot possibly affect the location of the state line even as established, for the reason that the line was established and fixed more than twenty years before the occurrence of the said flood; and for the further reason that it was not changed on account of any change in the mouth of the Kansas river caused by said floods, if any change was caused thereby.

No attempt has been made to change the line since its establishment in 1823. It would be of no consequence whatever if it could be shown conclusively that the mouth of the Kansas river was at the foot of Broadway in Kansas City, Mo., in 1830, and that it remained there until 1855, when the surveys of Wyandotte county, Kansas, were made, unless it could be shown that it was there in 1820, and so remained until after 1823, and was entirely ignored by Joseph C. Brown in his survey of the state line in that year. Neither would it be of any consequence to show that this same point was as far west as the town of Muncie, in Wyandotte county, unless this same fact could be shown in connection. That Joseph C. Brown made a proper location of the mouth of the Kansas river and the state line in 1823 is beyond question. The evidence that he did so is overwhelming; there is absolutely no evidence to the contrary. There is an entire absence of motive for any erroneous location. The country was uninhabited and supposed by many people to be uninhabitable. The Missouri lands could be bought for \$1.25 per acre, and so little demand for them existed at even that price that one township was not sectionized until 1843.

Some contention is made by Kansas that the survey of 1855, when the Wyandotte county lands were surveyed, was erroneous in so far as it concerned the state line. It has also been claimed that the mouth of the Kansas river as it existed at that time was made the initial point of the state line. Neither of these contentions can hold; and the proofs that they have no foundation in fact, but are squarely contradicted by conclusive evidence, exist in the offices of the register of deeds and the county surveyor of Wyandotte county, as well as in the state auditor's office in Topeka. Let any man examine these certified copies of the original surveys of Wyandotte county lands made in 1855. It is there shown that all the surveys of Wyandotte county were closed on the state line as established in 1823, and upon which the surveys of Jackson county, Missouri, were closed. Nothing else could be shown unless a vacant and unsurveyed strip was left between the line of 1823 and that of 1855, or the corners of townships and sections of Jackson county, Missouri, moved west and closed up the mythical line of 1855, a supposition absurd and ridiculous. The township and section corners of the Jackson county lands as surveyed in 1826 and 1827 were never extended west, but remain as originally fixed. And the Wyandotte county townships and sections correspond with them, meet them, and are closed upon them. The survey of 1855 did survey a line south from the mouth of the Kansas river as it then existed, and marked such line upon the plat of the survey, where it may be seen by one and all, but they made no attempt to establish it as the state line. The distance west from the true state line, of this line south from the mouth of the Kansas river in 1855, is set down on the survey as twenty chains and fifteen links, and Fowler's pack-

ing house, Armour's packing house, the stockyards and most of old Kansas City, Kan., is east of this line, but I have not heard of any Kansan claiming that these institutions were in Missouri. The claim that the state line has been changed since 1823, or that it was then erroneously located, is a preposterous absurdity.

The original surveys and plats all show that Turkey creek emptied into the Missouri river just below the present location of Dold's packing house. A part of the old bed is now used as a dump just east of Abernathy's warehouse, on Ninth street. William Mulkey's recollections of the location of this stream are confirmed by the statements of Gov. William Walker in his journals. William Walker was the principal man in the Wyandot nation. He settled on the banks of Jersey creek, in what is now Sunnyside addition, in Kansas City, Kan., in 1843. He was elected provisional governor of Nebraska territory in 1853, when all of what is now Kansas and Nebraska and parts of Colorado and Wyoming was called Nebraska. He was a very careful man in his statements, a man of great ability and splendid attainments. He kept a daily journal for thirty years, commencing in 1844, of portions of which I have procured copies, and will include in my publication on early times in Wyandotte county, etc., and called "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," to be issued inside of the next sixty days.

Governor Walker says, in his entry on Saturday, March 10, 1849: "Cloudy, warm and foggy. Prospect of more rain. Went to town and stayed all day. The Kansas river still rising. The Turkey creek bridge gone." And on Saturday, August 20, 1850: "Clear and warm. Went to Kansas, and on my way found the ferry boat at Turkey creek sunk. After hard labor (and I bearing the principal part) we succeeded in getting her afloat; then commenced the process of bailing with an old tin kettle with as many holes as it had seen years, and their name was legion."

The term "Kansas" in the above entry means Kansas City, Mo., which was always called "Kansas" by the Wyandots.

The measurements of the old surveys about Turkey creek were verified in the survey of the lands belonging to Silas Armstrong's estate and D. E. James in sections 14 and 23, township 11, range 25, Wyandotte county, Kansas. I have a copy of the plat of said survey, and many of the field notes. The survey was made by order of the district court of Wyandotte county, Kansas, and the number of the cause in said court is 1066. The files in said cause are open to public inspection. The lands involved in this cause are now the most valuable in Wyandotte county, embracing all of old Kansas City, Kan., and if any error had been made it would have been discovered long ago. On this plat are marked the corners of the sections of the survey of lands of Jackson county made in 1826 and 1827, and the survey of the above Kansas lands connects with these Missouri corners.

The old Wyandots that I have consulted on this matter always said that the mouth of the Kansas river was changed very little by the flood of 1844. While it would be of no consequence if it had, I mention this fact to correct wild statements to the effect that some of the Wyandots said the Kansas river emptied into the Missouri river below the Union depot. No Wyandot ever made such a statement to me, and I have talked to almost all of them. The claim that they had said so is refuted by their names for the Missouri river and for the site of Kansas City, Mo. They call the Missouri river "Kyooh-tahn-deh-yooh-rah." Some of the older ones pronounce it

"Kyooh-tehn-den-doo-rih," and this is perhaps the older and better form of writing it. They claim that their people knew of and named this river centuries ago. The name signifies "muddy river," or "muddy water," or perhaps it might be rendered "yellow water," or "yellow river." But the majority of them say it means "muddy river."

They call the site of Kansas City, Mo., "Kyooh-rah-doo-hih." This signifies "the point where the rock projects into the Kyooh-tahn-deh-yoo-rah," or the point where the cliff stands into the Kyooh-tahn-deh-yoo-rah. They so call it because the bluff stood boldly out into the waters of the Missouri at that point. The principle that accurate descriptions are embedded in Indian names is recognized by all students and scholars.



# MANUFACTURES.

## A HISTORY OF MANUFACTURES IN THE KANSAS DISTRICT.<sup>1</sup>

Prepared by RICHARD L. DOUGLAS,<sup>2</sup> LL. B., A. B., University of Kansas, 1910.

### ESTIMATION OF MATERIALS.

The principal difficulty that the investigator of this district has to contend with is the utter lack of any secondary works upon which to base his investigations. The work has to be practically all gathered from the original sources. So far as the writer has been able to discover, this is the first attempt to outline the development of manufactures of this part of the country, and with but two or three exceptions this is as true of even individual industries as it is of the whole of manufactures. There are a considerable number of local county and town histories in existence which represent the principal counties and towns in the district that this paper has attempted to cover, but without exception they are barren of manufacturing information, with the exception of the histories of Omaha and Kansas City, listed below. Of all the histories of the state of Kansas, and there are a score, but two pay even passing attention to manufactures, and the rest confine their attention to the political side of the history.<sup>3</sup>

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NOTE 1 (Author's note).—This outline of the development of manufacturing in the midcontinent gas belt and adjoining districts was prepared for the Carnegie Institution, of Washington, as a part of their economic history of the United States, and it is printed at this time by their permission. The work was done at the University of Kansas under the direction of the department of economics, as a part of the work required for the degree of Master of Arts in that institution.

Parts of the work are necessarily brief, and the paper can be but little more than an outline for more detailed study of conditions. The need of more attention to this side of the history of the Middle West is painfully apparent to the most superficial observer, and if this outline proves of assistance in the furtherance of such work the author will be satisfied.

NOTE 2.—RICHARD LEROY DOUGLAS was born on a farm near Columbus, Cherokee county, Kansas, February 9, 1884. His father was George W. Douglas, a native of Iowa, who settled in Cherokee county in 1868, and his mother Thula (Ellis) Douglas, a native of Tennessee, who came to Cherokee county, Kansas, with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Driscoll Ellis, in 1879. His parents were married in 1882 and still live on a farm near Columbus. Mr. Douglas graduated from the Cherokee county high school in 1903, and entered the University of Kansas in September, 1904. He graduated from the School of Law in June, 1909, and was admitted to the bar the same month. He graduated from the University in February, 1910, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and received the degree of Master of Arts in the following June. During the last year of his course he held the University fellowship in sociology and economics.

NOTE 3.—

"My theme to-day is History—not the shelf  
Whereon she sets her idols, but herself.  
If I examine History aright,  
I read of one long and unbroken fight—  
One thrilling drama; every scene and act  
Contains the record of a city sacked.  
From time to time the curtain drops again  
On cities blazing, with defenders slain;

"Yet, ere their ashes have had time to cool,  
They start again to opulence and rule.  
To what strange power, so vitalized and strong,  
Do these recurrent energies belong?  
Whence come the latent forces that re-arise,  
From ash and wave, the palace and the pier?

The publications of the University Geological Survey of Kansas are the only real compilations of manufacturing statistics by local investigators, and they are on the whole quite satisfactory as suggestive sources of materials. They are careful and accurate, so far as they go, and to that extent are of considerable aid. The other states of the section under consideration do not have any publications that approach them for completeness and value in either this or any other branch of the work. Special editions of a number of newspapers in the better towns of the state have been of considerable service, and, for the most part, the information therein contained has been found reliable.

Where practicable the investigation has been supplemented by personal visits and interviews, but it must be admitted that as a means of collecting information that method is a failure for the purposes of such a work as this. As a means of verifying tentative conclusions, reached from other sources of information, however, interviews and visits have served an important purpose in the preparation of this discussion.

This district is in the beginning of what should be a period of considerable manufacturing importance, and it is to be hoped that a growing appreciation of the importance of manufactures in this prairie region will stimulate an attempt to chronicle the growth of the various lines of industry that the fuel region is eminently fitted to pursue. If this outline proves of assistance in this it will not be in vain.

## INTRODUCTORY.

While it is the intention of this discussion to cover generally the group of prairie states which lie between the Mississippi Valley states proper and the Rocky Mountain states, Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, it has been found advisable to limit the work slightly in territorial extent. Such a territory would include the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma, with Texas in the horizon on the south. Such a strip of territory, however, does not present a uniform basis for consideration, either from the point of view of resources, of settlement, population or development. Some parts

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"No answer back the old historian brings;  
His tale is but of battles and of kings.  
His prose and verse were written to proclaim  
Some useless battle or some kingly name—  
No honor given to the brains or toil  
That pluck the wealth from mountain, sea and soil.  
They leave that out—but throw distinguished light  
Upon the least minutiae of a fight.

. . . . .  
"Since Cecrops landed on the Grecian shore,  
Brought on a stock—started a country store—  
Picked out a site by some prophetic guess,  
And boomed old Athens to a grand success,  
The human mind has always sought renown  
In founding states, or building up a town.

. . . . .  
"Yet ancient chroniclers forget to state  
What built the cities, and what made them great.

. . . . .  
"And History, with proud patrician frown,  
Ignores a power that never burned a town.

. . . . .  
"Now, when the truth is told, it shows two things:  
First, states are rich and great in spite of kings;  
And next, that nations opulent are made  
By neither kings nor battles, but by trade.

of that group of states just enumerated have no manufacturing interests that entitle them to consideration except locally, and do not even attempt to be self-supplying. Perhaps the only exception to this rule is the flour industry, which is distributed throughout the group as far south as Texas.

For these reasons the investigations have been confined largely to Kansas and the growing industries of the new state of Oklahoma, whose development is fast becoming important. The further reason exists that these states are representative of the group having all the agricultural characteristics of the others, and having the further advantage of mineral and fuel resources, and the geographical location that enables them to put any manufactures that they produce into the markets further south and west. These advantages, which the other states do not possess to any great extent, make the Kansas-Oklahoma district of real importance as a manufacturing section, and at the same time the discussion of industries and conditions in it includes all the more important phenomena that are common to the other prairie states.

For all practical purposes the manufacturing district proper, if the scattered flour mills and a few minor industries are left out, is confined to a strip of territory not more than 200 miles wide at its greatest extent, and extending from central Oklahoma to Omaha, Neb. Geographical lines cannot be observed entirely in this limitation by bounds nor include all the activities that are related and belong to the prairie section, but it is necessary to include a little of Missouri. Kansas City, for instance, is economically a part of Kansas, and typical of that state. The lead and zinc mining region of the Joplin district, in southwestern Missouri, is also to be included in this territory, on account of the part that it plays in the smelting industry of Kansas and Oklahoma.

It is also to be observed that there is little of interest for the student of manufactures west of the middle of the state of Kansas, or along the line of natural division between the purely agricultural region and the outskirts of the fuel belt on the east. The discussion in reality resolves itself into a

"Old Business is the monarch. He rules both  
The opulence of nations and their growth.

"He builds their cities and he paves their streets,  
He feeds their armies and equips their fleets.  
Kings are his puppets, and *his* arm alone  
Contains the muscle that can prop a throne.

. . . . .

"Old History, stand up. We wish to ask  
Why you so meanly have performed your task.  
Under your arm you have a showy book,  
In which we now insist that we may look.

"We'd like to see what's in that gilt-edged tome;  
Say, did Old Business ever reign in Rome?  
You say he did n't? Well, may we inquire  
If the aforesaid Business reigned at Tyre?  
'Don't believe he did?' Well, look the index through.  
And see if he is mentioned *once* by you.  
'Can't find his name? Well, that is somewhat queer.  
Say, of Old Business did you ever hear?"

"You never did? Well, I'm inclined to think  
Pens full of pigs, and not pens full of ink,  
Should be the object of your future skill,  
And that your book should feed the paper mill.  
O History! the language may be broad,  
But we must here impeach you as a fraud."

*Extract from "A Corn Poem," by Eugene F. Ware, July 4, 1876.*



consideration of a district that is a part of at least four states, and includes only a part of any of them. As the paper proceeds it will be seen that the presence of the fuel supply in the shape of coal, and later of gas and oil, in conjunction with other mineral wealth, is the distinguishing feature of this district, and is responsible for its economic differentiation from the other portions of the prairie region.

The manufacturing history of parts of even this smaller section dates back but a few years. This is true especially of the Oklahoma district, in which the development has been accomplished principally since 1900. In this respect the recency of the growth of manufactures in that part of the district lacks the formative period that will be observed in the discussion of the industries in the state of Kansas. There is to be observed a very general expansion of all lines of industry in a few years about 1890, accompanied by a considerable centralization in fewer and larger establishments, in which the manufactures of Kansas lost their experimental character. The centralization was not accomplished, however, without interruption, probably owing to the check that the panic of 1893 put on all extensions, and there was a very noticeable break between the beginning of the movement and the centralization that has been going on since 1900. In this latter extension the industries of Oklahoma have taken a part, but not so noticeably as those of Kansas. There they were builded on a par with the partly centralized institution of the Kansas industries, and so can be left out of the early discussion.

The development will be followed chronologically, so far as possible, after a preliminary discussion of the natural resources of the district which enter into the growth of manufactures. Specific industries will then be considered in some detail, for the purpose of bringing out the peculiar phenomena in each.

#### RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY.

As the later development of the subject in the following chapters will show, the growth of industry from the first beginnings of manufactures has followed with fair consistency the development of the natural resources of the country. With few exceptions, there has been no attempt to foster manufactures for which there was not a natural basis. This characteristic can only be appreciated in the later discussion in the light of a brief summary of the natural resources of the region. This preliminary section will be brief, for the reason that, in connection with the mineral industries to be discussed later, much of the material will be touched upon again.

At the period of the eighth census, 1860, Kansas was the only part of the section under discussion that had developed any manufactures that deserve mention. The country was but sparsely settled, and the chief occupation was, as it is to the present time, tilling the soil. The settlers were attracted to the new country by its adaptability to agricultural purposes. Corn was the leading crop, as it still is in the regions that were settled at that time—the fertile valleys of the streams of the eastern part of the state. The census of 1860 shows that the corn crop was far in the lead. The reported yield was over five and one-half million bushels,<sup>4</sup> while the wheat crop was under two hundred thousand bushels, and of oats the state produced less than a hundred thousand bushels.

Outside of the section of the river valleys of the northern and eastern

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NOTE 4.—Fifteenth Biennial Rept. Kan. Board of Ag., p. 1196.

parts of the state lack of rainfall was a serious hindrance to agriculture for at least twenty years after this time, and the development of the western section as a wheat-growing country did not begin very early. There were three fairly distinct belts in this area, only one of which had an average rainfall sufficient to make farming a certain thing one year with another. In the eastern portion the precipitation in 1880 was about thirty-three inches annually; in the central portion of the state it was but twenty-five inches, and further west not more than twenty inches.<sup>5</sup> A contemporary writer says of the conditions: "The experience of the past years has shown the settlers in western Kansas that wheat raising is never a sure thing, and that other crops may be more profitably and surely raised."<sup>6</sup> It was not until the introduction of hard winter wheat, late in the '70's, that the section began to assume importance as a wheat-growing country.<sup>7</sup>

Stock raising and feeding, however, was profitable and important during the period before the cultivation of the soil and other influences led to an increase of rainfall,<sup>8</sup> and, as will be seen later, it led to the development of important manufactures in the meat-packing cities along the Missouri river. The prairies were covered with an abundance of grass good for grazing until November each year, and the abundant corn crops that could find no outside market could be used most profitably in feeding through the winter months. Corn which would sell for only fifteen to twenty-five cents a bushel in the markets realized in this way as high as forty and forty-five cents in some instances.<sup>9</sup> This was especially convenient for the farmers off the lines of railway, which were still few as late as 1880, for they could drive their cattle and hogs to the railway, or even to market, where it would be wholly impracticable, if not impossible, to market the corn necessary to feed the same stock.

Although practically all of the territory included in this region is a part of the great middle western plains, and is in general rolling prairie, the streams, especially of northern and eastern Kansas, were in the early days important locally in a manufacturing way. In the first place the river valleys contained a not inconsiderable quantity of oak, black walnut, cottonwood, hickory and like timber, that offered a convenient and comparatively cheap substitute for the more popular building lumbers, which at this time were hard to get, and were almost prohibitive in price for the first ten or fifteen years. The walnut timber which was in many places abundant, offered raw material for a considerable number of furniture factories which flourished in the eastern part of the state, at Leavenworth, Atchison, Fort Scott, and in a smaller way in numerous other little towns.<sup>10</sup>

The larger streams were, and still are to a lesser extent, of economic importance, in that they offered a cheap and convenient source of power for that class of industry which does not demand the use of heat. The first record of the number of water wheels in use is found in the Ninth Census, and according to that report there were 62 wheels in the state of Kansas<sup>11</sup>

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NOTE 5.—Kansas Hand Book, 1881, p. 14.

NOTE 6.—Ibid., p. 13.

NOTE 7.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 9, pp. 502-506. T. C. Henry's "A Fenceless Winter Wheat Field."

NOTE 8.—Kansas Hand Book, 1878, p. 6.

NOTE 9.—Ibid. 1881, p. 36.

NOTE 10.—Kansas Monthly, March, 1881, p. 40.

NOTE 11.—Census Rept., 1860, vol. 3, p. 167.

furnishing power for flour and grist mills, and for the sawmills which were scattered over the eastern part of the state. The number of these water wheels multiplied rapidly for a period of twenty years or more, before the opening of the fuel deposits and the extension of the railroads which made the coal available. In 1875 there were 79 wheels alone furnishing power for as many flour mills, and 26 more for combined saw and grist mills in Kansas,<sup>12</sup> and by the following year the number had increased to 105 of the flour mills and 33 of the saw and grist mills, not counting the large number of wheels that were turning sawmills alone.<sup>13</sup> In 1881 the total number of water powers in the state was given at 150, 110 of which were used for flouring purposes.<sup>14</sup>

From this time on for various reasons, among which the opening of the Kansas coal fields and the enlargement of the mills that had been using the water power, the number of water powers fell off rapidly, and the number at the present time is few. A few of the larger dams still remain, and are in constant operation at a profit. The fall of the Kansas river and its tributaries, and of some of the southern Kansas rivers, is great enough to afford abundant power, but as yet there have been few places where the natural power exists at a place where the demand has been great enough to justify the expenditure of enough capital to make it available.

The next natural resources in the order of development are the fuel and mineral deposits that underlie a large portion of eastern Kansas and Oklahoma and western Missouri, the latter demanding some attention in relation to this region on account of the impossibility of separating it as a unit in the history of the remaining portion. The geological formations in this section are peculiar, in that in going from east to west successive overlying formations are encountered, each of a more recent period, until the center of Kansas is passed. This feature is thought to be due to the fact that the area under consideration was the last of the mid-continent basin to emerge from the water in the ages when the elevation of the mid-continent basin was gradually connecting the Rocky Mountain region with the higher lands farther east. The center of this inland sea seems to have been in south-central Kansas, but there seems to have been successive periods of subsid-ing and emerging that make it difficult to place the limits definitely.<sup>15</sup>

In the extreme southeastern portion of the state, and covering probably forty-five square miles in Kansas, is the exposure of the Mississippian limestone, which contains the valuable lead and zinc deposits of the Joplin-Galena district. This area extends over a large part of northeastern Oklahoma, northwestern Arkansas and southwestern Missouri, in which regions it is a continuous surface formation.<sup>16</sup> In Missouri the lead and zinc deposits are found in three counties—Jasper, Newton and Lawrence<sup>17</sup>—while there are five counties in northern Arkansas, a little farther east

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NOTE 12.—Fourth Ann. Rept., State Board of Ag., Kan., 1875.

NOTE 13.—Fifth Ann. Rept., State Board of Ag., Kan., 1876.

NOTE 14.—*Kansas Magazine*, March, 1881, p. 40.

NOTE 15.—For a detailed discussion of the formations of central Kansas, see vol. III, University Geological Survey of Kansas, chap. 3, and "Geology of Kansas Salt," by Robert Hay, in Seventh Biennial Report, State Board of Agriculture, Kansas, part II, pp. 83-95.

NOTE 16.—Univ. Geol. Survey, Kan., vol. III, pp. 14-15.

NOTE 17.—Mo. Bureau Geol. and Mines, Advance Sheets, vol. X, p. 15.



than the Missouri deposits in Newton county, that are of some importance.<sup>18</sup> Later development has shown that the district extends into Oklahoma, in what was the northeastern part of the Indian Territory, contiguous to Kansas and Missouri. This region furnishes more than half the zinc ore produced in the United States,<sup>19</sup> and about one-third of the lead produced in the United States,<sup>20</sup> and since the opening up of the Kansas-Oklahoma gas region by far the largest share of this wealth of mineral is smelted and prepared for the market in the gas belt of those states.

The output of this district has been growing steadily, but with the exception of the development of the Oklahoma and Arkansas districts, which are recent, and at the same time of lesser importance as yet, the territorial extent has not been widened much for several years. There are no available sources of information on which to base an estimate of the probable duration of the life of these deposits, and it is not known whether there are extensive bodies of ore at a greater depth than has been worked. The generally accepted theory as to the origin of the lead, namely, the concentration from percolating waters,<sup>21</sup> would account for deposits at almost any depth to which the water penetrated and became quiet enough to allow the deposit of the mineral matter in the solution. Many of the mines that were worked as a shallow deposit have, it is true, been reopened and worked at a profit at a deeper level, but how long this will continue no one knows. Be that as it may, the lead and zinc deposits have been and are an important resource as a basis for manufacturing activity, and will continue in importance as long as the ore and the fuel deposits last.

Immediately overlying the Mississippian limestone, in which are found the lead and zinc deposits, and which is supposed to extend in a fairly regular manner beneath the whole Kansas-Oklahoma region,<sup>22</sup> are the great coal-bearing beds of shale that cover the surface of nearly half the state of Kansas, a large portion of Missouri and much of eastern Oklahoma. These shales, separated as they are at intervals by heavy beds of limestone, aggregate some 3,000 feet in thickness where they have not been thinned by erosion,<sup>23</sup> and are coal-bearing through their whole extent, though the product of the upper shales is not important in many cases except as supplying a local demand. The base of the Pennsylvanian system, which rests on the Mississippian limestone referred to above, is the heavy bed of shales denominated the Cherokee shales by the Kansas geologists, the heaviest shale bed in the Coal Measures,<sup>24</sup> averaging nearly 500 feet in thickness. These shales are exposed on the surface of four of the southeastern counties of Kansas, and are known to extend in a northeasterly direction into Missouri, where they are the coal-bearing strata of that state. They are exposed over a large area in eastern Oklahoma, forming the rich coal fields of that state. In Kansas, these Cherokee shales are the most important by far of the coal-bearing shales,<sup>25</sup> and all the coal from the Pittsburg-Cherokee district is found in them, as well as the surface coals in the Fort Scott district,<sup>26</sup>

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NOTE 18.—Professional Paper No. 24, U. S. Geol. Surv., p. 14.

NOTE 19.—Min. Res. U. S., 1906, p. 461.

NOTE 20.—Ibid, p. 444.

NOTE 21.—Mo. Bureau Geol. and Mines, Advance Sheets, vol. 10, pp. 8-15.

NOTE 22.—Univ. Geol. Surv. Kan., vol. III, pp. 16-19.

NOTE 23.—Ibid. p. 21.

NOTE 24.—Ibid, p. 21.

NOTE 25.—Ibid, p. 25.

NOTE 26.—Ibid, p. 140.

and the Leavenworth county deep mines,<sup>27</sup> both of which latter are in the upper Cherokee shales. These shale beds are thus the great coal-producing formations that are found in this section, and produce by far the largest share of the coal mined in Kansas.<sup>28</sup> The only other coal-bearing shale of any importance in the state, and it does not extend into any except Kansas, so far as known, is the Osage shale, 2000 feet above the Cherokee shale, which has been important in that it has both supplied a local demand, and has furnished a great deal of coal to the Santa Fe railroad.<sup>29</sup> The output of the mines in the Osage shale is, however, comparatively small in later years, since the opening of the Cherokee field to its full capacity, and is now not more than six per cent of the output of Kansas, though twenty years ago it was nearly eight per cent of the Kansas total.<sup>30</sup>

At intervals through these beds of shale, and exposed on the surface of practically all of eastern Kansas and Oklahoma at distances of not more than thirty or forty miles apart, are heavy beds of limestone that are becoming all the time more important in a manufacturing way. These beds of limestone furnish the most excellent material for the manufacture of Portland cement, and, with the shale beds either over or under them, as convenience determines, have been the base of a rapidly growing industry in the past ten years. These materials are the more valuable in that they occur in almost immediate connection with an abundant fuel supply, both of coal and natural gas, and the development of the Portland cement industry based on the fitness of the district, both in Kansas and Oklahoma, has been without precedent. In the neighborhood of Fort Scott, the first bed of limestone that was exposed above the Cherokee shales was of considerable economic importance in that it was naturally suitable for the manufacture of cement without the addition of any shales or other material, and the production of Fort Scott natural cement was one of the early industries in this part of the country.<sup>31</sup>

With the beginning of the development of the Portland cement industry in Kansas and Oklahoma since 1900, the relative importance of the Fort Scott limestone in an industrial way has diminished greatly, though it is still a factor in the cement business. With but two or three exceptions, the development of the limestone beds for the manufacture of cement has been confined to the two heavy beds that lie nearest above the heavy Cherokee shales of the Lower Coal Measures, which are known by the Kansas geologists as the Iola and the Erie limestones, but the reason seems to have been one entirely of the location of the limestone and shales with reference to fuel and railroads, and not of particular fitness of the materials themselves. There is an almost inexhaustible amount of these beds of lime and shale in the states of Kansas and Oklahoma that are perfectly suitable for the manufacture of cement. In a recent interview, Prof. Erasmus Haworth, state geologist of Kansas, said that there is enough limestone and shale in Kansas alone to supply the world with Portland cement for a million years. Further attention will be given to this subject in the later section of this work on the growth of the Portland cement industry.

In casting up the wealth that is hidden in the shales and limestones of the eastern part of Kansas and Oklahoma in the shape of vast deposits of

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NOTE 27.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. III, pp. 184, 185.

NOTE 28.—*Ibid.* p. 183.

NOTE 29.—*Ibid.* p. 192.

NOTE 30.—*Ibid.* op. p. 192.

NOTE 31.—*Ibid.* pp. 34-36.

coal and building materials, it would seem that portion of the earth had yielded up its share of the wealth of the country, but the layers of sandstone scattered through the Cherokee shales hold still another source of fuel wealth in the shape of oil and gas, that has grown to be one of the most important resources of the country in the development of manufacturing interests, and has added millions to the wealth of Kansas and Oklahoma in a decade. Oil has been of minor importance up to the present time as a fuel, only the inferior quality being used for this purpose. The abundance of gas that has been available for the last ten years has been directly responsible for the coming of the Portland cement plants and glass factories, and has revolutionized the brick and tile industry, as well as benefited to a large extent all the manufacturing interests of the eastern half of both Kansas and Oklahoma, and that district practically includes all that is of importance for manufactures up to the present time.

The oil and gas area is included within an irregular strip 40 to 50 miles wide and about 250 miles long, extending in a slightly southwesterly direction from Kansas City on the northeast to about a hundred miles south of the northern boundary of Oklahoma. Its extent is practically coincident with the surface exposure of the Coal Measures, except that it is everywhere somewhat smaller, and is included within that region. The gas and oil "sands" of this region are the layers of porous sandstones that are scattered through the lowest of the Coal Measures, the Cherokee shales already referred to; and with only three or four exceptions the whole flow of both oil and gas comes from those layers of sand,<sup>32</sup> or from the sandstones in the shales immediately above the Cherokee shales.

Differing theories as to the origin of the oil and gas in this region have been advanced, and they are of some importance in the discussion of the probability of finding oil and gas at a greater depth when the supply begins to fail. Beneath the Mississippian limestone, which underlies all the Coal Measures of this section so far as is known, it is supposed that there are regular formations of the Devonian age, and immediately beneath that formation the formations of the Silurian age,<sup>33</sup> which bear the Trenton rocks that bear the oil and gas in Indiana and the other parts of the eastern field.<sup>34</sup> Reasoning from the fact that the Trenton rocks are the producers in that region, the theory has been advanced that they are the source of the gas in this region, and that it has escaped from its original source through the faults of the Mississippian limestone and worked upward into the porous sandstones of the Cherokee shales, where the heavy fine-grained shales above confined the oil and gas from a further upward movement.<sup>35</sup> Writing on this subject in 1905, Professor Haworth said: "To assume that deep drilling in Kansas and the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) will find oil in the Trenton carries with it a double assumption, either of which is liable to be incorrect. First, it assumes that the Trenton rocks extend westward and underlie the oil territory. This is a presumption, with the known facts about evenly divided against it. Any and all stratified rocks have a limit to their extension. In places the Silurian is known to extend over a few miles

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NOTE 32.—Haworth, *Independence Reporter Magazine*

NOTE 33.—E. Haworth, *Independence Reporter, Oil and Gas Magazine*, p. 8.

NOTE 34.—*Ibid.* p. 9.

NOTE 35.—S. J. Hatch, *Kansas-Indian Territory Oil and Gas Field*, p. 13.



only, and then to cease to exist simply because they were never formed or created. We have the Silurian in the Ozark region of Missouri and Arkansas, but no one knows to a certainty that they extend as far west as Bartlesville (the heart of the Oklahoma field). The deep well at Neodesha (Kansas) penetrated formations below the Mississippian, which were probably Silurian, but about this there may be some doubt. If these rocks do not reach west to the oil field, then of course oil cannot be found within them at that place. Secondly, if the Silurian can be reached with the drill there is still room for doubt regarding their being productive of oil and gas. As above stated, they are not productive in half the places where known. Why, then, should we expect them to be productive here? In Indiana and Ohio they are particularly porous, remarkably so for limestone, and this gives an opportunity for oil and gas to get into them. To be productive they must first exist, then must be open and porous, and last must have the pores filled with oil."<sup>36</sup>

At the time Professor Haworth wrote the above there were two deep wells that had found oil and gas below the Cherokee shales of the Carboniferous age, one at Osceola, Mo., and one at Bartlesville, while a score or more of equal depths failed to find any traces.<sup>37</sup> Since then a well at Caney, Kan., got a strong flow of gas below the Mississippian limestone.<sup>38</sup>

This discussion of the probable origin is of importance in this connection only as it embodies the expression of expert opinion as to the future development of the field, and upon which the future of many of the now existing manufacturing establishments depends to a large degree. Development up to the present time has failed to show the existence of a deeper supply, but there is of course room for the finding of such fields later.<sup>39</sup> The development of the oil and gas fields will be taken up historically in a later section of the work.

There remain yet to be noticed in the list of resources two things which the Kansas-Oklahoma region owes to the workings of nature—the gypsum beds of the central portion of both states, and the vast salt beds of central Kansas. As we stated above,\* the center of the mid-continent basin is supposed to have been in the central or western part of Kansas, and it was during the time when some parts of it at least were cut off from the main body of the ocean and persisted as “dead seas” that both the gypsum and the salt were deposited by the concentration of the sea water. The deposit of gypsum in Kansas is a strip about 230 miles in length, and varies in width from 5 miles in the north to 25 in the central portion, and nearly 140 miles at the southern boundary of the state.<sup>40</sup> Continuations of this same area are known to produce gypsum in Oklahoma, and have been worked for the last ten years. The geology of Oklahoma has not been worked out sufficiently to determine the extent of the gypsum deposits there, and owing to the fact that it is nowhere regular, like a deposit of sand, limestone or

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\* *Supra*, p. 86.

NOTE 36.—E. Haworth, *Independence Reporter*, *Oil and Gas Magazine*, p. 9.

NOTE 37.—*Ibid*, p. 9.

NOTE 38.—Hatch, *Kansas-Indian Territory Oil and Gas Field*, p. 15.

NOTE 39.—See, *Bulletin 184*, U. S. Geol. Surv., by Adams; *Mineral Resources of Kan.*, 1899 and 1903; and *Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan.*, vols. III and IX, for further discussion of this subject.

NOTE 40.—*Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan.*, page 31.

shale, it will be a matter of some conjecture until the geology is carefully worked out. It is, however, known that the same conditions that led to the formation of the Kansas and Oklahoma deposits existed on southward into Texas, where gypsum mills have been in operation for several years.

The following condensed account of the formation of the gypsum deposits by Haworth will meet the needs of the present discussion: "The geologic age of a formation is no indication of the probability of its carrying gypsum. In some parts of America it is of the Silurian age (three ages older than the Kansas-Oklahoma Coal Measures), and elsewhere it occurs in the Coal Measures. The lowest part of the Permian, which immediately overlies the Coal Measures, contains the lowest of the gypsum beds in Kansas. From here upward, through almost every distinct formation of the Permian, gypsum occurs in our state (Kansas), while the Permian of Texas and the Cretaceous of Iowa have large quantities of it. . . . At the close of the Coal Measure time it seems that the greater part of the eastern half of North America existed as dry land, with considerable portions of the western half also under water. This left a great arm of the sea extending north from the Gulf of Mexico, and covering the territory now occupied by the western part of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas, and the eastern parts of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming and British Columbia.

"Throughout the time just referred to, sedimentation was a continuous process, forming the heavy Coal Measure shales and limestones which underlie the Permian. Bed after bed was formed in this way, generally reaching eastward to the coast line, and extending westward for unknown distances. Each succeeding bed, therefore, overlies the preceding ones, but its eastern limit is farther west than that of those below it. The same land movements . . . continued throughout the Permian and later times, and finally the whole of the great expanse of water . . . was replaced by dry land. The elevation processes, however, were slow and irregular, with many returns to former conditions, so that the particular area in which gypsum was being deposited might be a site of limestone formation of a later period. The formation of gypsum requires the concentration of ocean water (about half the concentration required for the deposit of salt beds), and this must have been brought about by the segregation, here and there, of bodies of ocean water from the main ocean, so that evaporation could concentrate the liquid. . . . It is highly probable that in each individual case such inland seas or lakes were relatively small, so that the formation of gypsum at any one time and place may not have covered many townships in extent. At this late day it is impossible to determine the exact limits of such gypsum beds. Erosion has worn much of the surface away, and may have destroyed untold quantities of gypsum. . . .

"In detail the Kansas deposits pass from the Lower Permian on the north to the upper Red Beds (overlying the Permian, and supposedly Triassic<sup>41</sup>) on the south. This may imply an earlier elevation into dry land conditions in the northern part of the state, and a later one along the southern line. . . . Within Kansas, therefore, the Permian ocean was driven southward, rather than westward, as is proved by the extraordinary thickening of these formations southward. . . . Throughout the period of gypsum

NOTE 41.—Robert Hay, "Geology of Kansas Salt," Seventh Bien. Rept. Kan. Board of Ag., pt. II, p. 84.

formation there was a great lack of stability of oceanic boundaries, which made possible the frequent embayment of ocean water, so that by their surface evaporation gypsum deposits could be produced, and . . . produced them at various times and places throughout the great western area."<sup>42</sup>

There is another sort of gypsum deposits in some parts of Kansas, called by the Kansas geologists the secondary deposits, usually in low, swampy ground and in connection with springs of gypsum water. It is a granular deposit, somewhat like sand banks, and contains a larger portion of silica and lime than the rock gypsum, but in nearly every place where it is known in Kansas is of good commercial quality. It is supposed that these deposits of earth gypsum were formed by the solution of the rock gypsum underground, and the subsequent deposit on the surface by the gypsum springs just referred to. That these deposits are of recent origin is shown by the fact that there are in nearly all of them modern fresh-water shells that belong to a time long after the formation of any rock gypsum that is known.<sup>43</sup>

Following the formation of the gypsum deposits just described, there seems to have been a considerable portion of the ocean cut off in an inland sea that included a triangle having its base along the line of the Arkansas river and its apex near the northern boundary of the state. Professor Grimsley says: "The great salt beds just to the southwest (of the gypsum deposits) in the direction of the dip of the rocks may have been deposited later in the stage of gulf evaporation, after the waters had deposited their gypsum and had retreated further to the south."<sup>44</sup> It is evident, however, that the salt period was less fluctuating than the gypsum period, for the salt is general over the triangle, and near the southern end is about 400 feet in thickness,<sup>45</sup> with occasionally layers of gray shale interspersed. Above this heavy salt formation are the gray shales to which the salt beds owe their preservation, beds of nonsaline shales from 100 to 200 feet thick.<sup>46</sup>

The salt beds were the last of the geological formations that are of particular importance in a discussion of the manufacturing resources, for they were succeeded by the "Red Beds" and the "Dakota" formation bearing sandstones, neither having any mineral wealth, so far as has been discovered. With this discussion of the resources for a basis, it is possible from this point to trace out the growth of the manufacturing enterprises in a perfectly natural way, and with the beginnings of industry the next section will begin.

#### THE BEGINNING OF MANUFACTURES.

For the purposes of this paper the investigations will begin with the census of 1860, for previous to that time there were but few manufacturing establishments in the prairie region, and those that were in existence were not of any considerable importance. At that time the territories of Kansas and Nebraska were little else than a wilderness, having had a territorial existence for but five years, and the settlements were confined largely to the region of the Missouri river and its navigable tributaries. According to the census of 1860, the total population of the territory of Kansas was

NOTE 42.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. V, pp. 13-16.

NOTE 43.—Ibid. p. 83.

NOTE 44.—Ibid. p. 80.

NOTE 45.—Min. Res. of Kan., 1897, p. 56.

NOTE 46.—Hay, "Geology Kansas Salt," in Seventh Bien. Rept. Kan. Board of Ag., pt. II, p. 85.



but 107,200 souls, while Nebraska had only 28,841. Oklahoma, then known as the Indian Territory, was wholly unsettled, and does not enter into the discussion for a period of about thirty years longer.

Kansas City, now the metropolis of the district, was unimportant as a town, and was having a hard struggle in competition with Atchison, Leavenworth, and other points in the region then settling up.<sup>47</sup> Its founders were brought there by the westward-going business, but they could not anticipate the prosperity that was to come in a few years, or fore-

NOTE 47.—

Judge F. G. Adams, *Secretary Kansas State Historical Society*: KANSAS CITY, MO., January 29, 1884.

DEAR JUDGE—I hand you herewith two autograph letters written to me by Horace Greeley in 1859. Believing that such relics, no matter how highly prized by the owner, answer a better purpose in public than in private collections, I beg you to accept of them as a contribution from me to the library of the Kansas State Historical Society. Aside from their value as autographs of a distinguished American, they should be dear to all old Kansans as autographs of the man who, above most others, strove earnestly, ably and faithfully for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free state. Aside from this consideration, again, the subject discussed, the patriotic sentiments of the writer and his prophetic utterances concerning the future of Kansas and Kansas City, render this gift peculiarly appropriate.

If we had an historical society here it would perhaps be more appropriate to retain them in this city. Since we have not, I take pleasure in delivering them into your keeping, knowing how carefully they will be preserved.

The occurrence that led to this correspondence can be briefly described:

Hon. S. C. Pomeroy, who had been at the head of the Emigrant Aid Society of New England (a society formed for the purpose of assisting immigrants from the free states in settling in Kansas), had still some slight interest in the "Free State Hotel," as the building now known as the Gillis House was then usually styled. He had come to Kansas City a short time before the date of the first of these letters, on private business, and while here had been assaulted by Col. H. T. Titus, a former notorious proslavery fire-eater and border ruffian. The assault was an unprovoked and cowardly one, and as such was condemned by the whole community, with the exception of a few of the "bummers" and loafers about his saloon, who naturally backed Titus. An account of this affair was at once sent from Atchison, the home of Pomeroy, all through the Northern states, and of course it lost none of its atrocity for want of local coloring. The *New York Tribune* took it up and Mr. Greeley wrote a scorching editorial upon it, in which Kansas City came in for a full share of his caustic fire.

Knowing how unjust this particular attack was, and feeling that such an article might do incalculable harm to our struggling city among the Eastern people whom we were then trying to attract, I wrote a letter to Mr. Greeley, stating the exact facts and trying to show him that we were earnestly undertaking to build up a free-state city in proslavery Missouri. How little effect this effort had upon the stern, forgetful old man the first letter shows (I translated it for the benefit of readers not skilled in deciphering hieroglyphics):

"OFFICE OF THE TRIBUNE, NEW YORK, October 30, 1859.

"DEAR SIR—The history of Kansas City is not unknown to me. It is not unknown to the Northern people. If you are not long enough resident there to know how the big hotel was mobbed, the guests maltreated, and its lessee compelled to give it up, there are plenty who are. Do you know how General Pomeroy was driven from that city? I think I do. In all the struggle for freedom versus slavery in Kansas, Kansas City was a malignant stronghold of persecution and violence. The facts cannot be set aside.

"Of course she is bound to change in time, since her trade must mainly come from free Kansas, not from slave-cursed Missouri. And when she does change—openly, frankly and above-board, I shall be very glad to publish the facts and figures. Until she shall show herself as openly and actively for freedom as she has done for slavery, I think the trade of Kansas should go to her own river ports, rather than to Kansas City.

"You have given me your views on the matter, herewith you have mine.

"DR. T. S. CASE, Kansas City, Mo."

Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

To this I could only reply by saying that however badly Kansas City people might have acted in the past, during the heat of the strife between the pro- and anti-slavery partisans, her people were now disposed to do all in their power to make amends and to encourage Northern people to come in and help us to build up our city; that the border war was ended, and that the only contentions now existing were among enterprising settlers over rival town sites, etc. But it did not avail anything. He could not realize the change that had already taken place in the character of the people here by reason of immigration, new ideas, business complications, etc., and accordingly replied as follows:

"OFFICE OF THE TRIBUNE, NEW YORK, November 17, 1859.

"DOCTOR CASE—It would be impossible for us to see things alike—at least for me to see them as you represent them—so we must agree to differ. You may suppose the only quarrel in Kansas was about town sites, etc., but I *know* better. I know, too, that the position of Kansas City throughout that struggle was one of bitter and lawless hostility to the free-state cause. I know that the abuse of General Pomeroy there did not end with the outrage you so complacently refer to. I know much more, the sum of which is that Kansas City does not deserve patronage or favor from the free-state men of Kansas until her citizens shall openly and manfully undo the wrongs they have done, and place themselves in communion and sympathy with the free-state cause. Such is my view of the matter, and I see nothing like injustice or untruth in what I have said on the subject.

"DR. T. S. CASE, Kansas City, Mo."

Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

Of course it was useless to continue the correspondence, and I did not reply; but less than a

see that it was destined to become the gate to the whole Southwest.<sup>48</sup> But when the settlement of the Kansas territory began in earnest, after the organization of the new territory in 1854, Kansas City at once became the gateway through which practically all the settlers sought the new country. Its merchants offered stocks of goods nearest the land of promise, and the steamboat landing was the best on the river.<sup>49</sup> Then the settlers were naturally glad to be able to follow the Santa Fe or the Oregon trails to the West or Northwest, or the government roads either north or south, and by the combination of these advantages Kansas City, Mo., became in reality a Kansas town, and has remained so largely from an economic standpoint since it has become a city. In the beginning, however, it was not a manufacturing center, as it was a distributing point for the Southwest, and it was not until the manufacturing of the new country had passed the local character and had begun to centralize in important railway centers that it became one of Kansas's factory towns.

At the census of 1860 Kansas was still a territory with an organic existence of five years' duration, and only twenty-one of the forty-one organized counties were included in the census returns on manufactures. Less than one-fourth of the occupied country was settled or improved. Consequently manufacturing was relatively unimportant, as is shown by the fact that

year later, when 250 Republicans in Kansas City formed a Lincoln and Hamlin Club and openly held meetings and made antislavery speeches, I wrote Mr. Greeley again, called his attention to the fact, and he promptly gave us ample credit. Afterwards, in June, 1861, when we raised three companies of volunteers in this city for the defense of the Union, I apprised him of it, and again he gave us due credit.

These facts, in connection with the letters, will, I am sure, make them doubly interesting in your estimation, and not the less welcome in your Society.

Very sincerely yours,

THEO. S. CASE,

*Editor K. C. Review of Science and Industry.*

NOTE 48.—Kansas City Annual, 1907, p. 11.

NOTE 49.—Table showing the amount of merchandise sold in Kansas City for the year 1857:

Dry goods .....	\$390,007 67	
Boots and shoes .....	146,801 64	
Hats and caps .....	23,480 00	
Clothing .....	96,781 50	
Books and stationery .....	6,481 90	\$663,552 71
Hardware, iron, steel, nails, etc. ....	\$147,299 17	
Powder, lead and shot .....	25,088 65	
Glass and glassware .....	20,231 54	
Woodenware, brooms, etc. ....	8,980 25	
Stoves, tin and hollow-ware .....	53,281 36	
Plows .....	2,722 00	
Wagons and carriages .....	44,800 00	302,402 97
Groceries .....	\$472,005 80	
Flour and meal .....	382,400 00	
Bacon and lard .....	102,545 27	
Foreign and domestic liquors, etc. ....	135,915 30	
Cigars and tobacco .....	47,483 85	1,130,350 22
Robes, furs, etc. ....	\$267,253 02	
Hides .....	58,580 96	
Salt .....	20,575 00	
Sundries (embracing articles not expressed) .....	105,791 86	452,201 44
Drugs, medicines and oils .....	\$62,198 20	
Soap, candles, etc. ....	37,705 00	
Confectionery .....	6,090 00	
Crackers and pilot bread .....	18,176 41	
Furniture .....	34,602 00	158,771 61
Saddles, leather and harness .....	\$81,287 90	
Lumber, shingles, sash, etc. ....	394,965 49	476,253 39
Total .....		\$3,183,502 34

—Annals of the City of Kansas, Spalding, 1858, p. 79.

although a prairie state, with no extensive timber, 124 of the 209 establishments listed by the eighth census were devoted to the manufacture of lumber and shingles, having an investment of \$395,840 of the total of \$639,870 invested in manufacturing in the territory. Nearly two-thirds of the labor employed was engaged in the lumbering industry, and considerably more than half of the two millions and a little over of manufactured products was lumber and shingles. The sawmills were located on the banks of the streams of the eastern part of the state, cutting up the native timber,\* some of which was of fair size, and marketing a great deal of it unplanned, for, being principally hard wood, it was difficult to plane. There were four establish-

Statement showing the amount of warehouse business done in Kansas City for the year ending December 31, 1857, as taken from the books of the commission merchants, and not entering into the calculations of the foregoing table:

No. of packages.....received,	381,628
No. of wagons.....	1,172
No. of plows.....	2,246
No. of sacks of flour.....	49,266
No. of sacks meal.....	4,560
No. of sacks oats.....	2,160
No. of sacks corn.....	2,760
No. of sacks potatoes.....	1,760
No. of bales hay.....	336
Amt. Mexican wool.....	865,000 pounds.
Amt. lumber.....	1,277,200 feet.
Amt. shingles.....	656,090
Amt. lath.....	844,000
No. of kegs powder.....	1,940
No. of dry hides.....	2,280
Bales of buffalo robes.....	7,040 or 70,400 robes.
Bales of furs and skins.....	2,580
Bags of buffalo tongues.....	514
Buffalo meat.....	55,000 pounds.
No. of packages furniture.....	7,768
No. of gallons stoneware.....	5,936
No. of carriages.....	256
No. of pianos.....	32
Amt. of gold and silver in boxes.....	\$1,139,661 50
Amt. silver ore from Gadsden purchase (pounds).....	2,000 00
Amt. of pound freight, exclusive of above (pounds).....	12,985,600 00
No. of wagons loaded with the above goods, 9,884.	
Freight charges, commissions, etc., paid on above goods at warehouse.....	545,020 00

—Annals of the City of Kansas, Spalding, 1858, p. 79.

#### EXPORTS.

We will in a few brief words give an idea, as intelligent as we can from our limited data, of the export trade of Kansas City. We leave out of this estimate any figures of local exports, as we have elsewhere shown that this country is too new to raise anything as yet, and what it will be when settled and developed, any figures we could give would be so far short of what it will be that we even refrain from prophecy in regard to it.

We take our exports, however, from a region of country lying from 600 to 1500 miles south-west and west.

Exports of New Mexican and mountain products for the year 1857:

Mexican wool, lbs.....	865,000	\$129,600 00
Mexican goat skins.....	50,000	25,000 00
Dressed buckskins.....	50,000	62,500 00
Dry hides.....	105,000	375,000 00
Specie in boxes.....		1,139,661 50
Silver ore, one ton (value not known).....		
Furs, skins and peltries (estimated).....		36,000 00
Total exports.....		\$1,767,761 50

—Annals of the City of Kansas, Spalding, 1858, p. 81.

Border Money.—Estimate of what may most appropriately be called "border money"—that is, gold and silver coin that comes directly from the mint, or from New Mexico, and is first put into circulation upon the Missouri border:

Annuity money (paid to various tribes of Indians).....	\$1,100,000
Army money (paid out to privates and officers, U. S. A.).....	2,000,000
Mail money (paid to mail contractors).....	200,000
Emigration money.....	300,000
New Mexico money (brought direct from Mexico).....	1,500,000

Total ..... \$5,100,000

—Annals of the City of Kansas, Spalding, 1858, p. 22.

\* Supra, p. 85.



ments, with an aggregate capital of \$10,000, engaged in the manufacture of furniture out of the native walnut, hickory and oak that the sawmills had to use for the making of the coarser grades of lumber.

There were two other lines of manufacturing at the time of the eighth census that deserve mention, and they are the only others that were really established. They are milling and the manufacture of wagons and carriages, with the kindred blacksmithing trade. There were thirty-six grist mills, many of them small water powers, engaged in the making of flour and meal for the settlers. A few of the mills were of fair size and did a considerable business, but by far the majority were custom mills, and did their grinding only as the farmers brought in the grain to get the supply of flour and meal for the family consumption. As there was less than 200,000 bushels of wheat produced in the territory at that time,<sup>50</sup> or about 1.8 bushels per capita, it is easy to see the comparative insignificance of the milling business at that early day. There were but three wagon and carriage establishments, with a capital of some \$18,000, making in the census year about \$65,000 worth of carriages and wagons,<sup>51</sup> and employing thirty-five hands, while the kindred blacksmithing trade employed twenty-four men.<sup>52</sup> Among the other industries listed, there were six boot and shoe shops, four brickyards, three harness shops, and about a score of others of one or two establishments to a trade.

The decade between the eighth and the ninth census reports was a most trying one for the progress of industry in Kansas, for it was the scene of a bitter conflict between the *bona fide* settlers and the bushwackers of the border, who did not cease their operations after the election decided that the territory should be a free state. Until after the close of the Civil War the growth of the population was slow, and it was not until about 1867 that the settlement began again in earnest. By the time of the taking of the ninth census the population of the state had trebled, and instead of twenty-one counties, as in 1860, there were forty-one that reported manufacturing interests in 1870. Manufacturing in all its dimensions had practically increased sevenfold, and the state was fast becoming self-sufficing in the lines of manufacturing that its natural resources fitted it to produce. It is an interesting fact that while the number of establishments and the capital increased seven times and the number of men employed nine times in the decade, the value of the product increased only about five times over the figures for 1860.

The number of lumbering establishments increased in the ten years about seventy per cent, and, in point of numbers, lumbering was still in the lead. But by this time the milling business, second in rank in the number of establishments, was easily in the lead in the value of products, with a total output of \$2,938,215 as against a little over a million and a half of lumber sawed. Flour and feed milling from that time until after 1885 was the leading industry, as well as the most widely distributed over the territory. The establishments were comparatively small, the average capital being about \$1000 per mill, and they still were engaged principally, if not entirely, in supplying flour and meal to the immediate neighborhood in which they were located. About one-third of the mills were run by small

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NOTE 50.—Ag. Rept., Eighth Census, pp. 54, 55.

NOTE 51.—Vol. III, Eighth Census, p. 167.

NOTE 52.—Ibid.

water wheels, and the rest by steam, with the exception of a half dozen or more wind-driven mills. Another feature of the business, which the census report does not indicate but which is revealed by the state reports four years later,<sup>53</sup> is the fact that nearly twenty per cent of the mills engaged in grinding flour and meal were what the reports call "saw-and-grist" mills; that is, they used their power for running their saws during the time they were not needed to grind, and thus were able to run at a profit where the business was too small to make the milling alone profitable.

The endeavor of the new state to become self-sufficing wherever possible is shown as well in the rapid growth of the furniture factories and the wagon and carriage shops up to the census of 1870. The figures show that there were fifty-two furniture factories and sixty-eight wagon and carriage shops, or an average of more than one of each to every organized county. Necessarily these shops were small, and with only a few exceptions supplied only the immediate vicinity, but the number and their activity illustrates the attempt to make the most of the country's resources. The number of the wagon shops soon fell off, for they were not able to compete with the larger makers farther east, who bought in larger quantities and put out better wagons than most of the small shops could produce. The furniture factories persisted, however, and continued to supply the local demands for the cheaper grades of furniture for a number of years. There were sixty-eight wagon and carriage shops in the state in 1870, with a capital on the average of about \$1500 each, and doing in the aggregate nearly a quarter of a million dollars' worth of business annually. It is evident from this that they were little more than blacksmith shops, and were not entitled to rank as factories. A few exceptions existed, such as the wagon factory at Leavenworth, which was in operation about this time and continued to extend its business for twenty-five years or more, and by 1880 was marketing over 6000 wagons a year. Their prosperity was due largely to the possession of a patent spring which they used on the spring wagons that were the principal part of their output, and it was to this fact that the company was so prosperous.

Harness making continued to prosper in a small way, the seventy odd shops doing a little more than \$400,000 of business in the year 1870. The number of brickyards had increased to twenty-seven in the state, supplying the local demands for permanent building materials, and a few limekilns had begun operations where the surface veins of coal had been opened in the eastern part of the state. There were but five ironworks in the state, and only three establishments making agricultural implements in a small way, the settlers depending on getting such supplies from established manufacturers.

It was in 1872 that the state of Kansas began the publication of annual reports of agriculture and industry under the direction of the Board of Agriculture, and some of them contain detailed information of the development between 1870 and 1880 that no other publications touch. The first statistics on manufactures were included in the report for 1874, and were obviously incomplete, but from that time they seem to be fairly comprehensive in the main. There seems to have been an increase in the production of manufactured articles that approached the demands of the population, particularly

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NOTE 53.—Fourth Ann. Rept., Kan. Bureau of Agriculture, p. 503.

during the first five or six years of the period. Toward the end of the period the number of sawmills began to fall off rapidly, and from this time sawing ceases to cut much figure in the reports. It is obviously unfair to base any conclusions on the sawing of lumber in a prairie region such as the Kansas-Oklahoma section is, for it could not rank as an important industry except in comparison with the small beginnings of the others under consideration.

The flouring industry in this period becomes the characteristic industry of the country, and being based on the needs of the people and the use of the products of the land was destined to grow. The census reports show an increase for the ten years following the census of 1870 of more than 300 per cent in the output of the flour mills, with an increase of only a little more than 200 per cent in capital, number of mills and number of men employed. According to the first complete report of the state bureau, in 1875, the number of flour and grist mills had increased more than one and a half times since 1870,<sup>54</sup> and by the following year the number was more than three times that for 1870.<sup>55</sup> These figures show that much of the increase in numbers for the whole ten years was made during the first six, though no reason has been assigned for that condition, as the growth in numbers was again on the increase soon after, and continued for twenty years longer. The state reports give but passing mention of the other industries at this time, and fail to show a total that approaches that of the census reports, and it would not be strange if the reason was the lack of importance of many of the industries.

There was little to indicate at that time that there was a manufacturing future for the section of the country under consideration, for the mineral resources were practically unknown and almost wholly undeveloped; the extent of the fuel supply was unsuspected; the dryness of the climate made textile industry in any extent out of the question; the exhaustion of the scanty timber supply put lumber trades out of the question as an opening for manufacturing greatness. A contemporary writer says: "The fact must be apparent that Kansas will always have to be an agricultural state, although the importance of combining manufactures with this leading industry is apparent."<sup>56</sup> The same writer, continuing, says: "At present flour is the principal manufacture, and the industry has grown in the last few years until at present there is a large surplus produced." Wagons and furniture are the only other articles that struck the writer as being of any considerable importance.

By this time, however, the development of the principal towns as centers of what industries were in existence was becoming noticeable. The coming of the railroads must be given the credit for this concentration, and from the time that the transportation lines had established well-defined distributing centers those places began to secure a larger share of the manufacturing. It is characteristic of the manufactures of the whole section that they have followed the railways, and in but few cases have the railways been pushed out to accommodate any manufacturing project. The extent of the growth of a few towns in importance is first indicated in the report of the Kansas Board of Agriculture for 1876.<sup>57</sup> It indicates the centralizing in eight or

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NOTE 54.—Fourth Ann. Rept. Kan. Board Ag., 1875, p. 503.

NOTE 55.—Ibid. 1876, compiled from local reports.

NOTE 56.—Kansas Hand Book, 1878, p. 19.

NOTE 57.—Fifth Ann. Rept.



nine towns in the eastern and northeastern parts of the state, and all of them were the ones that were favored by the railway advantages when the lines were first building. Atchison, Topeka and Emporia on the Santa Fe; Leavenworth and Lawrence on the Union Pacific, and still farther west on the same road, Junction City; and Fort Scott, on the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis, were the towns that were taking the lead.

In that year Fort Scott had a score of enterprises, each with a capital of from \$2000 to \$80,000, and aggregating over \$300,000. Considerably more than half of this amount was invested in the flouring mills, which were the town's principal activity.<sup>58</sup> Of the towns mentioned above, Fort Scott was the principal one so far as the leading industry, milling, was concerned, and the others showed a greater variety of manufacturing activity. Leavenworth was in the lead in number of establishments, and probably equally in the amount of capital invested, though the figures are not given. Of the 47 factories reported, 3 were ironworking establishments, 4 were brickyards, 4 were engaged in the manufacture of furniture and house furnishings, while there were but 2 flour mills reported.<sup>59</sup> Topeka was the second town, with 35 manufacturing establishments, 3 of which were flour mills, of only medium size for those times, however, while there were 11 wagon and carriage shops reported.<sup>60</sup> Atchison, Lawrence, Emporia and Junction City were the only other towns that were mentioned in the report of 1876, and they ranked about in the order named.

In this same year the number of railways in operation in the state of Kansas alone had reached seven, two of them extending entirely across to the west, and a third spanning it from north to south,<sup>61</sup> and Omaha, Neb., had connection west almost to the coast, and with the Kansas systems on the south. Obviously there was nothing in the needs of the new country that accounts for the rapidity of the extension of the railways across the prairies, and in fact it was a matter almost wholly outside the demands of business that was offered that led to the great activity of the transportation lines at this particular time. As the railways became of great importance a little later as the natural resources of the country were discovered, it will be profitable to consider at some length at this point the building of the leading lines of railway across Kansas and Nebraska.

#### THE COMING OF THE RAILWAYS.

The first railway project that ever materialized in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was that of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western, chartered by the legislature of the territory of Kansas in 1855. The plan was to construct a road from Leavenworth to the western boundary of the territory, then the summit of the Rocky Mountains, in the present state of Colorado. It was one of five charters granted to railway corporations at that session,<sup>62</sup> and with a single exception<sup>63</sup> was the only one that material-

NOTE 58.—Fifth Ann. Rept., Kan. Board Ag., 1875, p. 119.

NOTE 59.—Ibid. 1875, p. 164.

NOTE 60.—Ibid. p. 208.

NOTE 61.—Tuttle, "History of Kansas," p. 554.

NOTE 62.—Territorial Statutes of Kansas, 1855.

NOTE 63.—The Elwood & Marysville Railroad, chartered at the same session. Cutler's History of Kansas is authority for the following statement: "On the 20th of March, 1860, the first iron rail for a railroad on Kansas soil was laid at Elwood, opposite St. Joseph, Mo., on the Elwood & Marysville railroad. On the 28th of April the locomotive 'Albany' was brought over the river from St. Joseph on a ferry boat and placed on the new railroad track. This was the first iron horse that ever touched Kansas soil."

ized to the extent of actual construction. In 1857 the company was organized at Leavenworth, Kan., with a capital of \$156,000 subscribed.

In May, 1857, grading on the line was commenced, and the location of the line was completed to Pawnee, on the site of the present Fort Riley military reservation. Little further was done, however, until after the act of Congress of July 1, 1862,<sup>64</sup> granting government aid to the construction of a Pacific railroad and telegraph line. One clause of the act authorized the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western to build a line from Wyandotte, at the mouth of the Kansas river (the terminus of the Pacific Railroad of Missouri) to some point on the one hundredth meridian. In the following year the Union Pacific Railway Company, Eastern Division, was organized, under the act of 1862, and it purchased the franchises and all rights of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western.<sup>65</sup> From this time the history of the road is a part of the general Pacific Railroad project, and was pushed forward as a part of it.

In the meantime, the Kansas territorial legislature had chartered another road, the St. Joseph & Topeka,<sup>66</sup> projected from the Missouri river, opposite St. Joseph, to Topeka, Kan. The charter lapsed without any actual construction, however, and a new project, in substance the same, resulted in the incorporation of the Atchison & Topeka Railroad Company, February 11, 1859.<sup>67</sup> The same men were back of the new road, and the only material change was that of the eastern terminus.

Drougths and the Civil War combined to discourage the promoters, however, and nothing was actually done toward constructing the line until the congressional land grant to the state of Kansas for the purpose of encouraging railway construction opened the way to the needed aid. The grant was made available to the Atchison & Topeka company in 1864 to the extent of a grant of 6400 acres of land per mile of road actually built in the state, conditioned on the completion to the western boundary of the state within ten years.<sup>68</sup> The name of the road had in the meantime been changed to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company,<sup>69</sup> and the road was projected in the general direction of the old Santa Fe trail toward Santa Fe, N. M.

The promoters of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe had little ready money at their disposal, however, and as it was almost impossible to realize on their land grant at that time, the road was not actually built until after

NOTE 64.—Ch. 120, U. S. Statutes at Large, 37th Cong., 2d Sess.

NOTE 65.—Cutler, *History of Kansas*, p. 245.

NOTE 66.—Laws of 1857. Sixteen railway charters were granted at this session.

NOTE 67.—Laws of 1859. The zeal of the citizens of the town of Atchison to make their town the terminus of the road instead of the Missouri town resulted in their lending aid to bring the Hannibal & St. Joseph from St. Joseph to Atchison. With this secured, the same men backed the Atchison & Topeka project. See Cutler's *History of Kansas*, p. 243.

NOTE 68.—Laws of 1864; see, also, *Moody's Magazine*, September, 1908, p. 145.

NOTE 69.—The treasurer of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe furnishes the following chronology of that road:

1859, Feb. 11. Atchison & Topeka Railroad Company chartered.

1859, Sep. 15. First officers and directors chosen in Topeka.

1863, Mar. 3. Congressional land grant to state of Kansas.

1864, Nov. 24. Directors vote to change the name of the company to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company.

1864, Feb. 9. Transfer of the congressional land grant to the Santa Fe company.

1864, Feb. 16. Acceptance of the grant by the directors of the Santa Fe company.

both Kansas and Nebraska had been spanned from east to west by the Union Pacific company, under its charter of July 1, 1862.

From 1855 to 1860 was a period of great railway activity west of the Mississippi, the Granger lines being engaged in pushing out for western traffic just then. It was these projects, between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, that offered the inducement for the building of the Kansas and Nebraska lines. At this time there were several lines building westward, besides the Hannibal & St. Joseph, already mentioned. The Pacific Railroad Company of Missouri was building westward from St. Louis toward Kansas City, which it reached in 1865.<sup>70</sup>

Two lines, the Chicago, Iowa & Nebraska and the Cedar Rapids & Missouri,<sup>71</sup> were building across Iowa, with Omaha as the objective point. These roads were a part of a single project, to connect the Mississippi and Missouri rivers at Fulton, Ill., and Omaha, Neb. The roads were leased to the Galena & Chicago Union railroad, and were under its control when the Cedar Rapids & Missouri reached Omaha in 1866.<sup>72</sup> In the same year the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific purchased the rights of the Mississippi & Missouri River railroad, which was building toward Council Bluffs, Iowa, and in 1869 completed the road into that city.<sup>73</sup> The Burlington & Missouri River railroad was headed for the mouth of the Platte river<sup>74</sup> at the same time, and still another road, the Dubuque & Pacific, now a part of the Illinois Central system, was building toward Sioux City. This line was opened in 1866.<sup>75</sup>

The idea of a Pacific railroad had been before the country for several years, and the secession of the Southern states removed the block on the part of those desiring a southern route, making the location of the route in 1862 a simple matter. With the added necessity of making the most of its western resources, and the original impetus of the Pacific railroad project, the government loaned its credit and offered large land subsidies to assist the transcontinental line. Everything that could be done to hasten the building of the road was offered by the provisions of the charter.

According to the charter provisions, three lines were to be built westward from the Missouri river—one from Omaha, Neb., opposite Council Bluffs, Iowa; one from Atchison, Kan., the terminus of the extended Hannibal & St. Joseph; and one from Kansas City (Wyandotte, as the town was then called on the Kansas side of the line). These lines were to unite at the one hundredth meridian, and from there the line was to be extended to the Pacific coast, a total distance of more than 1700 miles. In order to secure the speedy building of the line, the generous subsidies granted by the government were conditioned upon the completion of the road to the coast by July 1, 1876.<sup>76</sup> The subsidies, the largest ever granted a railway com-

NOTE 70.—Van Oss, "Amer. Rys.," 590; also, Missouri State Board of Agriculture Rept., 1875, p. 297.

NOTE 71.—Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 810.

NOTE 72.—In 1864 the Galena & Chicago Union was consolidated with the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company, organized in 1859. (Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 723.)

NOTE 73.—Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 732. NOTE 74.—Ibid. p. 713.

NOTE 75.—This road became a part of the Illinois Central in 1867. (Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 816.)

NOTE 76.—Ch. 120, U. S. Statutes at Large, 37th Cong., 2d Sess.



pany (with the exception of the Northern Pacific), consisted of loans of government bonds at the rate of \$16,000 per mile on the level plains, with an allowance of twice that amount in the plateau regions, and three times as much for the worst of the Rockies. In addition there was a grant of twenty sections of land per mile for the whole distance.<sup>77</sup>

With the inducements of these conditional grants before them the promoters of the company began construction in 1865. Ready money was scarce, and hard to secure, however. Only about one-tenth of the authorized two millions of capital was paid in, and for a time it looked as if the grants were to be lost for the want of funds to build the road. March 15, 1865, the construction was sublet to the famous Credit Mobilier Company of America, and the work of construction was then pushed forward with unheard of rapidity. The construction of the western end of the road was turned over to the Central Pacific,<sup>78</sup> with the same subsidies, and with the privilege of building eastward until a junction was made with the westward construction of the Union Pacific. Within two years there were 559 miles of track completed on the eastern end, and a part of the line (Kansas Pacific) was in operation. Both ends of the line strove to get as large a share as possible of the subsidies. The completed line from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean was finally opened six years ahead of time, when the two construction companies met at Promontory Point, west of Ogden, Utah, in April, 1869.<sup>79</sup>

The junction at the one-hundredth meridian was waived by act of Congress, and the Kansas Pacific, ending at Denver, in 1870 built a connecting line, the Denver & Pacific, to Cheyenne, Wyo.<sup>80</sup> In the meantime, the Central Branch was built westward 100 miles from Atchison, stopping in the open prairies at Waterville, solely for the purpose of securing the government subsidy. In 1880 the three lines<sup>81</sup> were consolidated in management and united in name, having added enough feeders by that time to make the total mileage a little more than 1800 miles, exclusive of the tracks of the Central Pacific west of Ogden, Utah.<sup>82</sup> The capitalization of the company had in the meantime (1870) increased to the following amounts: Capital stock, \$36,762,300; first mortgage bonds, \$27,231,000; land grant bonds, \$10,400,000; income bonds, \$9,355,000. The cost of construction averaged about \$60,000 per mile for the whole road,<sup>83</sup> aggregating about two-thirds the amount of the capital.

The next railway in point both of time and importance was the Santa Fe, which was the outgrowth of the old Atchison & Topeka railroad already referred to,\* and which has been one of the great factors in the development of Kansas, for a long time its principal field as well as its home. When the

NOTE 77.—Moody's Magazine, February, 1908, p. 163.

NOTE 78.—Backed by Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins and C. P. Huntington; organized under the laws of California, and authorized to build east beyond the state line.

NOTE 79.—Moody's Magazine, February, 1908, p. 163.

NOTE 80.—Poor's Manual (1876-'77), p. 422.

NOTE 81.—In the meantime the Elwood & Marysville road (note 63) had become the St. Joseph & Denver City, and had built to Hastings, Neb. (The extension was under a charter as the Marysville, Palmetto & Roseport railroad, 1857.) It reached Hastings in 1873, and by lease formed a junction with the main line at Kearney, Neb., making in reality a fourth leg to the eastern lines of the Union Pacific.

NOTE 82.—Moody's Magazine, February, 1908, p. 166.

NOTE 83.—Ibid, p. 167.

\*Supra, p. 100.

charter was extended, in 1863, the first move was the securing of a government land grant (through the state of Kansas), but the promoters were unable to get any cash or bond subsidies, and the actual construction was delayed until after the Civil War. In 1869 less than 30 miles were built westward from Topeka, and in the following year the line was extended to Emporia, about 60 miles from Topeka, and it was not until 1872 that the line was finished to its eastern outlet at Atchison.<sup>84</sup> Ten months before the expiration of the ten-year period allowed by the terms of their land grant, only 136 miles of the line was in operation, and there were left 380 miles to be built to the western boundary of the state.<sup>85</sup> At this time the builders began to emulate the performance of the Union Pacific four years earlier, and the road was pushed forward in the time that was left, and the state line was reached two months ahead of time. The gift of 3,000,000 acres of land in the state of Kansas was secured.<sup>86</sup> The panic of 1873 came on just at this time, and the work on the new road was suspended entirely for a couple of years, when the western terminus was extended to Pueblo, Colo., in order to secure enough western business to pay operating expenses on that end of the line.<sup>87</sup>

The Santa Fe was soon compelled to build farther west, however, in order to live at all, for there was practically no business whatever on two-thirds of its line. Ten years later it reached the coast, partly by construction and partly by purchase, touching at both Los Angeles and San Francisco. The later development included the opening of a line to Galveston, Tex., in 1887, by lease and construction, and the extension to Chicago in 1888.<sup>88</sup> The later period of the growth of the road was also marked by the acquisition of the Kansas City, Lawrence & Southern, opened in 1870 as the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad, which was operating nearly 200 miles of line in the eastern part of the state in 1872.<sup>89</sup> This line was one of those that followed on the heels of the Santa Fe and the Union Pacific, and were obliged to content themselves with what aid they were able to secure from the state, and from the counties that they traversed. The L., L. & G. secured something over a million dollars of municipal bonds, and the grant of 125,000 acres of land from the state,<sup>90</sup> and with this assistance put the road into operation.

The next road, in point of time, was built by the same group of men that put the L., L. & G. into operation, and was called the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf. The two roads were known to early Kansas history as the "Joy Roads," at least until the sale of the L., L. & G. to the Santa Fe. The Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf was organized in 1868 for the purpose of facilitating the development of the southeastern part of the state, and received aid from the state of Kansas in the shape of a grant of 125,000 acres of land,<sup>91</sup> or a little more than 830 acres per mile of track. Baxter Springs, Kan., on the southern line of the state, was the end of the road as originally completed in 1870,<sup>92</sup> giving it a total length of 161 miles, with Kansas City as its other terminus. The promoters had the intention of ultimately

NOTE 84.—Moody's Magazine, September, 1908, p. 146.      NOTE 85.—Ibid. p. 146.

NOTE 86.—Ibid. p. 145.      NOTE 87.—Ibid. p. 149.      NOTE 88.—Ibid. p. 151.

NOTE 89.—Kansas Magazine, vol. I, p. 23; Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 902.

NOTE 90.—Kansas Magazine, vol. I, p. 24.

NOTE 91.—Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 902.      NOTE 92.—Ibid. p. 900.

building southward to some then indeterminate point, but it was not for some time that it was finally connected with Memphis, on the Mississippi river. In addition to the aid that the state gave in the shape of the grant of land, the cities and towns along the line of the survey donated bonds aggregating \$750,000, or more than \$4600 per mile.<sup>93</sup> The road was of considerable importance in relation to the manufacturing interests of the country, in that it was the first to reach the coal belt of the state, and in the first year of operation some 2000 cars of coal were shipped to Kansas City for distribution, from the surface deposits of coal in the vicinity of Fort Scott.<sup>94</sup> When the coal fields of the Pittsburg district were opened in the later '70's, the road, now known as the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf, was already in the field, and put the coal on the market as fast as the field was developed.

In the same year that the Joy interests began grading for their line to the gulf, work was commenced on still another line, to extend from Junction City, Kan., on the Kansas Pacific, to Fort Smith, in the Indian Territory, a distance of about 180 miles, according to the original project.<sup>95</sup> The road, though called the "Union Pacific, Southern Branch Railway," was independent of the Pacific system, and got no aid from the government, though it did succeed in getting a grant of 125,000 acres of land from the state, and an aggregate of \$730,000 in bonds from the counties through which it passed.<sup>96</sup> The line was completed across the state in 1871, but, beginning nowhere, and ending in the same manner, as it did, it was found necessary to make some sort of extension as soon as possible. Accordingly, in the same year that the road was completed, some smaller lines in the eastern part of the state were acquired, the plans perfected for a connection with St. Louis, and with the Gulf on the south, and the name of the road changed to "The Missouri, Kansas & Texas."<sup>97</sup> In 1872 the "Katy" purchased lines connecting Paola, Kan., its eastern point, with St. Louis, and also with Hannibal, Mo.,<sup>98</sup> and in the same year extended the southern end of its line through the Indian Territory to the Texas line,<sup>99</sup> a conditional grant of three and one-half million acres of Indian lands having been secured in the meantime from the government.

In the latter '70's the road had nearly 800 miles of track in operation,<sup>100</sup> and early in 1880 it was acquired by the late J. Gould and his interests. Gould at that time was in control of the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, referred to above,\* and he put the two roads loosely under one management and set about extending their lines in Kansas, under the name of the Missouri Pacific, to compete with the Santa Fe lines.<sup>101</sup> The union of the roads did not last long, but while it did Gould succeeded in unloading his branch lines at fancy prices, and when the Katy resumed its old name and separate

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NOTE 93.—Kansas Magazine, vol. I, p. 24.

NOTE 94.—Ibid, p. 24.

NOTE 95.—Van Oss, "Amer. Rys.," p. 606.

NOTE 96.—Van Oss, "Amer. Rys.," p. 606; also, Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 839.

NOTE 97.—Van Oss, "Amer. Rys.," p. 606; Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 838.

NOTE 98.—Van Oss, "Amer. Rys.," p. 607.

NOTE 99.—Kansas Magazine, vol. I, p. 22.

NOTE 100.—Van Oss, "Amer. Rys.," p. 612; Poor's Manual, 1879, p. 837.

NOTE 101.—Van Oss, "Amer. Rys.," p. 592.

\* Supra, p. 101.



existence, eight years later, it had doubled its mileage in the four states that it penetrated.<sup>102</sup>

In the year 1871 still another railway entered this section, this time building into it from the east. It was the St. Louis & San Francisco, which was originally projected as a branch of the Missouri Pacific in 1866. It began a separate existence in 1876, having in the meantime been extended to Vinita, in the northeastern part of the Indian Territory, by the aid of a grant of a little over a million acres of land from the government.<sup>103</sup> The road became especially important a little later when the lead and zinc mines were developed in the Joplin district, which it traversed, and still later as the development of the coal field was pushed southward into the Indian Territory.

One of the most remarkable features of the growth of American railways is the building of the roads in the Nebraska-Kansas-Oklahoma region that has just been outlined. There were in the three states, according to Poor's Manual,<sup>104</sup> 2306 miles of railway in 1870, and in 1875, 3592 miles. Very little construction was done for four or five years following the panic of 1873, but work was resumed with a will in the two years preceding Poor's report for 1880, and in that year there were 5632 miles in operation.<sup>105</sup> It is hardly profitable in this connection to pursue the development further, for later than this time it becomes a matter of extension for the sake of competing for business rather than for the securing of the subsidies offered, as in the case of the early roads. It is sufficient to say that by 1890 the principal work of railroad building was completed in this section, there being in all more than 15,000 miles in operation at that time.<sup>106</sup> The grants to the five principal companies for the construction of the 3300 miles, approximately, that was built prior to 1875, aggregated more than twenty million dollars in bonds and over seventeen million acres of land, all in the two states of Kansas and Nebraska.<sup>107</sup> Much of the land was sold in an early day to meet the operating expenses of the roads, and it is difficult to estimate the value that it was to them. Much of it sold as high as four and five dollars per acre, and probably little for less than three dollars. Taking three dollars as a conservative estimate, the land granted amounted to \$54,825,000, which, added to the bond subsidies, brings the total of state and municipal aid, and that of the United States, up to \$74,955,000, or more than \$22,000 per mile for all the road built. Of course, the Union Pacific got far the larger share of the land grant, and nearly all the aid bonds, and this average does not represent the actual condition as to the individual roads themselves.

No one, even at the time of the building of the early roads, was deceived as to the difficulties that confronted them when the time came to operate them in the new country, for, as has already been suggested, the roads came before there were any manufactures to transport, or very much in the

NOTE 102.—Van Oss, "Amer. Rys.," p. 612.

NOTE 103.—Poor's Manual, 1880, pp. 850-852.

NOTE 104.—Ibid. p. v.

NOTE 105.—Ibid. 1890, p. vi.

NOTE 106.—Ibid. p. vi.

NOTE 107.—The total of subsidies for each of the five roads was as follows:

Road.	Acres land.	Amt. bonds.
Union Pacific.....	13,400,000	\$17,600,000
Santa Fe.....	3,000,000	.....
L. L. & G. (Santa Fe).....	125,000	1,050,000
M. K. & T.....	125,000	730,000
K. C. F. S. & M.....	125,000	750,000

way of agricultural products. A contemporary writer<sup>108</sup> says: "The Kansas roads will have a hard time to keep out of bankruptcy for the next few years, . . . for we have built roads far in advance of the needs of the people. . . . The amount of the bonded debt of some of the counties and municipalities is alarmingly disproportionate to the amount of taxable property of the state." The amount of traffic was indeed small, and in 1870 the Kansas Pacific, with nearly five hundred miles of track in Kansas, reported only a little over three million dollars as their gross receipts for the year,<sup>109</sup> while the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf could muster but a million dollars' worth of business for its 160 miles of track.<sup>110</sup> It is no part of this work to discuss the financial problems that these roads had to meet, and no attempt will be made to even enumerate the financial difficulties in which they were involved almost immediately. The fact that, without exception, the early roads whose building was induced by the subsidies of land and bonds had one or more experiences in insolvency illustrates forcibly how far in advance of the development of the country the network of transportation lines was extended in the states of Kansas and Nebraska.

The coming of the railways early, as they did, while unprofitable for the roads and their stockholders for several years, was, on the other hand, a great influence in the development of the country. An early writer says:<sup>111</sup> "The rapid growth of Kansas is owing mainly to the Kansas railway system," and this is as true of the later manufacturing growth as it was at the time it was made of the settling of the country for agricultural purposes. When the coal fields were opened up there were at least three lines already built into that territory to carry the fuel wherever there was a demand for it for any purpose. The same was true only a few years later when the deposits of lead and zinc were developed in approximately the same region. The older towns, too, that had attracted more or less of capital for the foundation of manufacturing activities, had railway lines ready to carry in the raw material and the fuel where needed, and carry out the products to all the settled parts of the country, at the reasonable rates that the number of competing lines secured them. It is for that reason that a few towns took the lead as indicated above,\* early in the game, and it is for the same reason largely that the country has from the very first utilized every resource, as soon as it was discovered, as a basis for whatever manufacturing enterprise it would support.

#### OPENING OF THE FUEL SUPPLY, AND BEGINNING OF MINERAL INDUSTRY.

Following close on the heels of the extension of the railways in the state of Kansas came the discovery and development of the coal beds that have already been referred to, and as the fuel supply and the railroads practically go together in influencing the development of industry, the coal mining industry will be taken up historically. The lead and zinc district, which was opened soon after the southeastern Kansas coal field, will also be taken up at this time. Though not the first into the outside market, the southeastern field was the first to produce coal, and from the first settlement, immediately after the war, some coal was stripped from the surface veins of the

NOTE 108.—Milton W. Reynolds, in *Kan. Mag.*, vol. I, p. 26.

NOTE 109.—*Kansas Magazine*, vol. I, p. 21.

NOTE 110.—*Ibid.* p. 24.

NOTE 111.—*Ibid.* p. 27.

\**Supra*, p. 98.

Cherokee shales for the consumption of the early settlers. The following account of the opening of the mines is taken from a note by Haworth in his first report on the mineral resources of Kansas:<sup>112</sup>

"These early settlers in southeast Cherokee county began mining coal in the fall of 1866. The coal beds they operated upon were some of the thinner and lower veins, now entirely abandoned. . . . The vein was about twelve inches thick. The surface stripping amounted to but little, and with plow and team it was a very little matter to lay bare a considerable area and to dig up the coal. This supplied the local demand and also furnished some for the adjoining territory in Missouri, to which market it was conveyed by wagon. Some years later the heavy beds of coal now so extensively mined in Cherokee and Crawford counties were discovered where they came to the surface, and mining operations began by the stripping method.

"The outcropping of the heaviest coal beds of the area forms an irregular line extending northeast and southwest. Weir City was the first town founded upon the coal fields, followed by the location of Pittsburg; nine miles to the northeast, and this in turn by the numerous coal-mining villages . . . so well known in that part of the state. At the present time more than two-thirds of the coal mined in the state, nearly all of which is taken from the same coal bed, comes from these two counties, from the coal vein commonly called the 'Weir City' or the 'Pittsburg heavy vein.'

"Along with the development of mines operating in these heavy coal beds, lesser beds have been operated, particularly in Cherokee county, by the stripping process, where they are exposed near the surface. The price of coal for the last few years has been so low that it has been unprofitable to work these lesser beds, the individual farmers usually finding it profitable to buy the coal from the market rather than spend time mining it from their land. . . .

"Almost synchronous with the development of the coal mines in Cherokee and Crawford counties came the development of similar mines in the vicinity of Fort Scott, where a bed of coal from fourteen to twenty inches in thickness is found immediately under a heavy limestone. . . . In the early days these mines were operated by individual farmers on whose land the outcroppings of coal were found, or by small companies which worked the mines during the winter, when labor was cheap and fuel in demand. This process was continued until recently, when the price of coal became so low that profitable mining is now carried on in but few places in the vicinity of Fort Scott—only such localities as chance to afford the coal with the minimum amount of stripping.

"Further north, in the vicinity of Pleasanton and Mound City [about twenty-five miles north of Fort Scott], similar beds exist, and were discovered decades ago and operated on a small scale, the market conditions being such that those desiring coal could not well obtain it from outside sources, and therefore the local market was good, and mining to a limited extent was profitable. So it was with the mines in Franklin county, in Osage county, and in Leavenworth county, only in the latter place the mining is conducted by sinking deep shafts, the majority of them reaching about 800 feet below the surface."

It was these beds of coal, that Professor Haworth dismissed with the barest mention as of very minor importance ten years ago, that were the important sources of fuel for the first ten or fifteen years after the building of the railroads, and in those days Fort Scott and Osage City were the important sources of the fuel supply. Shipment of coal began out of the Fort Scott district as soon as the Memphis railway reached it out of Kansas City. Five years later a contemporary writer spoke of the Fort Scott coal as "too well known to call for a detailed description,"<sup>113</sup> and is authority for the

NOTE 112.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, pp. 36, 37.

NOTE 113.—Prof. B. F. Mudge, in Fourth Ann. Rept., Board Ag., Kan., 1875, p. 126.



statement that considerable quantities were marketed in Kansas City, St. Joseph, Mo., and Council Bluffs, Iowa, along the lines of early railways in that direction. The Osage county coal was perhaps of the most importance at first to the outside world in that it furnished a convenient supply of fuel for the Santa Fe railroad from the time the first few miles were put in operation, as the coal was reached by the railway the first year. By 1874 the output of the Osage county mines was estimated at 73,000 tons, while by the next year it had increased to 123,000 tons,<sup>114</sup> or almost its present volume. The same writer mentions the coal in Cherokee county as being at that time used in the smelting of zinc,<sup>115</sup> a small smelter having been opened at Weir City, in Cherokee county, a couple of years earlier, using ore that was brought from the Joplin mines, which had been opened about five years earlier to some extent. The Cherokee coal at that time, however, had no outside market at all, as the Fort Scott coal was ample to supply the then existing demand and needed a shorter haul to get it to market.

With the exception of the mines in Osage county, which were usually shallow shafts, the coal in the beginning was mined almost entirely by strip-ping from surface outcroppings. The first deep mining in the state was in Leavenworth county, where a company was organized and sinking begun as early as 1859. The promoters of the company had faith, and kept digging until coal was reached, in 1865, at a depth of 713 feet. It proved to be too thin a vein to make mining profitable, however, and it was not until 1870 that the vein that is now operated was reached. In that year the company was capitalized at \$300,000, the shaft enlarged, and the coal placed on the market.<sup>116</sup> The discovery of this deep vein of coal was of comparative importance to the towns of Leavenworth and Atchison, for, being the oldest towns in the state, and having a goodly share of the network of railways, they were in a position to do a fair share of the manufacturing of the state, and the discovery of fuel at their doors was sufficient to give them a considerable impetus at that time.

The later development of the Leavenworth coal field has not been very extensive on account of the greater expense of locating and reaching the coal, and it was not until 1889 that a second company was organized for mining coal at that place. The Kansas Penitentiary, at Lansing, near Leavenworth, is actively engaged in coal mining, and produces something over 15,000 tons per month when running full time. All of this coal is used at the various state institutions, and affects the market only in that it reduces by that much the demand that would otherwise exist at those institutions.

It was in 1876 that the first coal was shipped from the southeastern Kansas district in small quantities, and that was produced entirely by strip-pit mining.<sup>117</sup> In the same year the first shaft was sunk, and a year later a second began operations. It is characteristic that the field was opened by local capital entirely, and it was not until the railroad companies began to acquire lands for the purpose of controlling their own fuel supplies that

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NOTE 114.—Fourth Ann. Rept., Board Ag., Kan., 1875, p. 125.

NOTE 115.—Fourth Ann. Rept., Board Ag., Kan., 1875, p. 126; Cutler's History of Kansas 1883, p. 1152.

NOTE 116.—Leavenworth Post, October 1, 1906.

NOTE 117.—Pittsburg Headlight, Sept. 10, 1904.

outside capital figured to any great extent. The Pittsburg coal was found to be of superior quality for steaming purposes, and, as later investigations have shown, the southern end of the Kansas field is in the lead in this respect.<sup>118</sup> For this reason the demand began to grow for the Pittsburg coal as soon as it became known to the market, and in 1879 two more shafts were put down at Pittsburg. By 1884 the output of the mines at Pittsburg alone was about 25,000 cars annually,<sup>119</sup> or about half the output of the state.<sup>120</sup>

As early as 1882 the first Pittsburg company became allied with the Joplin Railway Company, which was operating a short line of road between Joplin, Mo., and Pittsburg. Then, in 1886, the Santa Fe organized a company at Frontenac, a few miles north of Pittsburg, and from that time the railroads have been the heaviest consumers of the Kansas coal. It is estimated that at the present time the Santa Fe alone, through its supplying company, the Mount Carmel Coal Company, produces a million tons a year,<sup>121</sup> more than a sixth of the total output of the state, and it has been estimated that in all the Kansas railways use about four million tons of coal each year.

The census of 1880 shows the relative importance of the various districts to be about as indicated above. Bourbon county (the Fort Scott district) was far in the lead, and produced more than half the coal of the state, while the Osage mines produced more than the combined output of Cherokee and Crawford counties, which made up the Pittsburg district.<sup>122</sup> But, as has been stated, the Pittsburg coal was only just becoming known at that time, and the rapid growth of the output of that district for the next ten years shows its superiority as a fuel producer. In 1890 the two counties had one-third of the producing shafts in the state, and mined more than half the coal marketed. Osage county, with more shafts than the Pittsburg district, was mining about one-third as much coal, ranking second in the state, while Bourbon county had dropped from the leading place into insignificance, in the ten years, and was producing less than one per cent of the total of the state, and that wholly from local pits. In the meantime the number of mines at Leavenworth had increased to four, and they were mining about twelve per cent of the coal of the state.<sup>123</sup>

The development of the Kansas coal field since 1890 has been marked by the increase in the size and activity of the companies in the Pittsburg district, and with the attendant growth of importance of that field in reference

NOTE 118.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. III, p. 294.

NOTE 119.—*The (Pittsburg) Smelter*, Mar. 22, 1884.

NOTE 120.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 42.

NOTE 121.—Pittsburg *Headlight*, October 10, 1904.

NOTE 122.—The following table shows the relative importance of the leading localities :

District.	Output (tons).	Value.	No. employees.
State.....	771,442	\$1,517,444	5,024
Pittsburg district .....	115,310	261,995	751
Bourbon county.....	405,410	622,098	....
Osage county.....	129,832	355,821	879
Leavenworth.....	60,588	121,170	324

—Tenth Census, Min. Ind., p. 650, *et seq.*

NOTE 123.—The relative importance of the districts in 1890 is shown by the following table :

District.	Output (tons.)	Value.	No. employees.
State .....	2,222,443	\$3,301,788	5,956
Pittsburg district.....	1,376,232	1,634,715	2,825
Osage.....	446,018	903,602	2,032
Leavenworth.....	245,616	415,751	937

to the others in the state. When Haworth issued his report on Kansas coal in 1888 the bulk of the output of the Pittsburg district, then about eighty-five per cent of the total, was mined by only ten companies, each of which built and rented the houses for their employees near their mines, furnished stores of their own for the trade of their miners, and in short built up little communities in the neighborhood of each mine. The mines in other parts of the state have become of lesser importance each year, until at the present time the two counties of the Pittsburg district furnish more than ninety per cent of all coal mined in the state.<sup>124</sup>

The importance of the coal supply, the development of which has just been outlined, cannot be emphasized too much in connection with the growth of manufactures. It is largely the lack of this very advantage which has kept the state of Nebraska from coming to the front in any of the lines of activity that Kansas has pursued. Since the first mines were opened in the state there has been produced an aggregate of eighty-six million tons,<sup>125</sup> worth in round numbers a hundred million dollars at the mines, and supplying numerous industries with power. "It is difficult to surmise what would have been the result to the citizens of our state had coal mining never been followed within our borders. . . . We have various industries, particularly our zinc-smelting and salt-making industries, which probably never would have been in operation had not our mines yielded such large amounts of good and cheap fuel. This is certainly true of our zinc-smelting industries. There is no place in the state showing greater activity than the coal-mining areas in the southeast. Railroads have been built to

NOTE 124.—The percentages of the districts by four-year periods since 1890 are:

	1890.	1894.	1898.	1902.
Pittsburg district.....	64.67%	78.82%	85.51%	89.268%
Leavenworth.....	12.27	9.349	7.91	5.564
Osage.....	7.11	8.197	4.63	3.439

—Min. Res. Kan., 1902, table op. p. 32.

NOTE 125.—The following table shows the production of the Kansas mines to 1907:

Year.	Production, short tons.	Price per ton.	Value of product.
1880.....	550,000	\$1 30	\$715,000
1881.....	750,000	1 35	1,012,300
1882.....	750,000	1 30	975,000
1883.....	900,000	1 28	1,152,000
1884.....	1,100,000	1 25	1,375,000
1885.....	1,400,057	1 23	1,770,270
1886.....	1,350,000	1 20	1,620,000
1887.....	1,750,000	1 40	2,198,110
1888.....	1,700,000	1 50	2,550,000
1889.....	2,112,166	1 48	3,126,005
1890.....	2,516,054	1 30	3,170,870
1891.....	2,758,722	1 31	3,607,375
1892.....	3,007,276	1 81½	3,954,568
1893.....	2,881,931	1 37½	3,960,331
1894.....	3,611,214	1 35½	4,899,774
1895.....	3,190,843	1 12½	3,590,141
1896.....	3,191,748	1 01½	3,227,357
1897.....	3,391,806	1 07	3,488,380
1898.....	3,860,405	1 08½	4,193,159
1899.....	4,096,895	1 25	5,124,248
1900.....	4,269,716	1 28	5,500,709
1901.....	4,793,374	1 30	6,231,386
1902.....	5,230,267	1 36	7,139,139
1903.....	5,839,976	1 52	8,871,953
1904.....	6,333,307	1 52	9,640,771
1905.....	6,423,979	1 45	9,350,542
1906.....	6,024,775	1 47	8,979,553
Totals.....	83,539,580	....	\$112,443,942
Prior to 1880.....	3,000,000	1 50	4,500,000
Grand totals.....	86,539,580	....	\$116,943,942



a wonderful extent, villages have sprung up, and the population has increased, making great business for the merchant and the mechanic, . . . so that the direct benefits of mining reach out to all classes of people, and in the aggregate produce many millions of dollars of business that otherwise could not exist."<sup>126</sup>

The great advantage that the Kansas coal has offered to industry lies not only in its quality and abundance, nor even its convenience, but in the cheapness with which it could be mined and put on the market. Prior to 1880 the average price was not above \$1.50 per short ton, while the average price since that time is only about \$1.30 per ton, prices in every case being for the coal at the mines. The Pittsburg district has always had a great advantage in this respect, and to the present time can get its coal to the surface twenty-five to thirty per cent cheaper than other parts of the state.<sup>127</sup> The first direct outgrowth of the coal supply was the cluster of zinc smelters that were built in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, flourishing up to the time of the advent of the gas smelters, about 1900, and adding considerably to the industries of the state even before the building of the gas smelters.<sup>128</sup> The coal has been found in many cases, where the samples were tested, to be of good coking quality, and some of it was coked for use in the zinc smelters before the day of the gas furnaces. Only one regular establishment<sup>129</sup> for the burning of coke has been built in the state however, and practically all of the coal has been burned in its natural state.

The output of the Kansas coal mines reached its maximum in 1904, as did that of the Oklahoma mines, to be mentioned presently. The reason for this in both cases is the development of enormous quantities of natural gas in both sections, and this new fuel has almost entirely superseded coal for both domestic and factory consumption in the outlying towns, as well as in the immediate oil and gas district. For this, and for the additional reason that many of the railroads in the district have equipped their locomotives with oil burners, and have been using the inferior oils as fuel,<sup>130</sup> the export business of the coal mines has shown a greater proportion than ever before, and only that fact can account for the demand holding up as well as it has.

As has already been suggested, the coal-bearing formations of Kansas extend practically continuously into that part of Oklahoma immediately south of the Kansas district, and as early as 1880 there was some coal mining in that region.<sup>131</sup> The total area of workable coal in Oklahoma is estimated to be about 14,000 square miles, and forms the connecting link between the Kansas fields and those in Arkansas. Conditions have been very unfavorable for the development of this part of the field, owing to the fact that it has been difficult to get satisfactory leases of the lands, which until a short time ago were nearly all in the hands of Creek and Choctaw tribes, all the district being in what remained the Indian Territory up to the admission of the new state. The Interior Department watched the rights of their Indian wards rather jealously, and fixed the royalties that the leaseholders had to pay. Up to the time of the report of the Dawes Commission on Indian Affairs, in 1898, this royalty was fixed at seventeen and two-thirds

NOTE 126.—Haworth, Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 40.

NOTE 127.—Min. Res. U. S., 1906, p. 676.

NOTE 128.—Haworth, Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 34.

NOTE 129.—Min. Res. Kan., 1903, p. 24. NOTE 130.—Ibid. 1906, p. 650. NOTE 131.—Ibid. p. 671.

cents per short ton of screened coal.<sup>132</sup> The commission reduced that figure to fifteen cents per ton of screened coal, but even with that concession the operators found themselves confined to the southern market, as they could not compete at all with the Kansas coal. In 1898 the Secretary of the Interior exercised the authority given him to reduce the royalties where necessary, and after a thorough hearing reduced the royalties to ten cents per ton of screened coal.<sup>133</sup> With this concession the output of the mines on the Indian lands almost doubled in a little more than a year, and continued to increase until the opening of the Texas oil field, which produced an abundance of inferior oil that could be used only for fuel. In consequence of the cheapness of the new fuel, the territory coal was cut off from a large share of the market that had caused its development, and the production began to fall off after 1903. How long this will continue it is impossible to say, but it seems probable that the output will increase from this time. The production for 1907 shows an increase of over half a million tons,<sup>134</sup> the first since fuel oil came into competition.

Although the production of the Oklahoma district has been approximately half that of the Kansas district for the past six years, its importance in the development of the manufactures of the section has been practically nothing, for, owing to the condition just mentioned, it was unable to enter at all the region where the industries were building. Its importance in this connection lies chiefly in that it will at some future time, when the supply of oil and gas will inevitably fail, have to furnish the fuel and power for the industries that are now using the cheaper and more convenient fuel. As it is in no sense the province of this discussion to speculate on that contingency, the outline of the growth of the fuel supply will end with this brief treatment of the Oklahoma coal.<sup>135</sup>

Practically contemporaneous with the development of the coal supply in Kansas came the beginnings of the mining of lead and zinc in the coal region, and in a very short time the smelting industry grew up around the coal mines, using the cheap and abundant fuel in reducing the minerals for market. Even ten years or more before coal was known in Cherokee and Crawford counties the first lead mines were opened in Jasper county, Missouri, adjoining the coal fields, and probably a thousand tons of lead had been mined and smelted in Jasper county before 1860,<sup>136</sup> practically all of it, however, with wood as fuel. The first discovery that is authenticated was two miles east of Joplin in 1849, and the next year lead was discovered

NOTE 132.—U. S. Geol. Surv., Min. Res., 1898, part VI, p. 413.

NOTE 133.—Ibid. p. 415.

NOTE 134.—Eng. & Min. Jour., January 4, 1908, p. 80.

NOTE 135.—The following table shows the output of coal from the Oklahoma district by five-year periods since 1880:

	<i>Amount.</i>	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Av. price.</i>	<i>No. employees.</i>
1880.....	120,947	.....	.....	.....
1885.....	500,000	.....	.....	.....
1890.....	869,229	\$1,579,188	\$1 82	2,571
1895.....	1,211,185	1,737,354	1 43	3,212
1900.....	1,992,298	.....	.....	.....
1901.....	2,421,781	3,915,268	1 62	.....
1903.....	3,517,388	6,386,463	1 82	7,704
1905.....	2,924,427	5,145,358	1 76	7,712
1906.....	2,629,731	5,482,366	1 92	8,251

The above figures are collected from the reports on Mineral Resources of the United States for 1905, p. 589, for 1906, p. 670, and from the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, January 4, 1908, p. 80. The figures for 1901 and 1903 are introduced for the sake of completeness in the above table, and in order to show the falling off of production as the oil and gas field was developed.

NOTE 136.—Mo. Geol. Surv., vol. VI, p288.

within the present limits of the town. "About 1851 mining began in earnest at different points in Jasper county [Missouri] along Center creek and Turkey creek [north of Joplin]. . . . These . . . mines were producing so much lead ore at the time of the Civil War that they became objects of no little importance to each of the belligerent parties. . . . It is doubtless true that many people came across the line into Cherokee county and at least suspected that the vicinity of Galena was lead-bearing. . . . In fact, with the settlement of Cherokee county, many rumors were afloat about the Indians having mined lead ore here and there in different places."<sup>137</sup>

Immediately following the Civil War, the mining operations were not of much importance in Jasper county, and it was nearly fifteen years before the rediscovery of lead in Joplin started the mining fever anew. In 1871 the mining operations began in earnest. In 1875 mines were opened at Webb City<sup>138</sup> (about ten miles north of Joplin). About a year later, early in 1876, a well digger found a large pocket of the richest galena that had been found, while digging a well on Short creek, ten miles west of Joplin, in Cherokee county, Kansas, and as soon as the news of the find became known companies were formed, and prospecting began in earnest on the Kansas side of the line. "In the spring of 1877 the same prospector, while digging in Short creek valley about a mile above Bonanza (the name given the first Kansas mine), came upon a large body of pure lead ore that produced several hundred dollars' worth of metal. Again the excitement was renewed. . . . Almost every shaft that was sunk found large quantities of lead near the surface. . . . It is estimated that within three months from the discovery of lead in this particular locality not less than twelve or fifteen thousand people had encamped on the grounds."<sup>139</sup>

It is a peculiar thing that for the first few years after the opening of the Joplin-Galena district, in the '70's even, but little attention was given to the abundance of zinc ore that was uncovered by the prospectors in their search. One reason was that the ore required a better fuel supply than the first miners possessed to reduce it, and as the first railroad did not reach Joplin until about 1875 it was an expensive matter to get the bulkier and less valuable (at that time) "jack" to market. The Matthieson & Hegeler smelter of La Salle, Ill., had, it is true, a representative in Joplin before 1875, "but in these early days zinc ore was not reckoned of any considerable importance, and, therefore, its discovery attracted little attention."<sup>140</sup> As early as 1870 zinc was discovered in Kansas, near Galena, and one mine produced a considerable quantity of it, marketing at Joplin with the buyers for the La Salle smelter.<sup>141</sup> The discovery of lead in the same vicinity about the same time put a quietus on the zinc activity for a time, and all energies were bent toward the production of the more profitable ore. The development of the deposits of zinc ore was inevitable, however, for "the two ores are so intimately associated that they cannot well be separated in a description of their occurrence. Scarcely a shaft that did not produce ores

NOTE 137.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. VIII, p. 20.

NOTE 138.—Ibid. p. 21.

NOTE 139.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, pp. 17-18.

NOTE 140.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. VIII, p. 21.

NOTE 141.—Ibid. p. 21.



of both metals. Frequently the same shovel of earth will have the two mixed in about equal quantities."<sup>142</sup>

In 1873 a small zinc smelter was started at Weir City, about twenty miles from the zinc deposits at Galena, using the recently discovered coal deposits as fuel, and hauling the ore by wagon to the smelter. As it required about three and a half tons of coal to reduce a ton of zinc ore,<sup>143</sup> this was for a time the only feasible way. Within two years, however, the St. Louis & San Francisco railway reached Joplin and Galena, giving access to the Illinois smelters, and the gap between the Frisco and the K. C., F. S. & M. railways was bridged, allowing shipment of the ore to the Weir City-Pittsburg district by rail, and the output of zinc ore began to assume the leading position that it has held ever since. At the present time about seven times as much zinc as lead is produced in the Kansas-Missouri district.<sup>144</sup>

With the opening of the Kansas smelters and the connection with the Illinois smelters the output of zinc grew rapidly, and the mining processes became of a less experimental character. It was at first feared that the ore deposits would not prove lasting, and the first mines gave every evidence of this fear. The improvements were all of a temporary character, and the operations were confined to the surface deposits. Another reason was that in most cases the miners had not the means to sink their prospect shafts very far, and in nine cases out of ten the hole would be abandoned if it did not encounter a body of ore near the surface, simply for the want of funds to go further. In this respect the early mines were much like the prospect holes that the average gold seeker puts down in the boom days. "It was only a short time, however, until matters assumed a more . . . substantial form. Regular mining companies were organized; each controlled the properties belonging to it, and conducted its operations in a systematic manner."<sup>145</sup>

Rather strangely, it was not until the mines had been in successful operation for more than twenty years that much outside capital was attracted into the mining business, probably because the capitalists shared in the fear that the deposits would not last long enough to make mining properties paying investments. The early smelters partook of the same characteristics, and, while the smelter men came into the field from the East, in many cases the first smelters were small affairs, and the volume of business did little more than to net interest on the investment, plus wages to the owner-laborers, who went into the business on a partnership basis, and did much of the labor for themselves. The production of two to three million dollars' worth of wealth every year by the mines brought a considerable aggregate of wealth into a small section of the country in the course of time, however, and the development was fairly thorough and satisfactory before the lead and zinc mines began to figure in the financial world as investments.

Then it was that the high range of prices of zinc in 1899 attracted Eastern capitalists to the advantages of the Missouri-Kansas field. Spelter prices for that year were twenty per cent higher than they had been for several years before, and as the permanent character of the field was well

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NOTE 142.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 19.

NOTE 143.—Ibid. p. 33.

NOTE 144.—*Zinc-Lead Reporter*, 1907, p. 13.

NOTE 145.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 18.

established by this time the prospect of large gains brought a great influx of capital that continued for two or three years and resulted in a thorough exploitation of the whole district.<sup>146</sup> It was estimated that in about nine months after the rush opened in the spring of 1899 the number of new mills in the district was almost doubled.<sup>147</sup> Much of this extension was, however, speculative, and a great deal of outside money was poorly invested and lost.<sup>148</sup> Much of the activity for the year was *bona fide* development, and there was a substantial increase in the production of the district, which in that year aggregated more than ten millions of dollars.

The growth of the output of the district has been remarkably consistent, and represents the combined influences of the addition of outside capital, the extension of the territorial extent of the district, and the deeper development of the deposits. The unprecedented rush of capital to the Joplin districts (already referred to), in 1899 was not accompanied by an increase at all proportional in the output, and the following year of 1900 fell off considerably, and the two years from 1898 to 1900 showed a gain little greater than the normal increase for ten years before. Ore prices have been a very important factor in determining the production of the district, and several times within the last fifteen years the prices have been low enough to cause the temporary closing of the mines for higher prices. In the case of lead alone, however, the increase has not been so noticeable, though the statement above is true in the main of lead, as it is for the gross output. The ten years from 1887 to 1897 represented a comparatively steady output, aggregating about three and a half million dollars' worth of the two ores each year. The ten years after 1897, however, saw a remarkable increase, owing to the influences mentioned, and in that time the output nearly quadrupled in value.<sup>149</sup>

It is estimated that the value of the ore shipped out of this district since its first opening to the present time is not less than a hundred and eighty millions of dollars,<sup>150</sup> and as this figure represents practically a net addition from the outside, at least until ten years ago, when outside capital began to claim a share, the importance of these mines in an economic way to this

NOTE 146.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. VIII, p. 31.

NOTE 147.—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 20.

NOTE 148.—Haworth, in his report on lead and zinc, says: "The unusually high prices resulted in a great influx of capital and promoters, who would buy property here and sell it to newly formed companies. Mining properties sold for from two to five times their value, and a great deal of outside money was so poorly invested that it was entirely lost. These bad results were partly due to the promoters who paid such large prices, and partly to a lack of proper management by the new companies. . . . Yet with all these hindrances the lead and zinc mining territory of Kansas and Missouri prospered."—Univ. Geol. Surv., *supra cit.*

NOTE 149.—The ore shipments and values for the ten years from 1897 to 1907 are as follows for the district:

	<i>Zinc (short tons.)</i>	<i>Lead.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
1897.....	177,976	30,105	\$4,726,300
1898.....	234,455	26,687	7,119,865
1899.....	255,088	23,888	10,715,305
1900.....	248,446	29,132	7,992,106
1901.....	258,306	35,177	7,971,650
1902.....	262,545	31,625	9,430,890
1903.....	234,873	28,656	9,471,395
1904.....	267,240	34,362	11,487,350
1905.....	252,435	31,679	13,302,800
1906.....	278,929	39,188	15,128,175
1907.....	286,587	42,084	15,419,727

—Joplin *Daily Globe*, January 26, 1908.

NOTE 150.—Joplin *Daily Globe*, January 26, 1908.

section of the country was very great. These figures do not include the addition in value that the smelting industry, which followed close after the mines, put on the raw ores. At first only a small part of the Joplin ores were smelted in this section, to be sure, but as long as twenty years ago the Kansas smelters were claiming probably half the ores from the Joplin district, and for the past ten years, since the opening of the gas supply and its utilization in the smelters, nearly all the output has been reduced in the Kansas and Oklahoma smelters, which are now producing two-thirds of the spelter of the United States. As the smelting industry will be taken up in detail in a separate section, it is sufficient to merely suggest here the importance of the business which has been the principal activity of several of the towns in the fuel belt for years. "The population has been increased many thousands, practically all of whom subsist in one way or another upon the outside money [that the mining and smelting industries bring in]. This money is paid for the raw ore and metals fresh from the smelters, going to the merchants and . . . laborers, a great portion of it reaching the farmers in the surrounding neighborhoods. The great increase in population has been associated with social, intellectual . . . and political activities until the extent of the influence along these lines has become so great, and ramifies all phases of activities, . . . scores and even hundreds of miles in extent, so that no one will ever be able to summarize the influence for the last thirty years, or for the future."<sup>151</sup>

While the above quotation puts the case strongly, the importance is not much exaggerated, as is shown by the growth of towns, the extension of a network of railways, and the prosperity of a section of the country that would not be even up to the average but for the mines and smelters, with the markets and other activities that follow such an addition to the population as this branch of mineral industry brought in. The coincidence of the lead and zinc mining territory with the fuel belt, utilizing first the coal and later the natural gas a little farther removed from the oil supply, has undoubtedly been the basis of the greater share of the prosperity of that section of the country.

#### MANUFACTURING SINCE 1880.

As has already been suggested, even before 1880 the older towns in the eastern part of the state of Kansas that had been favored by the first and most convenient lines of railways were taking the lead in the manufactures of the section. There was a considerable rivalry among them for the leading place in trade and industry, and each of them did everything possible to advertise and foster any new industries. This situation continued very noticeably for a period of about fifteen years longer, or until about 1895, which date marks the beginning, to all intents and purposes, of the conditions that now exist. This period marks the rise of a half dozen towns to places of considerable importance by a considerable increase in number and character of manufacturing enterprises, as well as a healthy growth of business, reaching its culmination, however, in the early '90's. Since that time the alteration of trade conditions, the development of other and more advantageous centers, and other influences, have combined to relegate some of these towns that aspired to metropolitan positions to second- and third-rate positions.

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NOTE 151.—Haworth, in *Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan.*, vol. VIII, p. 32.



Conditions were in general favorable for the growth of a number of manufacturing interests to supply the wants of the immediate country and of those sections lying farther west. Centralization had not been carried out to any great extent in the industries farther east with which the new establishments had to compete. Freight rates were high—much higher, as a matter of course, on most manufactured articles than on the materials from which the finished articles were made. Hand labor was of greater importance then than a few years later, and the small shops were not at the disadvantage that they are now. Then, too, the western country was new, and the field was not developed commercially as it came to be a dozen years later, and the new manufacturer had all the advantages of local spirit and reputation, knowledge of the needs of his market, and few of the disadvantages that the small factory now has. The factory that entered the field at this time had an even chance to land the business, and almost without exception the new enterprises prospered and encouraged others to come in.

It was natural that the older towns of the richer northeastern part of the state should be the ones to feel the influence of these conditions most, and for this reason, in connection with the reasons mentioned above, Leavenworth, Atchison and Lawrence especially experienced a very flattering growth in a manufacturing way from about 1875 into the early '90's. Topeka, Emporia and Fort Scott had the same experiences, though in hardly as marked a degree. Leavenworth and Lawrence, particularly at one time, had at least double the number of industries that they have at the present time, and each had rosy hopes for industrial futures. Furniture, iron-working establishments and implement factories were among their best paying and most characteristic enterprises. It will be observed that many of these establishments were built up on the basis of conditions that were only temporary, and as the conditions changed and those industries were placed on a footing of competitive relationship with other localities natural unfitness in some cases caused a falling off in business, and finally discontinuance or removal to a better field.

The example of Lawrence, situated as it is without the advantages of fuel supply or specially advantageous transportation facilities, is perhaps the strongest representative of this movement. Much of the activity is due directly to the fact that there were a few men like A. Henley, one-time state senator, and former Congressman J. D. Bowersock, who, with money to invest, put it into manufacturing enterprises in their own town. Conditions were for a time such that they prospered at it, and other enterprises came after, encouraged no doubt by their successes. And further than this, these men were interested to some extent in every important enterprise that came into the community, so their influence for expansion was effective, both as a motive power and as an example.

One of the best examples in Lawrence of the growth and later decadence of industry was perhaps that of the Consolidated Barbed Wire Company, so called, which began in a very small way as early as 1878. It was at first largely a personal enterprise, and the output was but a few hundred pounds of wire a day. But in 1888 the company was organized and incorporated, and the equipment increased. The manufacture of nails and woven fencing was added, and later, as the demand grew, of bale ties. In 1890 the company employed forty men and had an average output of thirty tons per day, which was a considerable matter in those days. The business was extended

rapidly until 1895. The products were marketed in Kansas, Indian Territory (Oklahoma), Colorado, and even New Mexico. A contemporary account states that the Lawrence company "competed successfully with the Eastern manufacturers,"<sup>152</sup> and the growth of the business for a few years certainly bears out the statement.

After 1895, however, conditions rapidly became such that the business became less profitable each year, and in 1898 it was sold out to Eastern competitors, who closed and dismantled the mills. At least three good reasons can be assigned for the decadence of this particular industry. In the first place, it began and prospered on account of the fact that the company had the services of a man who built for them the machines that were then used in the making of the wire, and when larger machines were introduced that required less personal attention they were at a disadvantage. The total lack of material was another factor that condemned the industry to failure as soon as it should be subjected to close competition with more favored localities. The reduction in prices about 1895 was the other factor, and all combined to make it advisable for the owners to dispose of the industry at the first opportunity. "Under local management during high prices, and while the demand exceeded the supply and profits were high, the industry could operate successfully. But close competition was more than the conditions here could stand."<sup>153</sup>

Another enterprise that the same men started in 1893 was the manufacture of the Eclipse hay press, and for a time, two or three years probably, the company prospered. Owing to the fact that they had all the business that they could manage without this new enterprise, however, and for the further reason that their machine had some defective parts, the company sold out all their rights and the business moved to Kansas City. This will be observed in the case of many enterprises about this time, and the movement toward the city on the Kaw will be noticed more particularly with the view of pointing out the reasons for the movement to a larger center with less favorable labor conditions, where the cost of material equipment is proportionally larger.

Another of the large industries of Lawrence that is on record was the canning company, which however is still running, though on a smaller scale than formerly. It was organized in 1881, and increased its business as the demand for canned products grew, until in 1890 it was putting up in the neighborhood of a million cans annually. The pay roll of the company was from \$1200 to \$2500 per week, according to the season of the year, and the products found a market in ten states, extending as far west as the coast. "It is the largest canning factory between Baltimore and San Francisco . . . and the only one in Kansas using all kinds of fruit."<sup>154</sup> For the same reasons, undoubtedly, that the canning business has not been more characteristic of this section of the country, the Lawrence establishment found its territory restricted early after this, and it now supplies only local markets. The competition of the surer fruit states was more than the conditions here could stand, and now the factory has to depend on the advantage in freight rates in the home market.

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NOTE 152.—Lawrence *Daily Record*, September 12, 1890.

NOTE 153.—Interview, J. D. Bowersock, 1908.

NOTE 154.—Lawrence *Daily Record*, September 12, 1890; *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 8, 1888.

Another Lawrence enterprise that disappeared about 1890 was the old Lawrence Plow Company, that was one of the first to make its appearance. So long as hand labor could compete in the business the factory flourished, and its business was a considerable part of the town's activity for many years, until matters adjusted themselves, as in the case of the wire factory mentioned above, and the factory was discontinued. An iron foundry, established as a small shop almost with the founding of the town,<sup>155</sup> and which rose to some importance in the later '80's, is now little more than an insignificant repair shop.

Also characteristic of the extension of business about 1890 was a large manufacturing chemical company,<sup>156</sup> first established in 1880, and recapitalized in 1890 at \$90,000. At that time it employed about fifty men, and manufactured patent medicines, extracts, toilet sundries and the like. "The business, formerly confined to Kansas, now has a branch at Salt Lake City, and covers Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, Indian Territory, Washington and Oregon. Its increase of business in the last year has been 400 per cent."<sup>157</sup> Shortly afterward, however, this enterprise went the way of the others mentioned, and nothing came in to take its place in the town's business. The men who had their money invested began in many cases to seek other investments in the state and elsewhere. The Henleys, for instance, who had been one of the moving influences in the earlier days, went out into the central part of the state and invested their capital in the growing gypsum cement plaster industry.

In a considerable degree the two older towns, Atchison and Leavenworth, the first settled points on the Missouri river in Kansas, show the same extension of manufacturing up to about the early '90's, and a subsequent decline. In the case of Leavenworth particularly the decline was very great. Being one of the points selected for the beginning point of the Union Pacific railway, and favored by the location on the river, the town cherished for a long time the hope of becoming the metropolis of the state. In the first thirty years after its founding in 1854, this ambition seemed in a fair way of realization. But it is an interesting fact that twenty years ago the town had more factories, exclusive of the small establishments, such as bakeries and confectionery shops, and establishments used in the trades, such as carpentering and the like, than it has now. It had then the largest wagon factory in the state and four smaller, but active, factories; its seven flour mills included the largest and best equipped mills in this section; and in 1879 it is recorded that "they are shipping their products all over Kansas, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri."<sup>158</sup> Its iron foundries employed some 500 men, and were growing rapidly; it had six furniture factories, including the pioneer and largest in the Middle West. Besides these industries the town had the only boot and shoe factory in the state, and one of the first packing houses west of the Missouri river.

Atchison, while never cherishing the same pretensions for first place industrially, was enjoying a period of industrial activity that it has not seen for the last fifteen years. A contemporary account states that the town had

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NOTE 155.—Topeka *Daily Capital*, August 8, 1888.

NOTE 156.—The Leis Chemical Company.

NOTE 157.—Lawrence *Daily Record*, September 12, 1890.

NOTE 158.—Leavenworth County Clippings, vol. I (not paged).



sixty factories employing about 1000 men in 1879,<sup>159</sup> while the last census lists but sixty-one factories, employing 940 men.<sup>160</sup> One of its big industries was the Fowler packing plant, established in 1878, with an equipment of \$175,000, and employing about 500 men. The capacity of this first large packing house in this region was about 3000 hogs per day, and the early success of the venture did much to encourage the coming in of the other packing establishments a little later. The census of 1880 reports five carriage factories, seven flour mills, five brickyards and four furniture factories, and not half of these remain at the present time.

The extent of the falling off of the industries in the two Missouri river towns is shown by a comparison of the census figures for the number of leading industries for 1880<sup>161</sup> with the last report of the state Bureau of Labor.<sup>162</sup> Leavenworth had in 1880 forty factories in nine of her foremost industries, while in the same industries in 1907 only eighteen were reported. In the same time the number in Atchison dropped more than half—from twenty-seven to eleven—in the enterprises that constitute her leading activities. The only branch of industry that has not suffered a decline in the period is the iron industry, which has lost nothing in the number of establishments, and has continued to grow at a normal rate ever since the beginning. The reason for this exception is undoubtedly twofold to a certain extent. In the first place, every section of the country finds it advantageous to be self-supplying in certain kinds of ironwork. It is cheaper to have the pig iron and the charcoal shipped in and the castings made near the point of consumption than to pay the higher rates on finished articles that are made at a distance, even with the advantage of the coincidence of the supply of fuel and ore. Further, the industry as it was established at Leavenworth and Atchison was not such that it requires the environment of a large city, or even of extensive railway connections, for it has little need of a distributing center.

One of the representative iron plants began operations as a small foundry in 1872, and gradually increased its output as the needs of the country called for more of the product. The increase of the equipment and the standing of this foundry enabled it to branch out into railway work about three years ago, and it is now supplying a considerable share of the castings used in car repairing in the near-by shops. Leavenworth has also two foundries engaged in the manufacture of bridge and structural steel that have never felt any serious diminution in business since the first establishment thirty years ago. To be sure, none of these enterprises rank very high in point of size among manufacturing plants of the world, but they have been for years and are still supplying a good share of the local demand for their line of ironwork, and support a not inconsiderable part of the population of the two towns. In order to live and prosper, it has been necessary for these plants to change as the conditions and the trade they cater to has changed, and intelligent personal management must be given credit for a part of the prosperity.<sup>163</sup>

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NOTE 159.—Atchison *Daily Champion*, February 20, 1879.

NOTE 160.—Census Manufactures, Kansas, 1905, page 14.

NOTE 161.—Tenth Census, Manufactures, pp. 241, 242.

NOTE 162.—Kan. Bureau of Labor Rept., 1907, pp. 254, 284, 285.

NOTE 163.—“The conditions of trade and manufacturing caused from time to time the wiping out of much that used to prevail, causing some things to be obsolete, or too expensive to keep

Contemporaneous with the decline of the towns of northeastern Kansas, and almost commensurate with it, is the development of the trade and manufacturing center at the towns Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kan. The beginning of this growth and centralization at the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers precedes by some years the noticeable decline of the other towns, but it got its principal impetus in the same period of prosperity, in the later '80's and early '90's, that marked the culmination of the activity of the other centers. At the same time another center was developing at Omaha, Neb., started apparently by the activity that the coming of the packing houses gave to that city when the large Eastern packers entered the field about twenty years ago. To this time Omaha, including the packing enterprises in South Omaha, comprises nearly four-fifths of the manufactures of Nebraska,<sup>164</sup> and for this reason the attention that is given to that state in this paper will be centered in the development of its principal city. This will be taken up after the consideration of the growth of Kansas City.

The growth of a manufacturing center at Kansas City, as well as the rise of its commercial activity, can truly be said to be neither the result of accident or design. It was the result of the natural fitness of the location with reference to traditional lines of communication, as has already been suggested in this paper, and its location at the gateway of commerce to the Southwest.<sup>165</sup> In a way, the growth was in the face of a determination that it should not be the leading town, the competing points making strenuous efforts to counteract the progress that it was making as a trading point. The Pacific Railway of Missouri extended its line on to Leavenworth in an early day, and boasted that it would make Kansas City nothing more than a whistling station, and cutoffs were built to Lawrence and St. Joseph from points east of Kansas City, with the same intent. The Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western built from Leavenworth to Lawrence, avoiding Kansas City, and the Santa Fe did not fill up its gap between Lawrence and

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up; therefore, conversant with the want of the railroads, I conceived the idea of a more thorough supplying of their wants, and as they needed a heavy tonnage of supplies that otherwise had to come a long distance, I was enabled to find a market at home for such wants, and over 200 men are now engaged in supplying this market."—Interview, John Seaton, Atchison, 1908.

NOTE 164.—Census Manufactures, Nebraska, 1905, p. 15.

NOTE 165.—Live stock "is an item of business which, we think, more than any other connected with our city, is calculated to astonish those who have given no direct attention to Western trade and development. It is, in magnitude, the heaviest item in our money transactions. There are many causes combining to make this result, and which have made Kansas City the stock market of the Western plains.

"In the first place, Kansas City is the depot of the Santa Fe and Mexican trade, and consequently the best market for oxen. It is also the nearest river point to the stock-growing regions of Arkansas, Texas, and the Cherokee country, and the first place they strike the Missouri river on their trips north, to California, Salt Lake, and the United States forts and trading points north of the Platte. It is also the nearest and most accessible river town to southwest Missouri and over two-thirds of the territory of Kansas at which emigrants and others can land and outfit. It is also the best starting point for stock direct to California, Utah and Fort Laramie, as grass is from two to three weeks earlier by the Kansas than by the Platte, water more abundant, and less liability to Indian depredations.

"These facts all conspiring here for the past few years made this the point of exchange and sale with stock drovers and stock raisers, and it is here that stock buyers come to meet the drovers and make their purchases.

"The drover of Texas buys cattle and drives them to this point, where he meets Missouri and California drovers, to whom he sells; thus making it the rendezvous of the cattle trade of the whole country west of the Mississippi. We have also known large lots sold here for Chicago and points east. The same may be said of dealers in mules and horses, for it is the nearest and best market to the country producing them, and is the point to which emigration looks for its supply.

"When these facts are considered, the large amount of our live-stock sales will be readily understood. We have known as high as 15,000 head of stock sold here in one week during the season. This, large as it may seem, is but the beginning of what is to come. We see, by the Texas papers, that the drovers from that state who have returned report in the most favorable

Kansas City for several years after the road was first put into operation.<sup>166</sup> But there were some conditions that no amount of effort could counteract. In the first place, the most of the settlers came by steamboat across Missouri for the first few years, and Kansas City had not only one of the best landings on the river, but one of the best ferries as well; and, as has already been seen, the proximity of the Santa Fe trail to the west and the military road south made the town an objective point for the settlers on that account. Naturally they desired to get their provisions as near their new homes as possible, and as supplies could be brought from St. Louis by boat in about five days,<sup>167</sup> its trade was soon growing rapidly.

Another thing that made for the growth of Kansas City even in the early days of the settlement was the fact that the bulk of the settlement soon after the war was to the southwest rather than in the direction of the towns farther up the river, and the fact that there were no towns in the southern part of the state for a long time that had the benefit of railway connections such as would enable them to fill the place of distributing centers. Then when the emigration began in earnest to Oregon and California, passing through Kansas City as the shortest route by rail or trail, as the case might be, and taking supplies from the country surrounding it, the growth of the town was rapid and permanent. The fitness of the location was soon apparent to the financial world, and the railways were soon either seeking it as a terminus or, as in the case of the older roads, extending their lines to meet the trade that it commanded. So much for the advantages. The effect was for a good many years confined to the extension of the importance of the town as a trading and distributing point, and in the meantime the competing towns, disappointed in that respect, were building up their manufacturing interests in all the lines that the conditions of the new country demanded.

One of the first manufacturing ventures of Kansas City was the building of a flour mill soon after the war, and with the growth of the country the output of the Kansas City flour mills gradually became important.<sup>168</sup> At times in the early history of the mills they had to go into Missouri instead of the country across the line west for the wheat to grind into flour, and

light the advantages of our market, and no doubt many who have heretofore taken other routes will next season drive to this point. Should the Mormon war be commenced in earnest next season, as we have no doubt it will, it will have the effect of sending all the California droves this way, by the more southern route, as well as add immensely to our sales for army supplies, transportation, etc. From these causes we should not be surprised to see our stock sales increase 100 per cent over last year."

"Statement of live stock sold in this market for the year ending December 31, 1857: [We compile the following from our live-stock market reports of the past season, as published by us weekly, from the actual sales made by and through our stock dealers, and from statistics furnished us by city butchers.]

14,700 horses, mules and oxen, averaged at \$86 per head.....	\$1,262,200 00
52,000 stock cattle, from Missouri, the Cherokee country, Texas and Arkansas, sold here for the California, Salt Lake, Forts Kearney and Laramie, and for home markets, averaged at \$18 per head.....	939,000 00
Total.....	\$2,198,200 00

[We have no data from which to judge of the number of hogs and sheep sold, and prefer not to estimate.]"

—C. C. Spalding, *Annals of the City of Kansas*, 1858, pp. 78, 79.

NOTE 166.—*The Kansas City Annual*, 1907, p. 13.

NOTE 167.—*Ibid.* p. 11.

NOTE 168.—"The history of milling here began a little more than forty years ago with the building of the first flour mill near the river bank in what is now the north end of town. Somewhat later mills were built in other parts of the present city, on Delaware and Walnut streets, and in the west bottoms. There were also, from time to time, mills built across the line in Kansas. Of the older mills only the Zenith, at First street and Troost avenue, now remains. It was built in the later '70's, and has been so enlarged and rebuilt that practically nothing of the original mill remains."—*Kansas City Annual*, 1907, p. 119.



the town did not for many years display any unusual activity in the manufacture of flour. With the introduction of hard wheat by the Mennonites from Russia, who settled in Kansas in the '70's,<sup>169</sup> the supply of wheat became dependable, and Kansas City began to prosper in the milling business, as did the other towns of the wheat-raising belt. The hard wheat did not become a practical factor until late in the '80's, so that the growth of the milling business in Kansas City received this stimulus at practically the same time that other industries were enlarging their capacities and the movement toward centralization began to place manufacturing in all lines on the present basis.

The advantages of location and trade that have been outlined made Kansas City an especially favorable location for flour milling as soon as the exportation of Kansas flour began (about 1880, or possibly a little earlier to surrounding states) and to the fact that the city is the objective shipping point for a large share of the product that is not ground in the wheat belt must be given the credit for much of the recent development.<sup>170</sup> Since 1890 the production of wheat began to assume its present proportions, and since that time, and principally in the later '90's, the largest of the Kansas City flour mills have been built. At the present time Kansas City mills have a capacity of approximately 3,000,000 barrels annually, and send their products wherever American flour is consumed. "The recent great additions to the city's milling capacity will greatly advance the name and reputation of Kansas City as a milling center. It will be long before any such an aggregation of mills will be erected in any center as now stands at the head of the Mississippi river. The tendency is towards a wider distribution of mills as near as possible to the wheat fields. In spite of this tendency, however, Kansas City has doubled its capacity within the last few years. It will continue to grow, and within a few years we will see a milling capacity here of 20,000 to 25,000 barrels per day (against 15,000 barrels daily now)."<sup>171</sup>

The meat packing industry was one of the first manufacturing enterprises now characteristic of Kansas City to make its appearance. "The pioneer<sup>172</sup> in this field was Edward W. Pattison, who in 1867 established a house at Junction City, where he formed a company and packed about 1000 cattle. . . . In 1868, in company with J. W. L. Slavens, he built the first packing house in Kansas City, and that year packed about 4209 cattle, the first beef packing done in the city." In 1869 Mr. Slavens sold his interest to Dr. F. B. Nofsinger. In the summer of 1880 Jacob Dold & Sons, one of the largest packing firms in Buffalo, N. Y., purchased the packing house of Nofsinger & Co., and still remain the representatives of the pioneer packers of Kansas City. In 1868 Thomas J. Bigger, formerly of Belfast, Ireland, began the packing of hogs for the Irish and English markets, the first enterprise of this kind started in Kansas City after the war. In 1869 Mr. Slavens, of the pioneer firm, formed a copartnership with Ferguson, Slavens & Co., which afterwards became Slavens & Oburn, and later the Morrison Packing Company.

"In 1870 Plankinton & Armour rented the packing house of Pattison &

NOTE 169.—Fifteenth Bien. Rept., Kan. Board Ag., p. 945, *et seq.*

NOTE 170.—The Kansas City Annual, 1907, p. 119.

NOTE 171.—*Ibid.*, p. 121.

NOTE 172.—"The History of Kansas City, Mo.," by Theo. S. Case, 1888, is the authority for the statements regarding the early Kansas City packers, while the coming of the present packers is noted as the firm name appears in Hoye's Kansas City Directories.

Nofsinger, but in the following year built their own house. The firm had already two large houses, one in Milwaukee and one in Chicago. From the date of the establishment of their business here the steady and rapid progress of the great interest they represented may be said to have commenced in Kansas City." About 1884 John Plankinton retired from the firm, and the present corporation of Armour Brothers Packing Company was formed.

The Fowler Brothers, with packing houses in Liverpool, New York and Chicago, began beef and pork packing and lard refining in Kansas City in 1881.<sup>173</sup> Of the other packing houses now here, Swift & Co., of Chicago, began operations in 1888; Schwarzschild & Sulzberger Company, of New York, about 1892; the Cudahy Packing Company in 1900; Morris Nelson & Co. about 1903, John Morrell Packing Company the same year, and the American Dressed Beef and Provision Company about 1904.

There was no lack of cattle for a basis of beef packing. It is estimated that at the close of the Civil War there were in Texas literally millions of cattle for which there was practically no market. The only way to reach Chicago, at that time the principal Northern center, was to drive the herds through Kansas and into Missouri to some railroad terminus.<sup>174</sup>

The opening of this great cattle-raising region by the railroads soon made Kansas City<sup>175</sup> an important shipping point. "It is already the second hog and cattle market of the great West, and has already outstripped St. Louis, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and all the rest except Chicago."<sup>176</sup> The reason assigned by this writer for the development of the market so rapidly was the competition of the southwestern railways that entered Kansas City.

This was the situation at the time of the perfection of the refrigerator car system, which has made it possible to ship fresh meats the world over, and as soon as the cars were proven the Chicago, New York and Boston packers began to look about for a western location for packing houses. It was about this time that the citizens of Omaha, Neb., succeeded in interesting some outsiders in the establishment of a cattle market and packing center in Omaha, and in 1884 a stockyards company was organized with a

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NOTE 173.—They had established a large pork packing plant at Atchison in 1878.—Atchison *Daily Champion*, February 20, 1879.

NOTE 174.—Joseph G. McCoy tells in his "Historical Sketches of the Cattle Trade in the West and Southwest," Kansas City, 1874, of the efforts of himself and brother to secure railroad shipping points in western Kansas for the Texas drovers of 1867-'73. The Kansas quarantine law of 1867 prevented Texas cattle being driven into Kansas east of the sixth principal meridian and north of township 19, except during December, January and February of each year. The McCoy's induced the Kansas Pacific to put in a switch at Abilene, just east of this meridian, late in 1867, and advertised the town among Texas drovers with such success as to attract 35,000 cattle to that point the first year, together with Eastern and Western buyers. The trade increased yearly at Abilene until, in 1871, 600,000 animals were brought in. That year the drovers met with great loss, for the railroads had agreed upon a high freight tariff on live stock east from Chicago, and there were few buyers from any section, and 1871 was the last in which a cattle business was done in Abilene, for incoming settlers and other interests had begun to discourage the town as a shipping point. Newton, on a branch of the Santa Fe, offered shipping facilities this year, and Wichita, in 1872, drew large herds to her market, the same branch of the Santa Fe having reached that point in May, 1872 (Topeka *Commonwealth*, October, 1872). "In 1873 near 450,000 head of cattle entered western Kansas, besides about 50,000 which turned off the trail to the eastward and went to Coffeyville. There was nearly no demand from any source for stock cattle." As was usual, from three- to four-fifths of the cattle brought from Texas were stock animals, cows and calves, and in former years a large proportion had been sold to cattlemen of western Kansas, Colorado and the more northern territories, and now beeves from these new herds had come in competition. The Eastern financial panic of 1873 reached Kansas in October, and proved disastrous to the cattle trade, which did not fully recover until after the grasshopper years of 1874 and 1875. In August, 1871, the L., L. & G., now the Southern Kansas Railway, had been opened from Lawrence to Coffeyville, and thus gave connections, by way of Kansas City, to the East from the territory.

NOTE 175.—J. G. McCoy's *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, 1874, pp. 274-276.

NOTE 176.—Kansas Hand Book, 1881, p. 36.

million dollars' capital which controlled, so it is reported, an investment of some fifteen millions of dollars in American cattle and grazing lands.<sup>177</sup> Then in 1885 G. H. Hammond & Co., a Michigan company, began the erection of a packing plant in Omaha, followed in the next year by another that the stockyards company was erecting under contract for the Fowlers, who had already built packing houses at Atchison and Kansas City, Kan. Then in 1886 Sir Thomas J. Lipton, the well-known English pork packer, built a packing plant in Omaha, which in the following season he sold to P. D. Armour, of Chicago, and Michael Cudahy, of Milwaukee.<sup>178</sup> In 1890 Armour sold his Omaha interests, devoting his time to larger interests at Kansas City.<sup>179</sup> Although the Eastern packers were hardly established in Kansas City by 1890, the census for that year shows six packing houses, representing nearly nine millions of dollars and handling nearly forty million dollars' worth of finished products.<sup>180</sup> In that year only about one-third of the cattle that came to the Kansas City stockyards were sold to the packers, the rest being reshipped to Chicago and St. Louis. By 1895, however, the Kansas City packing houses were consuming about half the million and a half head of cattle that the stockyards received annually, and by the time of the twelfth census<sup>181</sup> nearly two-thirds of the cattle that came to Kansas City were slaughtered there, while very few hogs were shipped out of Kansas City. The following tables are taken from the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Kansas City Stockyards, December 31, 1909:

## TOTAL YEARLY RECEIPTS.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Cattle.</i>	<i>Calves.</i>	<i>Hogs.</i>	<i>Sheep.</i>	<i>Horses and mules.</i>
1871.....	120,827	.....	41,036	4,527	809
1872.....	236,802	.....	104,639	6,071	2,648
1873.....	227,689	.....	221,815	5,975	4,202
1874.....	207,080	.....	212,532	8,855	3,679
1875.....	174,754	.....	63,350	25,327	2,646
1876.....	183,378	.....	153,777	55,045	5,339
1877.....	215,768	.....	192,645	42,190	4,279
1878.....	175,344	.....	427,777	36,700	10,796
1879.....	211,415	.....	588,908	61,684	15,829
1880.....	244,709	.....	676,477	50,611	14,086
1881.....	235,863	.....	1,014,304	79,924	12,592
1882.....	439,671	.....	963,036	80,724	11,716
1883.....	460,780	.....	1,379,401	119,665	19,860
1884.....	538,526	.....	1,723,586	237,964	27,163
1885.....	506,627	.....	2,358,718	221,801	24,506
1886.....	490,971	.....	2,264,484	172,659	33,188
1887.....	669,224	.....	2,423,262	209,956	29,690
1888.....	1,056,086	.....	2,008,984	351,050	27,650
1889.....	1,220,343	.....	2,073,910	370,772	34,563
1890.....	1,472,229	76,568	2,865,171	535,869	37,118
1891.....	1,270,917	76,570	2,599,109	386,760	31,740
1892.....	1,479,078	92,077	2,397,477	438,268	32,505
1893.....	1,660,807	86,021	1,948,373	569,517	35,097
1894.....	1,689,193	83,352	2,547,077	589,555	44,237
1895.....	1,613,454	76,198	2,457,697	864,713	52,607
1896.....	1,714,532	100,166	2,605,575	993,126	57,847
1897.....	1,817,526	104,436	3,350,796	1,134,236	37,006
1898.....	1,757,964	88,269	3,672,909	980,303	17,483
1899.....	1,912,019	105,465	2,959,073	953,241	33,775
1900.....	1,967,719	113,077	3,094,139	860,449	103,308
1901.....	2,000,165	126,410	3,716,404	980,078	96,657
1902.....	2,082,541	196,625	2,279,337	1,154,084	76,844
1903.....	1,953,371	183,741	1,969,381	1,151,730	67,274
1904.....	1,996,610	166,861	2,227,170	1,004,099	67,562
1905.....	2,180,491	242,091	2,507,548	1,318,968	65,582

NOTE 177.—Bell, History of Omaha, pp. 622, 627.

NOTE 178.—Ibid, pp. 624-627.

NOTE 179.—Rept. Comm'r Corp., Beef Ind., p. 37.

NOTE 180.—Census of Manufactures, 1890, part II, pp. 842, 843.

NOTE 181.—Ibid. 1900, part III, p. 415.



## TOTAL YEARLY RECEIPTS—concluded.

Year.	Cattle.	Calves.	Hogs.	Sheep.	Horses and mules.
1906.....	2,295,979	259,815	2,675,601	1,616,788	69,629
1907.....	2,384,294	285,966	2,923,777	1,582,148	62,341
1908.....	2,154,338	303,789	3,715,109	1,640,542	56,835
1909.....	2,350,946	308,982	3,092,835	1,645,325	67,796
Totals.....	45,417,029	3,076,479	74,497,199	22,541,299	1,397,984

## TOTAL YEARLY SHIPMENTS AND DRIVEN OUT.

Year.	Cattle.	Calves.	Hogs.	Sheep.	Horses and mules.
1871.....	120,794	.....	40,102	4,527	809
1872.....	236,799	.....	104,899	6,071	2,648
1873.....	227,666	.....	220,574	5,951	4,204
1874.....	207,069	.....	212,714	8,877	3,685
1875.....	174,511	.....	63,096	25,310	2,635
1876.....	183,256	.....	153,180	54,829	5,321
1877.....	215,771	.....	193,204	42,333	4,296
1878.....	175,549	.....	426,355	37,012	10,794
1879.....	211,361	.....	589,794	61,157	15,826
1880.....	244,281	.....	676,848	51,004	14,090
1881.....	286,184	.....	1,015,447	79,848	12,604
1882.....	439,521	.....	961,906	80,708	11,607
1883.....	460,598	.....	1,379,005	119,180	19,869
1884.....	533,992	.....	1,724,287	237,214	27,092
1885.....	506,577	.....	2,359,027	223,088	24,656
1886.....	490,906	.....	2,264,323	172,397	33,098
1887.....	669,062	.....	2,423,546	209,491	29,618
1888.....	1,055,547	.....	2,009,250	351,796	27,739
1889.....	1,219,395	.....	2,073,314	369,878	34,485
1890.....	1,472,853	76,713	2,863,354	535,207	37,134
1891.....	1,272,249	76,580	2,601,109	387,912	31,783
1892.....	1,477,741	92,156	2,396,737	438,139	32,432
1893.....	1,661,247	85,968	1,948,457	569,277	34,891
1894.....	1,687,274	83,256	2,547,588	589,359	44,153
1895.....	1,613,123	75,923	2,457,167	863,100	52,655
1896.....	1,714,336	100,284	2,604,842	989,420	57,710
1897.....	1,817,033	104,355	3,348,556	1,134,222	36,945
1898.....	1,758,396	88,521	3,674,269	981,668	17,487
1899.....	1,911,356	105,048	2,957,827	953,615	33,357
1900.....	1,968,266	112,830	3,096,091	860,517	102,579
1901.....	1,999,048	127,386	3,712,573	980,071	96,571
1902.....	2,087,357	197,670	2,283,827	1,162,907	76,388
1903.....	1,957,660	186,327	1,967,096	1,158,334	67,272
1904.....	2,001,495	167,625	2,226,304	1,001,434	66,538
1905.....	2,176,297	246,612	2,504,586	1,314,292	63,651
1906.....	2,296,414	259,127	2,674,849	1,611,048	67,117
1907.....	2,384,739	285,788	2,915,459	1,578,059	62,126
1908.....	2,148,625	304,366	3,711,739	1,636,752	56,490
1909.....	2,341,879	308,474	3,090,968	1,645,702	67,811
Totals.....	45,405,877	3,085,009	74,473,769	22,521,706	1,390,164

The amount of capital invested in the packing houses had increased nearly seventy per cent in the decade, and represented about fifteen millions of dollars, while the number of packing houses had increased from six to eight. The value of the packing-house products in 1900 was more than seventy-three millions of dollars,<sup>183</sup> or more than the combined value of all the manufactured products of both Kansas City, Kan., and Kansas City, Mo., for the year 1890. The five years from 1900 to 1905 showed a continuation of this growth, representing an increase in the amount of capital invested of about fifty per cent, accompanied by an increase in the value of products of about twenty per cent.<sup>184</sup> This discrepancy between the increase of capital and production cannot be taken as permanent, for the reports for 1907 indicate an output of more than a quarter of a billion dollars, representing an increase of more than fifty per cent since 1900, while the net increase in capital remained at about the same percentage.<sup>185</sup>

NOTE 183.—Thirty-ninth Annual Report, Kansas City Stockyards, December 31, 1909, p. 408.

NOTE 184.—Census Manufactures, Kansas, 1905, pp. 22, 23.

NOTE 185.—Rept. Kansas Bureau Labor, 1907, pp. 284, 288.

It requires no further elaboration to indicate the actual importance of the packing industry that has grown up in the Kansas side of the town. Its importance in relation to the other enterprises is shown in a few very simple comparisons. Taking the census figures for 1905 as a basis of comparison, the value of the products of the packing industry (eighty-eight millions) was more than double the value of all other manufactured products in both Kansas Citys, and the packing houses employed about two-fifths of the laborers employed in manufacturing in the two cities; two-fifths of the capital invested in manufacturing is in the packing industry, and the value of the cattle, hogs and sheep slaughtered is more than three-fourths that of all the raw materials consumed in the factories of the two towns.<sup>186</sup> The industry pays nearly four and a half million dollars annually in wages to its employees, who with their families would make a city equal in size to any but three or four towns in the state of Kansas. The product of their labor comprises nearly one-tenth of the output of all the packing houses in the United States, and is second only to that of the Chicago plants in volume.<sup>187</sup>

This great centralization that has been accomplished in Kansas City has practically been the result of twenty years' work, for before 1890 the industry was comparatively small. It is the consequence of conditions partly peculiar to the industry itself, but in part the result of conditions which led to the growth of other lines of manufactures in Kansas City in the same period. It is not unfair to give to the rapid growth of the packing industry part of the credit for the attraction of other activities, for prosperity in any line, for whatever cause, cannot but attract others. At any event, before the census of 1890 the activity of the two Kansas Citys was beginning to be noticeable in manufacturing, and in the census year they had some 1700 establishments, producing about seventy-six million dollars of finished products. The Kansas town at that time had little else in a manufacturing way than its packing houses, its other industries aggregating only about four million dollars annually. Until 1886, the Kansas side of the town was, however, a group of independent towns, each going its own way, but with no union of strength such as the union into one municipality in 1886 gave to it. Since that time it has quadrupled in population, has added to its list of industries mills and elevators, foundries and machine shops, has multiplied its packing houses, until now it produces more manufactured articles than any other city in the United States according to population, and practically double the amount of the Missouri side of the town.<sup>188</sup>

With the abundance of material the packing houses furnished as a basis there has grown up in Kansas City a large and growing soap and tallow business. One plant alone turns out 25,000 tons of laundry soap annually, and two others bring the total output up to 40,000 tons per year,<sup>189</sup> and the product is marketed all over the Missouri valley. Also depending to some extent upon industries that were already established are the factories for the man-

NOTE 186 — Census Manufactures, Kansas, 1905, pp. 22, 23. Ibid, Missouri, pp. 24, 28.

NOTE 187.—Census Manufactures, 1905, Slaughtering, etc., pp. 15, 16.

NOTE 188.—The Kansas City Annual, 1907, p. 37. The towns of Armourdale, Kansas City and Wyandotte were consolidated by proclamation of Gov. John A. Martin, March 6, 1886, and received the name of Kansas City, as provided for by acts of the legislature of that year for the consolidation of cities.—Session Laws 1886, pp. 86, 89; also, history of "Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas," Goodspeed Pub. Co., Chicago, 1890, p. 384.

NOTE 189.—The Kansas City Annual, 1907, p. 191.

ufacture of crackers, biscuits and confections, which consume annually in the neighborhood of 80,000 barrels of Kansas City flour and 800 tons of lard from the Kansas City packing houses. Practically all varieties of crackers and biscuits are made in these factories, which employ 300 men constantly at a yearly wage of \$425,000, while nearly 100 salesmen cover the whole Central West with the product of their labor.<sup>190</sup> All the cracker factories also make large quantities of nearly every grade of candy in connection with their other sweets, one of the largest devoting several acres of floor space to this branch of the business.

Iron and metal working, including machinery, implements and railway shops, has been for the past ten or fifteen years an important branch of the industrial life, and now furnishes employment for nearly 3000 men, and the annual output is more than five millions of dollars. The foundries and machine shops are easily in the lead from every point of view, and their products make up fully half the output of this class of goods. They alone employ a thousand men, and represent nearly three millions of capital. The tinware factories, four in number, represent a capital of a million and a half, and the annual output is about half a million of dollars.<sup>191</sup> Agricultural implements, including hay presses, wagons and carriages, are now produced in Kansas City in quantities to cut a considerable figure in the markets of Kansas and Oklahoma. Three thousand farm wagons every year is the output of one factory, the only one in this section of the country that is entitled to rank as a factory, and the value is more than a quarter of a million a year, all developed since 1905. Another enterprise, doing a business of a quarter of a million, manufactures scrapers and road tools, being the only one west of Chicago.<sup>192</sup>

Within the last few years Kansas City has been invading the western field with steam and gasoline engines. The plant that manufactures Corliss engines is said to be the largest west of the Mississippi river, and its output is about half a million annually. "Milwaukee, Wis., and Michigan manufacturing districts formerly held the first place in this line of manufacture, but Kansas City is now supplying all the surrounding territory, and nothing is too large or too small in the line of a Corliss engine for the Kansas City manufactory. This firm sells its product as far east as Pittsburg and as far west as the coast, and in round numbers 500,000 horsepower is represented by the machinery turned out by this company yearly. Three hundred men are employed in this industry, with a weekly pay-roll of \$3500 and an annual product of half a million."<sup>193</sup>

Quite recently Kansas City has been figuring in the middle western market as a manufacturer of practically all grades of furniture, and at the present time there is little furniture made in this section outside of Kansas City. The older factories, which were built before the days of centralized factories, have nearly all gone out of business. Some of the enterprises that were established at Leavenworth and the other Kansas towns have moved to Kansas City, attracted by the market and transportation advantages. "There are not less than twenty-five manufacturers and jobbers engaged in the manufacture and jobbing of furniture or supplies for the

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NOTE 190.—The Kansas City Annual, 1907, pp. 102, 103.

NOTE 191.—Census Manufactures, 1905, Kan., pp. 22, 23. Ibid., Missouri, pp. 24, 28.

NOTE 192.—Kansas City Annual, 1907, p. 193.

NOTE 193.—Ibid, p. 193.



retail dealers and funeral directors; eight manufacture mattresses; four are producers of spring beds and cots; four factories manufacturing extensive lines of upholstered furniture; one iron bed factory; three engaged in producing folding beds; . . . all making a strong and desirable market for the retailers in the territory tributary to Kansas City."<sup>194</sup>

It is not profitable to continue further the enumeration of the manufacturing enterprises that have been developing and extending their operations in the two Kansas Citys in the last twenty years. The list would include a hundred lines not mentioned above, such as the breweries, with two millions of product; the tobacco factories, with a half million; saddlery and harness factories, with three-quarters of a million; the recently established shoe factories and factory-made clothing establishments, as well as a long list of others producing the things that the wholesalers who job their wares out of Kansas City would otherwise have to buy elsewhere to supply the needs of their customers through Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma.

With the growth of the last twenty years which has put Kansas City in the lead as a manufacturing point, it is rather a remarkable fact that there is not as yet a true factory class even in the oldest of the industries. That fact is accountable for the lack of some industries that conditions of trade would make profitable, but which demand a class of labor trained from childhood in the trade. With its 25,000 factory employees, there is not as yet a factory class, and probably will not be in the true acceptance of the term until the country surrounding is more densely settled and the opportunities for changing employment are more restricted. To a limited extent there is a restriction of the children of the laborers of the packing houses and machine shops to similar lines of work, but the independence, or democracy, or freedom, or whatever it is that characterizes the West, has not yet yielded to the factory influence, and there are few children "born to trade" of any sort. This condition is even more true of other places in this region, and in some cases, as in the glass factories that came West since 1900 into the gas towns of southern Kansas, it was necessary to import the workmen from older factory centers to overcome this dearth, and it is a difficulty that such industries have failed to keep the supply of labor up to the needs of the business.

There is no reason why Kansas City should not continue to prosper in manufacturing, for the development seems to be only fairly under way at the present time. The fuel supply is close at hand, practically all industries now having the benefit of the southern gas field, with the coal belt of the same region to draw upon in the event of the failure of the more convenient fuel. She has as yet practically no labor problem to meet, for outside the packing industry, the iron-working and tobacco trades, labor is unorganized and the "closed shop" is unknown. The cost of living is reasonable, standards of wages high enough to enable the family of the workman to live in comfort, and the laboring class is on the whole content. The development of the country to the southwest, tributary to Kansas City, is not ended by any means, and the demand for the product of the industries that are and are to be established is on the increase. With the advantages of geographical location, with more railways than Chicago giving easy access to all parts of the country, and with no disadvantages to run the fixed cost of pro-

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NOTE 194.—Kansas City Annual, 1907, p. 98.

duction out of proportion, the future of manufacturing is bright, and present activity bids fair to continue.

Practically contemporaneous with the rise of Kansas City to leading position is the development of a similar center at Omaha, Neb., dating also in that case since 1885, and most marked during the decade between 1890 and 1900. As has already been remarked in the introduction to this paper, the state of Nebraska has no natural advantages that, so far as can be determined at the present time, will ever make it a manufacturing community. Lack of both fuel and water power have so far, and probably will, prevent the growth of any very considerable factory interests in the state. The only significant exception, if indeed it be an exception, is the growth of the packing industry at Omaha (South Omaha), which, ranking as it does as the third in size in the United States as a packing center, gives it an important position in the manufacturing of the state. The census reports for 1900 and 1905 show a steady condition in the relation of this center to the state, both showing that the two Omahas produce approximately four-fifths of the manufactures of Nebraska. The packing houses alone produce nearly half the products of the state, measured in values, while the total value of all the products of the state is only about one-tenth greater than the value of the output of the factories of the two Kansas Cities.

From these facts it will be seen that, up to the present time, at least, Nebraska offers a fairly barren field for the student of manufacturing. Her flour industry is not, it is true, insignificant, aggregating some twelve millions of dollars annually, but that is only about double the output of the one center at Kansas City. There is no milling center in the state, probably for the double reason of the lack of power and the relative proximity to the great flour mills at the head of the Mississippi, and the markets of the lake port which invite exportation of wheat rather than milling. At any rate, the industry is distributed among some 240 comparatively small mills, whose field of operation is principally local. Dairying is a leading industry, and the creameries of the state add three and a half millions to her manufactures annually; malt liquors add a million and a quarter; printing and publishing amounts to another five millions; car repairing amounts to four and a half millions; and these, added to packing and milling industries, make up seventy per cent of the total of the state. Outside these activities there is little in the state that can be classed as true factory activity, most of the industries reported to make up the total being as much in the nature of trades, or at most shops with local trade only. This being true, the relative importance of the center of activity at Omaha can be readily appreciated.

The growth of the importance of Omaha in manufactures follows in general the course outlined in the growth of Kansas City. The packing houses were the opening wedge that seemed to give the impetus to other lines of manufacturing, and it was felt at about the same time, from 1885 to 1890. The industries that had been established there earlier than that time had made no remarkable progress, and gave no evidence of the potentiality of development in their condition before the activity of the citizens for stockyards and packing houses, which finally bore fruit in 1885<sup>195</sup> with the erection of the first packing plant. Omaha had a stockyards project that was looked to to bring business and prosperity to the town as early as the '70's, and the pluck of the early promoters was finally rewarded early in the '80's by

the interest that English cattle growers began to take in the scheme to develop a shipping center at Omaha. It is said that as early as 1880 there was an English investment of fifteen millions of dollars in cattle and grazing lands tributary to Omaha,<sup>196</sup> and the citizens set about interesting them in the project of establishing large stockyards there.

The stockyards enterprise soon met with encouragement from outside sources, and it is recorded that "English and American capitalists have put \$1,000,000 in the common stockyards and \$2,000,000 English capital is promised to build packing houses." The first packing house was actually built as the result of this activity in 1884, and leased in the following year to G. H. Hammond & Co., a Michigan corporation, and the stockyards began to turn part of their business into the local packing house. With the business started, and a paid-up capital to work with, the stockyards company went after the packers in earnest, and free building sites with good cash bonuses were offered to attract prospective investors. In 1886 a bonus of \$135,000 brought the Fowlers into Omaha (their Chicago house having already established a business at Atchison, Kan., and had bought the Kansas City plant in 1880),<sup>197</sup> and very shortly afterwards Thomas J. Lipton, the English packer, built in Omaha. But in the following year Lipton transferred his property to the Armour-Cudahy Company, to whom a still larger bonus was given. G. F. Swift & Co., of Chicago, having become interested in the prospects at Omaha, were induced to enter the field by the payment of a bonus of \$135,000 and a free building site in 1887. In all, the stockyards company paid out \$420,000 in cash and donated a large tract of land near the yards to secure the industry that had been the dream of its promoters for nearly twenty years past.<sup>198</sup>

Whether or not this expenditure would have been necessary in the end to get the packing houses at Omaha it is of course impossible to say, but there is little doubt that it brought them in sooner than they would otherwise have come. In that way the expenditure is justified, for the subsequent and nearly contemporaneous growth at Kansas City makes it extremely probable that Omaha would not have fared so well in the final adjustment of the business if the points had been left to compete on the basis of attractiveness of the locations alone. Be that as it may, by 1890 Omaha had attained importance in the packing business, having secured four large establishments, and in that year the value of their products reached twenty-four millions of dollars,<sup>199</sup> and by the end of 1892 had almost doubled that amount, the products totaling forty-five millions in round numbers.<sup>200</sup> It is probably unfair to give the coming of the packing houses the credit for the expansion of industry that took place in Omaha in the period of five years or so about 1890, but undoubtedly the addition of more than five millions of capital and the additional employment of more than 2000 men in the stockyards and packing houses in such a short time had a great deal to do with it.

Other and older industries in Omaha were on the increase after 1885, and their prosperity, accompanying that of the packing houses, induced a period of rapid growth for the city. The old Omaha & Grant Smelting Company,

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NOTE 196.—Bell, *History of Omaha*, p. 622.

NOTE 197.—*Ibid.*, pp. 623-625.

NOTE 198.—*Ibid.*, pp. 623-631.

NOTE 199.—*Census Manufactures*, 1890, part II, p. 508.

NOTE 200.—Bell, *History of Omaha*, p. 633.



established in Omaha in 1870, which smelted ores from Colorado and the Black Hills region of the Dakotas, consolidated with a Denver company in 1882, and its volume of business increased many fold in the next few years. By 1892 it was employing a thousand men, and its products were valued at twenty-one millions annually. Its plant covered twenty-five acres, and was rated the largest in the world, and it was drawing ores even from Canada and Mexico.<sup>201</sup> A dependent industry, the Carter White Lead Works, the first of its kind west of St. Louis, which used the pig lead of the Omaha smelter, experienced a rapid increase of business at the same time. Its capital was increased 500 per cent from 1880 to 1889, and by 1890 it employed seventy-five men and produced 10,000 tons of lead white annually.<sup>202</sup> A linseed oil factory had reached a million and a half of products, and a pioneer soap factory multiplied its capital and productions by ten about the same time.<sup>203</sup>

This increase brought population, and money to be spent, and encouraged the growth of other activities. The rapid growth of the town called for a great amount of building material, and at one time there were fifty-two brick-yards about Omaha, producing a hundred and fifty millions of brick annually, where now five yards meet all requirements. Five clothing factories, employing 400 people, began operations at this time, and a bag factory employing another hundred came in in 1887.<sup>204</sup> Three shirt factories were added, and after them came a button factory, marketing a large share of its output with the clothing factories. Foodstuffs being in greater demand, the supplying industries grew rapidly. A cracker factory was built in 1883, another in 1885, which was soon bought by the American Biscuit Company, which employed 200 people. Vinegar and pickle factories, breweries and distilleries followed rapidly and added materially to the total. Six furniture factories were built from 1889 to 1891, employing 300 men, making a specialty of beds and mattresses. Wood and paper packing-boxes and tinware factories, employing 200 or more men, were doing a flourishing business supplying the various industries that had grown up in a few years.<sup>205</sup>

This expansion of industry had nearly reached its maximum in 1890, and the fifteen years following the census of that year saw an increase of only twenty-five per cent in the value of manufactured products in Omaha proper, while in the same time the capital invested nearly doubled. In South Omaha, where all the packing houses are located, the increase for the same period was about 215 per cent in the value of manufactures, the most of it represented by the trebling of the output of the packing houses, which now forms all but a couple of millions of the manufactures of the south side of the town. Outside of Omaha there has not been any development of a center of manufacturing in any line of industry that deserves particular mention. The rural districts come in for the most of the other manufactures, Lincoln and Nebraska City contributing but a comparatively small share of the total. "In 1905, of the factories reported, 73.2 per cent of the establishments were in the rural districts, while in 1900 the percentage of such establishments was 74.4; and the value of their products was 18.3 per cent of the total for the state in 1905, as against 15.3 per cent in 1900. The percentages of increase in number of wage-earners, in wages,

NOTE 201.—Bell, *History of Omaha*, p. 496.

NOTE 202.—*Ibid.*, p. 497.

NOTE 203.—*Ibid.*, pp. 501, 508.

NOTE 204.—*Ibid.*, p. 503.

NOTE 205.—*Ibid.*, pp. 499, 500.

in capital, and in value of products, are greater for the rural districts than for the urban."<sup>206</sup> The value of manufactures in the two Omahas is about 78.3 per cent of the state, and this, added to the 18.3 per cent that the urban manufactures contribute, leaves but 3.4 per cent of the total for the other towns that rank above urban in character.

It has already been noticed that in the case of Omaha there was a great increase in the size of manufacturing establishments and a relative increase in the amount of capital invested during the period from 1885 to 1892 or thereabouts. While there were special reasons partly responsible for the unusual increase in the expansion of the factories there which did not obtain in Kansas, yet the same movement is noticeable in all lines of her manufacturing enterprises. There has been a movement toward the centralization of industry in fewer establishments with relatively more capital ever since the period of prosperity that preceded the panic of 1893. For the greater part of the decade following the census of 1890, however, stringency and even contraction followed the years of panic, and manufacturing did not make much progress, and the most of the centralization has been accomplished since 1900. The past four or five years have shown this movement to the greatest extent, and it is still going on at the present time.

The actual extent of the movement can only be shown by a comparison of the figures of the census reports, which, in 1880, show an average investment of \$3995 for each establishment which in the next ten years had almost trebled, the average capital in 1890 being \$9824. The figures for 1900 are difficult to explain, for they show an increase of nearly seventy per cent in the number of establishments, and a decrease in the average capitalization of fully a thousand dollars, or nearly twelve per cent. The census of 1905, however, shows a remarkable centralization, the average amount of capital having increased to \$37,658, and leaving the packing houses out of the consideration, to \$25,750 for every manufacturing establishment listed. The report of the state bureau of labor two years later, probably slightly incomplete, since it shows an actual increase in number of establishments, nevertheless indicates that the average capitalization had practically doubled since 1905, if the packing houses are left out of the accounting. In this consideration a truer estimate is reached by omitting them, as the capitalization is larger than any other industry and it would swell the average out of proportion to the real conditions in the others. In view of these figures the only satisfactory explanation of the decrease in capitalization shown by the census of 1900 is that in that report a number of hand trades were counted which should not have been listed. It is also probable that it took into account the growth of small establishments in the towns of the western part of the state at this time, which had hardly begun to feel the influence toward centralization that was going on in the larger towns.

The milling industry, the oldest and most widely distributed of the manufactures of the state of Kansas, gives a fair illustration of the extent of the centralizing movement, though those figures also leave something to be explained in the case of the report for 1900, the decrease in the average amount of capital indicated being about thirty per cent. This can be explained in part by the fact that in that year the census report listed under this head a large number of feed mills scattered over the western part of the state,\*

NOTE 206.—Census Manufactures, 1905, Nebraska, p. 5.

\* Interview, Kansas Labor Commissioner, 1908.

but how much this would affect the result is a matter of conjecture. The ten years from 1880 to 1890, which was the period of introduction of the gradual reduction "patent process" in the Kansas mills, showed a doubling of the average amount of capital per mill. Then come the figures of the census of 1900, showing an increase of fifty per cent in the number of mills and a decrease of one-third in the average capitalization. The later '90's was the period when the last of the old-fashioned burr mills, running on part time, many being small water-power mills and survivals of the early period of milling, were giving way before the disadvantages of competition with the larger and better equipped mills using the new process. With a knowledge of the real movement that was going on, it would be expected that the report would show exactly the contrary to what it does. Either there was a great undervaluation of the mills in that report, or the listing of a large number of little feed mills in the industry put the figures out of proportion, for the next reports indicate a condition inconsistent with them.

The census of 1905 indicates the general movement toward centralization very clearly, the figures showing a trebling of the average capitalization for the fifteen years since the census of 1890, the number of mills being about the same at this time as fifteen years before. On the basis of the 1900 report, the decrease in number of mills for the five years is about one-third, and the increase in capitalization for the same time about 400 per cent. The multiplication of capital and size of the more favorably located mills, is, however, going on much as even these figures indicate, and the state report for 1907 shows that the average capitalization had risen to \$62,932, an increase of about sixty-one per cent in the two years.

Other industries that were established early enough to form a basis of comparison show in about the same degree this movement toward the centralization of manufacturing in larger and better establishments, which for the first time in many cases are now large enough to be ranked as factories. In the case of many industries that are now ranked as of first importance in the manufactures of the state, the conditions about 1900, chief of all the discovery of oil and gas in abundance, have either worked such a radical change in the industry that a comparison would show little or nothing of value in this connection. Others have had their origin practically in that period, and their history is practically all of the present day.<sup>207</sup>

NOTE 207.—The following table, compiled from the census reports, except that of 1907, which is from the report of the State Bureau of Labor, shows the figures on which the preceding discussion was based:

YEAR.	All industries.			Milling industry.		
	No.	Average capital.	Inc.	No.	Average capital.	Inc.
1880.....	3,395	\$11,192,315	.....	320	\$3,395,328	.....
1890.....	4,471	43,926,002	144%	348	7,844,280	113%
1900.....	7,830	66,827,362	— 10*	533	8,366,966	— 30*
1905.....	2,474	88,180,117	327	354	13,816,887	148.7
1907.....	1,769	119,983,322	80	202	12,712,364	61

\* Per cent for 1900 is a decrease.



## NATURAL GAS AND OIL.

Following close upon the centralization of industries in Kansas City and Omaha that has just been under discussion, came the important discoveries of natural gas and oil in the early '90's, the influence of which in the period of prosperity after 1895 started the growth of a new manufacturing district in the eastern part of Kansas, which since 1900 has been gradually extended into the northeastern part of Oklahoma. The oil was at first the most important part of the discovery in a commercial way, until the establishment of the new industries using the abundant supply of gas as fuel, but economically the gas has been by far the more important of the two to the development of the district. For this reason the operations in oil will be given only passing mention, though in reality prospecting for the one has as frequently resulted in developing the other branch of the mineral wealth, for the districts are practically coincident. The oil development will be touched upon again in connection with the oil refining industry, and for the present the discussion will be centered on the fuel importance of the gas development.

"The history of the development of oil and gas in Kansas really dates back to 1860, when there was some preliminary prospecting in the neighborhood of Iola, Kan., inspired by stories of oil and gas springs that the early settlers got from the Indians<sup>208</sup> as early as the period of the development of the Pennsylvania field in the '50's. The history of the discovery and development of oil and gas in Kansas may be divided into three parts: First, the early period, dealing with the early observations of surface indications, and a little prospecting. Second, the period in which the prospectors began using the drill actively. . . . Third, the period of recent development, which began about 1890, and continues to the present time."<sup>209</sup> Little was accomplished in the early prospecting of the first two of these periods, and only passing mention will be given to them. The influence on manufactures has all come since the important developments about 1895, and afterward.<sup>210</sup>

As early as 1860 there was a company organized to drill for gas and oil in Miami county in the neighborhood of Paola,<sup>211</sup> about fifty miles south of Kansas City, and leases were secured on 30,000 acres of land. A little drilling was done before the outbreak of the Civil War, but little was accomplished, and the company scattered in that time of strife and border troubles, and all records of the drilling were lost. A little later some shallow wells drilled at Mound City, in Linn county, produced small quantities of gas and oil, and it was thought worth while to send the state geologist to investigate the geology of that region, and a flattering report from him led to some

NOTE 208.—"Beaver Spring was the first spring in Kansas showing crude oil on its surface. The Indians would camp there to gather oil by placing their blankets on the surface of the spring, and in a few hours wring the blankets and secure much oil. They used it for frozen parts, for cuts, sprains, for sores on their ponies, and externally for internal ailments. The spring was in Miami county."—From a letter of Ely Moore, of Lawrence, May 17, 1909.

NOTE 209.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, p. 21.

NOTE 210.—There are numerous accounts, more or less accurate, dealing with the early discovery of oil and gas, and a number of newspaper accounts dealing with the later period that are quite accurate, but Haworth's report, in volume IX of the University Geological Survey, will be adopted as the basis of the account, supplemented by notes from other accounts where profitable. Statements and quotations not otherwise credited are from that volume.

NOTE 211.—The *Herald of Freedom* of March 31, 1855, mentions the finding of oil in the vicinity of Osawatomie.

further prospecting. "But the money was hard to raise, drilling was expensive, and at best it was but mere child's play compared with the way oil wells are drilled at the present time. Under such circumstances, . . . very indifferent success followed these undertakings." Some drilling in the neighborhood of Kansas City at the same time found a little oil and gas, but not enough to offer much encouragement.

The second part of our history includes the period from 1870 to 1890, during which time a fair amount of drilling was done, on a small scale, however, and by men of limited experience and for local interests. "About seven miles to the northeast of Paola, in 1882, wells were put down, and a fair amount of gas was obtained, and piped into the city. Encouraged by this fair success, drilling was prosecuted to a considerable extent throughout a semicircle reaching from northeast to southwest of town. Occasionally an oil well would be found producing a heavy, dark oil which found a ready market at five dollars a barrel for lubricating purposes. But a far greater value was obtained in the natural gas, which was found in sufficient abundance to supply the city of Paola with lights and heat from those early days up to the present time." Fort Scott, Wyandotte (Kansas City, Kan.), and Iola, later the center of development, found gas in small quantities about the same time.<sup>212</sup>

The development of the present period began in reality with the operations of a Mr. Mills, who did some prospecting for oil at Neodesha, about thirty miles from the southern line of the state. Meeting with some success he went East, and succeeded in interesting a Pittsburg firm, who began work in the Neodesha field in 1893, and soon met with reasonable success. They brought in a number of producing gas wells and laid pipes to supply the town, and lighted the first gas from the pipes on the Fourth of July, 1894, as a part of the celebration. These men brought in some good oil wells, and in the following year sold their holdings to the Forest Oil Company, afterwards the Prairie Oil and Gas Company, a branch of the Standard Oil. The operations at Neodesha were thus of great importance, in that they opened the field to outside development, and for this reason should rank as the real beginning. Gas was found really before Gufey & Galey, the Pennsylvania drillers, struck gas at Neodesha, by the prospecting of a local merchant at Coffeyville, almost on the southern line of the state. Coffeyville was using the gas from his wells for domestic purposes in 1892, and about the same time Cherryvale,<sup>213</sup> about half way between Neodesha and Coffeyville, finally secured a producing gas well, after the local company had all but given up hope, and that town also began to use the new fuel.

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NOTE 212.—Prof. Robert Hay, then of the United States Geological Survey, in an article in the fifth biennial report of the Board of Agriculture, gives an account of the early development, the principal item of which follows: "The Kansas Oil and Mining Company was organized in 1882 with a capital of \$425,000, and drilled four wells east of Paola, striking gas in three at a depth of about 300 feet, the pressure varying from 55 to 66 pounds, while a fifth got a small quantity of gas at a depth of 78 feet. Fort Scott began using gas for lighting in the same year, having three productive wells about 200 feet deep, and an oil well yielding four barrels a day. Kansas City, Kan., was using gas from three wells for factory purposes, a flour mill, a planing mill and a brick plant depending on it for fuel. Iola was using gas in the same year from a single well 623 feet deep for light and heat for a hotel. Independence, fifteen miles from the state line on the south, had a well a thousand feet deep that produced a light flow of gas."—Fifth Bien. Rep., pp. 198-207.

NOTE 213.—"The Cherryvale Gas Company has ordered a new drill, and will on its arrival at once commence sinking more wells. The demand for this excellent and cheap fuel is increasing as its advantages over coal and its safety becomes known."—Cherryvale Republican, September 16, 1892.

It was at Iola, in Allen county, however, that the first big well was brought in and the industrial importance of the Kansas field became apparent. There had been more or less local activity in that region ever since the first discovery of the Acres well in 1873, and in January, 1894, a strong flow was struck in the thirteenth well in the field, and the town had enough gas from that time for all domestic purposes. Encouraged by this success a new company was formed, and just as the drillers were becoming disheartened the strongest well ever drilled in the Iola field was brought in on Christmas eve, 1893,<sup>214</sup> and the town found that it had far more gas at its disposal than it could use. This was the first well to reach the stratum of the best oil and gas "sand," near the base of the Cherokee shales, and it was with this step that the industrial development dependent on the gas supply was inaugurated. Reports of the supply of gas soon attracted various manufacturing enterprises, foremost among them being the brick plants, zinc smelters and the Portland cement mills. Such was the lead that the big gasser of 1895, and others that were soon brought in, gave to Iola, that for a time it was the center of the manufacturing activity that followed.

For a time the demand for the vast stores of natural gas that the drillers tapped here and there all over the oblong area of some half a dozen counties, from Paola southwestward, lagged far behind the supply, and the bulk of the development from 1896 to 1900 was made with the hope of finding oil. The utilization of the gas to an extent commensurate with the possibility of production depended upon the advent of a large amount of capital to make it available for domestic purposes generally, and still more upon manufacturing establishments to turn its pent-up energy into work and wealth. Soon after the development at Iola, brick plants were started at Coffeyville and at Cherryvale, using natural gas as fuel,<sup>215</sup> but they were not very heavy consumers, and many of the large wells in the period before 1900 were closed in, and no immediate benefit was secured from them.

This in brief was the condition of the Kansas gas field in 1900. The Standard Oil Company had erected a refinery at Neodesha which was completed in 1895, with a capacity of 500 barrels a day,<sup>216</sup> and in the next two years its operating branch, the Forest Oil Company, had eighty-three producing wells distributed in seven counties of the Kansas field. Stimulated by the activity at Neodesha, and encouraged by the prospects of a market for their oil that the Standard offered, the other towns renewed their operations, and in the two years from 1900 to 1902 the present development was fairly foreshadowed. Chanute began prospecting independently in 1899, encouraged in the hope of finding oil by the showing of oil in the earlier gas wells. The work of the first two years was principally done by a Mr. I. N. Knapp, who, disappointed in getting leases at Neodesha, turned to that field, and made a deal with that city to drill gas wells for them, and to have the privilege of retaining all the oil that he should find. In this way he developed several hundred acres, drilling more than 200 wells, and in 1900 began shipping oil to the gas factories of Kansas City and Omaha. He continued in this business until after the laying of the Standard's pipe line to Kansas

NOTE 214.—"Discovery and Development of Natural Gas in Kansas," by Charles F. Scott, in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 128. The Iola *Register* and the *Friend-Herald*, Iola, differ as to the date of bringing in of this well, giving the date as December 19, 20 and 23, 1893.

NOTE 215.—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 46.

NOTE 216.—Ind. Rept., Oil and Gas Mag., p. 9.



City in 1904, when he sold certain products of his refinery to that company, and retired from the field some years later. Both 1902 and 1903 were boom years for Chanute. The Prairie Oil and Gas Company entered the field with two large storage tanks and a pipe line to the Neodesha refinery, and the number of wells multiplied rapidly. Many of them were gas wells, and increased the visible supply of gas far beyond the local demand.

An interesting chapter of the development is written in and about Independence, Kan., in the operations of McBride and Bloom, two young men who had been in business drilling in the Kansas field since the beginning of the development. In 1901 they brought in a monster gas well near Independence, and immediately covered the county with leases, and by 1903 had developed a number of oil producers southwest of Independence, and made themselves wealthy thereby. In 1903 the Standard entered the field, and in that year finished its pipe line to Bolton, the center of the pool. Near Independence, also at Erie, development in 1903 brought in fourteen gas wells and a number of oilers, adding to the supply of available fuel. Other development resulted in a great addition to the oil production of the state in 1903-'04, and to take care of the production the Standard had increased the capacity of its Neodesha refinery first to 1000 barrels a day in 1902, and to 5000 in 1904.<sup>217</sup> Then in 1903 an independent refinery was built at Humboldt by C. D. Webster, who came out from the Pennsylvania field.<sup>218</sup> In 1904 the Standard erected a second refinery at Sugar creek, near Kansas City, Mo., with a capacity of 6000 barrels per day, and in the same year a second independent establishment entered the field, this time just south of the Kansas line, in the Indian Territory, where the development had reached by this time.<sup>219</sup>

This was the situation with regard to the gas supply for the first year or two after the great development in 1900. Nearly every one of the Kansas towns in the gas belt had a gas company of its own, and had more gas than it knew what to do with. Many of the oil wells failed of their purpose and brought in gas. The all-absorbing question was what to do with it. It was at this stage that the towns through their commercial clubs went after the manufacturing interests, wherever idle capital was to be had in the United States. Three-cent gas for a long period of years was the offer that they made to prospective manufacturers. Many offered free building sites, and in some instances free gas was offered for two or three years as an extra inducement to locate.<sup>220</sup> These efforts probably did more in the way of advertising the resources that the new gas field had to offer than in any other way, but in that respect success followed closely. The amount of correspondence that followed for a few years from manufacturers from all over the East was voluminous, and many industries came in at least sooner than they would have done otherwise for this reason.

The towns to the south of Iola had the advantage in that once their propositions got the ear of the prospective manufacturer, they had all the force of the example of what had been accomplished there before 1900. Iola had to go after her factories, and had to prove the value of the fuel supply to get them. Then, after a long wait, the Lanyons decided to locate

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NOTE 217.—Interview, 1908.

NOTE 218.—Independence Reporter, Oil and Gas Magazine, p. 43. NOTE 219.—Ibid, p. 34.

NOTE 220.—Independence Daily Reporter, March 6, 1903.

a smelter at Iola, and the exodus from the coal district of Pittsburg began with the plant of the Robert Lanyon's Sons, that was built in Iola in 1896. Other smelters followed closely after this first one, and in a few years brick and Portland cement plants were added to the list of consumers of Iola gas.<sup>221</sup> All this was before 1900, before any of the other towns had put their surplus gas to any industrial use, and before they had fully realized the wealth that was going to waste beneath their feet. Local capital had, it is true, organized the Coffeyville Brick and Tile Company in 1896, and built other plants at Independence and Cherryvale in 1898, using gas for fuel,<sup>222</sup> but beyond that the demand for domestic purposes fixed the market for the gas of those towns.

The development of the years 1900 to 1902 extended the gas field to practically its present extent, and the cheap rates offered to manufacturing institutions began to scatter the incoming capital to the southward of the first center at Iola. The larger interests as they came in, almost without exception, availed themselves of the offer of free fuel or of the three-cent rate, as the case might be, but in most instances they set about to acquire holdings of their own, and put down their own gas wells near the site of their plants. In the case of the Portland cement mills, which began to dot the country through the gas belt after 1900 and the successful start of the Iola mill, the production was often larger than the industry called for, and the companies offered their gas to other manufacturers at the regular factory rate.

Then it was that another factor entered the field and put the real gas development of the field on its feet. This was the organization of the Kansas Natural Gas Company, animated by T. N. Barnsdall, of Pittsburg, Pa., backed by other capital from the Pennsylvania field. A charter was secured in 1904, the wells and equipment of the Consolidated Gas, Oil and Manufacturing Company, organized a year earlier by McBride & Bloom, the pioneer developers, were taken over, and the new company, with a capital of \$12,000,000, started out to supply all eastern Kansas with gas from the southern field. In 1905 the Caney Gas Company was acquired, and a few months later the big concern took over the Coffeyville Gas Company, which owned 64,000 acres of gas lands and was valued at nearly a million alone. Several other local companies were taken up, and within two years from its inception the Kansas Natural controlled the output of the Kansas field, save for the production of the wells by the individual manufacturing plants, such as the smelters, brick plants and like industries.

The Kansas Natural centered its development in the field in and about Montgomery county, Altoona, just north of Neodesha, and Deering, south of Independence, being the centers of the two larger pools from which it drew. As soon as the supply was located the company began laying pipe lines into the Joplin mining district, and northward to Topeka, Lawrence, Kansas City, Leavenworth and Atchison, touching intermediate towns outside of the gas district.<sup>223</sup> These lines were practically all completed by the end of

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NOTE 221.—*Iola Register* (daily), May 13, 1907.

NOTE 222.—Interview, 1908.

NOTE 223.—One of the incidents of the activity of the Kansas Natural was the organization of the Kansas Gas Protective Association, which tried to stop the operations of the company, and to forbid the piping of the gas out of the state. Finally, December 17, 1904, the pipe line was blown up in three places in Montgomery county, and the litigation in the courts that followed gave the victory to the Natural, and its operations have not been opposed since that time.—*Independence Reporter*, *Oil and Gas Magazine*, p. 36.

1905, the piping of Kansas City being completed in 1906, and the company counted nearly a million population in the towns that it served. The larger manufacturing establishments, however, that are situated in the gas belt, are not included in these figures. In 1905 the Kansas Natural had 350 wells, with a tested capacity of two billion cubic feet daily, and had nearly 400 miles of sixteen-inch mains laid to reach its customers. The company has been an important factor in the industrial situation since that time, in spite of the fact that the largest share of manufacturing gas is produced from other wells.<sup>224</sup> It has made a permanent rate of twelve and a half cents per thousand feet for manufacturing purposes, and has hundreds of factories using its gas.

In 1904 the development of the field had passed southward across the state line into Oklahoma and Indian Territory, and some large oil pools were opened south of the line. In Oklahoma but one district produced oil to any extent (all the development being for the sake of oil), while in the Indian Territory the development was confined largely to the Osage lands on account of the fact that leases were difficult to obtain elsewhere.<sup>225</sup> Late in the year the activity increased in the vicinity of Bartlesville and Tulsa, and by the end of the year there were about 500 oil wells producing in the territories. In the following year the development of the oil pools in and about Bartlesville, Ramona and Pawhuska brought in numerous strong gas wells,<sup>226</sup> and those towns began to offer gas to manufacturers for two cents a thousand.<sup>227</sup> The next year (1906) saw an unprecedented development in the supply of gas in the Indian Territory, the field developed extending from the Kansas line southward almost to the Arkansas river, and being in most places from five to ten miles in width. The larger number of the wells are in the Cherokee Nation, and will average twenty million feet per day.

The same conditions continued in the field south of the Kansas line throughout 1906, the amount of gas developed and left unused being enormous. Practically no manufactures had as yet entered the field, and owing to the uncertainty of the laws and rulings of the Interior Department, the gas was left practically unused save for local domestic purposes. The possible production increased enormously,<sup>228</sup> however, in spite of the fact that

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NOTE 224.—“There are twenty-five glass plants, fifteen smelters and perhaps a hundred brick plants drawing on the Kansas gas field and consuming a hundred million cubic feet. . . . In the same district domestic consumers do not use to exceed 25,000,000 cubic feet. The plants enumerated have their own gas lands and do their own drilling for the supply for nearly all of them.”—Independence Reporter, Oil and Gas Magazine, p. 37.

NOTE 225.—“Later in the year the Secretary of the Interior began to confirm leases within the Cherokee territory, and drilling began with great activity. . . . A few small areas were leased previously, including nearly all the town site of Bartlesville, which was leased to the Cudahy Oil Company; . . . Since the Cherokee leases have been confirmed drilling has become very active in the little town of Alluwe, about thirty miles south of the town of Coffeyville, and at the villages of Dewey and Lenapah, the former being four miles north of Bartlesville, and the latter ten miles south of Coffeyville.”—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, p. 207.

NOTE 226.—“A well drilled close to the state line in October tested close to thirty-five million feet. In the Indian Territory some enormous gas wells have been found, a number of which range from fifteen to twenty million cubic feet. The strongest wells are near the line between the Osage and Cherokee land, some on one side and some on the other. . . . In the vicinity of Bartlesville the gas is found in the sand above the oil sand, and frequently the gas is allowed to escape, and the drill sent down to the oil.”—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, p. 214a.

NOTE 227.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, p. 214.

NOTE 228.—“Gas has been developed in the Indian Territory to such an enormous extent in connection with the oil development that the Cherokee and Osage territories could probably supply two or three times as much gas as is developed in Kansas. A great deal of this territory



the companies in their drilling purposely tried to avoid the known pools of gas, in their search for oil. In 1907 the Kansas Natural laid a small pipe line into the field south of the state line, and drew heavily from it until the Oklahoma legislature passed a law prohibiting the exportation of gas from the above field, and the law since that time has been<sup>229</sup> thoroughly enforced so far as can be learned. The southern end of the field thus presents an anomalous condition. There are millions of dollars' worth of gas on tap that up to the present time have been absolutely of no value, on account of the conditions outlined above. The conditions are analogous to those that prevailed in the Kansas field for the first few years, but the determination of Oklahoma to keep the gas at home will, if persisted in, eventually result in a movement of gas-using industries southward.<sup>230</sup>

In the Kansas gas field there was considerable activity during 1907, notably in the northern end, probably stimulated by the impossibility of drawing from the Oklahoma field. The principal development was that of a pool a few miles southwest of Chanute, where a large number of wells were drilled that would run from two to thirty million feet.<sup>231</sup> In this respect the new field is almost as good as that in Montgomery<sup>232</sup> county, which was exploited two years earlier. A new field was also opened between Neodesha and Fredonia, in Wilson county, the wells being smaller, however, and the flow used principally by the local manufacturing interests. Other shallow fields, producing wells of three to five million capacity, were also developed at two or three other points. It is known to be a fact that the constant drain on the gas supply of the northern part of the Kansas field, especially at Iola, where the zinc smelters and the Portland cement mills consume millions of feet of gas every day, that there is fear of the failure of the supply at a no very distant day. Deep drilling has been going on at Iola for nearly a year past, with a view of increasing the supply before the want is really felt. Nothing definite can be learned as to the results, but no new finds have been made known to the public, and the indications are that that part of the field at least is at present confronted with a gradual diminution of the supply.

It would be very difficult to state either the production of the Kansas-Oklahoma gas fields authoritatively,<sup>233</sup> or, if the production were ascertained,

gas is shut in awaiting a market, while other portions are piped to various towns and villages and retailed for domestic consumption. Practically no manufacturing concerns are established south of the state line."—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, p. 219.

NOTE 229.—

"R. L. Douglas, *University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.*:"

"DEAR SIR—Your letter of February 14, addressed to the secretary of state, has been referred to this office.

"The law referred to in your letter was not a territorial law, but was passed by the first state legislature, and will be found in chapter 67 of the 1907-'08 Session Laws. This law was declared unconstitutional by the United States circuit court of the eastern district of Oklahoma, by a decision which was filed in July, 1909. The decision has not been officially reported, but no doubt will be contained in the 172d volume of the Federal Reports.

Very respectfully,

W. C. REEVES,

*Assistant Attorney-general.*"

NOTE 230.—"But few factories are as yet established (1907). At Bartlesville there are two zinc smelters, and one is building. At Dewey, four miles north, a Portland cement plant is building."—Haworth, in Eng. and Min. Jour., January 4, 1908.

NOTE 231.—Haworth, in Eng. and Min. Jour., January 9, 1909.

NOTE 232.—"In another column of this booklet will be found the detailed report of Sealy L. Brown, gas inspector, showing the amount of gas developed in Montgomery county, Kansas, January 1, 1909. In spite of the vast amount of gas piped to Kansas City, Topeka, Leavenworth, St. Joe, Joplin and other cities, the wells of the great Montgomery county field show no diminution."—Mid-Continent Oil Fields, 1908, p. 44.

NOTE 233.—Tables were published in the bulletins on Mineral Resources of Kansas for the years 1897 to 1902, inclusive, that are as accurate as any for the Kansas field. No figures were available for the Oklahoma field for the purpose of this article that give satisfactory summaries.

to give an accurate valuation, on account of the fact that the gas is sold at prices varying from three cents to twenty-five cents a thousand in different parts of the district, and manufacturers who own their own wells have no satisfactory records of the amount of gas actually consumed. Probably gas to the value of half a million, or thereabouts, was produced in the experimental period up to 1897,<sup>234</sup> and about twenty-five millions since that time, as nearly as the estimates can be reconciled.<sup>235</sup> No figures are obtainable for Oklahoma, though it is estimated that there were a hundred and forty billion feet of gas produced in that district last year.<sup>236</sup> The estimate is, however, in all probability high.

The importance of the development of natural gas to the manufacturing interests of the state lies, however, in its particular advantages as a fuel in certain kinds of industries, rather than in the amount that is produced. To some of the industries that have been built up in the eastern part of Kansas since 1900 gas is an essential element. This is true of the glass factories, which have to make gas if they cannot secure the natural product. Others, as the Portland cement mills, find it doubly advantageous, the cost and efficiency both entering into the consideration. In others, such as the brick industry, which gas has revolutionized, and the zinc smelters, the convenience and economy is the greatest recommendation. It has often been stated that 20,000 feet of natural gas is equal in efficiency to a ton of ordinary coal,<sup>237</sup> and under the loose conditions that prevail in small factories, where the firing is not of the best, that is probably a fair estimate. It has been stated on good authority that with average conditions about 25,000 feet<sup>238</sup> of gas would equal a ton of coal. As the cost of fuel to the larger plants, located in the gas belt, is not above three cents a thousand, the ratio of gas and coal would make it necessary to get coal at seventy-five cents a ton to equalize the two fuels from the point of cost alone. This advantage, in connection with the superiority of equal firing, convenience and the like, have been the factors that have attracted the industries to the

NOTE 234.—Min. Res., Kan., 1902, p. 39.

NOTE 235.—Min. Res., U. S., 1906, gives the following table of gas production for Kansas (at page 823):

Year.	No. producers.	Value.	No. wells productive.
1897.....	10	\$105,700	90
1898.....	29	174,640	121
1899.....	31	332,592	160
1900.....	32	356,900	209
1901.....	48	659,173	276
1902.....	80	814,431	404
1903.....	120	1,123,849	666
1904.....	190	1,517,643	1,029
1905.....	171	2,261,836	1,142
1906.....	130	4,010,986	1,145

In addition to this table, Professor Haworth, state geologist of Kansas, estimated that in 1907 the gas consumed had a value of from six to seven millions of dollars. (Eng. and Min. Jour., Jan. 4, 1908.) On that basis, the value for 1908 would be in excess of seven millions in all probability.

NOTE 236.—Report state mine inspector, Oklahoma, quoted in *Kansas City Journal* (daily), January 11, 1909.

Valuable material is contained in the following publications: First Biennial Report Kansas Bureau of Labor, 1901-'02, pp. 323-339; Coffeyville *Daily Journal* (supplement), April 6, 1907; Independence Reporter Oil and Gas Magazine, December 1905; Iola *Daily Register* (anniversary edition), May 13, 1907; Annual Reviews, "The Mid-Continent Oil Fields," 1905, 1906, 1907, published by the Independence *Daily Reporter*; various numbers *The Kansas Derrick*, published at Iola, Kan.; "Kansas-Indian Territory Oil and Gas Field," Chanute, June 1, 1904.

NOTE 237.—First Bien. Rept., Kan. Bureau Labor, p. 329.

NOTE 238.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, pp. 201, 202.

southeastern part of the state, and have added a net increase of thirty or forty millions to the manufactures of the state since 1900.

The first of the new industries was, as has been stated,\* the Lanyon zinc smelter at Iola; and soon afterward several brickyards began the use of gas. Then, in 1899, the establishment of the cement mill at Iola, followed as it was with remarkable prosperity, led to the organization of others in rapid succession. Other smelters were built all along the line of gas towns from Iola to Deering, near the southern line of the state. The number of gas-burning brick plants multiplied, and the failure of the Indiana gas field attracted the glassmakers to the new field as early as 1902, the first factory being a small twelve-pot window-glass factory at Independence.<sup>239</sup> By 1905 there were four cement mills, nine glass factories, twelve smelters and more than half a hundred brick plants in operation in the state using gas as fuel,<sup>240</sup> and the gas belt had become the center of manufacturing and business activity.<sup>241</sup> Since that time eleven more Portland cement mills have been built in Kansas, and two in the gas district of Oklahoma (Indian Territory); the number of glass factories has doubled, the smelters have builded southward across the state line at Bartlesville, and the population of the district has almost doubled.

One of the incidents of this growth of manufacturing and of the development of the oil and gas fields is the inception of a great demand for machinery of all kinds, and out of this new demand has grown up a wonderful increase in the iron foundry and repair business. In 1903 the largest of the iron-working establishments were consolidated into one company, under the name of the United Iron Works Company, with a capitalization of \$650,000, with a line of eight plants reaching from Iola to Springfield, Mo., where the head offices are located. The purpose of the consolidation was to secure a specialization of industry in the shops best located to do a particular line of work, and thus to prevent wasteful competition between plants. The plan worked so well that in addition to the first five plants included, two more were purchased in 1904, and a third was erected at Independence in 1906.<sup>242</sup> The conditions of the gas-belt district are such that it is highly advantageous to have such a string of ironworking plants to attend to the heavy repair business, which demands prompt and convenient service. The fact that the rates on the raw materials, pig iron and charcoal, are much cheaper than rates on the finished machinery that is

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NOTE 239.—*South Kansas Tribune* (weekly), December 6. 1905.

NOTE 240.—Census Manufactures, Kansas, 1905, p. 20.

NOTE 241.—“There are twenty-five gas plants, fifteen smelters, four cement plants, and perhaps a hundred brick plants drawing on the Kansas gas field.”—*Independence Reporter, Oil and Gas Magazine*, p. 37. The estimates in this account are considerably larger than the census figures, and are probably a little too large.

NOTE 242.—The two plants at Springfield, Mo., make a specialty of ice-making machinery, coal-mining machinery, and railroad repairs, and employ 150 men. This is the parent plant, and the head office of the company. The Aurora, Mo., branch, specializes in zinc concentrating plants for the Joplin district, and employs 25 men. The Joplin plant also makes concentrating machinery, and boilers and sheet steel supplies for the mines, and employs 85 men. The Pittsburg plant makes coal-mining machinery, and does railroad repair work, employing 75 men. The Iola plant, established in 1901, makes all kinds of cement-mill supplies, oil tanks and smelting machinery, besides general repair work in all these lines. It employs 165 men. The Independence plant, the last of the line, makes a specialty of brick-making machinery, and supplies most of the yards in that part of the gas belt, giving employment to 50 men. The freight difference gives these plants a twenty per cent advantage over similar plants east of the Mississippi, and accounts for the growth of the industry.—Interview, 1908; also, *Iola Register*, May 13, 1907.

\**Supra*, p. 139.



produced where the materials are at hand, gives the specialized shops a trade advantage that has made the iron trades a most prosperous industry.

An interesting feature of the development of the gas-belt manufacturing towns is the fact that almost without exception the industry has added a settlement to the town in which it is situated, and this factory section seems, in most cases, to be a thing in itself and apart from the rest. The thing that strikes the casual observer is the apparent absence of any effect whatever in the way of addition to the town since the coming of the factories, and this impression persists until the immediate neighborhood of the factory is reached. There, usually, he will find a settlement almost equal in size to the population that depends upon the industry. Of the cement mills, the glass factories, the smelters, and, in some instances, of the brickyards, this is almost universally the case. The oil refineries and the machine shops do not follow this rule. One potent reason is doubtless the consideration of convenience, which makes it advisable for the laborer in these establishments to live near his employment. As in most cases these establishments are necessarily at some distance from the residence part of the towns, and as the labor employed represents an addition by so much to the previous population, it is a rule that there is a settlement for each large industry. Thus, for the first time in the manufacturing life of the state, there is a class different from the general population, and one that does not mingle freely with it. In this respect there is a similarity to the situation in the coal-mining towns, where the settlement for each large mine has been the rule for years, even in the case of American labor.

It is also worthy of notice that the new manufacturing population is not to any extent organized, and that the labor union is not a very important factor, especially in the industries that have followed the development of the gas belt. The cement workers are wholly unorganized, as are the brick workers,<sup>243</sup> the smelter men,<sup>244</sup> the employees of the oil refineries, and a large proportion of the ironworkers. The glassmakers are organized to an extent, but not at all closely. Of the fifteen glass factories reported by the state in 1907 only two had local unions, but as the glassworkers represent a population that comes from an older field, a much larger number than this have in all probability had union connections at some time or other. The ironworkers have by far the larger share of the unions in all these towns, and have had a substantial growth, continuing up to the present time. The boilermakers and the iron molders have accomplished the larger share of their organization since 1900, while the machinists have added very little to the number of their locals in ten years. On the whole, however, the labor union is a comparatively unimportant factor in the manufacturing classes, while on the other hand the miners, railroad workers, carpenters, stonemasons, bricklayers and cigar makers are well organized in all but the small establishments.<sup>245</sup>

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NOTE 243.—The first biennial report of the State Bureau of Labor reports: "On April 7 (1902) the union (in the Coffeyville Brick and Tile Company's plant) resisted a system of dockage for lost time during working hours, incident to the operation of the plant. The company refused the demand, and 150 men went on a strike. On April 10 a conference was held and a contract agreed upon covering the differences, the company conceding the point the men demanded" (p. 266). This is the only showing of an organization in the reports, and the statement above may be taken as approximately true.

NOTE 244.—There were four smelter men's unions listed in the report of the State Bureau (p. 132, *et seq.*) for the year 1902—two at Iola, one at Kansas City and one at Wichita—but no further information is given about them, and they are not listed in 1903.

NOTE 245.—Report Bureau Labor, 1907, p. 104, *et seq.*

Most of the factory unions have been organized within the last ten years, the greatest activity being from 1899 to 1904, about the time that the labor unions were receiving so much advertising, and the "closed" or "open" shop controversy was so prominent. Another factor may have been the recognition that was given to labor organizations by the establishment of the State Society of Labor, the enactment of the factory laws on child labor and factory inspection and the enforcement of the new labor laws<sup>246</sup> by the labor commissioner. All these provisions, aimed at the recognition and assistance of the labor unions incidentally, as they were operative on labor in general, became effective in 1899, and it is certain that after that time the number of unions increased very materially. One thing that the unions may have been instrumental in securing was the enactment of the child-labor law in 1905,<sup>247</sup> for that had been urged by all the unions since 1900 in every report. In some instances the unions have been very beneficial to the laborers, but on the whole the steady increase in wages has not been attributed by the unions themselves to the effect of the organization any more than to the general activity of business.<sup>248</sup>

The situation of manufacturing with reference to all the recent establishments that depend on the gas belt is so much a matter of the present time that it would be largely a matter of speculation to attempt to give them a permanent rating in the manufacturing of the country. It is highly probable that the northern end of the district has reached its maximum, while there is nothing as yet to indicate a similar condition in the southern end of the Kansas field. The Oklahoma gas region is still comparatively unused in an industrial way, only the Portland cement mills and the smelters having ventured into it as yet. Statehood and the settled conditions that go with it will doubtless encourage factories to locate there where they have been discouraged. The continued enforcement of the law against piping gas out of the state will, if adhered to, inevitably draw some of the establishments southward from the Kansas field, which being older and drained heavily all the time will fail first.<sup>249</sup>

It must, however, seem improbable that there will ever be a complete exodus of industry from this section, whatever the fate of the gas supply, unless of course there should be a similar discovery elsewhere coincident with a failure here. It is stated on good authority<sup>250</sup> that even in the case of the Kansas zinc smelters for the last two years the advantage is not very great, and the old Kansas coal smelters, as well as the Illinois coal smelters that are building substantially and equipping for a complete

NOTE 246.—Chapter 34, Session Laws, 1898.

NOTE 247.—Chapter 278, Session Laws, 1905.

NOTE 248.—"Average wages, as compared with 1900, are increased in fifty-two instances, decreased in seven, the same in forty-four. . . . Causes for increase: Forty-one organizations assign reasons for increase in wages, the prevailing being on account of the organization and the prevailing activity in all lines of business."—First Bien. Rept., Bureau Labor (1901-'02), p. 142. "Opportunity for employment, as compared with 1901, increased in eighty-eight instances, decreased in six, the same in fifteen. Causes for increase: thirty-eight, 'general prosperity.' Ten, 'organization.' Four, 'strikes in the East.' Wages, as compared with 1901, increased in forty-five instances. . . . The prevailing reasons for such increase are 'Organized labor, and general activity in business and prosperity.'"—*Ibid.*, p. 292.

NOTE 249.—At this time (1910) the Kansas Natural Gas Company has been using Oklahoma gas for the supply of its Kansas trade for months. The failure of the gas supply in the Iola district and the weakening of the wells south almost to the Montgomery county district have made it of importance that this Oklahoma gas should be made available. There is little doubt that the duration of the Iola supply is to be short, and parts of that district not supplied by the Kansas Natural are now using coal for domestic purposes.

NOTE 250.—Walter R. Ingalls, in *Eng. and Min. Jour.*, January 4, 1908.

utilization of by-products, are on an equal footing. The Kansas smelters recover no by-products, with the exception of part of the Iola works, and are built rather temporarily. When the gas fails, there is no reason why the Kansas industry should not reorganize on a basis of greater economy, using the undiminished coal supply, and operate at little if any disadvantage.

The district will inevitably extend southward to some extent on account of the fact that the conditions are practically uniform over southeastern Kansas and northeastern Oklahoma. That, it seems, is destined to be the factory district, if present conditions should prove to be more than temporary; and there is no visible cause for a termination of the conditions that have been making so strongly for industrial growth in the past few years. If the line of commerce shifts to a north-south line and exports seek an outlet by way of the Gulf of Mexico, as railway traffic men assert, and as seems probable, the present growth will receive an additional impetus that should be even greater than that given by the discovery of the new fuel supply ten years ago. The transportation lines are here, the capital is here and on the increase, and there is a substantial foundation in economic resources to sustain such a growth.

The tendency at the present time, and it is but little more than a tendency as yet, is for the building up of more important manufacturing centers through the central parts of Kansas and Oklahoma, which supply in a measure the things that have heretofore been imported from Kansas City and elsewhere. Topeka, Wichita and Oklahoma City are the largest and most important of the cities that have been participating in this later growth. Their importance began in a commercial way owing to their favored locations as distributing centers, and at the present time they are doing heavy business in distributing to the trade of the smaller towns of their district. This is especially true of Wichita and Oklahoma City, which being farther removed from the prairie center of commerce at Kansas City have a larger field to supply. Oklahoma City, as the metropolis of the new state of Oklahoma, has been almost from its beginning one of the best and most active commercial cities of the prairie region, but up to 1900 it had no beginnings in an industrial way that amounted to anything. Wichita and Topeka, on the other hand, have had industrial aspirations, and some actual importance, for years.

The actual importance of the two cities (Topeka and Wichita) at the present time is shown by a comparison with the total manufactures of the state. For comparison the figures for Kansas City, Kan., will be subtracted from the state total, for they represent a much larger value of products than any other centers in proportion to the capital and wage-earners, on account of the peculiarities of the packing industry, which makes up the bulk of its industries. Subtracting the totals of Kansas City from the state reports, there were in Topeka and Wichita in 1907<sup>251</sup> manufacturing establishments with one-ninth of the capitalization of the rest of the state, employing more than one-sixth of the wage-earners, paying one-seventh of the wages, and producing more than one-fourth of the products of the state after Kansas City was subtracted. The growth of the industrial life of both the cities has been very rapid, and is proportionately greater in Wichita than in Topeka, on account of the fact that the former is but beginning industrial life of importance. In five years since 1900 Wichita in-

NOTE 251.—Twenty-third Ann. Rept., Bureau Labor, tables, p. 280, *et seq.*



creased the capital invested in all industries 148 per cent, with an increase of 6.7 per cent of the number of establishments; wages increased 59.9 per cent, while the value of the products increased 122 per cent. In Topeka capital increased 99.7 per cent, with an increase of 6.8 per cent in the number of establishments; the number of wage-earners increased 37.5 per cent, and wages 25.9 per cent, while the value of products increased 72.9 per cent.<sup>252</sup> The four years since the figures above were collected have seen a continuation of the increase of the importance of Wichita at a greater rate than Topeka, and the indications are that it will continue for a considerable time as yet.

The importance of the industries of Topeka is added to materially by the railway shops of the Santa Fe, they being the main shops for the system. Though there is not much actual construction carried on there, the amount of the repair work is enormous, and adds a considerable amount to the total for the city. In consequence of the railroad work there is a considerable activity in the iron foundries, whose product is nearly a million dollars annually. Flour mills add two and a half million; one of the largest creameries in the United States added over four millions last year,<sup>253</sup> out of the product from 400 collecting stations through the state, which were distributed again in the shape of butter to dealers all over the country. The product of the Topeka packing house adds a large amount of pork products to the total. Among the comparatively new industries should be mentioned a structural steel company, a new automobile factory which has a rapidly increasing output, a vegetable canning factory, a pickling and preserving factory, all of which are growing rapidly. At Wichita, the largest single item of industrial importance is the output of two pork-packing plants, while the flour mills are second, with an output of a million and a half of product annually. The growth of the business of the manufacture of drugs and toilet preparations is one of the important features of the latest growth, and a new paint factory, making paints for the Southwestern climate, is rapidly extending its market.

Oklahoma City showed the greatest increase in the five years after 1900, increasing from almost nothing to some actual importance, and revealing the potential importance of that city as a future manufacturing center. In the five years the capital invested increased 729.5 per cent, the number of wage-earners 227.3 per cent, and the wages 317.3 per cent; the value of the products increased 334.4 per cent,<sup>254</sup> by far the most rapid increase of any part of the prairie section in the same time. Favored by location in the center of the new state, with railway connections of the best, on the north-south line of traffic, this city will inevitably increase in importance, both as a distributing center and as a manufacturing point in many lines of products. There is abundant wealth in the city, and it will be strange if the potential importance does not place the city on an equality with Kansas City as a manufacturing and commercial point at no very distant time.

In the following sections the history of the more important of the individual industries will be taken up in the order of importance and development. There are, however, many lines of manufacturing that are becoming

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NOTE 252.—Bull. No. 23, Census Manufactures, 1905, p. 16.

NOTE 253.—Topeka *Daily Capital*, March 7, 1909.

NOTE 254.—Bull. No. 30, Census Manufactures, 1905, p. 32.

important in this section that will not be touched upon in this paper on account of the length that it would give to the discussion. They should not, however, be entirely overlooked. Dairying<sup>255</sup> is one of the industries that is constantly becoming more important and is destined to become characteristic of the whole section. There are in Kansas and Nebraska at the present time more than a hundred creameries, whose capital aggregates nearly four million dollars, and whose output in 1905 was more than seven million dollars' worth of butter, to say nothing of the value of the frozen products in the shape of ice creams that they put out in large quantities every year. Car construction and repairs by railroads is of considerable importance, there being some fifty-three shops in the two states, representing about nine millions of capital, and nearly sixteen million dollars' worth of products every year. Bakery products make over three millions in the two states. Malt liquors are a million and a half in Nebraska, and tobacco industries amount to two millions in the three states in this section.

With this suggestion of the importance of some of the lines of industry that are not treated in detail, the discussion of the more important individual industries will be taken up.

#### FLOUR MILLING.

The milling industry is one of the oldest manufacturing enterprises in this section of the country, and at the same time one of the most thoroughly characteristic and widely distributed over the whole section. One of the first needs of the settlers of the new country was for the means of grinding their wheat, one of the first products, into flour for their family consumption. This necessity caused the building of small gristmills in the early days in every community. The eastern part of the section, including principally southeastern Nebraska and northeastern Kansas, built many of these mills, the small streams furnishing power for a majority. Wheat raising was of less comparative importance in the first twenty years of the history of the new states than it is at the present time, and before 1870 there was almost no flour sent out of the district. Home consumption furnished practically the whole of the demand, and it was hardly looked upon as a manufacturing enterprise as a source of wealth and profit, but as a necessity to society. Most of the early millers followed the business as a sort of side issue to their regular employment or business.

There are almost no accounts at all of the early period of the milling industry in this part of the country, partly on account of the very fact that it was looked upon as so much a matter of course that it attracted little attention.<sup>256</sup> In the later years, the industry has attracted some literary attention, and there are a few accounts that are serviceable as a source of material for a statement of the development of the industry. For this reason it has been necessary to draw the conclusions as well as many of the details from scattered accounts in local reports for the most of the whole period. It has therefore been the purpose of this article to study particularly the industry in Kansas, which, being the center of the group of states under consideration, and the most quickly settled part of the district, is

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NOTE 255.—Sixteenth Bien. Rept., Kan. St. Bd. Ag., pp. 1038-1040.

NOTE 256.—Cutler's History of Kansas gives local mention of the establishment of flouring mills, but no tabulated statistics.

characteristic enough to make the study sufficient for the whole section. This is further justified by the fact that it is in Kansas alone that there has been any considerable centralization of the industry in the later period.

The census reports are the only sources of information as to the number of mills and extent of operations until the beginning of the publication of a few statistics on manufactures by the secretary of agriculture in his annual reports, beginning with 1874. The first census of Kansas territory was in 1860, and showed only thirty-six flour and grist mills in the state. The average capital invested was given as a little over \$3000, and the value of the products was almost \$300,000. Small as this amount seems to be, considering that it was the sum of all the flour industry in forty-one counties, it shows a larger total than any other single industry, and this leading position in manufactures it held until the rise of the meat-packing interests at Kansas City about 1890. It was not until nearly 1870, however, that the production of flour in the state assumed its normal relationship to the demands of the population for flour. Previous to that time the needs of the people for bread were supplied from the corn crops, where the supply of wheat in the state did not meet the requirements.

In the ten years from 1860 to 1870 the number of flour and grist mills had practically trebled, and the industry was assuming stable proportions. The amount of capital had increased nearly nine times, and the product had grown in like proportions, reaching in the year of the census \$2,938,215. In the same time the population of the state had trebled, the acreage farmed had practically quadrupled, and the wheat acreage had increased from less than 200,000 acres to two and a third million acres. Soft winter wheat was the sole product at this time, and as the weather conditions at that time were such as to make wheat growing uncertain in a considerable portion of the section,<sup>257</sup> the milling industry still represents the needs of the settlers for bread.

The early census reports do not show the distribution of the mills,<sup>258</sup> nor the relative numbers of water powers, but those facts are partially supplied by the report of the agricultural department of Kansas in 1874.<sup>259</sup> These figures are not very satisfactory, on account of the fact that the returns are incomplete as to numbers, and still further deficient in giving the values of the mills reported. The next year, however, the report<sup>260</sup> shows practically complete enumeration of mills, though other details are deficient, as before. There were 158 flour and grist mills reported in the state of Kansas in 1875, with an average capital investment of \$11,000 each, or almost four times that of fourteen years previous. Only a little more than half the mills were valued, but at that average capitalization the whole number brought the total capital investment up to nearly two million dollars, while in the following year it passed three millions by the same method of computation. In 1875 there were nearly 300 mills reported, or more than are in operation in the state at the present time.

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NOTE 257.—The Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, gives under each town a list of its manufactures, a history of individual enterprises. Flour and corn mills are included in the number; money invested, power and output are usually shown, as well as date of establishment.

NOTE 258.—Kansas Hand Book, 1881, p. 13.

NOTE 259.—Third Ann. Rept. State Board of Agriculture; the accounts are scattered through the body of the report, covering over a hundred pages, so that it is impossible to give page references.

NOTE 260.—Fourth Ann. Rept.



The relative importance of the water powers of the streams of the eastern part of the state is suggested by these same reports. In 1874, 86 of the total of 158 reported were run by water power, and how large the proportion may have been earlier can only be conjectured. It was just at this time that the number of water powers was on the increase, as is shown by the report for 1875, which lists exactly half of the 290 flour and grist mills as steam-driven. From this time on, however, there has been a gradual decline in the number of water powers, until at the present time there are but a few in the state, and only at the most favorable locations. There are a considerable number of points where it would be possible to locate water powers that are not utilized at all now, on account largely of the convenience and cheapness of fuel as compared to the initial cost of installing water powers. Another feature of the flour milling industry through the '70's is the considerable mills that were run only a part of the time, and in connection with small sawmills. These combination mills were not confined to the water powers along the streams, but persisted for some time after the use of steam power in the flour mills became the rule. Over two-thirds of the combination mills reported in 1875 were driven by steam. Wind was a source of power to a small extent, and there were at one time ten wind flour mills in the state. The reports for the year 1876,<sup>261</sup> show practically the same results that have been stated, save that there was an increase in the number of mills reported, the number averaging ten to each county reporting flour mills—330 in all.

The decade following the conditions that have just been suggested saw a practical revolution of the milling industry of the state. At the beginning of that time only about the amount of wheat was made into flour that the population of the state demanded. The mills were small, none of them being above 150 barrels capacity, and the average much less. Exportation of flour was unheard of, and almost unthought of.<sup>262</sup> But there were several influences working quietly in the later '70's that were making for the reorganization of the milling industry on an industrial basis that would make the products important in the commerce of the outside. The first if not the most important of these was the introduction of hard wheat in Kansas by the Russian Mennonites who emigrated to the south central part of Kansas in the '70's, and settled in a group of counties along the Santa Fe railroad. Prior to that time it had been found impossible to build flour mills of any consequence on account of the uncertainty of the wheat crop in that section of the state, and one of the early mills in Harvey county had to ship wheat from Atchison at times to supply its burrs.<sup>263</sup>

The first party of the Mennonite colonists brought only a small quantity of the Russian or "Turkey" hard wheat with them, and for several years only such as they needed for themselves was grown from it.<sup>264</sup> About 1885,

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NOTE 261.—Fifth Ann. Rept., State Board of Agriculture.

NOTE 262.—An article in the *Kansas Monthly* for July, 1878 (vol. I, No. 1), calls attention to the relative insignificance of the milling industry to its possibilities, in the eastern part of the state where crop conditions were fairly satisfactory. "Probably there is not a mill in the state that has a capacity that will average 150 barrels a day, and there is not enough to manufacture one per cent of the present crop. . . . Every well conducted mill is paying large profits, . . . and I doubt if there is any other business in Kansas that pays so well."

NOTE 263.—Fifteenth Bien. Rept. State Board of Ag. (Kan.), p. 945.

NOTE 264.—Ibid. p. 948.

however, Mr. Bernard Warkentin,<sup>265</sup> who had been influential in getting the Mennonites to settle in Kansas, being convinced of the great superiority of the new wheat as a sure crop producer, imported a considerable quantity of it from Crimea, and sold it to the farmers for seed. Mr. C. B. Hoffman,<sup>266</sup> a pioneer miller of the state, who had been running one of the largest mills on the Smoky Hill river at Enterprise, was one of the early promoters and one of the first to offer the hard wheat flour for export.<sup>267</sup> The wheat did not have to be acclimated, but was naturally adapted to the region west of the eastern quarter of the state that was too dry for the soft wheat that had been the whole crop up to this time. By many of the oldest millers of the state, who have watched the development of the milling industry from the early days, the introduction of hard wheat is given the credit for the growth of the exportation of flour from the state.<sup>268</sup>

Beginning about the same time was the improvement of natural conditions which made the production of soft wheat more certain and profitable. The increase in rainfall that has been going on almost since the first settlement of the state has made the eastern two-thirds better adapted to the raising of soft wheat than the eastern edge was at the time the milling industry started. The impetus given to the raising of wheat by the introduction of hard wheat was communicated to the growing of soft wheat as well, and as soon as the increased rainfall became a thing certain, the production of both kinds of wheat increased enormously. In 1870 there were less than two and a half million bushels of wheat raised in the state; in 1880 there were seventeen and a third million bushels; and by 1890 this had

NOTE 265.—BERNARD WARKENTIN was born in southern Russia in 1847, where his father, a Mennonite, was a large landowner. Young Warkentin came to America, locating first in Summerfield, Ohio, and from there coming to Kansas in 1872. He settled at Halstead, where he built the first mill in Harvey county. In 1886 he purchased mill property in Newton and removed there, retaining business interests, however, in Halstead. He was the first man to introduce the Turkey hard wheat into Kansas, as his father had been first to interest the Mennonites of southern Russia in that variety of the grain. Mr. Warkentin was one of the "solid men" of Kansas, public-spirited, and alive to the best interests of the community and the state. His death was tragic and occurred while he and his wife were on a trip abroad. They were en route from Damascus to Beirut, when a young man in the next compartment of the railway train, in handling his revolver, accidentally discharged it, the ball penetrating Mr. Warkentin's body. He died in the Prussian hospital at Beirut, about midnight, April 1, 1908. The young man accountable for this accident was a Turkish prince, Mehemed Said, a grandson of the famous Abd-el-Kader, emir of the Arab tribes in Algeria.

NOTE 266.—CHRISTIAN B. HOFFMAN was born in Azmooz, Switzerland, in 1851, and the family emigrated to Wisconsin, settling in Washington county in 1854. In the year 1857 the father, C. Hoffman, born in Switzerland August 1, 1826, came to Kansas, locating first at Leavenworth. He remained there until 1860, when he went into Dickinson county and engaged in farming. In 1868 he left his farm and built a grist mill on the Smoky Hill river near where the town of Enterprise now stands. Mr. Hoffman was treasurer of the town company of Enterprise, organized in January, 1873, and has always been closely identified with its interests. His son, Christian B., was educated at the Central Wesleyan College, Warrenton, Mo., and in 1873 was married to Catherine A. Hopkins, a native of Virginia. He entered into partnership with his father in the milling business, and together their ventures have been very successful, embracing many lines of industry, some of which are now carried on by the third generation of American Hoffmans. C. B. Hoffman represented his district in the legislature of 1883 and has been more or less active in politics.

NOTE 267.—"It was the introduction of hard wheat that made the exportation of flour from Kansas possible. . . . I found that it was a better yielder, and that it stood the drought and other vicissitudes better than the soft wheat. This caused me to chemically analyze its qualities, which showed that it was rich in gluten, and produced a very nutritious and palatable bread. Baking tests confirmed this. Exportation of hard wheat flour began in the early '80's, and was in full swing by 1885."—Letter, C. B. Hoffman, Enterprise, Kan., 1908.

NOTE 268.—"The first flour exported direct by the mills from Kansas was sometime between 1884 and 1887, and was made from hard wheat; it was really the hard wheat of Kansas that made it a wheat raising and flour manufacturing state of any importance."—Chas. V. Brinkman, Great Bend, Kan., 1908.

"The introduction of hard wheat gave an impetus to the raising of wheat in Kansas which furnished a surplus, a market for which was found in foreign countries."—John Kelley (Kelley Milling Company, Kansas City, Mo.)

increased to thirty and a third million bushels. In the decade from 1880 to 1890 there had been but a slight increase in the average acreage of wheat, thus showing the importance of the combined influence of the introduction of hard wheat and the improved crop conditions on the production.

The other important influence was the introduction of the gradual reduction process in the Kansas mills in the early '80's. This process was introduced into the United States from France only about 1870, and the burr process, in general use over the whole United States, persisted in a great many of the Kansas mills almost until 1890. The first mills in the state were equipped for the new process in 1881 and 1882,<sup>269</sup> and were ready for business at about the time that the other advantages in wheat growing that have been suggested were well under way.

The successful milling of the hard wheat was dependent on the introduction of the new process, in so far as the export market for flour was concerned, for the old burr process made very inferior flour out of the hard wheat. With the introduction of the new process, and the reorganization of the milling business that followed it, many of the old-time water power mills disappeared altogether from the state. These influences culminated about 1890, just about the time when, as has already been seen, practically every line of industry was experiencing a period of expansion and centralization. The milling industry was no exception, though the centralization was not accomplished until nearly fifteen years later to its full extent. The decade from 1880 to 1890 showed an increase in the number of mills of only 8 per cent, while the amount of capital invested increased 130 per cent,<sup>270</sup> the value of the products increased one-half in the same time, and the number of employees about the same.

The exportation of flour to neighboring states, and particularly to Texas and Iowa, had begun as early as 1878,<sup>271</sup> from some of the older and larger mills in the eastern part of the state. The production of a surplus of wheat, which had been on the increase from 1875, made possible the development of larger mills and the growth of a few rather well-defined milling centers. Those towns that have already been mentioned as taking the lead in manufactures, were the ones to take the lead in the new milling movement. Topeka, Emporia, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Atchison and Fort Scott were the principal towns, and each of them had from two to four or five of the larger mills of the state. In the case of the milling industry, however, there was a wider distribution of mills in the middle western counties of the state, owing to the effort of some of them to operate as close to the supply as possible. There were mills built along the water powers of that section of the country at this time that are still among the largest in the business to-day in this region. Notable among these are the mills of C. B. Hoffman at Enterprise, of C. V. Brinkman at Great Bend, and Bernard Warkentin at Newton. It is largely to the efforts of these pioneer millers in that section of the country that the advertising of Kansas flour, and especially hard wheat flour, was due.

By 1890 the products of the Kansas flour mills were reaching practically all the neighboring states that were not self-supplying. Missouri, Nebraska

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NOTE 269.—Letters, C. B. Hoffman and C. V. Brinkman.

NOTE 270.—Tables from census reports for 1880 and 1890.

NOTE 271.—Interview, J. D. Bowersock, Lawrence, 1908.



and Iowa took considerable quantities of Kansas flour, while the products of the Kansas mills found an outlet to the south and southwest, in Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Colorado and New Mexico. One of the largest of the mills at this time was at Lawrence, having a capacity of 250 barrels a day. Of it a contemporary account says: "Its products are known from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and car lots are sent to the surrounding states. It took the first premium at the World's Fair Cotton Centennial at New Orleans in 1884."<sup>272</sup> The annual production of wheat by the state of Kansas reached thirty-four million bushels in 1889, and in 1891 it increased to fifty-six million bushels, affording abundant material for the mills. The quality of the flour was becoming well known, and the mills were in a fair way to prosper.

The financial difficulties of 1888 and the depression in all lines of industry for several years afterward were felt as well by the flour mills as any other lines of manufacturing, and there was little change in milling conditions from 1890 until nearly 1900, when there was a considerable increase in the number of mills, accompanied, however, by only a slight addition to the investment of capital. This was partly due, no doubt, to the fact that there were a number of small mills built in the western half of the state about this time that did only local custom business, and they swelled the numerical count without adding materially to the milling capacity of the state. From 1898 to 1902 or 1903, however, was a period of considerable addition to the milling capacity, and, though there were not many mills of consequence built in that time, there were enlargements going on that have increased the capacity of the mills to far more than the demand for Kansas flour at the present time will keep busy. It has been estimated that about 1902 the milling capacity of the state reached approximately eleven and a half million barrels of flour annually,<sup>273</sup> or practically double the amount actually produced. This estimate shows a condition that actually exists at the present time; that is, that a large portion of the mills of the state can and do run but a part of the time, and only the better located and better managed are able to run continuously.

One of the incidents of the increase of milling capacity about 1900 was the rise of the milling center at Kansas City, which within only a few years past has risen to second place as a milling center in the United States. The annual exportation of a large share of the wheat produced in this section of the country had years ago made Kansas City the market for millions of bushels of the Kansas wheat crop every year, while the growing production of Oklahoma since the '90's added greatly to the wheat that sought the markets through Kansas City. Realizing the important advantage of locating mills in conjunction with such a market, there was a considerable increase in the milling capacity of the Kansas City mills, beginning about 1895. A notable incident of this increase was the erection of one of the largest hard-wheat mills in the world in Kansas City, Kan., by the Santa Fe railroad. These mills, known as the Rex Mills, have a capacity of 5000 barrels daily, but for some reason have not been in operation for three or four years. Recently, however, they have been leased by one of the active milling companies of Kansas City,<sup>274</sup> and will be in full operation in a few

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NOTE 272.—*Lawrence Journal*. (weekly), April 15, 1887.

NOTE 273.—C. B. Hoffman, in Thirteenth Bien. Rept. Bd. of Ag., Kan., p. 539.

NOTE 274.—The Southwestern Milling Company.

months. This will make this company the largest operator in the Southwest, with a total mill capacity of 8000 barrels a day. The operations of this one company will require forty cars of wheat daily, worth from \$35,000 to \$50,000, according to the market. The other mills at Kansas City, six in number, have a capacity of 1000 and 2000 barrels each, and bring the total capacity of the mills at this place up to fourteen and a half thousand barrels a day.<sup>275</sup>

There are twelve towns in the state of Kansas that have a milling capacity of from 1500 to nearly 4000 barrels of flour daily. Topeka heads the list with six mills producing 3750 barrels; and a number of towns through the center of the state in the heart of the wheat belt complete the list. They were all located, in the first instance, with a view of operating on the wheat produced in the vicinity, but when it was found necessary to increase the size and scope of the operations in order to command a standing in the market, it was found impossible to secure enough wheat to run the mills without the aid of the railroads. At the present time many of these mills ship nearly all of their wheat from various distances. This would not have been possible if the railroads had charged the regular local freight rates on the shipment and reshipment, and would have forced the milling industry to centralize completely at Kansas City or some other market center, save for the small mills that were so situated that they could operate on the wheat produced within a radius reached by the wagons of the farmers. By means of the milling in transit rate, similar to the rate made to all manufacturing concerns of any importance, the millers were allowed to stop wheat at their mills and grind it and ship out an equal tonnage of flour and other products on the through rate. By this means the millers in the center of the state have exactly the same footing that the Kansas City millers have, save that they have a little additional trouble of keeping buyers out to supply them, while the Kansas City mills find their wheat coming in constantly of its own accord.

Under these influences the more aggressive mills through the wheat belt adapted themselves to the new conditions after the centralization tendency manifested itself, and the products of a dozen towns find foreign markets on an equal footing with the Kansas City center.<sup>276</sup> The only difficulty that they experience is the finding of a sufficient supply of wheat tributary to their mills to keep them running the year round. There is a constant tendency for the farmers to turn their wheat on the market considerably in advance of the marketing of the new crop, and the millers sometimes have trouble in finding enough wheat available without sending to Kansas City for it, and thus doubling their ordinary freight rates. Only the great losses ordinarily incidental to idleness or running on part capacity would justify paying freight twice, but they are compelled to do it at times. The building of elevators all through the western part of the state in the wheat country has helped a great deal in this respect in keeping the wheat in the country longer, and the growing prosperity of the farmers, which enables them to hold their crops longer, has aided in the same result.

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NOTE 275.—The *Kansas City Star*, October 26, 1908.

NOTE 276.—The towns that are in the lead are: Topeka, with a daily capacity of 3750 barrels; Wichita, 3460 barrels; Wellington, 3050 barrels; Coffeyville, 1950; Salina, 1925; Leavenworth, 1750; Arkansas City, 1550; Atchison, 1450; Hutchinson, 1150; Newton, 1070; McPherson, 1070; Enterprise, 1050. The total capacity of these mills is 23,225 barrels, or about one and a half times that of Kansas City at the present time.

A few years ago one of the largest milling companies<sup>277</sup> of the state conceived the idea of going into the elevator business for itself, in order to secure a constant supply of high-grade wheat for its mills. Accordingly a subsidiary grain company was organized, sixteen elevators were bought, thirty-five or more buying stations were established in southern Kansas and northern Oklahoma. It is worthy of notice that this is the largest one of three milling centers of large proportions in the state operating wholly on soft wheat,<sup>278</sup> the products of which are marketed almost wholly in the Southern states and in the West Indies. One small mill owned by this company, and operated in connection with their other mills, manufactures hard-wheat flour for the demand among local customers of the company, but the large majority of their products are made of soft wheat. The building of elevators over the wheat belt has of late years become the rule, and has aided in general in holding back enough of the wheat crop each year to keep the mills running to supply all the trade they have been able to secure. Occasionally, however, it is necessary to go to the eastern markets and buy wheat rather than to allow the mills to be idle and disorganize the trade that they have been able to build up.

Under present conditions there are two distinct types of flour mills in this section of the country. One is the mill of 500 barrels or more capacity running on full time, twenty-four hours in the day, and exporting its products by the carload. A mill of this character, well managed and favorably located, is under no disadvantage in competition with a mill of 5000 barrels, except in the magnitude of the trade it is able to handle. After a certain limit the construction of a flour mill is a matter of duplication, and the medium-size mill has no unsurmountable difficulties in its way. The smaller mills, of which there are a great number, not only in Kansas but all over Nebraska and Oklahoma, of 200 or 300 barrels capacity, are at a decided disadvantage, and are not able to compete in the same class with the larger mills,<sup>279</sup> and their operations are of a necessity confined to local business.

Most of the mills of Nebraska and a share of those of Oklahoma are of this character; they are widely distributed through the wheat-producing belt, and do not figure in the markets of the world to any greater extent than the smaller Kansas mills. In the case of Nebraska this is almost universally true. The milling industry was late in starting, and as late as 1880 Kansas flour supplied a large share of the local demand in that state. The 230 odd mills in 1905 had an output but little over double that of the eight mills operating at Kansas City alone, and the production of the state is only a little more than a fourth that of Kansas.\*

In the case of Oklahoma, however, there is a situation similar to what exists in Kansas. In the part of the state that was the Indian Territory

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NOTE 277.—The Rea-Patterson Milling Company, of Coffeyville, organized in 1893, with a capital of \$50,000, which has since been increased to \$200,000. It consumes on an average over two million bushels of wheat annually. It is composed wholly of southeastern Kansas men.—*Coffeyville Journal* (daily), April 6, 1907.

NOTE 278.—The others are Atchison and Leavenworth; the Cain Milling Company of Atchison, and the Kelley & Lisle Company of Leavenworth, are the largest, and market their products with the southeastern trade, as does the Coffeyville company.

NOTE 279.—“A mill of 500 barrels capacity, other things being equal, is fully as profitable as a larger mill. A mill of 200 barrels capacity and less must depend upon a local market on its better grades of flour, and is not large enough to command a market on its lower grades, as it does not produce enough. Hence it is at a decided disadvantage.”—Letter, C. B. Hoffman, 1908.

\**Supra*, p. 151.



the mills are small and not numerous, and strictly local in character. In Oklahoma territory, however, the building of the mills took on a larger and more important character early in their history. There the larger mills are the rule rather than the exception, and some of them have been in operation practically since the time the wheat raising in that section assumed its present proportions. The centralization has been largely accomplished contemporaneously with the same movement in the Kansas industry. In 1900 there were fifty-five mills in Oklahoma proper, with a capital investment of just about a million dollars.<sup>280</sup> That is, there were one-sixth the number of mills as in Kansas, with about one-eighth the capitalization. The products of the Oklahoma mills at the same time were about one-eleventh that of the Kansas mills. In the five years following, however, there was a great centralization of the industry in Oklahoma, and while the number of mills increased only one-half, the capitalization had trebled, and the value of the products had increased in almost the same proportion.<sup>281</sup>

In 1905 only seventeen of the seventy-five Oklahoma mills represented less than \$20,000 capitalization, while thirty, or two-fifths of the number, were in excess of \$100,000 each. The average capitalization for the Oklahoma mills in 1905 was a little more than \$43,000, while the average of the Kansas mills (not including the mills of Kansas City, Mo.) was barely \$39,000. One reason is no doubt that Oklahoma missed entirely the local stages of the industry that Kansas went through, and, with the building of the mills to take care of the wheat production of the new state, it began at the place the Kansas mills had reached after thirty or forty years of experiment and growth. As there were few small mills in the field, such as still persist in Kansas despite their disadvantages, there were but few to eliminate, and the majority of the mills are of the character of the better mills of the older state.

A few years ago there was an organization perfected in Kansas City, aimed to place the smaller mills of the eastern part of Kansas as nearly as possible on an equal footing with the larger mills in a commercial way. An association was formed of the smaller soft-wheat mills, about twenty-five in number, and all the surplus is exported by the Kansas City office of the association. In this way, as the quality of the flour is usually about the same, the association is able, by the amount of flour that it has at its disposal, to command a much more advantageous market than the individual mills could ever hope to reach. The surplus of these mills is probably not much more than the output of a single large mill, and the association is not of actual importance in relation to the industry as a whole. It does illustrate, however, another way of accomplishing the end that the large mills have attained in the commerce of their products. Whether the small mills will be able to live and prosper by means of such an association is doubtful, and it is likely to prove merely a device to enable them to prolong their life to a certain extent in spite of the disadvantages, to which they will eventually yield.

With millions of bushels of wheat going out of this section of the country every year, while there are idle mills only too willing to grind it into flour, the permanence of present conditions may well be called into question

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NOTE 280.—Twelfth Census, Manufactures, part II, pp. 730, 731.

NOTE 281.—Census Manufactures, 1905, Bull. 30, pp. 31, 34.

In many ways it would be advantageous to grind a larger per cent of the Kansas and Oklahoma wheat into flour. It would relieve to a considerable extent the periodical strain on the transportation facilities of the country, by spreading the tonnage more evenly over the year, and would give an additional tonnage eventually in the shape of bags, barrels, machinery and the like incidental to steady operation. On the other hand, there has to be created a market for more Kansas-made flour, by means of systematic advertising. The freight rates would have to be revised so as not to encourage the shipment of unground grain as at present, and for this the railroads would have to be enlisted. There is the further consideration that, with the larger and more substantial building of European mills, accompanied by the tariff on the importation of flour in some of the countries, American flour is likely to be at a permanent disadvantage, and conditions are at present favorable for an actual decline in the proportion of wheat that is exported as flour from this section.

It should be said in conclusion, however, that Kansas hard-wheat flour is at present on a better footing in the foreign market than it has ever been before, and is esteemed second to none in the world, if not indeed as the best. The advantages that the Northwestern flour has had in this respect is a thing of the past in many of the European markets. "It is, however, only in the last year or so that it commands a price equal to the Northwestern hard-wheat flours, and in some cases a higher price. This is due to the fact that, on account of the magnificent mills at Minneapolis, and the enormous amount of advertising, the public got the idea that the Northwestern flours were superior to any others. The facts, however, did not bear out this contention, and the trade is learning that the Kansas hard-wheat flour is the better of the two. Just recently Mr. Robys, of Antwerp, Belgium, a heavy importer of flours, paid us a visit. He said that Kansas flours are commanding a higher price in the Belgium and Netherlands markets than the Northwestern flours of equal grade."<sup>282</sup>

### SLAUGHTERING AND MEAT PACKING.

To even the casual observer the slaughtering and meat-packing industry is obviously of great relative importance in the list of manufactures of the Middle West. For the last twenty-five years it has held the first place among the manufactures of both Kansas and Nebraska, both in the amount of capital invested and in the value of products. Just now, so far as the state of Kansas is concerned, first place in capitalization, though possibly not in the actual amount of capital, must be given to the Portland cement industry, but that industry has not yet approached in any degree the meat-packing industry in the value of the output. The actual importance of this industry is shown by the fact that the packing houses at Kansas City, Kan., manufacture nearly a hundred million dollars' worth of products every year, or nearly half the value of all the manufactures of the state.<sup>283</sup> In the same degree the industry leads in Nebraska, the value of the products of the packing houses at South Omaha contributing about sixty-nine of the one hundred and fifty-five millions of manufactures of that state in 1905.<sup>284</sup>

The industry is also remarkable in that it is by far the most highly cen-

NOTE 282.—Letter, C. B. Hoffman, 1908.

NOTE 283.—Bull. 28, Census Manufactures, 1905, pp. 20, 21.

NOTE 284.—Bull. 29, Census Manufactures, 1905, pp. 16, 17.

trailed of all the manufactures of the West. This is, of course, as true of the industry in the whole country, so far as the production for anything but local purposes is concerned, six leading companies producing nearly half of all such products in the United States, without counting the products of two or three others who produce together nearly a hundred millions annually.<sup>285</sup> The localization of the packing industry is none the less remarkable, though perfectly natural. Practically all the packing of any consequence in the prairie states is done in the four towns, Kansas City, Kan., South St. Joseph, Mo., South Omaha, Neb., and Sioux City, Iowa. Kansas City and Omaha are far in the lead, ranking second and third, respectively, among the packing centers of the United States at the census of 1905,<sup>286</sup> though St. Joseph, with forty-two million dollars of products—half that of Kansas City and two-thirds that of Omaha—is fifth among the packing centers, and Sioux City ranks seventeenth. Demanding as it does the existence of a well-established market to give a continual supply of animals for slaughter, it is natural that there should be but a few packing centers, for the reason that there are as few important live-stock markets in this part of the country.

The conditions leading to the establishment of live-stock markets at Kansas City and Omaha have already been discussed sufficiently for the purposes of this paper, in a previous section. An extensive market had grown up from natural suitability of location at Kansas City years before there were any packing houses of any consequence there; and the enterprise of the citizens of Omaha, by their efforts in favoring the establishment of a stock market and packing town accomplished the same result for Omaha. Kansas City had become of some importance by 1880, while five years later saw the beginning of an important industry at Omaha. Sioux City, of considerably less importance to the present time, came into prominence later, and St. Joseph did not attain any importance until Swift & Co. built a two-million-dollar plant there in 1897.<sup>287</sup> The building at these towns was almost wholly by Eastern packers, who had been getting their cattle and hogs through these Western markets, and were now seeking to get near to the supply, for the sake of economies in handling. The Cudahy & Armour packing plant at Omaha, which later passed into the complete control of the Cudahy family, is the only important instance where these packers have their offices in the West.

The westward building into these towns was only the logical result of the westward movement of the live-stock industry itself that has been going on for forty years.<sup>288</sup> As the center of the supply moved westward, the packers found themselves constantly suffering great losses in shrinkage of the animals in transportation for the long distances they went to reach the packing houses in Chicago and farther east. It needed, however, the invention and perfection of a system of preserving and transporting the dressed products from the time of slaughtering until it reached the Eastern

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NOTE 285.—Rept. Commr. Corporations, Beef Ind., p. 58.

NOTE 286.—Bull. 286, Census Manufactures, 1905, p. 14.

NOTE 287.—Rept. Comm. Corporations, Beef Ind., p. 5. This plant had a capacity of 1400 cattle, 7000 hogs, and 3000 sheep per day.

NOTE 288.—There were but 47.2 per cent of the cattle of the country west of the Mississippi in 1880; in 1900, 62.4 per cent were west of the river; in 1905, 72.4 per cent of the yearlings and 84.7 of the dairy cattle were west of the Mississippi, showing a great shifting of the cattle-raising industry to the West in the twenty-five year period. Tables, *ibid.*, p. 3.



markets to make it feasible to build packing houses in the West. In the meantime, the losses to the producers and the packers, incident to the shrinkage of the long haul, spurred on the perfection of the refrigeration system of transportation, and made possible the building in the West of the large packing establishments. The natural economies of a few centers accounts for the fact that there are comparatively few large packing centers in the country, and the location of the most important in the favored cities in this section.<sup>289</sup>

The decade from 1880 to 1890 was the period of the establishment of the Eastern packers in Kansas City, Omaha, and Sioux City, if it is permissible to class the Cudahy company among the Eastern packers.<sup>290</sup> In 1880 Kansas City had two packing houses, with a million and a half of capital, employing 900 men, and making about five millions of products. The first packing house there of importance was only ten years old at that time.<sup>291</sup> In 1881 Fowler Brothers, who had a pork packing plant at Atchison, Kan., began operations in Kansas City. In 1883 local capitalists built and opened the plant of the Kansas City Packing Company, which nine years later was sold to the Schwarzschild & Sulzberger company, of New York, who were said to be the first Western exporters of dressed beef.<sup>292</sup> In 1887 Swift & Co., of Chicago, built their first Western packing house at Kansas City as an experiment,<sup>293</sup> and the next year opened a \$300,000 plant in Omaha.<sup>294</sup> There were in all seven packing houses in Kansas City by 1891, with a capitalization of nearly nine million dollars, and products of forty and a half millions.<sup>295</sup>

The building of the packing houses at Omaha, induced at first by the grant of cash bonuses by the stockyards association of that place, has already been touched upon,<sup>296</sup> and by 1890 there were four large packers there, doing about twenty-four million dollars' worth of business.<sup>297</sup>

NOTE 289.—This discussion will of necessity be much shorter than the importance of the companies engaged and the magnitude of their operations seems to warrant. But there is no way of obtaining anything but the most superficial information, which it is unprofitable to amplify. The Commissioner of Corporations prefaced his report with the statement that only Swift & Co., of all the packers of the country, made public reports, and those were so condensed as to be useless.

NOTE 290.—Michael Cudahy and P. D. Armour, in 1887, bought the plant built in Omaha a year earlier by Thomas J. (since Lord) Lipton. In 1890 Armour sold his interest to Cudahy, who about that time opened his Sioux City branch, and ran it without competition until the Armours built there in 1903; in 1892 they built a western plant at Los Angeles.

NOTE 291.—Case's History of Kansas City, 1888, p. 217.

NOTE 292.—Kansas City *Star*, June 12, 1898.

NOTE 293.—Case's History of Kansas City, p. 219.

NOTE 294.—Bell, "History of Omaha," p. 631. Swift & Co. were induced to locate this Omaha house by the gift of a bonus of \$130,000 by the stockyards association of Omaha.

NOTE 295.—Packing industry in Kansas City June 1, 1891:

Number of houses.....	7
Value of real estate occupied.....	\$1,500,000
Value of plant.....	5,701,394
Capital employed.....	12,380,000
Value of raw material used.....	34,412,852
Value of product.....	40,656,134
Number of hands employed.....	4,433
Wages paid.....	2,483,915
Floor space occupied, square feet.....	6,230,850
Percentage of increase.....	16.36

—Commercial Club of Kansas City, Twelfth Annual Report, p. 58.

NOTE 296.—Kansas City Comm. Club, Twelfth Ann. Rept., 1891.

NOTE 297.—Census Manufactures, 1890, part II, p. 508.

The Eastern packers were not all represented in these figures for 1890, however, as Nelson Morris did not enter this field until 1904,<sup>298</sup> with a plant at St. Joseph, Mo., and one at Kansas City in the following year.<sup>299</sup> The business for the first ten or fifteen years was much more of pork packing and less of beef packing.<sup>300</sup>

Pork packing was a comparatively important industry in Omaha for ten years before there were any attempts to build plants for the slaughtering of beef. The Fowler plant which was built at Atchison in 1878 packed hogs only, and had a capacity of 3000 daily, employing 500 men.<sup>301</sup> The three plants in Kansas City in 1880 killed seventeen times as many hogs in that year as they did of cattle.<sup>302</sup> Much of the beef that was killed at that time was either sold locally or salted and cured, and the refrigeration or ship-

NOTE 298.—Kansas City *Times*, October 22, 1904.

NOTE 299.—Kansas City *Star*, January 7, 1905.

NOTE. 300.—Statement showing entire packing done in Kansas City since the beginning of the industry, 1868 to 1890-'91, copied from Twelfth Annual Report of Commercial Club of Kansas City, p. 59; 1892 to 1900 taken from "Imperial Kansas City, 1900," by Mercantile Illustrating Company, p. 18; 1901 to 1909 taken from "Compliments of The Kansas City Stock Yards Company, 1910."

Calendar year.	Cattle.	Calves.	Sheep.	Year.	Hogs.
1868.....	4,200	.....	.....	1868-'69 (season).....	13,000
1869.....	4,420	.....	.....	1869-'70 ".....	23,000
1870.....	21,000	.....	.....	1870-'71 ".....	36,000
1871.....	45,543	.....	.....	1871-'72 ".....	83,000
1872.....	20,500	.....	.....	1872-'73 ".....	180,000
1873.....	26,549	.....	.....	1873-'74 ".....	175,000
1874.....	42,226	.....	.....	1874-'75 ".....	70,300
1875.....	26,372	.....	.....	1875-'76 ".....	74,474
1876.....	26,765	.....	.....	1876-'77 ".....	114,869
1877.....	38,617	.....	.....	1877.....	180,357
1878.....	18,756	.....	.....	1878.....	349,097
1879.....	29,141	.....	.....	1879.....	366,830
1880.....	30,922	.....	.....	1880.....	539,097
1881.....	46,350	.....	.....	1881.....	857,823
1882.....	65,116	.....	14,455	1882.....	749,083
1883.....	74,314	.....	56,358	1883.....	1,056,116
1884.....	66,250	.....	38,336	1884.....	1,114,451
1885.....	78,963	.....	32,905	1885.....	1,529,415
1886.....	116,481	.....	89,100	1886.....	1,759,753
1886-'87 (fiscal).....	139,763	.....	93,063	1886-'87 (fiscal).....	1,849,473
1887-'88 ".....	240,295	.....	99,589	1887-'88 ".....	1,813,444
1888-'89 ".....	413,842	.....	197,220	1888-'89 ".....	1,703,343
1889-'90 ".....	511,305	6,523	201,106	1889-'90 ".....	1,777,596
1890-'91 ".....	444,519	7,149	159,219	1890-'91 ".....	2,223,769
1892.....	593,569	37,736	200,622	1892.....	1,994,395
1893.....	891,495	57,092	366,317	1893.....	1,426,304
1894.....	900,090	45,572	366,743	1894.....	2,098,512
1895.....	855,723	39,461	534,159	1895.....	2,123,966
1896.....	923,374	51,747	672,991	1896.....	2,362,110
1897.....	920,610	36,269	770,569	1897.....	3,040,386
1898.....	890,394	.....	614,752	1898.....	3,263,664
1899.....	991,783	40,150	645,212	1899.....	2,700,109
1900.....	1,092,804	48,623	636,018	1900.....	2,872,128
1901.....	1,175,581	68,228	777,391	1901.....	3,547,313
1902.....	1,089,516	116,083	724,773	1902.....	2,246,303
1903.....	1,025,446	101,022	775,989	1903.....	1,891,708
1904.....	1,012,665	98,619	731,259	1904.....	2,083,020
1905.....	1,244,775	140,489	942,752	1905.....	2,451,901
1906.....	1,340,415	159,550	1,127,533	1906.....	2,582,668
1907.....	1,257,854	166,337	1,082,532	1907.....	2,739,628
1908.....	1,164,904	155,132	1,094,455	1908.....	3,425,907
1909.....	1,334,906	192,824	1,172,669	1909.....	2,745,380

\*"In addition to these figures I give below the number of head of hogs received by the Fowler Packing Company through their yards, which are not reported in this company's annual (letter, February 14, 1910):

1904.....	744,824	1907.....	567,804
1905.....	681,365	1908.....	635,447
1906.....	604,969	1909.....	447,279

NOTE 301.—Atchison *Daily Champion*, February 20, 1879.

NOTE 302.—Commercial Club of Kansas City, Twelfth Ann. Rept., p. 59.

ment of fresh beef was not of great importance in the Kansas City and Omaha plants until the building just preceding the census of 1890.<sup>303</sup> It is also worthy of notice that the bulk of the northern packing, that is, at Omaha and also at St. Joseph, still maintains this character, largely on account of the market conditions in the first place, and on account of the further fact that it is not possible to ship hogs as far profitably as cattle on account of the greater shrinkage.

The business of pork packing is one that lends itself to a wider distribution and a less centralization than the beef-packing industry. In the first place, it is one of the essentials of the pork-packing business that the meat be cured, and the use of refrigeration and rapid transportation cuts less figure than in beef packing. Then, also, cured pork serves an entirely different market. Little of the Western pork goes East, while all the fresh beef seeks an outlet in that direction. The pork is marketed in the northwest and all over the central prairie states, while many of the packers send large quantities to the southeast to the cotton fields. It is this latter trade that the more southerly located houses supply mostly.<sup>304</sup> In this connection it is well to note the rise of packing houses of considerable importance at other places than those named, and in some cases independent wholly of the other centers. One of the earliest of these is a model little packing house at Topeka, which has grown gradually from an insignificant butchering house twenty-five years ago to a capitalization of a third of a million, killing nearly one-seventh as many hogs as the Kansas City packing houses, and sending its products all over the South and Southeast.<sup>305</sup> Pork and pork products are the specialty of the company, beef being an issue only to supply local demand. Of the same character, but of larger size and greater volume of business, are two packing houses at Wichita, one owned and operated by the Jacob Dold Packing Company, of Buffalo, N. Y., representing an investment of a half a million, and having a capacity of over 5000 animals daily. The other is operated by the Cudahy Packing Company, of Omaha, and is of about the same size, though in the last year or two it does the larger business of the two.<sup>306</sup> These plants represent the different oppor-

NOTE 303.—The following table from the report on the beef industry shows the slaughter of hogs and cattle at Kansas City, Omaha and St. Joseph since 1880:

YEAR.	Cattle.			Hogs.		
	Kansas City.	St. Joseph.	Omaha.	Kansas City.	Omaha.	St. Joseph.
1880.....	50,288	.....	.....	523,551	.....	.....
1885.....	104,246	.....	30,930	1,557,556	58,948	.....
1890.....	543,677	.....	322,819	2,306,944	1,397,676	.....
1895.....	893,750	.....	314,312	2,171,357	1,007,716	.....
1900.....	1,092,804	288,977	576,669	2,827,128	2,162,612	1,537,582
1903.....	1,025,446	404,737	735,153	1,891,708	2,177,981	1,577,860

NOTE 304.—Interview, manager Cudahy's Wichita house, 1908.

NOTE 305.—Interview, 1908.

NOTE 306.—This plant was established as a butcher shop in 1874, and gradually increased its operations as conditions justified. It was bought several years ago by John Cudahy, and operated independently by him for several years. It was taken over by the Cudahy Company in 1906. The plant has made it possible to establish a regular market for hogs at this point, and by its connection with the other Cudahy branches, of which there are a score, it is able to buy all the hogs that are offered, and where necessary they are then reshipped to the nearest branch. It was found necessary to do this in order to insure a regular supply, such as is now assured.—Interview, manager.



tunities in the two classes of meat packing, and both are healthy developments due to normal conditions.

There are smaller establishments of the same character along the southern line of the state of Kansas, at Pittsburg,<sup>307</sup> Coffeyville,<sup>308</sup> and Arkansas City.<sup>309</sup> The essential difference in these and other plants of the same size through the district is in the scope of their operations, which are for the most part confined to the locality from which they draw their hogs. Their importance is not actually great as yet, but their development is recent, and there is a probability that there will be an opportunity for medium-sized pork-packing establishments to prosper.

The decade from 1890 to 1900 was one of great development of the packing industry in the Western packing centers, and it saw a multiplication of capital and production. Omaha almost doubled its production in two years after 1890, and the other towns prospered in a degree only slightly less. It is not possible to say how far the panic years affected the industry, but by 1900 a great increase in the operations had been accomplished. The latter part of the decade saw the rise of St. Joseph, Mo., as a western packing center, there being five packing houses of all sorts in 1900.<sup>310</sup> Swift & Co. were the pioneers, and their two-million-dollar plant was put into operation at that place in 1897. Then in the following year Schwarzschild & Sulzberger, of New York, built at St. Joseph to compete with the Swifts. The Hammond Packing Company came in about the same time, and later, about 1905, Nelson Morris built at St. Joseph. There were five millions of capital invested in 1900, and the products were twenty-nine millions, more than two-thirds of which was pork products. St. Joseph had about a third as much capital and output as Kansas City in that year.

Kansas City and Omaha were not far apart in their importance at the end of the decade, each having approximately fifteen millions invested in the industry. Kansas City was in the lead, with seventy-three millions of products, to sixty-seven for Omaha. Nearly two-thirds of the products of the Omaha packers was pork and pork products, while the pork products of the Kansas City houses was very little over half, if any.<sup>311</sup> This statement shows the relative importance of the centers in the different lines of meat packing, as has already been suggested. The business at Sioux City, Iowa, at this time was practically in the hands of the Cudahy company, which had been established there since 1890 or thereabouts. There were three companies reported, but two of them were unimportant. Beef products make up less than a fourth of the volume of the output of eight millions of this city in 1900. The production of the four cities in this year aggregated about a hundred and eighty millions of dollars, only, however, about seventy per cent of that of the city of Chicago in the same year. They ranked as follows among the cities of the United States as packing centers: Kansas City, second; Omaha, third; St. Joseph, fifth; Sioux City, about seventeenth.<sup>312</sup>

NOTE 307.—A local plant that has gradually grown to considerable local importance, with a capacity of 300 animals per day.

NOTE 308.—Capitalized at \$50,000, and having a daily capacity of about a hundred animals.

NOTE 309.—Has a daily capacity of about 200 animals.

NOTE 310.—Figures for 1900 are from vol. IX of the Twelfth Census, p. 407, *et seq.*

NOTE 311.—Twelfth Census, vol. IX, p. 408.

NOTE 312.—*Ibid.* p. 410.

It is impossible to give any exact statement of the increase of the individual cities since 1900, on account of the combining of the only figures available in the census report for 1905.<sup>313</sup> The most remarkable feature of the development is the increase of the operations at St. Joseph, which practically doubled its production and more than doubled its capitalization. The increase of capital at Kansas City was also considerable, and out of proportion with the increase in production. Practically every plant at Kansas City has been making important extensions in the last few years, and there are now nearly twenty millions invested there in the packing industry. The capital invested at Omaha increased also in the five years after 1900 almost one-third, while the products increased but one-tenth that much.<sup>314</sup> The reasons for these showings of the lagging of production behind capitalization cannot be found from the information that is allowed to become public.

An interesting feature of the development since 1900 is a movement in the direction of the combination or consolidation, as indicated by the formation of the National Packing Company in this district in 1903.<sup>315</sup> The Armours, Swifts, and the Nelson Morris interests were said to be back of it, and at the time there was a great deal of belief current to the effect that there was an actual and tangible combine in existence. However that may be, or whether these companies desired simply to eliminate some of their smaller competitors, in 1903 the new company was organized with a capital of fifteen millions, and bought up the Hammond plants at Omaha and St. Joseph, the Fowler and Ruddy plants at Kansas City, and the St. Louis Dressed Beef and Provision Company of St. Louis, the aggregation having about nine millions of capital before the combination.<sup>316</sup> If there is an actual combination in existence between the large packers they have kept it hidden successfully, but there is no doubt that prices paid for animals are practically the same for all the packers in any one of the western markets,<sup>317</sup> and there seems to be a remarkable likeness in the prices charged by all the leading packers for their products. It is a common assertion on the part of the independent butchers that the packers are actively working together, and that there is never anything to be gained by visiting different packers after one of them has made a price.<sup>318</sup> It seems to be the universal rule that uniform quality brings uniform prices in the packing towns of this district. It has also been alleged, with what truth it is impossible to say, that the larger packers, notably Armour, Morris and Swift, work together in cutting prices and overbidding on cattle for the sake of making it hard for the small competitors. It is true that there is but little if any active competition that shows on the surface among the larger packers,<sup>319</sup> though they consistently deny the existence of any agreements or combinations.<sup>320</sup>

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NOTE 313.—Bull. No. 83, Census 1905.

NOTE 314.—Bull. 83, Census Manufactures, 1905, pp. 23-26.

NOTE 315.—A combination of other of the smaller operators was effected at Kansas City in 1905, by which a capital of a million was united in one concern, operating independently of the large packers in that field.—*Kansas City Star*, October 7, 1905.

NOTE 316.—Rept. Comm'r Corp., Beef Ind., pp. 293-295.

NOTE 317.—“It will be observed that the prices of all the packers are very close together, with a greater variance at St. Joseph or Kansas City, though the records are too meager at the latter place. The general result warrants the statement that the prices paid by the packers are substantially the same at a given time on the given market.”—Rept. Comm'r Corp., Beef Ind., p. 125.

NOTE 318.—*Kansas City Star*, July 30, 1906.

NOTE 319.—*Ibid*, December 1, 1905.

NOTE 320.—*Ibid*, September 9, 1905.

Conditions in the packing industry, not only locally but nationally, are such that it would be a comparatively simple matter for the larger companies to do anything that they cared to do with the market, for the industry is practically centralized in not to exceed six or seven large companies in the country, and these companies get fully half the beef cattle that are slaughtered in the United States.<sup>321</sup> Of course, it is true that in the selling department there is no possibility of the packers controlling the prices of fresh beef in the West on account of the importance of the independent butchers under present conditions, for the small establishments kill nearly three-fourths of the beef that is consumed in this section.<sup>322</sup> So far as the possibility of the public getting any benefit of the greater economies of the larger establishments, there is little chance, for the six large companies control practically all the slaughter in the Western centers, and their charges to the retailers are limited only by the prices that the local butchers with their waste and looseness can make. In this respect the packers are practically free from the competition of the small butchers, and it needs but the demand in this section to put the fresh-beef industry in the same condition that the packed products are at the present time.

In every one of the four cities under consideration the industry is not only dominated by the larger packers, but it is literally swallowed up by them. In Sioux City, Cudahy and Armour have the industry to themselves, and Cudahy had it all until about five years ago. In Omaha there are four companies, the Cudahys, the Armours, Swifts, and the National Packing Company, which may be regarded as an Armour-Swift institution. Cudahy has about one-fourth of the business in the city, and the other three have over seventy per cent, making a total of over ninety-five per cent of the slaughtering in their hands.<sup>323</sup> St. Joseph may be said to be controlled by Swift and Morris, for the only other concern of importance is that of the National Packing Company, which they helped to organize, and the three companies consume over ninety-nine per cent of the animals that are slaughtered there.<sup>324</sup> All of the six are interested in Kansas City, and there they consume practically all of the slaughter, being a fraction of a per cent higher than the figures for St. Joseph.<sup>325</sup>

The following table of the capitalization of the companies that are thus monopolizing the meat-packing industry in the prairie states is interesting. Of course only a part of the capital represented is actually invested or used in these packing houses. These companies had as gross receipts in 1903 seven hundred million dollars, and slaughtered five and a half million animals. The table (Rept. Comm'r Corp., Beef Ind., p. 25) follows:

<i>Name of company.</i>	<i>Where incorporated.</i>	<i>Capital.</i>
Armour & Co. ....	Illinois .....	\$20,000,000
Swift & Co. ....	Illinois .....	35,000,000
Nelson Morris & Co. ....	Illinois (partnership) .....	6,000,000
National Packing Co. ....	New Jersey .....	15,000,000
Schwarzschild & Sulzberger Co. ....	New York .....	5,000,000
Cudahy Packing Co. ....	Illinois .....	7,000,000
Total capitalization .....		\$88,000,000

NOTE 321.—Rept. Comm'r Corp., Beef Ind., p. 57.

NOTE 322.—The following table of sources of beef consumed in the different parts of the country shows the conditions of the fresh-beef industry in this section. Six large packers sell:

New England states .....	75 to 80%	Central states .....	25%
New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, .....	50 to 55	Western states .....	20 to 25%
South .....	20 to 25	Mountain states .....	15 to 20

—Rept. Comm'r Corp., Beef Ind., p. 74.

NOTE 323.—Rept. Comm'r Corp., Beef Ind., p. 62.

NOTE 324.—Ibid. NOTE 325.—Ibid, p. 58.



It is to be regretted that it is not possible in this connection to give a better account of the commercial conditions of the industry, or to give more of the labor conditions, but owing to the lack of information that has already been mentioned, it is not possible to give such an account as would be of any value. Therefore with this outline the discussion will close.

#### MINERAL INDUSTRIES, SMELTING.

The smelting industry, at the same time one of the first and one of the most important of the manufactures of the section, has been carried on in the fuel district of Kansas since the early '70's to some extent. In its beginning it was not of great importance, and in its present aspects the smelting industry, particularly of zinc, is one of those that belong to the period following the development of the gas and oil field since 1895. At present it is one of the most important of the mineral industries, and the section has the distinction of producing nearly two-thirds of the zinc spelter produced in the United States,<sup>326</sup> and is one of the foremost districts, if not indeed the first, in the world.<sup>327</sup> The lead smelting has always been of minor importance in this section, although there has not been a time since the opening of the Joplin mines when there has not been some lead smelting carried on.

The history of the development of the spelter production in the United States is a very interesting one, dating back only to the establishment of a small plant by the federal arsenal in Washington, for the manufacture of brass for the making of the standard weights and measures.<sup>328</sup> The process was very expensive at that time, and the methods the government used were impracticable commercially on account of the cost. The first attempt to use the Belgian retorts failed about 1850 on account of the lack of the proper knowledge of the means of overcoming the tension of the iron and manganese in the ore. Then in the next year the Wetherill process was invented, by which the ore was mixed with anthracite coal on an open hearth, and the ore was vaporized and collected and condensed in muslin bags.<sup>329</sup> In 1856 another attempt was made at Bethlehem, Pa., to use the Silesian model of the retort furnace, but on account of improper handling of the fire clay used in making the retorts the experiment was a failure. The next year two old Saxon smeltermen, Matthieson and Hegeler, demonstrated that the Bethlehem furnace would work with proper handling, but as they

NOTE 326.—"The position in the zinc industry occupied by this state (Kansas), depends on its smelting rather than its mining activities. Thus the presence of usable supplies of natural gas and the geographic position of the state combine to make it the leading zinc-smelting state. In 1906 nearly fifty-eight per cent of all the spelter made in this country was produced by smelters located in Kansas, and of the 20,921 tons increase in production of spelter in this country over 1905, 15,277 tons, or seventy-three per cent of the increase of zinc, was produced by Kansas smelters, while zinc ores produced by Kansas mines, as reported by smelters, amounted to 14,424 tons of concentrates, which yielded 3902 tons of spelter. . . . Of the total increase in production contributed by the Missouri-Kansas district, a large part was contributed by Kansas, and the greater part of this was from the Galena district."—Min. Res., U. S., 1906, p. 471.

NOTE 327.—Productions of zinc in 1900 by principal districts was as follows:

Rank.	District.	Metric tons spelter.
1.....	Belgium.....	119,317
2.....	Kansas-Missouri.....	104,303
3.....	Upper Silesia.....	102,093
4.....	Rhineland and Westphalia.....	53,000
5.....	New Jersey and West Virginia.....	7,491

—W. R. Ingalls: Production and Properties of Zinc, p. 16.

NOTE 328.—Ingalls, "Production and Properties of Zinc," p. 14.

NOTE 329.—Ibid, pp. 13, 14.

went to the western field in Wisconsin in the same year they accomplished little there.<sup>330</sup>

It is said that the first zinc works in the West were built in Wisconsin in the early '50's by an old Silesian smelterman named Georgi, who demonstrated that the continental methods could be applied to the American ores. Then in 1858 Mathieson & Hegeler erected their smelter at La Salle, Ill., where the first ores produced in the Kansas-Missouri district were marketed about ten years later.

There were small smelters built in the zinc fields of southeastern Missouri in the latter '60's, one at Potosi, in Washington county, in 1867, and a second at Carondelet two years later, both of them smelting the calamine from the southeastern corner of the state.<sup>331</sup> About ten years later the prospecting in the Joplin-Galena district for the development of the lead deposits uncovered the vast zinc ores of that section, and the first shipment of zinc east, about 1870, started the production in that district. Shortly after, as early as 1873, there was a small coal smelter built at Weir City, Kan., the place of the newly discovered coal fields, and ores were hauled by wagon until railway connections were established. The development of the coal field in the next few years moved northward into Crawford County, and when Robert Lanyon came west from the smelters at La Salle he selected Pittsburg as the location for his smelter.<sup>332</sup> This was in 1878, and marked the beginning of the activity of Pittsburg as a smelter town.

The firm of Robert Lanyon & Co. built two furnaces in 1878, and added to this number two more in the following year, as the prosperity of the business and the increased activity of the mines in the Joplin-Galena district made the smelters plenty of business. In 1882 two more furnaces were added, making six in all. In the meantime, however, part of the Lanyon family of smeltermen withdrew from the company, organized the firm of S. H. Lanyon & Bro., and built a second smelter in Pittsburg.<sup>333</sup> In 1882 two more smelters were built at Pittsburg, the first by two more of the numerous Lanyon family, W. and J. Lanyon, employing about fifty men, with two furnaces. The other was built by the Granby Mining and Smelting Company, who put up a 400-retort furnace and employed about seventy-five men.<sup>334</sup> This made a total of eight furnaces in that year, with a daily capacity of about ten tons of spelter. In 1884 the total capital invested in the four smelters was \$650,000, and they gave employment to 350 men, with an average outlay for wages of \$7500 each month.<sup>334</sup>

The growth of the smelter industry at Pittsburg was very rapid all through the '80's, for the convenience of the coal supply so close to the mines gave the Kansas smelters an advantage in that respect, since they got the long haul on the spelter, which reduced the tonnage greatly over the shipments of the raw ores. Where in the early '80's the larger part of the ores went to the La Salle smelters, which had in connection a sheet zinc factory,<sup>335</sup> by the end of the decade the larger share of the ores of the district was being reduced in the Pittsburg smelters. In 1887 there were

\* NOTE 330.—Ingalls, "Production and Properties of Zinc," p. 14.

NOTE 331.—Ibid, p. 15.

NOTE 332.—Mo. Geol. Surv., vol. VI, p. 295. Ingalls, Zinc, p. 15.

NOTE 333.—The Pittsburg *Smelter*, March 22, 1884. NOTE 334.—Ibid.

NOTE 335.—*Kansas Monthly*, vol. IV, No. 8, p. 103.

21,900,000 pounds of spelter produced at Pittsburg, valued at \$825,000, and there was an investment of a million dollars in capital. Six hundred men were employed in the industry.<sup>336</sup> Two years later the production amounted to 26,716,000 pounds, valued at a million and a third,<sup>337</sup> and the Pittsburg district was spoken of as "the second largest zinc-producing city in the United States,"<sup>338</sup> as it in all probability was.

The existence of an abundance of cheap fuel so near to the zinc mines is, in a word, the situation that made possible this rapid growth of the zinc-smelting industry at Pittsburg. In no case was it necessary to haul the ores more than twenty-six miles by railroad to reach the smelters, so that the freight rates were comparatively inconsiderable. The price of coal has always been low in the Pittsburg district on account of the shallowness of the coal beds at that place and the ease of mining. Pittsburg coal is the cheapest and at the same time the best coal in the district, the average price for twenty years being about \$1.45 per ton for the coal at the mines. The smelters, however, use the inferior "slack" coal, which costs on the average less than half and usually about one-third as much as the screened coal.<sup>339</sup> This grade of coal, so long as it is free from dirt and impurities, as the most of the slack from that district is, is perfectly suited for the smelters, for they require the coal to be rather finely crushed in the latter part of the smelting process, to facilitate the rapid combustion necessary to generate the heat required.

Favored by these conditions, the operations of the zinc smelters in the Pittsburg district increased in volume steadily up to 1898. In 1891 there were six smelters, with a total of forty-two furnaces, in Pittsburg, with a daily capacity of fifty tons of spelter. At the prevailing prices,<sup>340</sup> this product was worth about \$9000 daily, and nearly a thousand men were employed about the works.<sup>341</sup> In the following year the list of smelters shows a slight scattering of the establishments into the near-by towns of the coal district. Galena had a small establishment, shipping in the coal instead of sending the ore away. The disadvantage in this was that the freight would be about three and a half times as much as by the other means, since about three and a half tons of coal were ordinarily required to reduce a ton of ore.<sup>342</sup> The other smelters were in the coal towns, however. Scammon and Weir City, both south of Pittsburg, and in the shallower coal, each had one, while Girard, ten miles to the northwest, had one plant. As the production of the zinc mines increased during the '90's, the output of the Kansas

NOTE 336.—Topeka *Capital*, June 4, 1889.

NOTE 337.—Min Res. Kan., 1897, p. 34.

NOTE 338.—Topeka *Capital*, June 4, 1889.

NOTE 339.—The relative cost of the different grades of coal is shown by the following figures from Mr. Ingalls's book, "Production and Properties of Zinc," pp. 42, 43:

Year.	Cost, slack, per ton.	Cost, mine run, per ton.
1899.....	\$0 35 to \$0 60	\$1 00 to \$1 10
1900.....	75 to 85	1 50 to 1 75

NOTE 340.—\$108.82 per ton in New York for the year.

NOTE 341.—Topeka *State Journal*, November 7, 1891.

NOTE 342.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 33.



smelters increased accordingly.<sup>343</sup> "Our Kansas smelters have long been so extensive that they have consumed much more ore than our Kansas mines have produced. The Kansas and Missouri mines are so close together that no difference could be made between them by the ore buyers. It is not proper to say that all the Kansas ore is smelted in Kansas territory. It is proper to say, however, that a much larger amount of ore is smelted in Kansas territory than is produced from the Kansas mines, as much more than half of the Missouri ore is shipped to the Kansas smelters."<sup>344</sup>

While the reduction of the raw ore to the spelter form in which it reaches the market is rather an elaborate one, the outline is comparatively simple, and the equipment is not at all extensive or elaborate. The ores reach the smelters from the crushers and concentrators, which are without exception located at the mines, as a finely crushed concentrate varying from perhaps forty to eighty per cent of ore, the rest being flint and the like that is not perfectly separated. The smelter itself consists of the old-fashioned Belgian furnace that has been in use for decades, the only modification being confined to improvements in the methods of handling the ores. The following paragraph<sup>345</sup> gives the process in outline:

"The process consists first, after the ore is crushed, in passing it through a calcining furnace in which it is thoroughly roasted until all the sulphur is removed and the metal is left behind in the form of an oxide. It is then intimately mixed with the proper amount of carbon, generally in the form of coke, which has been produced on the grounds, and placed inside a clay retort which is heated externally until by the reducing action of the carbon the whole of the zinc oxide is reduced to a metallic state. The heat of the furnace volatilizes the zinc as fast as it is deprived of oxygen, and drives it into a conical clay receptacle attached to the retort, but which projects outside the furnace. Here it is cooled to the liquid state, and is drawn out and molded, when it is ready for the market."

From this description of the process that obtained in all the zinc smelters, it will be readily divined that the establishments were not necessarily elaborate. The following description, written in 1891, of the smelting practices of the district, shows that there was a certain looseness and carelessness about the operations that would not be tolerated now. These conditions are characteristic of the smelters all through the period up to the introduction of the gas furnaces after 1898, and to some extent since that time, but in a different aspect, as will be seen later. "The furnaces are in most cases built with the ash pits above the ground with a sloping bank of earth or cinders leading up to the furnace floor. The buildings are scarcely more than sheds, . . . and the first cost is inconsiderable. In the smelting proc-

NOTE 343.—The production of the Kansas mines and the output of the Kansas smelters for the ten years prior to the introduction of the gas smelters is as follows:

Year.	Mine product.	Tons spelter.	Value.
1888.....	33,391	10,432	\$1,025,902 88
1889.....	32,950	13,658	1,368,531 60
1890.....	21,675	15,199	1,652,891 25
1891.....	20,641	22,747	2,475,336 96
1892.....	23,811	24,715	2,218,912 70
1893.....	25,028	22,815	1,733,755 63
1894.....	28,670	25,588	1,902,162 84
1895.....	41,232	25,775	1,831,056 00
1896.....	62,232	20,759	1,653,593 30
1897.....	59,451	33,443	2,755,703 20
1898.....	74,852	38,543	3,508,524 27

NOTE 344.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 33.

NOTE 345.—Ibid, pp. 33, 34.

ess the cheapness of fuel makes economy in this direction unimportant, and cheapness of living makes labor obtainable at wages as low as anywhere in the country.

"The works are owned by partners, who do the work of salaried employees, and consider as profit what would be only the interest on their money and wages at any other occupation. The furnaces are roughly constructed of inferior material, and will not long sustain the heat required to exhaust the zinc from the cinder. It is the accepted opinion that there is no economy in butchering the furnace for the small additional percent of the metal; it is preferred to increase the production of the furnace and to reduce the cost of labor and fuel by increasing the charge of ore; . . . in other words, to butcher the ore to save the furnace."<sup>346</sup> The only criticism with this description is perhaps that it applies more particularly to the early part of the '90's. Soon after 1890 there was a movement in the direction of the organization of joint-stock companies, the laborers sharing in the profits. Also the personal element of the original shareholders became more or less submerged in the extension of the smelters in the '90's. As to the methods pursued, however, there was little change, the increase in size of the smelters being accomplished by the addition of a larger number of furnaces answering to the above description.

The year 1896, which was marked by the beginning of the work on the first gas smelter at Iola by Robert Lanyon's Sons, successors to the first Pittsburg firm of Robert Lanyon & Co., is the beginning of the present period in the zinc-smelting industry. The development of the gas field in the five or six years following completely revolutionized the smelting industry in Kansas, and moved the smelting district first to a center at Iola, the home of the first important gas development, and a little later to a number of towns southward toward the state line, and finally into the Oklahoma field, with the building of the three large smelters at Bartlesville since 1905. The gas was turned on in the first Lanyon smelter at Iola late in the year of 1896, and in the following year the smelter began operations in earnest. Shortly afterward W. & J. Lanyon, cousins of the first comers, left the Pittsburg district, and built a second smelter at Iola with 1800 retorts. In 1899 George E. Nicholson built the third smelter at Iola, with 1200 retorts; the Robert Lanyon's Sons built a second smelter of 3000 retorts at La Harpe, about four miles from Iola, and the Cherokee Lanyons began operations at Gas City, midway between La Harpe and Iola. Two other small furnaces were started in the same year, and at the same time the Edgar Zinc Company started their 1800-retort smelter at Cherryvale.<sup>347</sup>

This building, started in 1898, practically comprised the smelter extension of the '90's, and the others came after the gas development of 1900-1902. The smelter capacity at this time was about 12,000 retorts heated by gas, as against 9000 retorts in the various coal furnaces of the state.<sup>348</sup> By 1900 the coal smelters of the Pittsburg district had practically suspended operations on account of the disadvantage they had in competing with the gas furnaces, which saved a great fuel expense, as well as labor expense in the use of the gas in the furnaces.<sup>349</sup> On account of this disadvantage, accom-

NOTE 346.—F. L. Clerc, "Kansas-Missouri Smelting Practices," in Min. Res. U. S., 1882.

NOTE 347.—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, pp. 38, 39. *Iola Register*, May 13, 1907.

NOTE 348.—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 39.

NOTE 349.—Ingalls, Zinc, p. 38-40.

panied as it was by a rise in the price of coal which was going on at this time for various reasons, the coal smelters found it impracticable to continue operations. Most of the companies went to the gas field as soon as the advantages were demonstrated, deserting the cheaply constructed furnaces without taking the trouble to dismantle them in most cases.

At this same time another important change was being accomplished in the consolidation of the small companies into a few larger companies, with the result that administrative expenses were cut down and competition was sharpened between the stronger and more aggressive companies thus formed. This movement began as early as 1896, before the movement to the gas belt was well under way, in the organization of the Cherokee-Lanyon company. This was a consolidation of five different companies, operating seven coal smelters at Scammon, Pittsburg, Weir City, Cherokee, Kan., and Nevada, Mo. It was this company that built the second gas smelter at Iola. Then in 1899 a second consolidation was effected by which the Robert Lanyon's Sons and W. and J. Lanyon companies, with two smelters each, were united in the Lanyon Zinc Company, making it the strongest in the field at this time.<sup>350</sup> A third consolidation was effected in 1902, by which the plants of the Prime Western Smelter Company, the A. B. Cockerill Company, and the George E. Nicholson Company, in the Iola field, were taken over by the New Jersey Zinc Company, one of the large operators of the United States.<sup>351</sup>

The year 1902 was also marked by the erection of the first zinc rolling mill west of the Mississippi, and by the building of a smelter equipped for the recovery of sulphuric acid from the roasting furnaces. The Lanyon Zinc Company built its rolling mill at La Harpe, equipped for an output of twenty tons of sheet zinc every twenty-four hours, the product including strip, rod, and sheet zinc of all grades.<sup>352</sup> The sulphuric acid works were built at Iola by the United Zinc and Chemical Company, which had for several years been operating a plant at Argentine, Kan., manufacturing large quantities of sulphuric acid. The rise of the importance of the oil-refining business in this section, demanding as it does large quantities of sulphuric acid in the finishing processes, made it advisable to build this new plant to supply the increasing demand. The daily capacity of the new smelter, for that is what in effect it is, is about forty-five tons of ore per day. There are three blocks of furnaces, containing in all 1728 retorts; on the whole, a good-sized smelter. The sulphur gas from which the acid is made is recovered in the preliminary roasting process, and takes nothing from the amount of the metallic zinc that results. As there is a constantly growing demand for sulphuric acid,<sup>353</sup> it is highly profitable to recover this by-product of the smelters, but strangely enough no other smelt-

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NOTE 350.—This consolidation was but a part of the centralization of the smelting industry of the entire country into a few large companies. Practically the whole of the smelting activity of the country, after these Kansas consolidations, was in the hands of seven large companies. The consumption of the spelter is no less centralized, there being but about seven companies using considerable quantities of it. Half the demand for zinc is for galvanizing purposes, and the United States Steel Corporation, which owns the Edgar Zinc Company at Cherryvale and the Girard Smelter Company at Girard, is the chief consumer. There are but four sheet zinc mills in the country, one brass compound company, and one concern that uses zinc in desilverization of lead. It is estimated that four-fifths of the zinc produced in the United States is used by these seven companies.—Ingalls, "Production and Properties of Zinc," p. 47.

NOTE 351.—Ingalls, "Production and Properties of Zinc," p. 22.

NOTE 352.—Iola *Register*, May 13, 1907.

NOTE 353.—It is used in the manufacture of fertilizer, in refining petroleum, manufacture of nitro-glycerine, alum, soda-ash, ammonium sulphate and blue vitriol principally.



ers in the Kansas-Oklahoma gas belt are equipped for it. The reason is not easy to determine, for it is to the recovery of this product that the new and expensively equipped coal smelters in the Illinois field, that have been built in the last two or three years, owe the advantage that enables them to compete successfully against the low freight rates the Kansas smelters get on account of their nearness to the ore supply.<sup>354</sup>

It is more than possible that the initial cost of equipping the roasting furnaces for the recovery of sulphuric acid is the deterrent influence. There is to the present time a certain temporary character about all the smelters of the gas belt, caused perhaps by the uncertainty of the duration of the gas supply. Certain it is that there are no smelters so well built and perfectly equipped for permanent activity in this district as the new smelters that are being built in the Illinois field, where there is an expectation of depending wholly upon coal for fuel.\* The southward movement of the center of the zinc-smelting activity since 1900 is an indication of the present instability of the gas smelters in the district. There has been a gradual southward movement going on all the time,<sup>355</sup> until now there is a smelting center at Bartlesville, Okla., second only to the Iola smelters in the number of plants and the number of retorts.<sup>356</sup>

In 1905 the Lanyon-Starr Company began the erection of the first zinc smelter south of the Kansas line, at Bartlesville, Okla.,<sup>357</sup> in the heart of the new gas field, where the fuel supply is more abundant and less expensive. As early as this there had been felt a growing difficulty of obtaining natural gas in the northern end of the field cheaply enough to have any advantage over the coal smelters, and the prospect of a further failure in the supply of the gas wells led to this move, which was soon followed by the erection of two more large smelters, which were in full blast through 1907.<sup>358</sup> The smelters of the American Zinc, Lead and Smelting Company at Caney and Deering, near the state line in Montgomery county, and those at Bartlesville, are probably the only ones that are able to get their supply of gas as advantageously as could be had when the movement began to the gas belt.<sup>358</sup> As the gas development of Oklahoma is as yet but well begun, it may be expected that this movement will continue, and in time, if the gas holds out in abundance, there will be an exodus from the Iola district to Oklahoma. The only thing that will prevent will be the event that all the desirable gas lands may be leased before the disadvantages of the other locations force the attention of the smelter companies to the desirability of moving. The situation now is that there is no advantage in getting gas from a supplying company for an industry dependent as largely as is the smelting business on the fuel supply.

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NOTE 354.—Ingalls, Zinc, p. 39.

NOTE 355.—In 1902 the Girard Smelting Company left Girard and built a smelter at Chanute; in 1903 the Lanyons were about to build at Neodesha, but sold their contracts to the Granby Mining and Smelting Company of St. Louis, who were operating extensive mining properties in the Joplin district. They put two furnaces into operation the first year, and gradually increased to six, with 3840 retorts in 1907. Then the Cockerill Zinc Company put in a smelter at Altoona, north of Neodesha, followed soon after by the building of the Lanyon smelters at Caney and Deering, southward.

NOTE 356.—Eng. & Min. Jour., January 4, 1908.

NOTE 357.—Min. Res. U. S., 1906, p. 472.

NOTE 358.—Eng. & Min. Jour., January 4, 1908.

\* Ingalls, Eng. & Min. Jour., January 4, 1908.

Even before the building of the large smelters at Bartlesville there was another movement toward the reopening of the old Pittsburg coal smelters, indicative of the same condition, namely, the passing of the great fuel advantage that the gas smelters had at first enjoyed. That this is the reason of the move is shown by the fact that the first move was made by one of the Lanyons, who fitted up and started one of the old smelters in May, 1904. Even earlier than that, the Cockerill Zinc Company had reopened its old coal smelter at Rich Hill, Mo., and late in 1904 local capitalists bought up another of the old Pittsburg plants and put it into commission. Doubts as to the advantage of the gas smelters at that time was given as the reason for the move.<sup>359</sup> Another thing that must, however, be considered in this connection, is that these coal smelters are much smaller propositions, and the personal attention that the proprietors can give to the metallurgy and general management is a decided advantage in some respects. The operation of these coal smelters has continued at Pittsburg, Kan., and at Rich Hill and Nevada, Mo., where they were in operation before the discovery of gas.<sup>360</sup> Slack coal at seventy-five cents a ton, the usual price in the Pittsburg district for several years, makes it almost a stand-off with five-cent gas.

Just what will be the outcome of the situation with the smelting industry it is impossible to say. When the gas ultimately fails, if the ore supply is still in existence in the Joplin district, it is more than probable that there will be a return to the coal district. The tendency in the Illinois field at the present time to build larger and improved coal smelters, depending on economies of metallurgy rather than of fuel, has been mentioned. That will doubtless be the final solution of the difficulties here. "With modern gas producers and coal costing eighty and eighty-five cents per ton (a little above the average for good slack at Pittsburg), gas can be artificially made for two a half cents a thousand; the ratio is as one to two to natural gas in calorific power, which would make natural gas at five cents equal to the artificial gas."<sup>361</sup> The artificial gas plants could be producing coke, which is required in small amounts, and this would be an added advantage. There may never be an attempt to use artificial gas in the smelters, but the above statement shows possibilities in that direction.

The development that has been going on in the smelter industry in the Kansas-Oklahoma field comprises what has been denominated the most important change in the industry since its introduction in the United States:<sup>362</sup> growth of production and the use of natural gas as fuel. The growth of the industry in the ten years following the introduction of the first gas furnaces has indeed been remarkable. The smelters in Kansas alone have quadrupled their output in that time, and in 1906 were producing one and a half times as much spelter as the whole United States produced ten years before. The growth and the new fuel have been largely confined to the district included by Kansas and the new Oklahoma field.<sup>363</sup>

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NOTE 359.—Pittsburg *Headlight*, September 10, 1904.

NOTE 360.—Eng. & Min. Jour., January 4, 1908.

NOTE 361.—Ingalls, "Production and Properties of Zinc," p. 44.

NOTE 362.—Ibid, p. 25.

NOTE 363.—See tables in Mineral Resources of the United States for 1906, and in Mineral Resources of Kansas, 1903, for figures in detail.

It is singular that there should have been so little real change in the methods as the zinc-smelting industry has experienced. In many cases the methods employed are practically those of thirty or forty years ago, especially in the case of the smaller coal furnaces. "Up to a few years ago the same type of distillation furnace was used that was in use at the time of the inception of the industry in this country. The introduction of the Wetherill process, the mechanical roasting furnaces and the use of natural gas in Kansas are the principal changes. So gradual has been the evolution that many methods and types of furnaces have remained unchanged through long periods of years. . . . For successful distillation of zinc ore, we seem to be limited to comparatively small retorts; all attempts . . . in blast furnaces and otherwise on a large scale, save for the production of zinc oxide, have been failures."<sup>364</sup> The progress in the industry has been confined chiefly to mechanical devices in the handling of ores, extending little further than the roasting furnace, and not even generally so far as the application of the devices for the recovery of sulphuric acid.

The following directory of zinc smelters in this district in 1908 is given by Mr. Ingalls<sup>365</sup> as follows:

<i>Company.</i>	<i>Location of works.</i>	<i>Furnaces.</i>	<i>Retorts.</i>
Edgar Zinc Co.....	Cherryvale.....	24.....	4,800
Lanyon Zinc Co.....	Iola.....	5.....	3,000
Lanyon Zinc Co.....	".....	5.....	3,000
Lanyon Zinc Co.....	".....	5.....	3,000
United Zinc and Chemical Co.....	".....	4.....	2,304
United Zinc and Chemical Co.....	".....	2.....	480
Cockerill Zinc Co.....	".....	5.....	3,000
Cockerill Zinc Co.....	".....	3.....	1,800
Cockerill Zinc Co.....	Altoona.....	5.....	3,000
Cockerill Zinc Co.....	Pittsburg.....	3.....	672
Granby M. and S. Co.....	Neodesha.....	6.....	3,840
American Zinc, L. and S. Co.....	Caney.....	6.....	3,720
American Zinc, L. and S. Co.....	Deering.....	6.....	3,720
Prime Western Spelter Co.....	Iola.....	9.....	5,344
Prime Western Spelter Co.....	".....	5.....	3,220
Bartlesville Zinc Co.....	Bartlesville.....	6.....	3,456
Pittsburg Zinc Co.....	Pittsburg.....	3.....	672
Lanyon-Starr S. Co.....	".....	6.....	3,720
National Zinc Co.....	".....	4.....	2,432
Chanute Zinc Co.....	Chanute.....	8.....	1,600

There are outside of this district thirteen smelters, having a total of seventy-eight furnaces and 31,276 retorts, being considerably less than half the equipment in the gas belt. The relation of the number and size of the smelters to the production of spelter is very close, the share of the district being about fifty-eight per cent of all the spelter produced in the United States.

NOTE 364.—According to W. R. Ingalls, the noteworthy improvements of the past forty years in the metallurgy of zinc are: (a) Growing importance of the zinc blends as a source of the supply; (b) introduction of mechanically raked furnaces; (c) recovery of sulphuric acid from the gas; (d) gas firing, accompanied by the use of larger furnaces; (e) improved retorts; (f) control of fumes (only in European smelters); (g) labor-saving devices in handling material; (h) natural gas fuel in the United States.—Prod. and Met., Zinc, p. 24.

NOTE 365.—Eng. & Min. Jour., January 4, 1908.



The smelting of lead has always attracted less attention than the zinc-smelting industry, and there is little information accessible on the subject. Lead was the first product of the Joplin district, and on account of the ease of smelting it was the first ore that was smelted in the vicinity of the mining camps. As early as 1853 there was a furnace for the reduction of lead ore about five miles north of Joplin, and nearly a thousand tons of lead were smelted in Jasper county in the five years after 1850. At the outbreak of the Civil War there were two furnaces in the county, reducing the ore with charcoal as fuel.<sup>366</sup> Small lead smelters were scattered about the smelter district from time to time, the activity varying somewhat in the different parts of it for various reasons. In 1889 there were furnaces at Joplin, Mo., Pittsburg and Weir City, Kan., and Rich Hill, Mo. An earlier furnace at Galena was closed at this time. The process of lead smelting is comparatively simple and easy,<sup>367</sup> and the early furnaces were not very elaborate.

Early in the history of Galena there were some small "Scotch Eyes" in operation reducing a part of the lead produced in that immediate vicinity. They were running for about eight years, when they closed on account of temporary fuel conditions. "Nothing more was done in the line of lead smelting at Galena until 1897. During that year two different companies established smelters at Galena, and began operations on a tolerably large scale. . . . From the closing of the first Galena smelters to the establishing of the latest ones, the Galena ore was principally shipped to the Joplin smelters. A small portion of it went west to supply the demand for lead in the gold and silver smelting furnaces of the Rocky Mountain district. Occasionally, during the last few years, a part of the ore was shipped to the refining works at Argentine. This latter company is doing a large business in refining gold and silver bullion. As a result, it is sending vast quantities of metallic lead ore onto the market, and has established such a reputation as a producer of pure soft lead that it is enabled to make unusually advantageous sales. During the latter part of 1897, particularly, this company entered the markets of Galena and Joplin and bought large quantities of lead ore which were shipped to the smelter at Argentine."<sup>368</sup>

This Argentine plant, for many years the largest in the country, is worth special mention. It was built about 1880 for the purpose of refining gold and silver bullion shipped in from the other smelters, and for such other kindred work as they could profitably follow. In the latter '90's the company had a paid-up capital of three million dollars, operating smelters at Leadville and El Paso, and shipped the gross bullion, containing large quan-

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NOTE 366.—Missouri Geol. Surv., vol. VI, pp. 288, 289.

NOTE 367.—"The smelting furnace most commonly used in the southwestern district is the Scotch Eye." As usually built, a considerable amount of the metallic lead is volatilized, and escapes through the smokestack. Years ago the Lewis patent process for saving these metallic fumes was used in the Moffet smelter at Joplin. This consists essentially in suspending a large number of woolen bags from the ceiling of a large chamber, the lower ends of which are fastened over registers through which the whole of the material escaping through the smokestack must pass. The gaseous products pass slowly through the bags, while the solid products are strained out. The lead vapor escaping from the furnace is soon changed into lead oxide, which in turn is changed into lead sulphate by the sulphur fumes likewise escaping through the smokestack. The product is therefore got in the shape of lead sulphate, and when properly separated from the fumes is used as pigment for white paint. Since the shutting down of the Moffet smelter the same process is used by the Pitcher Smelting Company of Joplin. The new smelters at Galena have attachments for accomplishing the same end, although very different in construction. It is claimed by the operators of this process that the savings are enough to make a handsome margin of profit, so that the old-fashioned 'Scotch Eye,' with no attachments for saving the fumes, has gone out of use."—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, pp. 32, 33.

NOTE 368.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 32.

tities of lead, to the Argentine plant for final refining. Commercial conditions were such that they could ship the gross bullion to Kansas City as cheaply as they could send the refined metals, and thus the freight on the lead contained in the bullion was saved entirely. The plant carried on lead smelting and the manufacture of various commercial products from the other metals that are recovered in the refining process, chief of which were blue vitriol and white vitriol. The copper was all made into blue vitriol, and in 1897 a million and a half pounds were put on the market from the Argentine plant. Part of the lead was sold in the metallic state, and part of it changed into litharge and put on the market at an advanced price. The operations of the company in the Argentine plant in 1896 amounted to over sixteen and a half million dollars, of which over two millions were the lead products.<sup>369</sup> For some reason the refinery and its smelter departments were closed about 1900, and have not been opened since that time. The consolidation of the lead producers probably had much to do with it however.<sup>370</sup>

Owing to the fact that fuel is of less relative importance in the reduction of lead ores, there has been no such movement of the smelters that reduce the Kansas-Missouri lead from the Joplin district into the gas belt. The only lead smelter in the gas belt is that of the Ozark Mining and Smelting Company, which also operates one of the Joplin smelters. The principal operations of this company are centered in the production of white lead and zinc oxide. The other Joplin smelter, as well as the Galena establishment, is equipped for the production of white lead from the fumes. Practically all of the ore from the Joplin district, about 35,000 to 40,000 tons annually, is reduced in these smelters mentioned.<sup>371</sup> The lead smelters are apparently prosperous, and are in operation practically all the time, their capacity being approximately commensurate with the production of the Joplin field. No definite information about the present operations is, however, obtainable.<sup>372</sup>

### SALT.

Although there has been salt produced in Kansas by artificial methods almost from the time of its admission as a state, curiously enough the extent and importance of the vast salt beds in the central part of the state were discovered almost by accident. It was at the time of the oil and gas excitement that was permeating the eastern part of the state in the latter '80's that the settlement of the central part of the state was accomplished, and without any reliable data upon which to base their hopes, nearly every town through that section was actively engaged in prospecting for oil and gas or coal, or anything else that they could find. It was a time of prosperity,

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NOTE 369.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, pp. 15, 16.

NOTE 370.—“In the operating field the lead industry is widely different from the zinc industry. In the latter the production is by nearly twenty different companies, the bulk of it by six large competing companies, while in the lead industry a single corporation, the American Smelting and Refining Company, dominates the entire field, with interests exceeding the combined interests of all the others.”—Min. Res. U. S., 1906, p. 440.

NOTE 371.—Min. Res. U. S., 1906, p. 448.

NOTE 372.—Either owing to the fact that each of these companies has developed processes of its own, or that it desires for some reason or other to keep its operations secret, it is practically impossible to get into the works or to get any figures about the business of the different works. For this reason it is impossible to state whether there is any connection between the smelters in this district and the monopoly spoken of above (note, p. 370) or not. For the same reason it is impossible to indulge in any satisfactory discussion of the methods or classes of production other than the bare outline that has been suggested above.

and ready cash was to be had for any such enterprises. Settlers were literally swarming into that section of the state from Missouri, Iowa and Eastern states. It was a boom time for the towns of that section, and factories were projected without number that never materialized as a matter of fact. It was this very situation, however, that brought to light the salt beds. From 1887 to 1888, Ellsworth, Lyons, Hutchinson, Great Bend, Kanopolis, Pratt, Nickerson, Sterling, Anthony, and Wellington organized companies for the prospecting for oil and gas, and by the end of 1888 every one of them had given up the project, with nothing but rock salt to show for their operations.<sup>373</sup>

Hutchinson, destined to be the town to profit most from this prospecting, was one of the towns that felt the boom the most, and a drilling project was under way in 1887. The well was put down by Ben Blanchard, of that place, who had the promise of aid from the citizens. As the work progressed, however, without finding anything of importance, the promised assistance faded away, and Mr. Blanchard finished the well alone. The well struck salt at a depth of 500 feet, and left the last layer at 847 feet.<sup>374</sup> Mr. Blanchard fenced in the well and continued the prospecting on his own account in secret, and finally found a little oil below the salt. Nothing came of the oil, however, and the excitement that it started subsided, as no one at the time realized the importance of the salt bed that had been uncovered. Kingman, twenty-five miles south of Hutchinson, penetrated a heavy salt bed 250 feet in thickness in July, 1887,<sup>375</sup> and in the following December Lyons, about the same distance northwest of Hutchinson, got a heavy salt bed at a depth of about 800 feet that was nearly 300 feet thick.<sup>376</sup> Kanopolis, Sterling and Anthony were other towns that found the salt beds in the same year, and practically fixed its northern and southern limits.<sup>377</sup>

Rather strangely at first the discovery of the salt attracted practically no attention other than curiosity; that in spite of the fact that there had been a small solar salt plant in operation at Solomon City, in Dickinson county, about thirty miles west of Fort Riley, since 1867, and salt had been an object of considerable attention and activity since the first settlement of the territory and the adoption of the constitution.<sup>378</sup> The salt marshes that were found along the eastern horizon of what is now known to be the extent of the rock salt area were of considerable importance to the early settlers, and limited quantities of salt were manufactured from them and

NOTE 373.—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 78.

NOTE 374.—Log of Well in Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 92.

NOTE 375.—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 91.

NOTE 376.—Ibid, p. 80.

NOTE 377.—"In an east-and-west line the thickness of the salt . . . varies, but how far westward it extends is entirely unknown. The eastern limit of the lake or sea from the waters of which this salt was precipitated is moderately well known, while we are yet in total ignorance of its western extent. In the north-and-south direction our knowledge covers a little wider area, reaching from Anthony on the south to Kanopolis on the north. . . . The salt beds at Anthony are 404 feet thick; at Kingman they are 415 feet thick; at Hutchinson they have thinned to 380 feet, while at Lyons they have decreased to a thickness of 275 feet, and at Kanopolis to one of 250 feet. At this rate of decrease . . . they would entirely disappear before the north line of the state is reached."—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, pp. 87, 88.

NOTE 378.—The constitution of the territory of Kansas, adopted at Wyandotte July 29, 1859, and approved by Congress when it was admitted into the Union, contained the following provision: "Sec. 5. That all salt springs, not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections of land adjacent to each, together with all mines, with the land necessary for their full use, shall be granted to the state for works of public improvement." See, also, Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. X, p. 231, table showing "grants to public land states upon admission to the Union." Ten other states besides Kansas have received twelve salt springs with six sections of land adjacent.



sold in the state from the '60's on.<sup>379</sup> The salt factory at Solomon City was the first of any considerable size in the state, and though it has had a rather checkered career it has produced several thousand barrels of salt annually until only a few years ago, and gave Kansas a place as a salt-producing state long before the development about 1890.<sup>380</sup>

It was a New York salt company that was the first to realize the importance of the salt discovery, and soon after Mr. Blanchard's prospect well went through the salt they had the ground looked over, and put down two wells in Hutchinson, and began the erection of a salt factory. This was the first of the factories that followed the discoveries of the salt beds, and put Kansas in the list of important salt producers. It was opened early in 1888, and the first salt was made March 15. It had a daily capacity of 600 barrels, and made about 70,000 barrels in the first year of its operation. The same spirit of boom development that had inspired the first prospecting for oil and gas seized upon the new project as soon as the Guinlock & Humphrey plant was started, and within a year from the opening of the first factory there were twelve salt plants in operation or just ready to begin operations in the city of Hutchinson alone. The daily capacity of these factories within a year was nearly 5000 barrels, or more than a million and a half barrels annually—almost as much as is actually produced to-day by the Hutchinson salt plants. There is no information to show what share the Eastern salt companies had in this development, but there were at least three Eastern companies concerned in this first activity.<sup>381</sup>

The building of salt plants was by no means confined to Hutchinson, however, and in the same year seven other plants were built at Anthony, Nickerson, Sterling, Wellington and Great Bend.<sup>382</sup> Conditions were at first unfavorable for these plants, and half or more of them made no attempt to live when the disadvantages became apparent. The two factories

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NOTE 379.—The first salt was made by Mr. J. G. Tuthill, one of the early settlers of Republic county, from a marsh near his farm, about fifty miles northwest of Fort Riley. "In the manufacture of salt, Mr. Tuthill would collect the scales from over the marsh and dissolve them in water, allow the earthy impurities to subside, and siphon off the clear brine and evaporate it to dryness to recover the salt. . . . When the weather was not favorable for the formation of salt scales over the marsh, he would dip or pump the brine from the small wells and haul it to his little salt factory. The brine was evaporated from large kettles, in much the same way that our fathers evaporated sugar water in Indiana, Ohio and the Eastern states. At the present time this sounds like a very primitive method, but at that time it was in accordance with the most approved process. Portions of the arch of Mr. Tuthill's kettle salt plant still stand to mark the spot of his primitive factory. In the early '60's Mr. Tuthill made salt and hauled it to Manhattan, where he received as high as ten cents a pound for it. Mr. Hazen says he sold over a hundred barrels of salt made by Mr. Tuthill and other farmers from 1873 to 1876 while he kept a store in Seapo, Republic county (now extinct)."—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, pp. 72, 73.

NOTE 380.—The salt springs at Solomon City were made known to Eastern salt makers by accident in 1866, and in 1867 a representative of the Continental Salt Company, of New Bedford, Mass., drilled a well to a depth of a hundred feet, striking a good supply of brine at eighty-four feet. The company sold out in a short time, but the factory was operated until 1877. In 1874 a second well was drilled and operated until 1876 under the name of the Wimsatt Salt Works. Brooks and Brown, of the West Virginia Salt Works, operated it during the years 1876 and 1877. In 1880 the National Solar Salt Company began operations, and in 1881 the two plants were merged into one, and this company operated them until 1885. It was practically closed until 1888, when Mr. Wimsatt operated it first for R. J. Weemys and later for R. W. Wirt. In 1890 it became the property of its present owner, The Solomon Solar Salt Company. As can be seen from the above this plant has gone through numerous changes, and the work has been irregular. The present superintendent says they have a capacity of about 7000 barrels a year."—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 76.

NOTE 381.—Min. Res. U. S., 1888, p. 609.

NOTE 382.—Anthony had two plants with a total capacity of 950 barrels daily. One of them operated three months only, and the other struggled along for three years. The plant of the Nickerson Salt Company had a capacity of 350 barrels. It was sold to a Hutchinson company in 1891, and closed. Sterling had two plants, one of which was in operation but a few months. [In 1890 four plants were built, two of which lived but a year or two, while the others continued in business until about 1900.]—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, pp. 80-84.

at Anthony were closed in a short time, and the one at Wellington lived about a year. All over the salt bed, however, there were plants of various sizes erected, and in 1890 there were no less than twenty-eight factories in the state.<sup>383</sup> At this time there was a great disadvantage that the Kansas salt makers had to contend with in competition with the Michigan salt factories in the fuel problem. In that district the practice of using lumber waste for fuel at a cost of nothing or even less than nothing, since it saved the expense of destroying the waste, gave a wonderful advantage to the factories of that section. For this reason it was impossible for Kansas salt to go East at all, as the Michigan makers were also favored by freight rates that had been made to encourage the industry in its infancy.

With conditions in such a state, it is no wonder that so many of the early Kansas salt plants gave up the struggle. In self-defense the larger operators about Hutchinson, who had the advantage over many of the others in an abundant water supply that some of the others did not have, bought up many of the larger plants and closed them to prevent the total demoralization of the trade. Even in 1890 one of the larger Hutchinson plants had gotten control of seven other plants, and as early as that the consolidations had benefited trade conditions to a certain extent.<sup>384</sup> The financial difficulties soon after this and the hard times following them made matters still more critical for the smaller plants, and resulted in a great reduction of the number. About this time one of the sons of J. Sterling Morton bought an interest in one of the largest plants, and soon thereafter the freight rates were adjusted more favorably for the Kansas factories. It is generally understood that the concessions were secured by Mr. Morton through his brother, Paul Morton, then traffic manager of the Santa Fe railway, but this cannot be definitely confirmed. The fact remains that the Santa Fe made the first concession, and a general advantage in rates resulted to the Kansas plants. At the present time the salt is marketed anywhere this side of the Mississippi river, conditions making that the natural division line.<sup>385</sup>

At the same time that these plants were building for the manufacturing of salt by the evaporating process there were mines opened at various places in the salt belt for the mining and crushing of the rock salt. At many places there are layers of the salt that are practically pure, and save for a little gray shale there is nothing to give trouble in the production by this method. Salt mining also was considerably overdone at the very beginning, for as there are always some impurities in the salt gotten by this method it cannot compete with the evaporated salt, and some of the mines were soon closed. Kingman (southwest) was the pioneer, and local capital put down a shaft in 1888 that produced salt for about two years. Soon afterward a Chicago company put down a large shaft, said to be one of the largest in the world, and began mining on a large scale. The company had financial difficulties in 1893, and the plant went into the hands of the iron company that put in the machinery. It was closed for nearly ten years, but has been producing considerable quantities of salt recently, all of which is shipped to Chicago. In 1890 a shaft was sunk at Lyons by local capital, associated with some St. Louis men, and the company has been producing

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NOTE 383.—Robt. Hay, in Seventh Bien. Rept., Bd. of Ag., Kan., p. 95.

NOTE 384.—Seventh Bien. Rept., Bd. of Ag., Kan., part 2, p. 96.

NOTE 385.—Interview, 1908.

salt regularly ever since. At Kanopolis there was also a mine sunk about 1890, which has been actively producing all the time. This mine was bought by the Lyons company some years ago, and the product of the two shafts are marketed together. The mines do not run full capacity, for the Lyons shaft alone could produce 1000 barrels a day,<sup>386</sup> more than enough to supply the demand for rock salt for all the territory west of the Mississippi river.<sup>387</sup>

The methods of production in the evaporating plants have been radically changed since the first plants were built twenty years ago. Then the universal method was that used by our grandfathers in sugar making, where the heat was applied directly beneath a large open pan, and the liquid boiled until the salt was deposited on the bottom of the pan, and raked out to dry. This method was slow and required a great deal of fuel, besides making a coarse grade of salt. For this reason the steam-grainer method was soon introduced, patterned after that used in the Saginaw district of Michigan. The brine is heated by the passage of steam through the pipes, which are placed about midway of the depth of the pan. The salt made in this way is of fair fineness, and, since the introduction of automatic raking devices for drawing the salt from the bottom of the pans, is cheaper than the old method. It is now used to a great extent by all the Kansas plants, and almost exclusively by some of them. The last change in methods of production is that called the "vacuum-pan" method, which was introduced by the largest of the Hutchinson companies in 1895. Evaporation is facilitated by this method by preserving a vacuum above the pan all the time, and a much finer grade of salt results. This is the only plant of the kind in this section of the country.

The center of the salt industry is, as it has been from the beginning, at Hutchinson, where there are four rather extensive works, and a fifth that produces small quantities of salt. Probably half or more of the salt of the state, however, is made in the one plant known as the Morton plant, said to be the largest single salt plant in the world. About one-fifth of all the salt produced goes in bulk to the packing houses along the Missouri river, for use in packing and curing meats. About two-thirds of the balance is put on the market in barrels, and the rest in sacks of various sizes for domestic purposes.

Since 1907 the salt factories have been using gas in their boilers from the pipes of the Kansas Natural Gas Company, the advantage being principally due to the convenience in firing, and the saving of labor incidental to the use of coal.<sup>388</sup> The solar plant is no longer in operation at Solomon City, it having yielded to the superior methods employed by the other and larger establishments, while only small quantities of salt are produced by the fac-

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NOTE 386.—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 103.

NOTE 387.—The methods employed in these two mines are very similar to ordinary coal-mining operations. The salt is undercut in the mines with compressed-air drills and blasted down with dynamite. The blocks are hoisted to the surface and run through the breakers, and sorted down by a system of screens into nine different sizes or grades. As it passes from the breakers it is hand-picked by boys and girls to get rid of the discolored pieces containing impurities, much as the anthracite coal is sorted. After the sorting process, the lumps are crushed into various sizes and degrees of fineness to suit the demand for which it is intended. The salt reaches the market in all conditions, from the huge blocks sold for ranch purposes to the various grades used in packing hides, icing refrigerator cars, and in the manufacture of soap and glass and the like. The evaporated salt is not used for any of the purposes for which the rock salt is produced, and the two industries, therefore, do not affect each other in the least.—Min. Res. Kan., 1898, p. 99 *et seq.*

NOTE 388.—Interview, 1908.



tories at Anthony and Sterling, probably not more than a few hundreds of barrels a year.

It will thus be seen that the salt industry has followed the tendency of the other industries of this section of the country. There was a great activity about 1890, followed by a slight falling off in the volume of business, and attended by a centralization of the industry in the hands of a few operators. The output is now steadily increasing,<sup>389</sup> and the bulk of it is in the hands of one company, and it is certain that at the present time there is at least a gentleman's agreement between all the producers, which has reduced harmful competition to a minimum.

An interesting phase of the development of the salt beds that is likely to prove to be as important as interesting, is the erection of a large soda ash plant, with a daily capacity of 120 tons, at Hutchinson. This plant is said to be the only absolutely independent plant<sup>390</sup> in the world manufacturing this very important product,<sup>391</sup> and the only one west of Detroit. There has been a constantly growing demand in the Middle West for this product, and especially since the coming of glass factories the economic importance of such a plant near to the seat of the demand has been very apparent. Twenty years ago there was an investigation of the field, almost as soon as the salt factories were opened, but nothing came of that investigation, for what reason it is not known. The organization of the company for the building of this plant was begun about three years ago, in January, 1906, and the stock was sold quietly among local investors, to avoid attracting attention to the work until it was well under way. There are a number of interests in the manufacturing section that use the product who are interested.

The plant will cost about half a million dollars, and will begin operations some time in the spring of 1909. It is built on the most approved lines, has

NOTE 389.—The production of salt by the Kansas factories by two-year periods since 1889 is as follows:

Year.	Barrels (280 lbs.)	Av. price.	Value.
1889.....	450,000	\$0.45	\$202,500 00
1891.....	855,536	.357	304,775 00
1893.....	1,277,180	.369	471,543 00
1895.....	1,341,617	.36	483,701 00
1897.....	1,224,980	.34	417,626 94
1899.....	2,172,000	.35	760,200 00
1901.....	1,271,015	.60	762,609 00
1903.....	1,455,582	.50	800,730 74
1905.....	2,123,109	.39	837,739 00

[Table from Min. Res. Kan., 1903, p. 46. Figures for 1905 from Bulletin No. 83, Census Manufactures U. S., 1905.]

NOTE 390.—There are five other plants in the United States, at the following places: Syracuse, N. Y., Saltville, W. Va., Detroit, Mich., Wyandotte, Mich., and Barberton, Mich. There are six European plants, one in England and five on the continent. All these plants, save the one at Saltville, W. Va., and the Barberton plant in Michigan, are controlled from a central office at Bernberg, Belgium, and the two independents are living and operating under close agreements with the centralized plants. This industry dates only back to the erection of the first plant by the Solvey Bros., at Bernberg, in 1866, followed by the Brunner-Monde plant in England in 1882. Then the Solvey people built the first American plant at Syracuse, N. Y., in the heart of that salt field, in 1889, and the Solvey Process Company, a branch from Bereschniki, Russia, built the Detroit Solvey Process Company's plant at Detroit. The central organization was formed by an early coalition between Messrs. Brunner and Monde and the two Solvey brothers, and they hold stock in every plant in the world save the two American plants named above. The profits of the business under this arrangement are said to have been enormous.—Interview, 1908.

NOTE 391.—The principal interests within reach of the Hutchinson plant using soda ash are: The glass factories, which use as high as forty per cent in making some grades of glass, especially bottle glass; the makers of soap and washing compounds. One Kansas City soap maker used 2000 tons last year in making his ordinary output of soap. Paper mills, woolen mills, pottery factories and laundries use large quantities of it. The oil mills of the South use it, and it forms the basis of most of the boiler compounds, as well as of many chemical preparations. Baking powders and cooking soda are made from derived ingredients, chief of which is soda ash.

all the improvements, and will, it is estimated, be ten years ahead of any other plant in this feature of equipment. The principal materials used are salt brine, which is pumped from the wells of the company drilled on the site of the plant, and limestone, which is to be had in Marion county, not more than thirty miles away. It is said that at the present prices the profits of the business will amount to from six to eight dollars a ton.

There has been a great deal of complaint in the Middle West on account of the tribute the manufacturers have had to pay to the soda ash combine. It is a large item to pay the freight alone on the amount used by many of the factories, and it is an invariable rule that all shipments are per bill of lading, and, if there is a discrepancy, the consignee is without redress against the company. The future of the company is, as a matter of course, wholly conjectural, but there is no visible reason why it should not prosper, for there is ample demand to keep it running among the men interested in one way or another. It is rumored that the largest of the salt factories is contemplating the erection of a similar plant, if this one prospers, but that cannot be confirmed.

### CEMENT AND CEMENT PLASTERS.

In discussing this division of the mineral industries of the section, there are three wholly distinct subjects to be handled, in so far as the development of various cement and plaster enterprises are concerned. First of all there is the gypsum cement plaster industry, originating in the accidental calcining of some rock gypsum at the camp fire of one of the earliest settlers of Blue Rapids,<sup>392</sup> the seat later of the first gypsum plaster factory in the region west of the Mississippi. Even earlier in importance on the markets is the production of natural cement (popularly known as hydraulic cement) at Fort Scott, which had assumed commercial pretensions before 1870. Lastly, there is the wonderful growth of the Portland cement industry in Kansas and Oklahoma, dating from 1899, and depending upon the advantage of natural gas fuel to a large extent. As much on account of the convenience in treatment, as for any logical reasons, these divisions will be considered in the order named.

The first gypsum plaster produced in the state was from the northern, or Blue Rapids end of the district of gypsum-bearing formations already mentioned in another part of this paper. The properties of the gypsum rocks at Blue Rapids being well known locally before the Civil War, it needed only someone to start making the plaster to create a demand. In 1871 some of the gypsum was burned and taken to Elmira, Ohio, and the quality proving good, the Coon brothers of that place came to Blue Rapids in the following year and began the manufacture of "plaster of Paris" over a stove in a five-barrel kettle.<sup>393</sup> In 1875 the business was enlarged by the addition of water power for grinding the gypsum rock and the increase in the kettle capacity of the plant. The valuation of the plant as

NOTE 392.—It was in 1858 that this first gypsum was burned in this accidental way, and the settler used the calcined gypsum in making plaster to "chink" the cracks in his cabin. In the following year the plaster was used in the plastering of a number of houses in the new town, and the advantages of the gypsum beds along the river at that point were so apparent that the commissioners who laid out the town reserved a strip 100 rods long and 320 feet wide along the river containing the known deposit.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. V, p. 51.

NOTE 393.—A number of accounts of the plaster industry are in print. The best are articles by Haworth, in volume VII, Kansas Historical Collections, and in volume V, University Geological Survey, and an article by Grimsley in First Bien. Rept., Bureau of Labor, pp. 144-147.

remodeled was given at \$10,000, and it continued actively in operation until the failure of the firm in 1887. Two years later the mill was almost destroyed by floods, and was never rebuilt.

Though never rebuilt, and of no great actual importance, the first gypsum mill demonstrated the value of the gypsum rocks about Blue Rapids, and in the same year that the first mill was in its financial straits, a second was built by H. G. and F. W. Fowler, who organized the Blue Rapids Plaster Company, which operated until it was bought by the United States Plaster Company, of Toledo, Ohio, about 1900. In the same year, a second mill was built by the Kansas Cement Plaster Company, making the number of mills at Blue Rapids three in all. Soon after the destruction of the Coon mill another was built by the Great Western Plaster Company. The first operations of all these mills followed the plan of stripping the earth from the surface of the ledge of gypsum rock where it outcropped along the banks of the Blue, but it was soon found advisable to run drifts into the deposits and get the materials in this way.

In 1873 the secondary deposits of gypsum "dirt" was discovered by accident by a farmer in the southeastern part of Saline county while plowing and burning a "fire guard" along his farm, and the important district in Saline and Dickinson counties was opened to the gypsum industry.\* The first mill in this section was built in 1889, by a company of Salina men, who formed the Acme Cement Plaster Company. About the same time the second mill using the earth gypsum was built at Dillon, about ten miles east of the first mill. Up to 1900 there had been in all eight mills built and operated in this central area, nearly all of them using the earth gypsum. Other deposits than those named were found at Rhodes and Burns, in Marion county, at Longford, in Clay county, and at Mulvane, in Sumner county.<sup>394</sup> The importance of these discoveries of earth gypsum lies in the convenience of handling of the raw material in the first place, and in the fact that they seem to make more satisfactory plasters in some respects than the rock gypsum, and usually command a higher price on the market than those made from the rock gypsum.<sup>395</sup>

Still another important development in the gypsum industry at this time was the building of the Medicine Lodge plant, in Barber county, in 1889. A magazine article on the Barber county beds attracted the attention of some English capitalists in 1888, and their interest resulted in the building of the Keene Cement Company's plant in the following year. This company has always manufactured a high grade of plaster, and has been the only one in the state to market to any extent in the Eastern cities. The plant was under the management of two brothers named Best, and the output has become famous as "Best Brothers' Keene Cement."

With the erection of the Barber county plant in 1889, the number of gypsum plaster mills in the state of Kansas was raised to nine, and all of them were doing a fair business. There was a little more than a half million of dollars invested in the mills and lands, or about one-fifth of the investment in the industry in the United States in that year, but the output was not at all proportional to the rest of the country, it being but about

NOTE 394.—First Bien. Rept., Bureau of Labor, Kansas, p. 145.

NOTE 395.—Min. Res. Kan., 1901-'02, p. 63.

\*Supra, p. 90.



one-fifteenth of the whole. These figures, however, do not show the exact conditions of the industry, without the consideration that the output of the New York and Utah establishments, and a large part of the Michigan mills was sold uncalcined as land plaster. After deducting this amount from the totals, the actual production of plaster of Paris by the Kansas mills was a little more than a fifth of all the plaster made in that year.<sup>396</sup> There never has been any considerable part of the Kansas product sold in the crude state, the farmers of the state seeming to have a prejudice against its use.<sup>397</sup>

The number of mills continued to increase through the early '90's, and the production increased steadily until 1895, which was the banner year for the plaster mills of the state. In that year the output was nearly 73,000 tons, with a value of close to \$300,000.<sup>398</sup> The figures for this year have not been equaled since, either in the output or valuation, except for one year, 1906. One reason for this is not so much the falling off in the demand for the product as for the shifting of the center of the industries to a certain extent. The Texas deposits were beginning to send their products into part of the field that the Kansas mills had supplied in the later '90's, and as early as 1899 one of the largest companies operating in Kansas had built a mill in Texas from which they shipped a large share of their trade.<sup>399</sup> The approaching exhaustion of the deposits of earth gypsum in the state also had its effect, in that it led to discontinuing the operation of a considerable number of mills about this same time, as the workable deposits were one after another exhausted. The mills using the earth gypsum had in general enjoyed an advantage in cheaper production and higher prices, and these advantages were diminished with the exhaustion of the most favorable of the deposits.

Commercial conditions of the gypsum plaster industry were, on the whole, very satisfactory through the '90's, and the products of the Kansas mills found a market through the Western states and as far east as the Ohio river, while the Barber county mill, already referred to, marketed some of its products as far east as the Atlantic coast. "The freight on such goods soon amounts to as much as the first value of the goods themselves. . . . During 1897 the common rates from Kansas to St. Louis were three dollars a ton, and to Chicago four dollars a ton. This is more than the manufacturers of the same class of goods in the state of New York paid to get their goods laid down at either Chicago or St. Louis. Still, in the face of these difficulties, the superior quality of the Kansas products enabled them to compete favorably in some of the Eastern markets with materials manufactured much nearer to the point of consumption."<sup>400</sup>

The beginnings of the movement toward centralization that the other industries of the section had experienced in many cases even earlier than this were felt in the gypsum plaster industry about 1900. The moving spirit in the centralization was the American Cement Plaster Company, organized at Lawrence, in 1898. It opened its mill at Mulvane, in Sedgwick county,

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NOTE 396.—Eleventh Census, Mineral Industries, pp. 699-701.

NOTE 397.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. V, p. 133.

NOTE 398.—Min. Res. Kan., 1903, p. 40.

NOTE 399.—Ibid, 1899, p. 51.

NOTE 400.—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 64: "Kansas cement plasters have finally found their way into almost all the markets of America. They have traveled as far east as Boston and New York, and westward to San Francisco. . . . The greater part . . . are sold west of the Ohio."

southeast of Wichita, early in 1899, and already had a large plant at Quanah, Tex., supplying a large part of its trade. In 1900 this company virtually acquired two other companies, with three mills in the Kansas district, and about the same time started its large mills at Grand Rapids, Mich., in the heart of the gypsum fields of that district. This made the Lawrence company by far the largest producer in the Kansas field, and its extensions into the Texas and Michigan fields made it probably the largest single operator in the country.

The following account of the consolidation is taken from the state reports for 1900.<sup>401</sup> "The Salina Cement Company changed management, Messrs. A. and J. A. Henley, of Lawrence, Joab Mulvane, of Topeka, becoming the principal stockholders. A new board of directors was elected in June, and the offices of the company moved to Lawrence, the business being done under practically the same management as the American Cement Plaster Company. . . . The Great Western Cement Plaster Company, of Blue Rapids, was recently bought outright by members of the American Cement Plaster Company, and the offices moved to Lawrence, although the business is still being done at Blue Rapids under the old firm name. . . . In this way the owners of the American company have obtained control of the two others, and transact the business for the three companies from one office in Lawrence." The United States Gypsum Company, organized about 1902 with offices at Chicago, and operating the old Fowler plant at Blue Rapids, and a second plant built at Blue Rapids a little later, began to branch out about this time, and took over the plant of the Roman Cement Plaster Company in Pratt county in 1899, and the Wymore Cement Plaster Company's plant at Hope, Kan., which had been operated by a company of jobbers with offices at Wymore, Neb., for about a year.<sup>402</sup> This second merger of producers left but three mills that were producing independently, including the Medicine Lodge plant in Barber county, which has always refused to give out any information as to its operations.<sup>403</sup>

The effect of this merger, which brought the monopoly of the cement plaster industry into the hands of two strong companies, was soon apparent. The American Plaster Company closed its original Kansas mill at Mulvane in the same year that it bought the other companies out, and one plant acquired from the Saline company at Dillon was never reopened. Their obvious purpose was to restrict the production in order to better trade conditions. The business at that time was sadly overdone, and the prices were becoming all the time more unsatisfactory, so that there was nothing in the business for any of the Kansas mills.\* The organization of the United States Gypsum Company, which practically completed the work of centralization of management, completed the plans that the Lawrence company had in mind. The immediate result of the two combinations was an increase in price of gypsum plaster from an average of about \$4.30 for the past four years to an average price of \$5 a ton in 1902, the first year of the operations of the second consolidation.<sup>404</sup> This level of prices has not been maintained since that time, but at no time since the consolidations has the price been so low as before.

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NOTE 401.—Min. Res. Kan., 1900-'01, p. 64.

NOTE 402.—Ibid, 1900-'01, p. 65.

NOTE 403.—Ibid, 1902, p. 42.

NOTE 404.—Ibid, 1903, p. 40.

\* Interview, 1908.

The principal change in the industry on the commercial side since 1902 is the practical discontinuance of two at least of the smaller mills that were operating independently, so that now the two companies have a single competitor in the Medicine Lodge plant. The smaller mills were under the additional disadvantage that the building of the Oklahoma mills had on the Southern market for the Kansas plasters, and between the influences they left the field. The number of mills in Oklahoma (and the Indian Territory) in 1905 had reached seven, and the investment of capital had reached two-thirds of a million. The value of the products of the Oklahoma mills reached about \$150,000, or more than half that of the Kansas product, and the addition of this supply has had a considerable effect on the industry in Kansas. Commercial conditions are practically the same as they were ten years ago, so far as the territory reached is concerned, though the Eastern market is limited more on the east than it was ten years ago, and very little of the product of the Kansas and Oklahoma mills goes east of the Mississippi river now. There is still an opening to the northwest, on account of the fact that there are no mills in that section of the country, and no materials that are known as a basis for any in the future. The freight rates, however, reduce the demand in that direction, and lime plasters are used to a considerable extent where the cement plaster would be used but for the cost.

There are now, even with the reduction of the number of active mills, more plants in the Kansas field than the tributary territory demands, and many of them are running only a part of the time. The demand depends of course only upon the activity of the building trades, and there is not sufficient building going on using plaster products to call for any large amount annually. The demand in Oklahoma has been pretty largely taken care of by the new mills in that section, and probably will be, as the amount of gypsum in that state, while not definitely mapped, is known to be ample for some years at least.<sup>405</sup>

Another thing that the centralization of the plaster industry has accomplished is the introduction of more improved methods of manufacture than prevailed while there was a larger number of small plants furnishing the plaster output of the state. Up to 1900 there was no considerable improvement in the general methods of calcining the gypsum, or in the handling of either the raw materials in reaching the plant, or in the disposal of the calcined gypsum as it came from the kettles. The kettles themselves are huge barrel-like steel cylinders of boiler steel, set on end on a masonry base, and the heat is applied directly beneath, and the gypsum is stirred by clumsy revolving arms within it as the burning process goes on. It requires twenty-five or thirty horse-power to run such a stirrer, and accidents to the machinery are frequent on account of the strain. Waste of heat, and waste

NOTE 405.—The following letter from a member of one of the two leading companies operating in this district gives a fair view of the present situation in the industry in general: "In 1907 there were six or seven mills in operation in Kansas. A number of the mills have been discontinued since 1900 on account of the raw material being exhausted and the mill being moved to another deposit (in the case of those using the earth gypsum only) or discontinued entirely. The mills in Oklahoma have taken care of most of the increase in the demand for gypsum products, and have had their effect on the Kansas mills. Our market for the Kansas mills extends east to Chicago, and some in Indiana, but the freight rates are very high that far away, and as there are other mills in that territory it is almost impossible for the Kansas mills to get that far or much farther east. We have shipped some of our material to the far Northwest, but that is on account of there not being any good material found in that territory. There are now a good many more mills in this territory than the demand requires, and a number of them are shut down entirely, while several others are running only a part of the time. . . . I have just been at one of our plants . . . and find that business has been very quiet there, and we have averaged running only a small part of the time."



of power in stirring, with a large amount of personal experience needed to determine the degree of burning required,<sup>406</sup> have made this method objectionable to progressive manufacturers. Improvements were looked on with distrust for a long time, however, and not until the American and the United States companies got a monopoly was it practicable to fit the mills up with more approved machinery.<sup>407</sup> The plant of the American people at Mulvane was one of the first to introduce the gravity system in getting the raw materials to the calcining kettle and a system of conveyors to take it from them to the store sheds, thus eliminating practically all hand labor. The continuous calcining system employed in the Portland cement plants has not yet been adopted by the gypsum plaster mills, for what reason it is not easy to determine.

There are no gypsum mills in the state of Nebraska, and so far as is known no gypsum deposits that are workable. The mills in Oklahoma are recent, and no separate figures for the output in barrels are obtainable, the federal reports listing Oklahoma and Texas together. On a basis of prices about the same as that in Kansas for 1905, however, the valuation given by the census for 1905,\* \$130,716, the output would be in the neighborhood of 37,000 tons, or a thousand tons less than was produced in Kansas for the same year.<sup>408</sup> The output of the Kansas mills by four-year periods since 1889 is shown by the following table:<sup>409</sup>

Year.	Tons plaster.	Av. price.	Value.
1889.....	17,332	\$5 44	\$94,235 00
1893.....	43,631	4 16	181,599 00
1897.....	50,045	5 05	252,811 00
1901.....	49,217	4 25	209,172 00
1906.....	64,351	4 48	642,859 00

### NATURAL CEMENT.

The natural cement industry in this section of the country has never amounted to much outside of one place (Fort Scott), where, on account of the peculiar fitness of the impure limestones, the industry has flourished since 1868, and the two mills that have been in business there for the last twenty years are still producing cement in competition with the Portland cement plants. Outside of this Fort Scott industry, therefore, there had been little in the way of cement manufacture in the section until the building of the Portland cement plants. There has been little lime burned in the

NOTE 406.—“In some mills a long tube thermometer is kept in the plaster. . . . but the plaster adheres to the tube below and so gives a lower reading. . . . In other mills electric wires run to an automatic registering thermometer which is said to give good results. . . . The expert calciners, however, depend more upon the appearance of the plaster in the kettles than upon thermometer readings. Inexperienced calciners who depend wholly on a thermometer reading plunged at times into the kettle may make very poor plaster out of the very best materials.”—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. V, pp. 102, 121.

NOTE 407.—“The great objection to the present kettle system of calcining gypsum is the great amount of heat required to calcine the mass of cold gypsum thrown into a kettle with a thick steel bottom. Much heat is wasted by radiation from the kettle. Another objection is the large amount of horse-power required to stir this mass of gypsum and keep it from overburning at the bottom. The heat required tends to warp and burn out the kettle bottoms, which are heavy and expensive to replace. The methods of calcining . . . have not improved much recently, and it would appear that there is much room for it.”—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. V, p. 103.

NOTE 408.—Min. Res. U. S., 1906, p. 1074.

NOTE 409.—From Mineral Resources of Kansas, 1903, p. 40, save for the figures of 1906, which are from the Mineral Resources of the United States, 1906, p. 1074.

\* Bull. No. 30, Mfgs. Oklahoma, etc., 1905, pp. 34, 35.

state, the bulk of the lime that has been used coming from the more convenient limestone ledges in Missouri.

Small works for the manufacture of cement were built in Fort Scott in 1868, and in 1869 the size of the works was increased to a capacity of ten barrels a day, with a capital investment of \$4000.<sup>410</sup> There was little demand for hydraulic cement at that time, but as Louisville was the nearest supplying point east, and the price from there was ten dollars a barrel to Kansas points, the Fort Scott company cut the price to five dollars and got all the business there was at that time. The demand for the cement has greatly increased through the use of cement by the railways in their construction, beginning with the building of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad into Fort Scott, and from that time the other roads began to use it to some extent. In 1871 the capacity of the plant was increased to fifty barrels a day, and the product began to reach all the eastern half of the state. The price in the meantime had been reduced to three dollars a barrel. The capacity of the plant was twice increased in the '70's, and in 1879 the plant was bought by the C. A. Brockett Cement Company, of Kansas City, and the capacity increased again, to 700 barrels a day.

In 1887, encouraged by the constantly growing demand for hydraulic cement in various kinds of construction work, a second plant was built at Fort Scott, and in a few years its capacity was increased to 700 barrels a day, making the possible production 1400 barrels a day. Improved machinery and a better understanding of the methods of production had operated to decrease the cost of production many times, and the price had fallen to a dollar a barrel in the '80's, and has fallen steadily since that time until it reached a level of about forty cents a barrel in 1895, and has risen again since 1900 to about fifty cents on an average. The Fort Scott cement gradually displaced lime mortar in the better grades of construction, and the quality and cheapness enabled it to reach the markets of all the adjacent states. About 1900 an agreement was reached between the two companies to avoid competition, and since that time all the product has been marketed through the Fort Scott Cement Association, with offices at Kansas City.<sup>411</sup> Since the building of such a large number of Portland cement plants from 1902 to 1906, the competition has been keen, but has not been able to force a reduction in the output of these plants. Since the building of the second plant at Fort Scott there have been over two and a half million tons of cement produced, with a value of at least a million and a third at the mills.

The following table<sup>412</sup> shows the output by two-year periods since 1888:

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Price.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
1888 .....	40,090	\$0.75	\$30,000.00
1890 .....	150,000	.70	105,000.00
1892 .....	110,000	.69	77,000.00
1894 .....	50,000	.50	25,000.00
1896 .....	125,567	.40	50,226.00
1898 .....	160,000	.38	60,800.00
1900 .....	127,339	.40	50,333.00

NOTE 410.—The properties of the rock were first suspected in 1867, and a sample sent to Prof. Louis Aggasiz, then of Harvard University. The facts of the following account are based chiefly on a letter by Mr. C. A. Brockett, president of the oldest of the plants, and printed in *Mineral Resources of Kansas* for 1897.

NOTE 411.—First Bien. Rep., Bd. Ag., Kan., p. 148.

NOTE 412.—From *Mineral Resources of Kansas*, 1903, p. 42; figures for 1904 and 1906 are from the *Bulletin on the Cement Industry*, by E. C. Eckel, 1906, p. 28.

Year.	Barrels.	Price.	Value.
1902 .....	154,681	\$0.50	\$77,340.50
1904 .....	210,922	....	79,456.00
1906 .....	238,311	....	129,781.00
Totals .....	2,670,673	....	\$1,368,514.50

## PORTLAND CEMENT.

The Portland cement industry in this section of the country is one of the recent developments in manufacturing, being only about ten years old as yet, and the principal development has been made within five years. For this reason it is impossible to put together the information that is at hand and forecast the course that the industry is likely to take. There are a number of the plants that have run but a short time as yet, and some that are still building, and there are no statistics to be had that show much more than the beginnings of the present conditions. It is, however, one of the most interesting phases of the industrial life of this section of the country, and it would be unfair to pass it by without an attempt to suggest its importance. The development of ten years has raised the production of Kansas and Oklahoma from nothing to a potential capacity at the present time of one and a half times the production of the United States ten years ago. Two years ago the production of the Kansas cement plants, four in number at that time, was a little more than 3000 barrels. This year there are fourteen or fifteen plants in Kansas and Oklahoma, in the gas belt, with a combined capacity of nearly 37,000 barrels a day, or thirteen million barrels for the year if the mills should run on full time.

The Portland cement industry is a comparatively new one in the United States even, but it is worthy of notice that already there are two centers fully developed which produce by far the larger share of the product of this country. The first is that of the Lehigh district in Pennsylvania, where the industry started, with the near-by section in New Jersey. Now comes the development of the Kansas-Oklahoma field, increasing at double the rate of increase in the Eastern field,<sup>413</sup> with a capacity equal to that of the Pennsylvania field four years ago. One feature of the building of the cement mills in this section that makes it impossible to get a proper perspective of their importance at the present time is the manner of their organization. The first two or three plants were built by *bona fide* business men who invested their own capital. But since that time the majority of the companies that have projected and built plants have done so by means of the sale of stock by promoters to the investing public, which was just then losing interest and opportunity in the oil and gas fields for reasons that are suggested in the following section.\* As a result the manufacture of cement has been given practically the same character as some of the promoted enterprises in the oil boom. With only a few exceptions, it must be said, however, that the building of the plants and the manufacture of cement has been pushed forward in perfect good faith by the promoters, and nearly all of them are well equipped and substantial.

The difficulty lies in the fact that there is not enough construction work going on in the immediate territory naturally tributary to the trade of this section to use any large proportion of the product that the mills here are

NOTE 413.—Min. Res. U. S., 1906, p. 909 *et seq.*

\* See note 432.



equipped to supply. They must, therefore, depend on the sale of their products over a very large territory to keep the mills running. A further consideration just at the present time is the fact that on account of trade conditions in this section in the past year (1908) there has been a practical suspension of all large construction work until the money situation improved, and the demand for cement was considerably less last year than in years just past. For these reasons, and for the additional reason that only half of the plants built are fairly reaching the markets with their products now, there has been no opportunity to try out the trade conditions under normal circumstances and form any estimate of the wisdom with which the center of production has been built up. With this qualification of conditions, the development of the industry will be outlined.

It is to the unbounded faith in natural gas that was prevalent in this section a few years ago that the growth of the industry is principally due. To be sure, the raw materials here are not inferior to any in the country, and exist in practically inexhaustible abundance,<sup>414</sup> and there would probably have been Portland cement made here in the course of time without the gas fuel. But it was the discovery of gas at Iola in 1895, which has been discussed, and the demonstration of its advantages by the zinc smelters almost immediately, that led to the location of the plant of the Iola Portland Cement Company at that town in 1899. The first cement was made in 1900, and it found immediate favor on the market. The capacity of 2500 barrels a day was soon doubled, and large dividends were paid out on the four and a half million dollars of common and preferred stock. It is impossible to state the profits of this plant, other than to give the increase in operations, which included a further increase in capacity of the Iola plant to 6500 barrels, and the erection of another plant at Dallas, Tex., of half that size, all out of the undivided profits, while the dividends went on without interruption.

The Iola company was controlled largely if not entirely by Eastern capital, and the prosperity that was slipping out into the hands of aliens may have had something to do with the remarkable interest that followed the first two or three years of successes of the new industry. The first movement for following their example came from George E. Nicholson and A. B. Cockerill, two men active in the smelting business at Iola since the late '90's. In 1903 they organized the Kansas Portland Cement Company and built a mill at Iola, which started in March, 1904, with a capacity of 1500 barrels a day. The profits of the business so far exceeded those of the smelters that these men increased their capitalization to \$1,600,000 in a short time, and increased their plant to 2500 barrels a day. Almost at the same time two more companies were organized. One of them, the Western States, whose plant was opened at Independence in 1905, is one of a long chain of similar plants in the country<sup>415</sup> and opened with a capital of three and a half millions, and a capacity of 3200 barrels a day. About the same

NOTE 414.—"Kansas could supply the world for a million years from the limestone and shale in her borders."—Interview, Haworth, 1908.

NOTE 415.—This is the fourth of a line of five magnificent plants built under the Cowham system since 1900. They are operated separately, and have no trade connections with each other beyond the fact that Mr. W. F. Cowham, the originator of the idea, is president of each, and the stockholders who take the large blocks of stock are common to each. The plants are: The National, at Jackson, Mich.; the International, at Toronto, Canada; the Southern States, at Rockmont, Ga., completed just before the Western States at Independence; and lastly, the Northwestern States, built at Mason City, Iowa, in 1907.

time the fourth plant in the state was opened at Neodesha with a capacity of 1800 barrels. These four plants, the only ones in the state in operation through 1906, made over three million barrels of cement, and the new ones, the Western States and the Indian at Neodesha, made about twelve times as much as in their first year.

The activity following the organization of these two plants that began operations was unprecedented, and with not more than one exception out of the ten plants that were projected almost immediately they were financed on a basis calculated to enrich the promoters while at the same time raising the means of building the plants and putting them in operation. The promoter usually kept a large block of the stock for his work, and had the interest that it gave in the business for his efforts. Thus only the investors stood to lose anything. While the financial plans varied somewhat, the main trend was in the direction of sale of the preferred stock, with a bonus of the common stock, usually in a like amount, while the promoter kept the rest of the common stock.<sup>416</sup> Big profits were the theme of the promotion, and as high as thirty per cent on the investment was claimed as a sure thing for the first year. It is a fact that under cheap gas conditions, the fuel cost amounted to about a third of the actual operating expenses in making a barrel of cement, which it was said could be made for fifty cents a barrel, while the average selling price has been regularly about two and a half times that amount.

One of the new plants, to be sure, seized upon a plan that distinguished it in a way from the others. That was the Ash Grove White Lime Association, which had been producing white lime at a number of points in Missouri for years, and had a regular trade built up with their selling agencies for a large amount of Portland cement that they had to get of other manufacturers. The plan was a reorganization of the old company on the customary lines, save that the dealers were induced to take the stock, and a market was assured the enterprise from the start. The plant has been in operation but a few months, so that it is not possible to see the actual success of the plan.

Two of the remaining companies promoted during 1906 were outside of the gas belt, and counted on the use of fuel oil in burning their product. One was built near Kansas City, about twenty-five miles west, and has not been a success so far. It was found necessary to change the fuel system almost as soon as the plant was given a trial, and as the financial difficulties came on just then it has not been in operation to any extent since it was built, and so far has been a failure. The other is in Yocemento, Ellis county, and claims two advantages for its location to balance the advantage the gas belt offers. The materials that it uses are easier to handle than any other in the district, and a real saving in power and equipment is certain. The other is the fact that it is in a commercial position of vantage in that it is nearer to the needs of a great deal of middle western railway construction than any other mill. How far these advantages will make its operations

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NOTE 416.—The following extract from a representative prospectus shows the tenor of the representations: "The maximum cost of producing Portland cement in the Kansas belt is 50 cents per barrel. For the purposes of this illustration we will make it 55 cents. The lowest selling price during any one year has been \$1.25 a barrel. Figured on this basis, a net profit of 70 cents will be realized on cement. . . . One thousand dollars invested in preferred stock would yield an annual return as follows: Seven per cent on \$1000 gives \$70; twenty-five per cent (the balance of the estimated profits) on \$1000 common stock gives \$250, making a total equal to thirty-two per cent on the investment."

profitable it is impossible to say, but the plant has been in as constant operation as any of the most favorably located since its completion a year ago.

There are still two cement plants that have not begun operations, and whose future is wholly dependent upon the adjustment of conditions in the future. They are at Independence and Humboldt, in the heart of the gas belt of Kansas, and both are of average size and equipment. Last year there were two producing mills in the Oklahoma end of the gas district (in the old Indian Territory field, at Ada and Dewey) capable of producing 5000 barrels a day. How far there will be a movement southward, such as has been observed in the smelting industry, it is impossible to conjecture. In all probability there will be no more plants built for some time, however, and future locations will depend somewhat upon the fate of the gas supply.

An important deal was consummated in January, 1908, by which three of the large Kansas cement mills were consolidated under one management with a capitalization of twelve and three-fourths million dollars. They were the Kansas Portland, of Iola, of which G. E. Nicholson is the moving spirit, the Independence Portland, of Independence, and the Indian Portland, of Neodesha. These three plants have a capacity of 8300 barrels a day, and the capital of the company is nearly one-third that of all the companies built and building in the section. The operations of all the plants are now in the one company, the United Kansas Portland Cement Company. The financial plan was openly one of shaping the capitalization to meet the estimated earning power of the three plants. It was figured that two and three-fourths million barrels a year would be the output, and the capital was proportioned by multiplying each barrel of estimated output by four dollars and a half, of which the preferred stock was a third and the common two-thirds. The consolidation came at the time when the plants were closing on account of the falling demand, and so far there has been no result from it other than the closing of two of the plants a large part of the time.<sup>417</sup>

Last year (1908) was a disastrous one for the Portland cement trade in general, and there was not more than a fifth as much cement made in the Kansas mills and the two Oklahoma establishments as they were capable of producing, simply for the reason that there was no market for it. Fully half the plants were closed, and the rest were running only a part of the time. There was no cement marketed with the railroads, always the heavy consumers, and other lines of trade were slack. Just at present it is safe to say that there are more plants built than there is any need for. But owing to the impossibility of estimating the future of the rapidly growing demand for Portland cement in so many lines of work, it would not be safe to make that statement as true for any considerable length of time. With the materials that are at hand in as convenient location as nature has

NOTE 417.— Just as this report goes to press it is announced that an important merger of all the Nicholson plants in Kansas, Texas, Iowa and Tennessee, six in number, are to be consolidated. Mr. Nicholson himself admits that other plants in Kansas and Oklahoma may be taken into the merger, and appraisements of eight others are known to have been made in the last few months. If such a combination is made the company will be the largest producer of cement in the world. The object of the move is undoubtedly to regulate the production and sale of the Western cement. The price has never been satisfactory since the bulk of the mills began to produce in 1908 and later, and at one time last year prices fell to eighty cents a barrel. A meeting of manufacturers in the autumn of 1909 succeeded in raising the price twenty cents a barrel with the aid of a rising demand for cement, but greater economies in marketing are absolutely necessary to make the business profitable, if it does not become necessary to permanently close some of the mills that have been erected. By this means the loss of overconstruction will be shared by all the plants in the country, and will not fall particularly on any one. If the deal goes through there will be but a few independent mills in this section, and they will rank as small producers in comparison.— See *Kansas City Star*, January 11, 1910.



placed them, and with the advantage of natural gas fuel, which is still considerable, it is at least possible that there will be a busy future for the plants now built. The market for them is restricted to the territory west of the Mississippi, and the Michigan and Iowa plants are cutting it off on the north, so that at present the Rocky Mountains and the Missouri river limit the territory for all practical purposes of description.

The Portland cement industry, on the whole, has brought less capital into the country from the outside than any other of the mineral industries, save the brick and tile perhaps. Practically, only two of the large companies are held outside of the Missouri valley, and many of them number their stockholders among the business and professional men of the towns and villages of the eastern half of Kansas and part of Missouri. One of the Oklahoma plants, for instance, is held almost entirely by Kansas business men. The industry does not have a very important effect on the industrial society of the state, outside of the economics of the stockholders, for the number of workmen is relatively small to the magnitude of the products. Part of the labor, especially the mechanical workers, is highly skilled, and another part is of the most ordinary sort. These latter have, in general, clusters of a dozen or two houses in the vicinity of the mills, and are a thing apart in a way from the rest of the society, while the skilled workers are not distinguished by their life at all. There is not a generality of organization among the cement workers, and the most of the workmen are unorganized.

The following table shows the location, capitalization and capacity of the plants now (January, 1909) in operation or ready to begin:<sup>418</sup>

NAME.	Location.	Capital.		Capacity.	When built.
		Common.	Preferred.		
Iola Portland.....	Iola.....	\$1,500,000	\$3,000,000	6,500	1899
United Kansas.....	Iola.....				1904
	Independence.....				1905
	Neodesha.....	4,125,000	8,875,000	8,300	1905
Western States.....	Independence.....	1,500,000	2,000,000	3,200	1905
Fredonia P. C. Co.....	Fredonia.....	250,000		500	1905
Humboldt P. C. Co.....	Humboldt.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,500	1909
Ash Grove P. C. Co.....	Chanute.....	1,500,000	2,000,000	2,500	1908
Ajax P. C. Co.....	Independence.....	2,000,000	2,000,000	3,000	1909
U. S. P. C. Co.....	Yocemento.....	400,000	500,000	1,500	1908
Bonner P. C. Co.....	Bonner Springs.....	1,000,000	1,500,000	1,250	1908
Monarch P. C. Co.....	Humboldt.....	2,000,000	2,500,000	5,000	1908
Dewey P. C. Co.....	Dewey, Okla.....	1,000,000	1,500,000	2,500	1908
	Ada, Okla.....	750,000	750,000	2,000	1908
Totals of plants.....		\$17,025,000	\$25,625,000	37,750	

### OIL AND OIL REFINING.

As a preliminary to the discussion of the growth of the oil-refining industry in the "mid-continental" field, including Kansas and Oklahoma, it will be profitable to supplement the discussion of the production of crude oil in a previous section\* with a brief summary of the production and present

NOTE 418.—This table, as well as many of the statements in this discussion of the cement industry, is made up from information collected in bits from the prospectuses of the various companies, and from interviews and letters where they could be had. For that reason few references have been made to published accounts, which in the main show very little of the real conditions in the industry.

\* Supra, p. 135.

condition of the oil supply. Oil has been marketed in Kansas for many years in small quantities, the first being in 1889, when 500 barrels were reported.<sup>419</sup> "The yield gradually increased to and including the year 1906, when a total of 113,571 barrels were produced. From this it gradually declined to 82,215 barrels in 1899. The new development set in shortly after this, and the production rapidly increased to a maximum, in 1904, of 4,250,779 barrels, since which time the production has gradually declined. . . . For the year 1907 the Prairie Oil & Gas Company bought (in Kansas) 1,696,428 barrels, and the independent refiners and consumers of fuel oil consumed an amount not determined with exactness, but probably more than half a million barrels a year, which should be added. . . .

"During this period the production of oil in what is now the state of Oklahoma gradually increased from the first developments, nearly ten years ago, to and including the year 1907. Developments south of the state line were very rapid and satisfactory during the years 1906 and 1907.<sup>420</sup> In 1904 the production of the entire field was only a little over five and a half million barrels, showing that but little drilling had been done south of the line at that time. For the year 1905 it aggregated fully twelve million barrels; in 1906 nearly twenty-two million barrels, and in 1907 the magnificent amount of 47,556,905 barrels,<sup>421</sup> making the mid-continental field the most productive in America."<sup>422</sup>

It has already been stated the development of the oil field really began in 1895 with the advent of the Forest Oil Company into the Neodesha field, and the erection of a small refinery at that place by the Standard Oil Com-

NOTE 419.—This first oil was produced in the Paola shallow wells, the pioneer field of the Western country. "No oil was found at Paola until 1888, when some people drilled in a fair well at a very shallow depth. Most of the drilling at this time was for gas, and the real oil development did not begin until a year ago (1904). Enough wells were drilled at Paola, however, to build a small refinery in the early part of the '90's. . . . From 1888 to 1902 the work done in this section was of little note, there being a few wells drilled, but no real development commenced until the general activity started in Kansas."—Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag., 1905, p. 6.

NOTE 420.—A great impetus was given to the development south of the Kansas line during 1905 by the political situation in the Kansas legislature, incidental to the movement which culminated in the bill to build a state oil refinery to "check the Standard Oil." This will be noticed in the subsequent pages.

NOTE 421.—The following table, taken from the report on Mineral Industries of the United States for 1906, shows the production of the Kansas-Oklahoma field up to 1907. Figures for 1907 are by H. G. James, of the Independence Reporter, and for 1908 by Erasmus Haworth, geologist of Kansas, whose figures for the values are used through the table.

Year.	Production.	Price, bbl.	Value.	Percentage total production.
1889.....	500	....	.....	.....
1890.....	1,200	....	.....	.....
1891.....	1,430	....	.....	.....
1892.....	5,080	....	.....	.....
1893.....	18,010	....	.....	.04
1894.....	40,130	\$0 48	\$19,262 40	.08
1895.....	44,467	64	28,458 88	.08
1896.....	113,741	63	71,656 83	.19
1897.....	81,723	60	49,033 80	.14
1898.....	71,980	70*	50,386 00	.13
1899.....	69,700	75	52,245 00	.12
1900.....	81,136	80	64,943 80	.13
1901.....	189,151	80	151,320 80	.27
1902.....	368,849	90	331,964 10	.42
1903.....	1,071,125	1 10	1,178,237 50	1.07
1904.....	5,617,527	97	5,449,001 19	4.80
1905.....	12,013,495	60	7,208,097 00	8.92
1906.....	21,718,648	41	8,904,745 68	17.17
1907.....	46,161,654	40	18,464,661 60	.....
1908.....	50,741,678	42*	21,311,504 76	.....

\* Estimated.

NOTE 422.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, pp. 199, 200.

pany, which the Forest represented, in the spring of 1897.<sup>423</sup> The first thing that company did was to buy up the holdings of Guffey & Galey,<sup>424</sup> the men who had done all the development at that time, consisting of 212,340



C. D. WEBSTER.

A pioneer oil refiner of Kansas.

acres of leases, on which were some sixty-five producing wells, not counting a dozen gasers, and four 25,000-barrel iron storage tanks at Neodesha. Within the next two years the Forest had continued the development as their refinery needed the oil, and brought in a total of eighty-three oil wells, the majority of them in the neighborhood of Thayer, in Neosho county, about fifteen miles from Neodesha.<sup>425</sup> The importance of this field was sufficient to justify the laying of a small pipe line to Neodesha. This was the beginning of the great pipe-line system that the Standard has since extended from the Oklahoma field to Whiting, Ind., and on to the Atlantic coast.<sup>426</sup> The policy of the Standard at the beginning seemed to be to simply prove the field, without making any attempt to bring it to a maximum of productiveness. Local producers, however, continued to bring in wells, and there was no market for the oil, save for a

limited market with municipal gas plants, unless the Standard took it. This situation forced the Standard into the market to take care of the oil that was offered, and to this end the building of the pipe-line system was inaugurated.<sup>427</sup>

NOTE 423.—The refinery at Neodesha began operations in May, 1897.—*Neodesha Register*, May 21, 1897.

NOTE 424.—October 12, 1891, M. W. Miller, of Osawatomie, began the development of natural gas in Wilson county. In April, 1893, he sold out his interests to J. M. Guffey and John Galey, wealthy residents of Pittsburg, Pa., who continued the development until, on November 1, 1895, the Forest Oil Company of Pennsylvania, generally known as the Standard Oil Company, purchased their entire interests in the Kansas field, including leases in seven counties.—*Wilson County Sun*, Neodesha, November 22, 1895.

NOTE 425.—*Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag.*, p. 9.

NOTE 426.—“While the development of Guffey & Galey had convinced the Standard that considerable oil existed in Kansas, the industry was largely of an experimental character. Independent operators had succeeded in developing only small quantities of oil in remote sections, but they desired the Standard to buy it. To accommodate a few of the heaviest producers, tank cars were provided, and storage tanks were put up at Neodesha, where a short pipe-line system had been inaugurated. In 1903, operations around Chanute, Humboldt and Montgomery and Chautauqua counties had grown to sufficient proportions to induce the Standard to extend its local pipe lines to connect with these fields, and on August 1, 1903, began the systematic registering and publication of runs and shipments. On that date the total stocks on hand amounted to 257,196 barrels. The total production of the Kansas field at that time amounted to about 90,000 barrels a month.”—*Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag.*, p. 9.

NOTE 427. “Realizing that the inauguration of a system of pipe lines and storage facilities would immediately develop the entire Kansas field, the Standard at once began an elaborate extension of all its facilities, including two extensions to the Neodesha refinery, and the commencement of a much larger one at Kansas City (their Sugar Creek plant). The parent company, after a careful consideration of the matter, appropriated \$35,000,000, to be used as needed in Kansas and Indian Territory in connection with its Eastern system. Tank farms were bought and work begun, and pipe lines extended everywhere production developed.”—*Ind. Rep., Oil and Gas Mag.*, p. 9.



Once started by this encouragement, the development was very rapid. Then the failure of the Beaumont oil bubble is thought to have caused a further increase in the oil activity in that it turned a great deal of the capital that had been attracted there into the Kansas field. The development of the field that has been outlined in an earlier section will answer in the main for this purpose when it is remembered that nearly all of the prospecting up to about 1904 was for the sake of oil, and the fact that attention was given to the gas in the other account should not obscure that fact.

The summer of 1902 saw a considerable activity in the oil field, and the output of the year previous was more than doubled. The Standard doubled the capacity of its Neodesha refinery in that season,<sup>428</sup> and in the following spring, attracted by the prospects of the Kansas field, C. D. Webster,<sup>429</sup> an old oil refiner from the Pennsylvania field, began the erection of the first independent refinery in the state<sup>430</sup> at Humboldt, the richest part of the newly developed field. The plant was projected for a daily capacity of 500 barrels of crude oil, but it was finished with just half that capacity. The first oil was refined in February, 1904, and placed on the market. The plant and marketing facilities represented an outlay of about \$80,000, and the refinery is equipped

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NOTE 428.—Interview, 1908.

NOTE 429.—At Chanute, Kan., in the year 1907, C. D. Webster made the following statement to William E. Connelley:

"Born on Trout river, Franklin county, New York, June 8, 1852. Attended school at Malone, N. Y., and at the age of eighteen went to clerk in a store in that village. At the age of twenty-one he went to Port Henry and engaged in the clothing business, in which he continued until 1876, when he went to Bradford, Pa., and engaged in the clothing business; and later became interested in oil production at Bradford. When the Tidewater pipe line was built (the first built to tidewater over the mountain) he built a refinery at Philadelphia, on the Schuylkill. This he operated until the Tidewater company sold out to the Standard Oil Company. Webster would not go into the Standard company, though offered \$100,000 for his property and a salary of \$5000 a year. He organized the Sunlight Oil and Gasoline Company at Philadelphia, in which he is still a stockholder. He organized the Reflex Refining Company, which built a refinery at Philadelphia, and then came the bitter fight with the Standard Oil Company, whose teams followed his wagons and gave away oil and gasoline. This lasted four years and ruined Webster. Then he went to Titusville, Pa., and organized the Webster Gasoline Company, manufacturing gasoline by a special formula. The venture was profitable. His partners sold out to the Standard Oil Company, but Webster would not go into the Standard, and finally lost all his interest in the property.

Webster then went to Boston and there organized the Webster Oil and Gasoline Company, but through rebates the Standard drove him out of business. Webster then began in a small way to sell oil, securing his oil from Pennsylvania and selling from wagons to retailers. The Standard Oil Company then put two teams after each one of his wagons and sold oil at half price until Webster was ruined. He then secured a contract to light certain streets in Boston with naphtha, upon which the Standard Oil Company bought all the naphtha on the market, and Webster was reduced to the last extremity. He bought a peddler's wagon and began to retail oil from house to house. The horse was old and lean and his wagon dilapidated, but his business increased, and in two years had eleven teams selling oil and had a large warehouse, for which he paid \$2200 a year rent. Then the Standard Oil Company put teams after each of his wagons and sold oil at one cent a gallon. It sent its agents around disguised as book agents to get names of his customers that it could not get otherwise. Webster hired halls in Boston and appealed to the people to stand by him, and the *Boston Post* aided him; but he was finally driven from the field.

From Boston Webster went to Providence, R. I., and secured contracts for street lighting, inventing a naphtha burner and contriving to secure enough naphtha to run his lamps. To operate this contract he had organized a company in Boston, which is still in existence. This contract netted him \$20,000 in three years. Having now some money, he returned to Titusville, Pa., and bought a refinery, which he operated until forced out by the Standard, when he moved his refinery to Marietta, Ohio, and rebuilt it at a cost of \$130,000. Here his health failed. His refinery made \$7000 the first month, and he was offered \$120,000 to give up the fight, but he refused. The Standard secured control of the crude oil production in that locality, and Webster was again driven to the wall. For some time he was out of business, but organized the Knickerbocker Oil Producing Company in Philadelphia and bought a large production in the Marietta field. This company was successful, clearing over \$50,000 the first year. Webster sold his interest in it and came to Humboldt, Kan., and became the pioneer independent refiner of this state."

NOTE 430.—A small refinery was built at Paola about 1890, but it was in operation only a short time. "The refinery was built by the Paola Oil, Gas and Manufacturing Company, and had a daily capacity of twenty-five barrels of oil. The company did business for a couple of years, until the price of refined oil went down, and the plant went into the hands of Henry C. Jones, receiver, who had charge of it for five years, when it was sold to the Standard Oil Company, who removed the parts still standing to Neodesha. This refinery was the first west of the Mississippi river."

for the manufacture of kerosene, cylinder, engine and fuel oils.<sup>431</sup> Just ahead of the opening of this Webster refinery the political agitation which finally resulted in the state refinery law (later declared unconstitutional), the common-carrier law and others was in full swing, and the sentiment against the Standard Oil and in favor of anything independent made business prosper for the new refinery.

This agitation, which was carried into the state legislature and was pushed until it resulted in the passage of four laws, is one of the most interesting phases of the oil development of the district. The advertising of the fields in 1902 and 1903 attracted a remarkable number of oil promoters into the district, and simply from the force of circumstances they centered their activity in the Chanute field. There were reasons for this, chief of which was that there was nowhere else in the proven territory in Kansas that they could get leases satisfactorily. The Prairie had the most of the proven lands in the southern end of the state by this time, and the speculators organized their companies for the exploitation of the Chanute field. As is usually the case in such times, there were companies organized that could never in the very nature of things pay a cent on their stock, so ill-advised were their operations. But everybody wanted to get in on the good things that they saw other people making, and the organization of companies went merrily on. When the movement reached its height there were 262 companies located in the Chanute field, with a capitalization of two hundred million dollars.<sup>432</sup> Then the development in the southern end, which redoubled in 1903, attracted the activity southward on the outskirts. At the same time the increase in production ran so far ahead of the facilities for handling the oil that the price began to fall steadily early in 1904, and this increased the demoralization of the companies around Chanute.

Looking about for something upon which to place the blame for these conditions, the Standard and its operating company, the Prairie Oil and Gas, came in for the blame for consequences of all that was bad. Another thing that added to the sentiment against the Standard at this time was the fact that there had been in force a buying order to the effect that all oils bought

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NOTE 431.—The *Iola Register* (daily) for May 13, 1907, has this to say of Mr. Webster, the owner and promoter of the new refinery: "Mr. Webster is probably the oldest refinery man in the state, and has to his credit the erection of eight different plants—three at Philadelphia, two at Titusville, one at Marietta, Ohio, one in Boston, and the one at Humboldt. He has been in the refining business for a period of twenty-eight years, and has experienced all the ups and downs of the business. He is also at the head of the Webster Oil and Gasoline Company, of Boston, which does a retail business in refined oils made by independent refiners. . . . There is little about the oil business that Mr. Webster does not know. He has good reason to be familiar with the methods of the oil trust, for he has been fighting it all his life, and only his dogged determination to win has enabled him to come out on top." The quotation illustrates the angle that many of the contemporary papers give to any of their articles that touch the doings of the Standard Oil at this time.

NOTE 432.—A report on conditions existing in the Kansas oil and gas fields in December, 1907<sup>9</sup> prepared by William E. Connelley at the request of Attorney-general Jackson for use in his suit of ouster against the Standard and associated companies, contains a table giving the names of companies who were producing oil in Kansas in the summer of 1904, together with their location and capitalization, and followed by this summary: "The capitalization given amounts to \$186,713,000. It is not pretended that this amount was paid up and put into the business. The figures show the total capital stock of these companies where the amount of capital is given. These companies number 350. The above total would allow an average of more than \$530,000 each. If it is counted that but ten per cent of the total capital stock was paid in, then the amount invested by these companies is \$18,671,300, which is not far from the correct amount. Some of the capital stock had nothing paid in on it, and other stock had very little paid in on it; but many of the largest companies paid in a large proportion of their capital stock. The capital stock of the companies listed here with the amounts left blank, that of those companies the names of which were not secured by me, and that of the individuals whose names are unknown, would probably be \$125,000,000, and I believe this a conservative estimate. Treating this amount as the total amount of the listed companies was treated would yield \$12,500,000, which, added to the \$18,671,300, equals \$31,171,300, the sum invested by independent producers in the Kansas oil fields."—Manuscript in office of attorney-general, Topeka.

by the Prairie agents should be graded arbitrarily as North Neodesha and South Neodesha, and the former brought twenty cents a barrel less.<sup>433</sup> This differential, made for the want of any other convenient means of distinguishing between the heavy oils of the northern end of the field and the better grade oils, was looked upon as unfair discrimination<sup>434</sup> by the Chanute men, and it is probable that in many cases the difference in the quality of the oil did not amount to that much. At any rate, that was the chief grievance of the Chanute oil men, who organized "The Chanute Oil Producer's Association" in August, 1904.<sup>435</sup>

It was in 1904 that the Prairie finished the eight-inch pipe line to Sugar Creek, near Kansas City, Mo., where the Standard was building an 8000-barrel refinery, on the trunk line of the Standard pipe-line system to Whiting, Ind., which was completed early in 1905. This pipe-line system, with its ramifications in the Kansas-Oklahoma field, was the only considerable pipe line in the field at this time, and the heavy production at the southern end of the field of the lighter and superior oils at this time operated still more against the northern men, who, more convinced than ever of their grievance, started on a crusade against the Standard.<sup>436</sup> Shortly after the meeting of the Chautauqua Producers' Association at Sedan, in January, 1905,<sup>437</sup> a meeting of all the producers of the state was called to meet in Topeka, and an organization was effected January 19, 1905, and the fight began in earnest.<sup>438</sup> Up to this time the agitation had been confined almost wholly to the oil men themselves, but by taking the discussion into the state capitol at the time of the session of the legislature, the lobby that was organized succeeded in making it a political question and gained the ear of the state for their demands.<sup>439</sup>

The campaign in Kansas resulted in the passage by the legislature of four bills, three of which are now in force, and one—the refinery bill—for a time considered the most important of all, has been declared unconstitu-

NOTE 433.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, p. 215.

NOTE 434.—The proportion of heavy oil in the north Neodesha field was not greater, or very little greater, than in the south Neodesha field. There was heavy oil in both fields. The great amount of oil in both fields was of the highest grade according to the scheme of grading used by the Standard Oil Company. A large proportion of the oil in the Oklahoma field was of higher gravity than in the Kansas field.—W. E. Connelley.

NOTE 435.—Ind. Rep., Oil and Gas Mag., p. 10; Chanute Daily Sun, August 2, 9, 1904.

NOTE 436.—Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag., p. 10.

NOTE 437.—"This organization was effected . . . at Sedan, and more nearly accomplished the object sought than any other organization of the Kansas producers. . . . The first real business of the association was the adoption of the following resolution: 'Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that all drilling operations should be suspended as far as possible, and that the landowners be asked to join in the movement to limit operations, and to that end to consent to extend drilling contracts.' The effect of this resolution was to stop all drilling in Chautauqua county within a few weeks after its adoption. . . . The same action has been attempted a score of times in other fields, but has never been more than partially successful."—Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag., p. 11. This was the one sensible action aimed at the raising the price of oil and giving the inferior oil a chance in the market by reducing production. In March, 1905, the Prairie already had seven million barrels of oil in storage, and was adding rapidly, with no other use for the oil offered.—Independence Reporter, March 29, 1905.

NOTE 438.—"The Kansas Oil Producers Against the Standard Oil Company," by W. E. Connelley, Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. IX, p. 94.

NOTE 439.—The state association instructed its legislative committee to endeavor to secure the following legislation: (a) The building of a state refinery, of not less than 1000 barrels capacity; (b) the prohibition of the pumping of gas wells; (c) the prevention of discrimination in prices by manufacturers or dealers of any manufactured articles; (d) making all pipe lines more than four inches in diameter common carriers; (e) the creation of the office of gas and oil inspector; (f) the prevention of the use of "gas pumps" to increase the flow of oil wells.—Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag., p. 10.



tional by the supreme court,<sup>440</sup> and is therefore dead. The bill declaring pipe lines common carriers was designed to force the Standard to transport the oil of the producers through its lines for delivery to the independent refineries at a graduated distance tariff. The point has been raised that the pipe line, being a private one, the state has no constitutional authority to order their use by any and every applicant.<sup>441</sup> Although the law has been in force several months, no one has sought to take advantage of its privileges.<sup>442</sup> The other bills that became laws in this session were the antidis-crimination bill,<sup>443</sup> and the maximum rate bill, providing a schedule of charges for transporting oil in pipe lines, and giving the railway commissioners power to prescribe maximum charges for transporting oil in tank cars, not to exceed in any case the charge by pipe line.<sup>444</sup>

About the only result of this agitation, so far as the Standard was concerned, was the suspension of operations in Kansas for a few months, and the transfer of their activities to the territory south of the state line, the heavy development of the territory around Bartlesville, Dewey, and the famous Cleveland pool in old Oklahoma demanding their attention. "In Kansas the development was not great in 1905. In fact, for six months (February to July, inclusive), it was impossible to market more than a fraction of the oil which might have been produced from the wells drilled. As a result, surprisingly few wells were drilled in Kansas."<sup>445</sup> The production of the Kansas wells, though almost as much in 1905 as in 1904, has been declining steadily ever since, and the bulk of the oil of the mid-continent field, beginning with 1905, has come from the south side of the line, where the standard has intensified its development since then.<sup>446</sup>

Apparently a direct result of the agitation in favor of the independent producers in the legislative session of 1905 was the building of a large number of independent refineries in the various oil towns of the field, largely in Kansas. It is more than probable that the mere moral support that the agitation gave to the project of building independent establishments had as much to do with this result as the direct benefits that any of the legislation brought. The common-carrier law accomplished but little, for the bulk of the Standard's mains were laid before it was passed, and therefore did not come within its operations. The smaller feeders, by the very provisions of the law, were not included, and the independents were left pretty much to the development of their own refinery connections, and the effect is seen in the large number of small establishments that grew up, each one located in a

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NOTE 440.—State v. Kelly, 71 Kan. 811.

NOTE 441.—The supreme court has decided that this applies only to lines laid after the passage of the law.

NOTE 442.—Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag., p. 31.

NOTE 443.—Provides that there shall be no favors to sections or persons in the sale of manufactured articles. "The law works a greater hardship on the small concerns than it does on the Standard. Jobbers of merchandise also complain that the law handicaps them in securing trade or in preventing competitors working their territory."—Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag., p. 32.

NOTE 444.—Kansas Laws of 1905, chapter 315.

NOTE 445.—Univ. Geol. Surv., Kan., vol. IX, p. 211.

NOTE 446.—The figures submitted by the Prairie in answer to the interrogations of the attorney-general of Kansas, in the suits in the supreme court for violation of the antitrust laws, give the purchases of oil in Kansas for three years as follows: 1905, 3,244,062.96 barrels; 1906, 3,128,287.17 barrels; 1907, 1,696,428.85 barrels. The amount of oil in storage in 1908, as given in the same statement, was thirty-four million barrels, of which only ten million barrels was in Kansas.

small territory that it could reach with its own feeders. As for the railway rate, there is such a small part of the oil that is ever offered for transportation in that way, unless it be for fuel purposes, that it hardly affects the refineries. The antidiscrimination bill may have been more effective. Certain it is that the Standard has not at any time since made any effort to fight the small refineries by cutting rates. But there is no means of knowing whether they would have done so without the law. In fact, the attitude of the Standard in its relations to the independent refiners in the mid-continent field has seemed one of good-natured indulgence. The manyfold preponderance of the company in its operations would have made it short-sighted business policy for the Standard to have pursued any other policy, and the men who have had the management of its affairs in the Western field seem to have appreciated this situation thoroughly.

The fact remains, independent of any speculations as to what the memorable session of 1905 did, that within that year there were five independent refineries built and put into operation in the Kansas field, and two were built in Oklahoma. The second of the independent refineries was really put into operation in the summer of 1904, ahead of the political agitation. It was built at Muscogee, I. T., with a capacity of 250 barrels a day, but the oil failed within a short time and it was necessary to ship in oil from other points to keep the refinery going. The second Kansas independent was the Paola Refining Company's plant, which was finished in August, 1905, with an initial capacity of 250 barrels a day. It was built by local capital entirely, and marketed its output in the surrounding towns. Before the end of the year there were also erected the Uncle Sam Refining Company's plant at Cherryvale, capacity 250 barrels; Superior Refining Company,<sup>447</sup> at Longton, capacity 150 barrels; Sunflower Refining Company's plant, at Niotaze, in Chatauqua county, 150 barrels. Three others were building at the end of the year, to have when completed a joint capacity of 1300 barrels. Thus the building of the year when completed gave the field a refining capacity of about 13,000 barrels a day, of which the two Standard refineries made up about 10,500 and the independents the other 2500.

The oil-refining business seemed to be something of a mania, especially in Kansas, from this time on, and there were six refineries completed in Kansas in 1906, distributed as follows: Two at Chanute, one at Kansas City, one at Atchison (the property of the Uncle Sam Company), one at Rollins (near Chanute), and one at Bronson, in Allen county.<sup>448</sup> It was also a year of great extensions on the part of the Prairie, for the opening of the famous Glenn and Weber pools near Tulsa, as well as the development of the Cleveland pool, in old Oklahoma, made it necessary for that company to build miles of pipe line in order to hold its own in the field. "The year 1906 was an active one for the Prairie Oil and Gas Company, which erected and filled 336 iron tanks in the field. When the last report was made the company had 295 tanks. On January 1, 1907, it had 631. A year ago the company owned seventeen farms on which tanks and pumping stations were erected. To-day it has thirty, . . . an increase in 1906 of thirteen farms."<sup>449</sup> In the same year the Prairie built nearly a thousand miles of pipe line, making a total

NOTE 447.— Built and owned by one man. — *Mid-continent Oil Fields*, 1907, op. p. 32.

NOTE 448.— *Mid-continent Oil Fields*, 1906, p. 16.

NOTE 449.— James, *Mid-continent Oil Fields*, 1906, p. 4.

of 2671 in the field, not counting the line from Kansas City to Whiting, Ind. "The Prairie has been compelled to fairly network the field from Tulsa to Kansas City to take care of the tremendous production. In order to force the oil through these pipe lines pumping stations are necessary, and last year the Prairie built nineteen, making the total number now forty-three."<sup>450</sup>

The next year (1907) was also marked with great activity in refinery building, the year ending with twenty-five refineries either in operation or just ready to begin operations. There were two refineries about completed in the Oklahoma field, one belonging to the Uncle Sam company, making three for it, and one building at Tulsa for Mr. Webster who had the refinery at Humboldt. The full capacity of these refineries amounted in all to more than 30,000 barrels a day, of which the two plants of the Standard contributed 23,000 barrels, its Sugar Creek plant having increased to 17,000 barrels, and the Neodesha plant to 6000 in the meantime. Of the new refineries, only two were of more than 300 barrels capacity. The National Refining Company, one of the large refineries of the Ohio district, with plants at Marietta, Cleveland, and Findlay, Ohio, built a 1500-barrel refinery at Coffeyville, and laid pipe lines into the Indian Territory, as well as all over the southern end of Montgomery county, Kansas, to supply it with the crude oil.<sup>451</sup> The other was built at Independence, by the Standard Asphalt and Rubber Company, an independent company whose specialty is the extraction of the asphaltum base of the lower-grade oils. Their refinery, which is incidental to the business, has a capacity of 1500 barrels of crude oil a day. This plant will be mentioned again.

The year 1907 was also marked by the advent of another factor in the mid-continent field. This was the building of two pipe lines to the Gulf of Mexico, one by the Gulf Pipe Line Company, which was completed from the Glenn pool late in the summer and began pumping oil immediately. The Texas company, also building towards the Gulf, had reached Dallas, Tex., in October of that year, and began pumping oil about the 1st of January, 1908. Both of these companies had been in the field for some time, developing their share of the Oklahoma oil, but had to depend on the shipment of their production to the coast by tank car, and the tremendous development made it advisable for them to lay their own pipe lines to take care of the production of their lands. The two companies handled in the year nearly nine million barrels of crude oil, nearly all of it in this way.<sup>452</sup>

The building of refineries in 1908 went on apparently with undiminished zeal, but this year the activity was confined to the Oklahoma field, which now has eight independent refineries, two of which, however, at Tulsa, are closed. Coffeyville is the only point in Kansas that is sharing in the recent building, and has two small refineries about completed at the beginning of 1909. For the first time the independent refineries did not seem to prosper, but for what reason it is hard to say. Those at the northern end of the field, however, were doing practically nothing nearly all the year, for what reason it could not be determined, for their managers steadily refused to give out any information. The Atchison refinery of the Uncle Sam com-

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NOTE 450.—James, *Mid-continent Oil Fields*, 1906, p. 23.

NOTE 451.—*Coffeyville Daily Journal*, April 6, 1907, p. 45.

NOTE 452.—Haworth, in *Eng. & Min. Jour.*, January 4, 1908, pp. 81, 82.



pany<sup>453</sup> was closed during the year, and all of the plants at Chanute were idle.<sup>454</sup> It is more than probable that the gradual failure of the wells<sup>455</sup> of that end of the field is at the bottom of this decline, for, so far as can be learned, the other independent plants were prospering. The year preceding was very satisfactory for all of them,<sup>456</sup> and outside of the decline of the northern field there was no apparent alteration of conditions.

With but one exception, there has been little attempt to make by-products out of the oils of the mid-continent field. Practically all the heavy base of the oil is sold in bulk to the railroads, or shipped to municipal gas plants to be used as fuel. The Rollins refinery, near Chanute, did, it is true, equip its plant for the extraction of the paraffin which is in all of the oil in this field, but for some reason it never accomplished much at it. So far as can be learned, that is the only attempt to extract the paraffin. None of the Standard refineries in the field pay any attention to it, but it has been intimated that the Standard company has been instrumental in keeping out this branch of the industry in other plants.<sup>457</sup> The exception stated is the Standard Asphalt and Rubber Company, which began the erection of a large plant at Independence in 1906 for the purpose of extracting the asphaltum base of the waste oil that the other refiners sold for fuel. Early in 1907 it began operations, paying a premium on the heavy oils<sup>458</sup> that contained as a rule a larger proportion of this element in the base, and began marketing all grades of asphalt roofing, insulating, paving and waterproofing materials.

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NOTE 453.—The struggle of the Uncle Sam Company is one of the interesting features of the growth of the independent refineries in the Western field. It was organized and promoted by a man totally without capital of his own to back it, and planned with the optimism of the true plunger for the largest independent enterprise in the field. Lands were leased, three refineries were built—one at Atchison, one at Cherryvale and one at Tulsa—and a pipe-line system laid from Bartlesville to Atchison to supply them. Dependent upon subscriptions of stock to carry the project, the promoter, Mr. H. H. Tucker, was finally arrested in 1907 on the charge of using the mails to defraud. After a sensational trial, the company being in the hands of a receiver in the meantime, he was released, and again took up the management of the company. The stockholders paid out the indebtedness of the company, and it is now doing the largest independent business in the field.—James, *Mid-continent Oil Fields*, 1907, p. 5; *Cherryvale Republican*, October 19, 1906, January 5, 1906.

NOTE 454.—Mr. Connelley, who has recently visited the oil fields (February, 1910), says that the independent refineries at Chanute are again operating. Besides the experimenting necessary to determine the best method of refining oils in this district, one of the great drawbacks of the independent refiners has been the marketing of their oils. At first they adopted the methods of the Standard, shipping their products to more or less distant points and employing agents for their local sales. The Uncle Sam was the only company, besides the Standard, employing pipe lines. As independent refineries increased their managers found that, added to the ordinary hindrances of railroad transportation, was the growing competition and the necessary and constant effort to adjust the business to new conditions. But time and the antidiscrimination law has to a great extent solved the market problem, and the independent refiners can now depend upon the individual enterprise of local merchants who purchase their oil from the refineries and assume the responsibility of their own shipping and local distribution.—Interview of editor.

NOTE 455.—It is claimed by some that the Kansas oil fields are exhausted, and that they were but light fields at the best. This is not true. Almost every company that has gone to the wall had nine-tenths of its holdings still to drill. Further drilling will bring to light many new pools in the Kansas fields: so far the oil has scarcely been touched in Kansas.—Mss. in office of attorney-general, Topeka.

NOTE 456.—James, *Mid-continent Oil Fields*, 1907, p. 4: "All the small refineries of the field have apparently done well during the past year, and most of them have added to their capacity. Many of them have added lubricating departments to their plants. As to the advisability of this there has been some question, but the refiners themselves state these departments are large money makers. The plants at Paola, Niotaze, Erie and Longton have just completed these additions. The Standard refineries do not attempt to make greases in Kansas."

NOTE 457.—"Every plant that contemplates making paraffin has been quietly bought up by the Standard interests."—*Chanute Tribune*, August 9, 1907.

NOTE 458.—*South Kansas Tribune*, October 3, 1906. "The Standard Asphalt and Rubber Company has contracts for 1500 barrels of oil daily, from which it will distill the lighter oils, and manufacture the 'Sarco' products from the waste."—*Ibid*, January 23, 1907.

The "Sarco" products, so called, the output solely of this Kansas plant, are unique, for there is no other establishment like it in the world. All the processes are protected by patents, and are known fully to only the employees of the plant. The processes are the result of a series of experiments performed by G. F. Culmer, the manager of the Independence plant. He commenced experimenting with crude oil as early as 1894, and a company was organized to manufacture the products in the Eastern fields. A rupture with the company resulted in the organization of the new one at Chicago in 1906 and the building of the plant at Independence. The products have an advantage over the natural asphalt in that they are free from impurities and can be suited to any temperature desired in the process of manufacture. For cold climates a softer grade is made, that will melt at 100° F. if desired, and the melting point can be raised to nearly 400 degrees. Another feature of the industry is the manufacture of rubber, by mixing in the proper proportions the softer grades of this asphalt and reclaimed rubber. The result is a rubber that cannot be distinguished from the ordinary rubber of commerce, and is tough enough for automobile tires and the like.

The "Sarco" company bought the Paola<sup>459</sup> refinery in 1907, and increased its capacity to about a thousand barrels a day, to put all the finishing processes on the oils that are distilled at the Independence plant. The company owns its own tank cars, and ships the finished oils back to Independence for distribution to the trade on account of certain advantages in freights that are secured thereby. The industry employs in all about a hundred men, and markets the products practically all over the United States. The offices of the company are in Chicago, and the management of the commerce is in that office.<sup>460</sup>

Only recently the demand for road oils in this section of the country has led the Standard to equip its refinery at Sugar Creek with a plant for the manufacture of three grades of road oil. This is the only plant that makes a specialty of this branch of the industry.<sup>461</sup> At one time for about two years the Standard refinery at Neodesha manufactured a "petroleum coke" out of the oil that ordinarily went for fuel, and sold it to the Cranby smelter at Neodesha, but the process of manufacture was expensive, requiring a great many men in all the processes, and it was discontinued with the termination of the first contract with that company.<sup>462</sup> With these exceptions the refinery business in the Western field is confined wholly to the production of the distillate oils, and the fuel and lubricating oils out of the heavy residue that is left in the distillation.

It would be possible to continue the account of the development of the oil fields, and to multiply the details of the operations of the refineries to a much greater length, but in this connection it would hardly be profitable. In spite of the number of independent refineries that have sprung up in practically every town of the state that has any visible oil supply, the fact

NOTE 459.—The Paola refinery has since been removed to Independence and consolidated with the "Sarco" plant.—W. E. Connelley.

NOTE 460.—Interview, 1908.

NOTE 461.—Kansas City *Star*, November 30, 1908: C. W. Owston, of Chicago, head of the road oil department—"Kansas City's park board was the first that we could interest in road oil. . . . It grew so that we had to put our chemists at work looking for better grades at a reasonable price. It will be necessary to build several new plants to make the three grades required. One will be at Sugar Creek."

NOTE 462.—Interview, 1908.

remains that the Standard dominates the field over any combination of interests. The Prairie last year took up more than three-fifths of all the oil produced in Kansas and Oklahoma, its estimates for its pipe-line runs for the year being over thirty-three million barrels. The other two pipe-line companies, the Gulf and the Texas, each handled a little over five million barrels. The independent refineries, twenty-three in all, used only a little more than three million barrels, or less than one-tenth that taken up by the Standard.<sup>463</sup> Scattered as they are all over the field, and with limited facilities and capital, they can do no more than operate as a check on the Standard in the local market, if indeed it needs one.

In summarizing, it is only fair to give the credit of the wonderful development of the field to the operations of the Standard. Not that it has been in any sense a work of charity, or even of public spirit, but the fact remains that without the vast amount of capital that it turned into Kansas and Oklahoma from 1902 to 1905 there would have been hundreds of oil wells sealed up indefinitely waiting for a demand for the oil, just as has been observed in the case of the gas supply, even after the advent of the Kansas Natural Gas Company with its millions of capital. No one has attempted to estimate the life of the field, and it is probably impossible to do so with any degree of certainty, but there is no diminution of the production yet, outside of the shallow field in Kansas. The Oklahoma wells are still producing, and from all indications will continue to do so for years to come, and continue to add to the wealth of the district.

#### BRICK AND TILE.

The manufacture of brick has been a relatively important industry in all this section of the country from almost the first settlement of the different localities, and it is, and has been from the first, one of the most widely distributed.<sup>464</sup> The clays that are found in almost every one of the many strata of the shales that are exposed throughout the whole Missouri valley offered a convenient and fairly good material for the manufacture of the ordinary building brick, and the country has been self-supplying in this respect since the very beginning of brick construction. The whole section, exclusive of Oklahoma, which is not old enough to have been subject to exactly the same conditions, experienced a great activity in substantial construction twenty or more years ago, during the prosperity wave preceding the depression begun in 1888, and brickyards sprung up and flourished in almost every town. Southeastern Nebraska and all of eastern Kansas felt this activity especially, and built scores of small yards that lived only until the passing demand was over. At one time in this period there were over fifty brickyards in the city of Omaha alone, or almost as many as there are in the whole state of Kansas at the present time. In 1890 there were more than a half more brickyards in Kansas than there are now.<sup>465</sup> The decline of the era of municipal improvements in the early '90's marked the passing of scores of these yards from the list of manufactures.<sup>466</sup>

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NOTE 463.—Haworth, in *Min. & Eng. Jour.*, January 9, 1909.

NOTE 464.—In 1857 the business of the brick and lumber yards of Kansas City, population 5000, amounted to \$479,543.49, 591 brick or frame buildings being erected that year.—*Annals of the City of Kansas*, 1858, p. 93.

NOTE 465.—Census 1890, part III, pp. 742-745.

NOTE 466.—"Beyond the areas of cheap fuel, the principal factor for the location of factories for the manufacture of clay goods is that of the market. . . . During the periods of



There is no way of determining the exact magnitude of the early brick-making operations in this section, even if it would be profitable to do so. It was about 1890, however, that the activity was greatest in the state of Nebraska, while the figures show that the Kansas brickyards produced more brick as early as 1880 than they did until after 1900.<sup>467</sup> The decline in number of plants and value of products had begun in Kansas before the end of the '80's, and continued until after the panic year of 1893.<sup>468</sup> Since that time the actual number of brick in Kansas has increased with fair regularity, while the number of yards has steadily decreased. After the era of building and improvement, however, the course of the industry has not been similar in the two states, Kansas and Nebraska. In the latter state the number of yards is still relatively large, and the size correspondingly small, while the industry is still widely scattered over the state. The yards are there located in the places where on account of normal building activity there is a moderate demand for brick all the time. In Kansas, on the other hand, centralization of the brickmaking industry set in in the later '90's, beginning with the organization of the Coffeyville Vitrified Brick and Tile Company and the opening of its gas kilns at Coffeyville in 1896. With the rapid building of the gas using brickyards in the eastern part of the state about 1900, the movement began to centralize the industry in the gas belt in a small number of extensive plants, until now there are about half as many plants as there were thirty years ago and the output is five or six times as great.

Since the advent of gas-burned brick upon the market, the industry, chiefly in Kansas, has been practically revolutionized, and only in the smaller towns of the middle western part of the state do the same conditions prevail that were characteristic of the whole section fifteen years ago. Now all the brick produced in Kansas that figure in the market are those made by the yards in the gas belt, and from the shale beds themselves. In fact, it is to the advent of gas-burned brick that the importance of the state as a brick producer is wholly due. Save for the fuel advantage, there is no reason why the industry should not have remained just as it has in Nebraska, widely scattered and uncentralized, each yard relying on its immediate neighborhood, and no more. Nearly forty of the sixty odd yards in Kansas at the present time are in the gas belt, and it is from them that nearly all the vitrified paving and face bricks are made which figure in the markets outside the state. It is also worthy of note that no other part of this section of the country, the Oklahoma belt not excepted, is self-supplying in these grades of brick, but all draw their supplies largely from the Kansas yards.

The first gas-burned brick were made at Coffeyville, in 1896, and two years later the same company built two other yards, one at Cherryvale and the other at Independence, both of them using gas fuel. With the extension of the operations of this company began the centralizing tendency in

municipal improvements and building, brick factories sprung up and flourished for a time to supply local demands, and later declined or entirely disappeared. There is scarcely a town in all eastern Kansas that has not at one time had a factory for the manufacture of brick. Some of these factories still exist, while many of them, having served the purpose for which they were constructed, are discontinued."—Min. Res. Kan., 1897, p. 82.

NOTE 467.—See Tenth Census, vol. II, pp. 119, 120; Min. Res. Kan., 1903, p. 38.

NOTE 468.—Min. Res. Kan., 1903, p. 38.

the brick industry that has been observed in all the other industries of the state. The popularity of the vitrified brick that they made led to the building of a fourth plant at Chanute not long afterward, and the company at the present time is not only the largest producer in the gas belt,<sup>469</sup> but probably in the country, having a daily capacity of not less than 500,000 brick. In addition to this the company has for years marketed the whole output of a large plant at Buffalo (fifteen miles west of Chanute). and with this product the company controls not less than a third of the brick output of the state.

There has been a constantly growing demand for vitrified brick for purposes of municipal improvement in the eastern Kansas towns for a little more than ten years, and the organization and success of this first large gas-using company was soon followed by others of considerable size and importance. The two largest were organized about the same time. The Pittsburg Vitrified Paving Brick Company, which did not for some time use gas, however, had two large plants, both in Pittsburg, about 1900, with a combined output of 100,000 daily. The other, The Iola Brick Company, also operating two yards about the same time, using gas, however, had an equal capacity. The Pittsburg company also bought up a large brickyard at Leavenworth with a capacity of 60,000 daily. Other large yards were those at Lawrence, built in 1899, with a capacity of 30,000; a second plant at Chanute, with a capacity of 50,000. Humboldt, La Harpe, and later the other towns of the gas belt, followed with fairly large yards.

With all this activity in the gas belt, however, the coal-burning yards at Atchison, Lawrence, Topeka, Ottawa, Leavenworth and Salina continued to get a large share of local business, and occasionally invaded the field of the larger gas-burning yards.<sup>470</sup> The building of new yards was practically completed in three or four years after 1900, and the conditions have been practically the same ever since that time. The face and paving brick of the Kansas yards soon began to find favor in the outside markets, and with the multiplied magnitude of their production the exportation of those grades of brick became important. For several years the commercial territory of the Kansas yards has been parts of the adjoining states of Nebraska and Missouri, and, to a certain extent, Iowa, while they find an outlet to the south as far as the Gulf ports, and New Mexico on the southwest.<sup>471</sup> The common building bricks, of course, do not go nearly so far, but for some time Kansas has made much more of these grades than is used within her borders.

The brickmaking industry is thus practically centralized in the eastern quarter of the state of Kansas, so far as the commercial importance of the industry is concerned. Nebraska has about twice the number of yards, and nearly half the capital and production of Kansas, but the yards there make but a small proportion of vitrified brick, the common building brick for local trade being the principal item. Oklahoma, also about equal in number of yards to Kansas, has an investment of less than a third as much capital, and less than a fifth of the output, a still smaller proportion of which is vitrified brick.<sup>472</sup> There are also two plants in Kansas making sand-lime brick, the only ones in this part of the country. They are located

NOTE 469.—Min. Res. Kan.

NOTE 470.—Ibid. 1903, p. 37.

NOTE 471.—Ibid, p. 39.

NOTE 472.—Census Manufacturers, 1905, Bull. 62, p. 70 *et seq.*

at Wichita and Bonner Springs, the latter about twenty miles west of Kansas City. They are comparatively new industries, but in 1906 there were some 800,000 brick marketed. The Wichita plant has increased its operations several times since it started, and has put about twelve million on the market in all. The products are standard and face brick for building purposes, and the most of those from the Wichita plant go into Oklahoma and Texas, while a few go east on account of the color. Western Kansas takes a portion of the output,<sup>473</sup>

One influence that may have had something to do with the fact that there are now but very few brickyards west of the middle line of the state of Kansas is the growth of the manufacture and use of "artificial stone," made of cement and sand. The growth of this business has been very rapid, especially in the last two or three years, and has undoubtedly had the effect of supplying a portion of the demand for common building brick. This class of building material has the advantage of cheapness and ease of manufacture, and recommends itself especially to those portions of the state where the clays are not especially superior and fuel is expensive. In 1905 the census reports give twenty-three of these artificial stone factories in Kansas, and sixty-five brickyards. Two years later the state report<sup>474</sup> gives seventy-one factories for the manufacture of artificial stone and fifty-six brickyards. Nebraska is experiencing somewhat of the same movement, hardly to the same extent, perhaps, while it is still less noticeable in the new state of Oklahoma. These cement blocks are not the ideal building material by any means, and it is impossible to forecast the future of this industry or its effect on the brick industry.

The manufacture of sewer pipe has never been of especial importance in connection with the clay manufactures of this section. One reason, no doubt, for this fact is that the number of large cities or towns is relatively small, and there has been until quite recently a comparatively small demand for this class of products. There has been for many years a large establishment at Kansas City, Mo., for the manufacture of sewer pipe, and nearly ten years ago a large plant was built at Pittsburg, Kan., which has been doing a considerable business. The Kansas City concern had at one time planned to build a large plant at Chanute, but it never materialized, for what reason is not known. Drain tile of any sort is a very small part of the clay products of any of the sections other than the Kansas belt, and even there it is only a relatively small portion of the whole product. Hardly any of the new gas-burning yards are equipped for its manufacture at all, and concentrate practically their whole effort on the production of brick.

The following table shows the production of the principal articles of manufacture in the clay industries of the three states:

STATE.	Common brick.	Vitrified brick.	Drain tile, value.	Total value of products.
Oklahoma (and I. T.).....	70,007,000	1,950,000	(a).....	\$596,299 00
Kansas.....	214,273,000	75,826,000	\$13,212 00	1,906,360 00
Nebraska.....	131,290,000	(a).....	(a).....	1,006,743 00
Totals.....	415,570,000	77,776,000	\$13,212 00	\$3,409,302 00

(a) Included in figures with other states. The whole product of the sewer-pipe factories is included thus in the table from which these are taken. The tables are in *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1906*, p. 946 *et seq.*

NOTE 473.—Interview. 1908.

NOTE 474.—Twenty-third Ann. Rept., Kan. Bureau of Labor, 1907, p. 280.



## GLASS.

The youngest of all the manufacturing enterprises in this section, and at the same time the most highly localized of all, is the glass industry, which began with the building of the plant of the Midland Window Glass Company at Independence, in 1902. Rather remarkably, all the building since that time has been practically confined to four towns in Montgomery county, of which Independence is the center. There are two others in Kansas, one at Chanute, and another, one of the earliest, a bottle-glass factory, at Neodesha, which was also opened in the summer of 1902. The growth of the industry, for some reason, has not extended across the line into Oklahoma, with the single exception of one plant, built sometime in 1904. It is more than possible that the reason for the failure to build southward is due to the fact that there has not been any considerable addition to the total number of glass factories since the advantages of that field became well advertised.

The coming of the glass factories is due to at least two influences, both of which were a little overestimated, according to the statements of the manufacturers themselves. The first of them was the failure of the gas supply in the Indiana field, upon which a large number of glass factories were dependent for fuel. The glass industry is of such a nature that gas is the only satisfactory fuel, and failure of the natural product necessitates the more expensive alternative of using manufactured gas. The failure of the supply, about 1900 and afterward, led some of the glassmakers to look about for a new field that could supply their factories. Then the development of the Kansas field since 1900, and the wide advertising that it received through the efforts of the commercial clubs and similar organizations of every town that had proven gas for which there was no demand, attracted their attention.

That the effect on the industry in Indiana was not as great and demoralizing as some of the glassworkers at first feared is shown by the continual building of factories in that district, using manufactured gas. The increasing cost of gas in the Kansas field in the last two years has also tended to diminish the advantage that it offered in the beginning, and when the disadvantage in the necessary importation of nearly all the raw materials from a long distance east is added, the field is nothing ahead of the Indiana makers. In one way it is at a disadvantage in marketing the product, for products cannot go east of the Mississippi river simply on a basis of equalization of freight rates, with production cost equal, and the larger share of the output of these factories has to find a market to the west and southwest, where the population is widely scattered in comparison to the Eastern markets, and the demand is therefore smaller.

Those two factors, however, brought a considerable interest to the Kansas gas field, and in the four years from the building of the first plant, in 1902, there were sixteen glass factories built, manufacturing window, bottle and lead glass principally. The first, and one of the largest, was the Independence plant, built in 1902, at a cost of about \$40,000. Its business prospered immediately, and the products (all window glass) found ready market in Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma.<sup>475</sup> The plant was soon remodeled and its output practically doubled. The next company in the state was the Cherryvale Glass Company, which put its plant into operation in June,

1902, really ahead of the opening of the Independence plant. The specialty of this factory is lead glass, such a tumblers, lamp chimneys, globes and the like. It is the only one of this kind in the district.

In the season of 1903 a number of Wisconsin men organized the Neodesha Bottle and Glass Company, and built a bottle-glass factory at Neodesha. The specialty of this company is flint-glass bottles for the apothecary trade, which has been found sufficient in the field tributary to this plant to justify the erection of considerable additions to the plant, and equipping it for amber and colored glass this year.<sup>476</sup> In the same year that these plants were started three more window-glass factories were built—the first by the Van Camp Glass Company, who came here from the Indiana field and built a \$20,000 plant at Caney, in the southwest corner of Montgomery county. They planned to use a sand found west of that place, which had been tested and found satisfactory for the manufacture of window glass.<sup>477</sup> The Midland company, at Independence, also used a run of Kansas sand from a bank near Fredonia, and found it fairly good for this purpose, so it is said. The other two factories built that season were at Coffeyville, which soon became the center, and now has more than twice the number of factories of any other town in the district. The first<sup>478</sup> was built by a company of local business men, who employed the services of an experienced glassmaker and built one of the largest factories in the West. Their output for the first year amounted to about \$200,000, and was marketed with the large jobbers of the Middle West.<sup>479</sup> The other plant built at this time was also at Coffeyville, and was very similar in size and equipment to the plant of the company just described, and its first year of operation put \$150,000 worth of window glass on the market.<sup>480</sup>

This second Coffeyville company is worthy of a little more than passing mention, on account of the fact that it was the first of a number of coöperative factories built in the Montgomery county field. The officers and holders of the \$75,000 worth of stock in this company are all glassmakers from Indiana, and all of them followed actively the mechanical operation of the various departments of the factory. This factory also used the continuous-melting regenerative tank process from the first. The second co-operative company was the Western Window Glass Company, which built at Independence, in 1905, a twelve-pot factory. There were twelve stockholders in the company, all of them glassworkers, and all of them employed in the factory. This company was very near failure shortly after its organization on account of the destruction of the plant by fire soon after it was started. Only the assistance of the business men of the town, who backed the rebuilding, saved this coöperative venture from total failure.<sup>481</sup>

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NOTE 476.—Interview, 1908.

NOTE 477.—Silica, usually obtained in the form of sand, is the largest ingredient of all grades of glass, and has to be of a high degree of fineness, such as is seldom if ever found in the sands of the Kansas-Oklahoma district. Practically all the sand used at the Kansas factories, and especially in those making lead-flint glass, which requires a brilliant clearness, comes from Illinois and from Pacific, Mo., near St. Louis. "Most of the sand deposits obtained in this state contain too much clay and are too high in iron. If a good deposit of clear white sand could be found it would mean much for the advancement of the industry."—First Bien. Rept. Bureau Labor, Kan., p. 344. No sand has yet been found that contains the desired proportion of silica.

NOTE 478.—The Coffeyville Window Glass Company, capitalized at \$75,000, and using the continuous-melting regenerative tank, which is said to increase the output forty per cent at the same cost.

NOTE 480.—Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, April 6, 1907, p. 30. NOTE 479.—Ibid, p. 29.

NOTE 481.—Ind. Rep. Oil and Gas Mag., p. 56.

There were nine glass factories in active operation in Kansas in 1905, and others in process of construction. The investment of capital was a little over half a million, nearly half of which was represented by the expense of building the factories. There were 718 workers employed, at a wage of nearly half a million, and the value of the products was nearly a million dollars. The cost of the materials used was more than a third of the value of the finished products, while all the expense of operation, including wages, salaries, fuel and the like, according to the statement of the factories,<sup>482</sup> was \$849,700, leaving a little more than a hundred thousand dollars as interest on the investment and profits of the business—in short, about twenty per cent of the investment returned this year, available for interest and profits. The figures of the same report, two years later, gathered from statements of the factories, show a less prosperous condition, though the returns were not at all unsatisfactory. The number of the factories in the two years had increased to fifteen, and the capital invested had nearly trebled, being in 1907 \$1,467,571. The number of employees had increased to 1720, or more than double the number two years before, and the total expense of operation was over a million and a half, with the value of the products only \$1,792,034, leaving the earnings available for interest and profits only thirteen per cent, as against twenty per cent two years earlier.<sup>483</sup>

Perhaps one of the branches of the glass industry most favored by the location in this district is the fruit-jar industry, which has been established at Coffeyville since the erection of the first factory by Wilson & McCulloch, as a branch of their business already established at Marion, Ind.<sup>484</sup> The factory was soon sold to Ball Brothers, of Marion, and it was immediately enlarged to its present size. There are ten large machines, each employing four men, that are in constant operation, making this one of the largest fruit-jar factories in the country.

The second was built by the Mason Fruit Jar Company, also at Coffeyville, in 1906. This company, which is largely composed of Coffeyville business men, however, is a branch of the industry which has been at Marion, Ind., for years, and is capitalized at \$100,000. The manager and superintendent are old employees of the Mason factory at Marion. The factory has six machines, with a capacity of 1700 gross of fruit jars a week. Both factories use the continuous-melting regenerative process, and their combined product would amount to about thirty-five car lots a week when they are running on full time. These are the only fruit-jar factories in the western part of the country, and they can reach practically the whole of the country west of the Mississippi river. They have the further advantage over the other glass factories in that the market for their product is at its best in this Western fruit section, while the market for building glass is dependent on a more dense population, such as the Eastern factories supply.

One of the great disadvantages that all of the Kansas glass factories making flint and bottle glass (including the fruit-jar factories) have to contend with is the heavy freight rates that they have had to pay on soda ash, which is about one-fourth of the material used. The freight from Detroit, the nearest source of supply, is 27½ cents a hundred, or \$5.50 a ton. The erection of the new independent soda-ash plant at Hutchinson last year is

NOTE 482.—Tables, Bull. Bureau Labor, Kan., 1905, pp. 46-53.

NOTE 483.—Ibid, 1907, pp. 280-283.

NOTE 484.—Interview, 1908.



therefore a great help to the Kansas glass factories, for the freight rate on the product at the same factory price is less than a third as much from the Hutchinson plant as from the Eastern factories. The Hutchinson plant is as yet an untried industry in so far as its competitive relations to the Eastern factories operating in the combine, and the permanence and importance of its effect is still indeterminate.

The window-glass factories, on the other hand, which outnumber the bottle-glass factories considerably in this section, use as the base of their product not the soda ash, but the "salt cake," so called, or sodium sulphate, which is an important by-product of the process of manufacture of sulphuric acid. Being an incident and not an aim of an industry, the salt cake is cheaper, and is thoroughly satisfactory for the manufacture of this grade of glass, though it does not give as great a degree of toughness as is necessary for the various grades of glass that are subject to considerable changes of temperature. The bulk if not all of this product that the Kansas glass factories use has come from the works of the United Zinc and Chemical Company, at Argentine, Kan.,<sup>485</sup> which has been engaged in the manufacture of sulphuric and nitric acids for twenty years. In this respect, therefore, the factories engaged in the manufacture of building glass have had an advantage over makers of the other classes of glass products, for the freight rates are moderate and the cost of the material quite reasonable.

A difficulty that practically all the Kansas glass factories have felt to a considerable extent from the beginning is that of keeping the necessary number of workers during the busy season. Practically all the blowers and cutters came from the Indiana field, and the same roving spirit that made them free to come here in the first place makes them the most undependable class of laborers in this part of the country, according to the testimony of the operators. While of American descent almost wholly at this time, they are, nevertheless, undependable, and gave so much trouble by their moving about that it was found necessary for the factories to associate for the purpose of regulating the hiring of employees to avoid taking away each other's help.<sup>486</sup> These workers, especially those of the more roving character, have their own settlements in the neighborhood of the factories in many cases, and as they do not stay long in one place at the best, hardly form an integral part of the social body of the community. Many of the more skilled workmen, however, including those that were the first to come and aid in the organization of the industry, are not of this character at all, and are most desirable additions to the citizenship of the state.

As has already been suggested, conditions in the industry are such that the advantages that first recommended this field are considerably diminished, but in spite of that the importance of the output of the Kansas glass factories is increasing materially. With nearly two millions of annual production, it is thirteenth among the manufactures of Kansas, ninth in number of employees, and fifteenth in the amount of capital invested.<sup>487</sup> Much of the future of the industry in this section depends upon the length of the gas supply and the discovery of more of the raw materials nearer to the factories. The manufacture of soda ash in the state will help, and the discovery

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NOTE 485.—First Bien. Rept. Bureau of Labor, Kan., pp. 341, 342.

NOTE 486.—Interview, 1908.

NOTE 487.—Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bureau Labor, Kan., 1907, pp. 280-283.

of good sand would be of considerable importance. At present the conditions practically shut the product of these factories into the southwestern part of the country, south of the Missouri and west of the Mississippi rivers.<sup>488</sup>

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## NOTHING BUT FLAGS!

COMRADES! Salute the battle-torn colors in memory of those who fought and died with them that the nation might live!

“Nothing but flags!” but simple flags!  
Tattered and torn, and hanging in rags;  
And we walk before them in careless tread,  
Nor think of the hosts of the mighty dead  
Who have marched beneath in the days gone by,  
With a burning cheek and a kindling eye,  
And have bathed these folds with their life’s young tide,  
And in dying were blest, and with blessings died!

“Nothing but flags!” Yet methinks at night  
They tell each other their tales of fright!  
Dim specters come; and their arms entwine  
’Round each standard torn, as they stand in line.  
As the word is given, they charge! they form!  
And these corridors ring with the battle storm!  
And once again, through the smoke and strife,  
These colors lead on for the nation’s life!

“Nothing but flags!” Yet they’re bathed in tears;  
They tell of triumph; of hopes and fears;  
Of a mother’s prayers for a boy away;  
Of a serpent crushed; of the coming day!  
Silent they speak; and the tears will start,  
As we stand beneath them with throbbing heart,  
And we think of those who are ne’er forgot!  
Their flags come home; why come they not?

“Nothing but flags!” Yet we hold our breath,  
And gaze with awe at these types of death!  
They are nothing but flags; yet the thought will come:  
The heart must pray, though the lips be dumb!  
They are sacred and pure! We can see no stain  
On these dear loved flags come home again!  
Baptized in blood, our purest, best;  
Tattered and torn, they are now at rest!

—Anon.

[Compiled by B. B. Smythe, company K, Ninth Michigan infantry, and troop A, First United States cavalry (dragoons), and dedicated with the love of a private soldier to the regimental flags of the Kansas volunteer soldiers, now exhibited in a special steel case in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society.]

# THE SOLDIERS OF KANSAS.

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## THE SIXTH KANSAS CAVALRY AND ITS COMMANDER.

An address by CHARLES E. CORY,<sup>1</sup> of Fort Scott, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its Thirty-third annual meeting, December 1, 1908.

THE Western cavalry in the war of the Rebellion had a peculiar duty. The distances were great. The commands were not situated as Longstreet's and Lee's and Meade's and McClellan's and Hooker's and Grant's armies were. The military forces in the West, on both sides, were comparatively small bodies. Between the points of operation would be a day's march, or two days' march, instead of an hour's march or possibly two hours' march, as it was in the East. The cavalry was of immensely more importance in the West than in the East, although of great importance there. If a blow was to be struck on the James or Shenandoah it could be done in a surprisingly short time—surprisingly in more ways than one. Stonewall Jackson or Sheridan might be reported in bivouac at sundown, and might strike a vicious blow at dawn. In the West, however, it might take two, or three, or five days' riding. They were away apart. The mortality in the West was greater in proportion to the number engaged, though the total mortality was much less. The percentage of mortality in Kansas regiments in battle was greater than that of any other state, although the actual number of deaths was smaller. For instance, there were more men killed in three hours at each of the battles of Chickamauga, Cold Harbor, Fredericksburg and Gettysburg than were killed in any battle, however long, on any field west of the Mississippi. There were more men killed at Chickamauga in three hours than were killed during the whole Spanish-American and Philippine wars. The number of men engaged in those Eastern battles was greater. The fight itself was fiercer. The battle field casualties were greater.

My statement does not belittle the services of the army in the West, nor does it belittle the glory that attaches to our soldiers in Cuba and the Philippines. Those boys that went to the later war did their duty. They did all that was asked of them, and did it with alacrity, faithfulness and bravery. They did it well; but there was not so much to do. Our young men in the Philippines were not fighting with fighters. They were fighting with brigands and cutthroats, and cutthroats are always cowards. They had no such contests as occurred, for instance, at Fredericksburg, where after the battle a man might walk three-quarters of a mile and stand on a soldier's body at every step. Nor were they fighting with such men as Meade met at Gettysburg, where Pickett's Virginians and Carolinians went across the open plains in the face of 35,000 infantry and a thousand cannon,

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NOTE 1.—See sketch of CHARLES ESTABROOK CORY, page 229, volume 7, Kansas Historical Collections, and a paper written by him, entitled "Slavery in Kansas." In volume 8 he also had a paper, "The Osage Ceded Lands," page 187. Mr. Cory obtained the facts in this paper relative to the life and service of Colonel Jewell from his family, and from conversations with private soldiers and others who served under him.

and were slashed down like timber before the cyclone—and then reformed and came on again! Nerve near omnipotent! They were not against a force like Thomas met at Chickamauga, who stood and fought until they were decimated. These last men I have mentioned were fighting their brothers, of the same blood, while the men in the Spanish and Philippine wars were against men who were not fighters. The enemy believed in the wisdom of the adage that “he who fights and runs away shall live to fight another day.”

The men in the West in the Civil War did not differ in the same way from the men in the East. The difference in the Civil War was not in the kind of people, but only in the conditions surrounding them. The Western forces were smaller. The distances were greater. The men were just as combative, just as brave, had the same virile strength and nerve on each side, but the blood letting was less because the opportunity was less. The Eastern armies were close together. In the West the bands of fighters were far apart.

Let me illustrate: Suppose Longstreet or Jackson in Virginia had taken a fancy to strike Boston. Suppose Sheridan had taken a fancy to strike Charleston. That would be about on a par with Gen. Sterling Price’s swift jump from the Indian Territory to hit Colonel Mulligan at Lexington, Mo. The Eastern armies could not dream of such a thing, but in the West such dashes were common.

In such conditions as this it was natural that the cavalry should be the most useful branch of the army. It could hit a sudden blow at a distance, where the infantry would be powerless, although both equally willing and equally ready. The Sixth Kansas cavalry was probably better constituted than any other Western cavalry regiment to perform this kind of duty. Its members were to the manor born. They were on their own ground. They were accustomed to frontier life. They knew what cowardice on the battle field meant, for in a fratricidal war they had a keener perception of the dangers of shirking on the field than did the Eastern men, although they were not a bit more ready to fight. The Eastern soldier, north or south, was from a community all Union or all Confederate. In the West it was not so.

The surroundings made the men to meet the case—manufactured them. Missouri for instance furnished very many regiments in the Confederate army; and yet, from the same neighborhoods where those regiments were raised there were also raised organizations of Union soldiers. A great number of the members of the Sixth Kansas cavalry were from Missouri, and went back to Missouri when the regiment was mustered out. They are there now—and have forgotten. The other side has too. In a kindly spirit they strive to forget. They are brothers. In all my extended acquaintance with the soldiery of the '60's, I know of none who now have hate in their bosoms. The haters now were teamsters or coffee-coolers then.

Soldiers that are raised from such a community as I have described, where the people are all intelligent and brave, with some of the people on one side of the fighting line and some on the other, are not likely to draw very fine distinctions about the articles of war. It has been told that the bitterest quarrel is a church quarrel. It is not true. The bitterest of all is a family quarrel—brother against brother, cousin against cousin. The



problems are home to them. They are likely to pay more heed to routing or disabling the enemy than they are to the matter of observing what is regarded as correct among soldiers.

These men were not ruffians. I have the pleasure of knowing a hundred of them. They were simply soldiers in a very rough time and in rough surroundings. An instance: Years ago I knew private Charles H. Hosley, of the Sixth, one of the sunniest-hearted and kindest souls I ever met. He was a man who loved all humanity. If there ever was a real Christian gentleman he was one. Yet he was in the fiendish scrap at Cane Hill which I shall describe after a while, and did his part. We who live "safe at home, secure and warm," must not judge these people by our measure.

The punishment of the Western men was as much in the almost insufferable hardships that they underwent in the way of lack of clothing, lack of food, hard riding, hard marching, as it was in the actual work on the battle field. In all of these matters the cavalry very naturally bore the brunt. It is to the credit of the cavalry regiments in the far West that they always came up to the measure of their duty. They despised a leader with white blood as much as they hated a martinet or a bully. A really brave and competent general at Wilson Creek lost his life because he did n't know his men on this last point. He did not know them. They killed him.

#### THE LEADER.

A unique character was Lieut. Col. Lewis R. Jewell. He inherited from his life on the ancestral farm in Massachusetts the will and nerve that have helped so much to build up the West and the Middle West. Yet he was not a Yankee. Though his ancestors had been in Massachusetts from a time shortly after the Mayflower came, he himself took on the more rugged character of the West. An old portrait now in my office shows him with an incisely chiseled Yankee face. But his mental make-up was distinctively of the West. The old Jewell home was at Marlboro, Middlesex county, where the colonel himself was born. While a boy he had dreams and visions of a new world toward the setting sun. He was ambitious, and had an itching to become a part of it. So, with the consent of his parents, he fared westward, alone in the tiresome journey over the hills, and joined his uncle in Ohio. There, enjoying the benefits of good ordinary country schools and a devout Christian home life, he at the same time ran against the struggles which make the average Western man so nervy in business and so fearless in war.

When in 1843 he married Susan Hutchinson, at Warren, Ohio, and had bought a little wagon load of household furniture, he had just four shillings left to begin home building. Before that time he had spent some years as a general sales agent for a large manufacturing concern; had for a short time engaged in mercantile business; had built, owned, and for a short time ran a steamboat on the Ohio and Mississippi.

I never saw him. He was a splendid, large, broad-shouldered, deep-chested man considerably over six feet high, of massive build, and, in the words of Patrick Gorman, one of his men, "with a voice clear down to his boots." On the word of Mrs. Jane H. Haynes, the widow of one of his captains, "He was a man who by his looks, conduct and action would command respect anywhere." When in action he used that voice with precision, force and elegance, but not with strict regard to the decalogue.

The call of the gold mines came to him in 1849. He went. The overland

journey with a wagon train, the toilsomeness and the cruel hardships of it, have been described by others so many times that the story is scarcely interesting.

Shortly afterward he left California and recrossed the mountains, and settled on a farm in the northeast corner of Crawford county, Kansas, in 1856, close to where Arcadia stands.

When the troubles on the border began, of course a man of his make-up was restless. He could not remain quietly at home when his neighbors were going to the front. A company was raised in his neighborhood, nearly all of the members being people who had just settled on raw prairie farms and were trying to make homes of them. On the formation of the company the soldiers very naturally looked for the most promising leader. Just as naturally their selection fell on Jewell. The Home Guards<sup>2</sup> were first organized at Fort Scott with three companies of infantry. When it was decided to enlarge the organization, with his little band Captain Jewell marched into Fort Scott and joined the regiment as Company D.

The Fort Scott Home Guards were a great organization. They were soldiers on their own motion. They guarded the border. They forced quiet where lawlessness had been. Wherever house-burnings or depredations occurred, a detachment of the Home Guards came right quickly. They by arms enforced peace.

September 9, 1861, the Home Guards were disbanded, and the Sixth Kansas cavalry<sup>3</sup> was organized from the three companies of the Guards and five new companies. Captain Jewell had shown himself worthy, and was elected and commissioned lieutenant colonel. He held his commission until his death. He was in actual command nearly all the time, though nominally Wm. R. Judson was colonel of the regiment. Judson was not a fighter, and it is probable that his selection as colonel was more on account of his prominence politically than on account of anything he had ever done or was expected to do as a soldier.

#### THE SIXTH KANSAS CAVALRY.

The Sixth Kansas cavalry was a somewhat peculiar organization; not entirely unique for a Western regiment, but different from most regiments of the United States army. For instance, a good proportion of the men rode their own horses. A part of the time half of them wore citizen's clothing. They had no other, and could get no other. They were not only most remarkable fighters, but they were also the finest foragers that ever went to war since the days of vandals. That is saying a good deal, because the Western armies in the Civil War on both sides scarcely needed a commissary train, and the words "conscience" and "property rights" were blotted out of their dictionary. In the graphic words of a soldier who talked to me the other day, not about the Sixth Kansas cavalry, however, "we had no commissary, and we took no prisoners."

The situation in which the Sixth Kansas was thrown was largely influential in making up the character of its service, and the character of its men as soldiers. The border of Missouri, Kansas, Indian Territory and Arkan-

NOTE 2.—This organization was known as the "Fort Scott Home Guards," also as "William R. Judson's Frontier Battalion."—List of Synonyms of Organizations in the Volunteer Service of the United States during the years 1861, '62, '63, '64, and '65. compiled by John T. Fallon, Washington, 1885, pp. 32, 33.

NOTE 3.—"Military History of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry," in Official Military History of Kansas Regiments. Leavenworth, W. S. Burke, 1870, p. 119.

sas, from Kansas City to Fort Gibson, say 300 to 350 miles, was a seething, hissing caldron. Noble L. Prentis called this region "Battle Corners."<sup>4</sup> He was tasteful in the selection of the word.

What was supposed to be the flower of the army, on both sides, was in the East. They did more bloody fighting, but here was the real punishment. The Sixth was a cavalry regiment. Its companies could move. They could go to a place. Two or three would be sent in one direction, a couple of companies in another direction, and possibly another portion in still another direction, to quiet local disturbances. They were doing continuous field police duty.

Its soldiers were what my friend Joe Ausman calls "roughnecks." My guess is that not half a dozen men in the regiment would at that time have known what a nightshirt was for if they had seen one. But they could live like princes on the lee side of a haystack on a winter night, or they could ride all night, over all sorts of roads, or no roads at all, and go into a skirmish in the morning like a bridegroom goes to his wedding. The hard frontier life had made them men of iron. They were not much to look at. They did not wear collars and cuffs and polished shoes at inspection, but they did business.

Then, their physical endurance! Nearly every one of the Sixth had ridden in prairie schooners or had tramped from Indiana or Illinois, or other Middle West states, and were accustomed to sleeping on the ground with nothing over them but a horse blanket and the sky, possibly the blanket omitted. They were ready for anything. They could hit the eye of a squirrel in the top of a tree. They had been trained on occasion to get their meat from the woods along the streams. They were hardy, and could stand any sort of punishment on a forced march. They could sleep in the saddle. That was the kind of people that made up the Sixth. The Sixth Kansas cavalry was up to the best of them. The people down Fort Scott way are proud to claim the Sixth as the Fort Scott regiment. It was really organized there, but the different parts came from a wide territory. The colonel, lieutenant colonel, major and surgeon were all Fort Scott people, but the companies came from places wide apart, some from as far west as Junction City.

#### THE BURNING OF FORT SCOTT—WHICH DID N'T HAPPEN.

A zealot is not so by education. He is born that way. If Luther, or Calvin, or Cromwell, or Sam Adams, or John Brown had not taken the particular trend they did they would still have been cranks, and would have moved the world on some other issue. James H. Lane—"Old Jim Lane," as his worshipers loved to call him—was a zealot. He had been a soldier in the Mexican war. He was a fighter. He had been a Democratic congressman from Indiana, but, coming early to Kansas, he was wise enough to discover that the inevitable ending of the border troubles would be that Kansas would be a free state. He promptly changed his political garments and became an ardent free-state man and later a Republican.<sup>5</sup> A new con-

NOTE 4.—"Battle Corners" forms the first chapter of Noble L. Prentis's book, *Kansas Miscellanies*, published at Topeka in 1889.

NOTE 5.—"No such distinction as 'Democrat' and 'Republican' were known in the early territorial days of trouble. An attempt to organize a National Democratic party, by such men as C. W. Babcock, Marcus J. Parrott, James H. Lane, James S. Emery, H. Miles Moore, and others of like prominence [in 1855] was denounced by the first territorial legislature as a 'measure fraught with more danger to the interest of the Proslavery party and to the Union



vert, if he is a born zealot, always goes to the extreme limit, and Lane did that. He took on an extreme hatred for anybody that even thought of making Kansas a slave state, although he himself had voted in Congress to repeal the Missouri compromise, the only shadowy promise Kansas had had of becoming a free state. He cared very little about methods. Webb Wilder says he was king in Kansas; and it was true. He left the United States senate, where he was serving as the first senator from Kansas, and called himself brigadier general. He got a sort of roving commission<sup>6</sup> from Washington. By some sort of necromancy he had command in the southeastern corner of the state.

than any which has yet been agitated,' and they resolved 'that it is the duty of the Proslavery party, the Union-loving men of Kansas territory, to know but one issue, slavery,' and all others were held to be 'an ally of abolitionism and disunionism.' (Ho. Jour., 1855, p. 380.) The attempt to organize a National Democratic party was thus squeezed out, and simultaneously we find the men named above, and others of like belief and prominence, participating in the Big Springs convention. A Democratic meeting at Lawrence warned the Missourians not to come over and participate in elections. The Big Springs convention resolved, as against the action of the territorial legislature, 'that Democrats and Whigs, native and naturalized citizens may freely enter' into its movements 'without any sacrifice of their respective political creeds, but without forcing them as a test upon others,' and that 'when those issues may become vital as they are now dormant, it will be time enough to divide our organization by these tests, the importance of which we fully recognize in their appropriate sphere.' (Proc. Big Springs Convention, S. 6, 1855, p. 3.) And this is exactly what happened. After squatter sovereignty had settled the slavery question the Republican party was organized; and in all the bitterness of the past no man was ever heard to say that a Democrat, or Republican, or Whig did so and so, but invariably that a Missourian, a border ruffian, proslavery man or a free-state man was responsible."—Extract from letter of Sec'y George W. Martin to Gov. George W. Glick, March 8, 1904.

The following extracts bearing upon politics and parties in Kansas in the '50's are copied from a letter of Epaphroditus Ransom, receiver of the Osage land district at Fort Scott, to Lewis Cass, United States Secretary of State, dated at Fort Scott, March 25, 1858. A copy of the original manuscript, in the Lewis Cass collection of the Michigan Historical Society, was made for the Kansas State Historical Society by the secretary, Henry R. Pettengill, in May, 1908.

"At least three-fourths of the population of this territory are from the free states, and they are determined to make Kansas a free state. I think a *majority* of the free-state men here were originally Democrats, National Democrats. They have officiated and acted with Republicans here, the great body of them, for the reason that those opposed to that party organized *not* as a 'Democratic' but 'Proslavery' party. That drives nearly all the Northern Democrats into the ranks of our opponents.

"When I arrived in this territory, in January, 1857, the Democratic party, *as such*, had never been organized within it. A 'Proslavery' party only had been organized in opposition to the Antislavery or Republican party. At a convention of the Proslavery party, held soon after my arrival, I made great exertion to induce the National Democrats to drop their designation of 'Proslavery' and organize as a National Democratic party, upon the basis of the Cincinnati platform, and being invited to participate in the proceedings of the convention I addressed that body with what ability I possess in favor of such reorganization. After a stormy sitting of some days, the measure was adopted."

NOTE 6.—The following quotations from official documents are intended to outline the military service of James H. Lane in Kansas, from 1855 to 1864:

"HEADQUARTERS KANSAS VOLUNTEERS,  
September 12, 1856.

"To Lieutenant Richy: Having confidence in your courage and ability I do appoint you one of my aids. You will report yourself for duty without delay.—LANE, *Com'g*."  
(Manuscript in collections of Historical Society.)

A free-state military organization was effected at a meeting held in Lawrence November 29, 1855. Dr. Chas. Robinson was made commander in chief and Col. Jas. H. Lane was placed second in command. (Wilder's Annals, 1886, p. 89.) The above appointment was intended for John Ritchie, of Topeka, lieutenant colonel of the Fifth Kansas cavalry in 1861, and colonel of the Second Indian Home Guards, March 28, 1862.

"HEADQUARTERS KANSAS MILITIA,  
December 17, 1857.

[P. B. Plumb.] "SIR—You are hereby notified of your appointment as aid-de-camp to the major general under the act entitled 'An act for the organization and regulation of the militia,' passed December 16, 1857.—J. H. LANE, *Maj. Gen'l*."

(Copied from photograph of the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, made from the original letter to P. B. Plumb, and presented by him to Geo. W. Martin.)

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF WASHINGTON,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 24, 1861.

"Gen. J. H. Lane and Maj. C. M. Clay, Washington, D. C.:

"GENTLEMEN—The Secretary of War desires that the volunteers under command of Gen. J. H. Lane and Maj. C. M. Clay should take post at the United States navy yard, for its protection.

I am therefore directed by Colonel Smith, commanding, to request that you will report with your respective commands to the commandant of the navy yard for this service by nine o'clock to-night, to remain on duty until daylight. You will report to the commandant of the navy yard for the same service on each succeeding night for the periods that your respective commands may have been enrolled.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THEO. TALBOT,  
Assistant Adjutant General."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 51, pt. 1, p. 335.]

See Kan. Hist. Col., vol. 10, p. 419, for roster, etc., of the Frontier Guard.

"Hon. Secretary of War:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 20, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR—Since you spoke to me yesterday about Gen. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I have been reflecting upon the subject, and have concluded that we need the services of such a man out there at once; that we better appoint him a brigadier general of volunteers to-day, and send him off with such authority to raise a force (I think two regiments better than three, but as to this I am not particular) as you think will get him into actual work quickest. Tell him when he starts to put it through not to be writing or telegraphing back here, but put it through.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

"His Excellency, A. Lincoln, President:

"WASHINGTON CITY, June 20, 1861.

"SIR—I tender and ask the acceptance for service for three years, or during the war, the following regiments of troops in Kansas in addition to the three regiments from that state heretofore accepted, viz:

"One regiment of infantry, including two companies of cavalry and two companies of artillery, Col. James Montgomery. One regiment of infantry, including two companies cavalry and two companies artillery, Col. William Weer. General Cameron concurs with me in the existing necessity for two additional regiments, and will cheerfully make the order on your suggestion.

Respectfully, J. H. LANE."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 1, pp. 280, 282.]

"Gen. James H. Lane:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, June 20, 1861.

"DEAR SIR—This department will accept two regiments for three years, or during the war in addition to the three regiments the department has already agreed to accept from the governor of Kansas, to be raised and organized by you in Kansas. Orders will be given to muster the same into service immediately on being ready to be so mustered, and on being mustered the requisite arms, etc., will be furnished on the requisition of the mustering officer, who is hereby authorized to make the same.

"By order of the President: (Signed) SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 1, p. 282.]

The foregoing letter is also printed in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* of June 26, 1861, in a communication signed "James H. Lane, Brig. Gen.," and beginning:

"LEAVENWORTH, June 25, 1861.  
"To the Citizens of Kansas: On the 20th instant I was duly appointed a brigadier general in the volunteer force of the United States."

Following General Lane's letter is a card signed by William Weer, stating that General Lane had assigned to him the duty of receiving and organizing troops at Leavenworth or Lawrence.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, June 20, 1861.

"SIR—You are hereby informed that the President of the United States has appointed you brigadier general of the volunteer force raised in conformity with the President's proclamation of May 3, 1861, in the service of the United States, to rank as such from the 17th day of May, 1861. Should the senate, at their next session, advise and consent thereto, you will be commissioned accordingly.

"Immediately on receipt hereof, please to communicate to this department, through the adjutant general's office, your acceptance or nonacceptance of said appointment; and, with your letter of acceptance, return to the adjutant general of the army the oath, herewith inclosed, properly filled up, subscribed, and attested, reporting at the same time your age, residence, when appointed, and the state in which you were born.

"Should you accept, you will at once report by letter for orders to the secretary of war.

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

"Brigadier General James H. Lane, United States Volunteers."

[Congressional Globe, January 8, 1862, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 223.]

M. C. Meigs, quartermaster general, on June 26, 1861, made an order on Messrs. Haughton, Sawyer & Co., Boston, from which the following extract is given:

"This clothing is for two regiments to be raised and commanded by General Lane of Kansas, and must be delivered in time to reach Fort Leavenworth before the 20th July, at which time the regiment is to take the field.

"I inclose General Lane's requisitions, three in number, specifying the articles, and indorsed by me for identification."

[Congressional Globe, January 8, 1862, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 224.]

"ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1861.

"Detail an officer to muster in General Lane's brigade. The companies will be mustered when presented, even though less than the standard, and will be filled up afterwards.

"By order  
"Commanding Officer, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas." GEORGE D. RUGGLES, *Assist. Adj. Gen.*

"LEAVENWORTH CITY, KANSAS.  
"Adjutant General's Office, July 16, 1861." L. THOMAS, *Adjutant General.*

"The above order was given at the request of General Lane.

L. THOMAS, *Adj. Gen.*"

[*Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 224.]

"Special Order.

"FORT SCOTT, August 27, 1861.

"Colonel Montgomery: You will report a list of the commanding officers of the companies composing the United States reserve corps stationed at this post and the strength of companies in said corps.

J. H. LANE, *Commdg. Kansas Brig.*

"By ABRAHAM CUTLER, *Acting Asst. Adj. Gen.*"

[*Mss. in collections Historical Society.*]

"To Lt. Col. John Richy [Ritchie].

"HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,  
September 17, 1861.

"Confiding in your courage, gallantry and skill, I do and by these presents designate you colonel of the Fifth Regiment, Kansas brigade, in place of Col. H. P. Johnson, who gallantly fell this morning while leading said regiment at the attack on Morrilstown. You will assume the command of said regiment and report to Colonel Montgomery for orders.

J. H. LANE, *Comd. K. B.*"

[*Mss. in collections of Historical Society.*]

"HEADQUARTERS KANSAS BRIGADE,  
KANSAS CITY, October 3, 1861.

"Gen. S. D. Sturgis:

"GENERAL — In answer to your note of this day\* I have this to say: That I don't care a fig about rank; I have enough of the glittering tinsel to satisfy me. I am here in obedience to an order from Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont to cooperate with you in ferreting out and fighting the enemy. Kindly and promptly do I desire to obey that order. My brigade is not here for the purpose of interfering in any wise with the institution of slavery. They shall not become negro thieves, nor shall they be prostituted into negro catchers. The institution of slavery must take care of itself.

"I said in the senate of the United States, and my experience since only demonstrates its truth, that in my opinion the institution would perish with the march of the Federal armies.

"Again I say that the mass of personal property in Missouri, including slaves, is at this moment held by the wives and children assisted by the Federal army, while the husband and father are actually in arms against the government. In my opinion our policy in this regard should be changed.

"Confiscation of slaves and other property which can be made useful to the army should follow treason as the thunder peal follows the lightning flash. Until this change is made you offer premiums for the men to remain away in the army of the enemy. I had a man cowardly shot in the woods to-day within sight of our camp by the very men, I have no doubt, whose property you are so anxious to protect.

"I am endeavoring to find what transportation I have to spare, if any, and will report to you accordingly.

Yours,  
J. H. LANE,  
*Commanding Kansas Brigade.*"

[*Official Records War of the Rebellion*, S. 2, vol. 1, p. 771.]

"LEAVENWORTH CITY, KAN., October 9, 1861.

"His Excellency, A. Lincoln, *President of the United States*:

"SIR — Since my return from Washington to Kansas I have labored earnestly and incessantly, as commander of the Kansas brigade, to put down the great insurrection in Missouri. After the state authorities here had failed to collect a force worthy of the name, I, by my own individual efforts and those of my personal friends, despite the opposition of the governor of this state, succeeded in raising and marching against the enemy as gallant and effective an army, in proportion to its numbers, as ever entered the field. Its operations are a part of the history of the country. That brigade to a man are exceedingly desirous of continuing in the service under my command, and I am very anxious to gratify its members in that behalf; but as matters are at present arranged, I feel compelled to abandon the field.

"While the Kansas brigade was being organized, Gov. Charles Robinson exerted his utmost endeavor to prevent the enlistment of men. Since its organization he has constantly, in season and out of season, vilified myself, and abused the men under my command as marauders and thieves. For the purpose of gratifying his malice against me, he has conspired with Captain Prince, the commandant at Fort Leavenworth, to dissolve the brigade, and Captain Prince has apparently heartily espoused the cause in that direction. The latter-named person, in his official capacity, has refused to recognize my authority as commander, and wholly declined to respond to my lawful requisitions upon him for articles and supplies necessary to the efficiency and comfort of the brigade.

"There being no hope of improvement in this condition of things so long as I am in my present position, in order that I may with my brigade remain in the field, and the government be sustained in this region, and Kansas be protected from invasion from Missouri, I earnestly request and recommend the establishment of a new military department, to be composed of Kansas,

\* Not found.



the Indian country, and so much of Arkansas and the territories as may be thought advisable to include therein. After much consideration, and consultation with influential and intelligent gentlemen hereabout, I am decidedly of opinion that this at least should be done, and that the commandant thereof should have under him at least 10,000 troops.

"If this can be done, and I can have the command of the department, I will cheerfully accept it, resign my seat in the senate, and devote all my thoughts and energies to the prosecution of the war. But if nothing can be done to remedy the evils complained of, I will, as above intimated, be compelled to leave my command, quit the field, and most reluctantly become an idle spectator of the great struggle, and witness, I have no doubt, the devastation of my adopted state and the destruction of its people.

Yours truly, J. H. LANE."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 1, p. 529.]

"WAR DEPARTMENT, THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
WASHINGTON, March 26, 1910.

"Mr. George W. Martin, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:

"Nothing has been found of record in this office to show that James H. Lane was commissioned brigadier general in June, 1861, or at any time in that year prior to December.

"The records show that the nomination of James H. Lane to be brigadier general of volunteers was sent to and confirmed by the United States Senate on December 18, 1861; that a commission as of that grade was prepared for him on December 19, 1861; that the commission was canceled March 21, 1862, by order of the Secretary of War, for the reason that it had not been accepted, although ample time for its acceptance had been given. Nothing has been found of record to show that the commission was ever issued, or to show what disposition was made of it, nor has it been found on file. In view of these facts it is presumed that the commission was never issued, but was retained in the War Department until March 21, 1862, when canceled, and that then it was destroyed.

F. C. AINSWORTH, *The Adjutant General.*"

[See letter of J. H. Lane to the Legislature, February 26, 1862, on page 226.]

#### CONTEST OF FRED P. STANTON IN UNITED STATES SENATE FOR SEAT OF JAS. H. LANE.

The credentials of Frederick P. Stanton, who had been appointed by Governor Robinson to succeed James H. Lane as United States senator from Kansas, were presented to the senate by Senator Foot, of Vermont, on July 12, 1861, and referred to the judiciary committee. Among the papers presented in this contest were two printed statements of Mr. Stanton claiming that Mr. Lane, by accepting a military appointment and qualifying to the same as brigadier general, had forfeited his constitutional right to a seat in the United States senate. General Lane also presented a printed memorial. A consideration of the report of the committee, which favored the seating of Mr. Stanton, was deferred from time to time, and finally terminated in a vote adverse to the claims of Mr. Stanton on January 16, 1862.

#### *Proceedings in United States Senate, January 13, 1862.*

"PRESIDING OFFICER: Mr. Stanton will be admitted to a seat on the floor during the pendency of this question, with the privilege of addressing the senate on the resolution before the body. The question before the senate is on the following resolutions, reported by the Committee on the Judiciary: '*Resolved*, That James H. Lane is not entitled to a seat in this body.' '*Resolved*, That Frederick P. Stanton is entitled to a seat in this body.'"

Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, moved to strike out the word "not" in the first resolution, and during his remarks on the question made the following statements:

"There is no doubt of the proper election of the sitting senator from Kansas in April last; there is no doubt that he is entitled to hold his seat unless he has lost it by being appointed to and accepting the office of brigadier general in the volunteer forces of the United States while he was a member of the senate. . . . On the 20th of June, call it an appointment if you choose, he was appointed a brigadier general in the volunteer forces, and at or about that time he was sworn. On the next day, or the next day but one, he went to the commanding general, and being informed that he could not hold both offices, he said he would not hold the office of brigadier. He went to the President and told him he would not hold the office of brigadier. He went to the Secretary of War and told him he would not hold the office of brigadier. . . . His statement on this point is undisputed by anybody; it can be attested by his colleague, who I understand was with him when he went to the Secretary of War, when he went to General Scott, and when he went to the President, and declared to them all he could not hold the office.

"He was appointed brigadier general, as they say, on the 20th of June; he resigned it about that time; but he did not come into the senate and accept the position of senator and be sworn and become a member of this body until the 4th day of July. That concludes the whole question. The constitution says he must have held the office while he was a member. He was not a member till he was sworn in. Before that time, if he held the office at all, he had resigned it.

"He took no oath as brigadier general of the volunteer forces. I mention it to show the irregularity with which this whole thing went on. The President wrote a note to the Secretary of War that 'we had better appoint' him. The Secretary of War thereupon notified him that he had been appointed brigadier general, and transmitted to him a form of oath which happened to be that for a brigadier of the army. Lane took it to 'put it through,' went to a justice of the peace, and subscribed it. That was all he did subscribe, and he then published an address to the people of Kansas.

"Now, the point I make, Mr. President, is, that there was no such intelligible, well-considered acceptance of that office as ought for a moment to bind him; and that is all there is about it, so far as the oath is concerned. But they say he acted as brigadier. I do not know that he so acted, except it may be in taking the oath. I contend that if there are two sources of power on which his acts could be based, he is at liberty himself to say on which he did act. There was this appointment of him as brigadier general of volunteer forces; and at or about the same time he received from the Secretary of War an order to raise troops in Kansas. When he got that order he at once published his proclamation. The proclamation purports to have been published on

the 26th of June. You might infer that it was written on the 26th of June, and therefore you might say that James H. Lane is not true when he says that he resigned his commission the day after he took that oath, or about that time. If he acted as brigadier on the 26th of June, how is it that he resigned his commission, if he had one, on the 22d? Why, this was the state of facts: When he got his appointment he determined at once to issue his address. He wrote his address the very day he got that pretended appointment. He gave it to Mr. Weer, I think, who was here, to carry it to Kansas and publish it in the papers, before he had concluded to resign and give up the office of brigadier. Mr. Weer took the address. I suppose Mr. Lane had then taken the oath of office; I do not know how that was, but Mr. Weer, at any rate, took the address and appointment, and he went to Kansas and caused that to be published in the papers in Kansas on the 26th of June, three or four days after Mr. Lane had determined not to accept the office, and without knowing that he had refused to accept it. That accounts for all that; but it makes very significant another fact. James H. Lane, the senator, says he never signed that address as brigadier. They do not say that he did. . . . But they say further that he made requisitions for clothing for the troops, and gave orders for mustering his brigade. I know it very well; but in that he did not act as brigadier; he acted under an entirely different authority from the War Department. It was given to him at the same time that this pretended appointment was given him. In a letter dated June 20, 1861, addressed to 'Gen. James H. Lane,' the Secretary of War says: 'This department will accept two regiments for three years, or during the war, in addition to the three regiments the department has already accepted from the governor of Kansas, to be raised and organized by you in Kansas.'

'Here was a distinct order from the War Department for him to raise these two additional regiments. He went on to raise them, under this order of the Secretary of War; he did not raise them as brigadier general, because, if that was the idea, why was the order given? Now, I ask, if you are going to turn from the senate all those gentlemen who have been raising troops, what becomes of my friend the senator from New York [Mr. Harris], who, I believe, has raised three regiments? If Lane loses a seat for two, he ought to lose a seat and a half.'—*Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 291, 293.

'January 15, 1862. Mr. Lane, of Kansas, spoke in the senate in his own behalf:—

'When I left here after the adjournment of Congress at the special session [August 6, 1861], I passed through Indianapolis, and the governor of my native state of Indiana presented me with a commission as brigadier general. I had not, then, however, determined to take the command of any troops.

'When I reached Kansas I found there a condition of things which appealed to me. I put the case to any senator upon this floor. Kansas was about being invaded by the army of Price, over 10,000 strong. I have been at the head of the armies of the people of Kansas for five years. That people looked to me; and I say that if I had not gone to the scene of action, even as a private, I should not have discharged my duty to that state. There was no officer of the government there beyond a colonel. The forces of Kansas were scattered; I called them to defend their own firesides. They came, and of the troops that I commanded those that were unorganized numbered three to one. They were the people. Unorganized, they came to defend their homes. As the courier falls into the ranks of the passing column, so did I fall into the ranks of that army in my usual place; the people acquiescent and I willing. Look at the orders and proclamations issued from that army. How are they signed? 'J. H. Lane, commanding Kansas brigade.' Not as brigadier general, either under state authority or under the appointment of the general government. The moment that Price was driven beyond our border, the moment the danger to Kansas ceased, that moment did I lay down the command given to me by that people.'—*Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 341.

'EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
WASHINGTON, February 10, 1862.

'Major General Hunter and Brigadier General Lane, Leavenworth, Kan.:

'My wish has been and is to avail the government of the services of both General Hunter and General Lane, and, so far as possible, to personally oblige both. General Hunter is the senior officer and must command when they serve together; though in so far as he can, consistently with the public service and his own honor, oblige General Lane, he will also oblige me. If they cannot come to an amicable understanding, General Lane must report to General Hunter for duty, according to the rules, or decline the service.  
A. LINCOLN.'

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 9, p. 551.]

#### LETTER OF GENERAL LANE TO THE LEGISLATURE.

'LEAVENWORTH, KAN., February 26, 1862.

'SIR—There should be a perfect understanding between you, the local representatives of the people of Kansas and your representatives in the national Congress. To this end I make the following statement:

'On the 20th of January I left Washington, expecting to take command of a column designed to move in four separate bodies through this state southward.

'It was understood by the senate and expected by the country that a satisfactory arrangement would be made with Major General Hunter. Such was my conviction.

'I came to Kansas, therefore, intending to arrange matters with him; to resign my seat in the senate to you from whom I had received it, and to notify the President of the acceptance of the commission of brigadier general, which was not to issue until the receipt of such notification.

'I made every effort which self-respect would permit to effect this arrangement with Major General Hunter. I failed. The correspondence when published will prove, indeed, that I could not have served under him in any capacity, however subordinate, without degradation.

'I had no military ambition beyond that connected with this expedition. I desire to surround the institution of slavery with free territory, and thus girdle the cause of the rebellion itself. Without fault on my part, as I believe, I have been thwarted in this, the cherished hope of my life.

'The sad yet simple duty only remains to announce to you, and through you to the people of Kansas, my purpose to return to my seat in the United States senate—a purpose declared to the President through a telegram, of which the following is a copy:

'LEAVENWORTH, KAN., February 16, 1862.

'All efforts to harmonize with Major General Hunter have failed. I am compelled to decline the brigadiership.  
J. H. LANE.'



"I have nothing further to say. I trust you will find me, as ever, faithful to the state and country. All I am and all I have shall now, as heretofore, be devoted to them.

"Wishing you health, happiness and a safe return to your constituents, I remain your friend and servant.  
J. H. LANE."

[Leavenworth Daily Conservative, February 28, 1862.]

"Hon. James H. Lane, Kansas : "WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, July 22, 1862.

"SIR—You are hereby notified that you have been appointed by the Secretary of War commissioner of recruiting in the department of Kansas. You are requested to proceed forthwith to raise and organize one or more brigades of volunteer infantry, to be mustered into the service of the United States for three years, or during the war. For this purpose full authority is hereby conferred upon you to establish camps and provide for the maintenance of discipline and the supply of the troops with munitions of war. On your requisition the commanding general of the department will issue supplies of arms and accoutrements, clothing, camp equipage, and subsistence; transportation for recruits and recruiting officers will be furnished on your requisition or refunded on vouchers in the usual form, accompanied by your order directing the movement. It is recommended that the provisions of General Orders No. 75, current series, be followed as far as possible in organizing companies, to the end that muster rolls may be uniform and authentic. This is necessary in order to secure justice to the soldier and to prevent confusion in accounts and loss to the government. In performing these duties you are authorized to visit such places within the department of Kansas as may be necessary, for which purpose transportation will be furnished you by the commanding general upon your requisition, or the cost of the same will be reimbursed by the Secretary of War from the army contingent fund. You will be expected to report frequently to this department the progress and prospects of the work, and to make any suggestion that may occur to you from time to time as useful in facilitating its accomplishment. This appointment may be revoked at the pleasure of the Secretary of War.  
C. P. BUCKINGHAM,

Brigadier General and Assistant Adjutant General."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 2, p. 959.]

August 4, 1862, Capt. Jas. M. Williams, company F, Fifth Kansas cavalry, and Capt. H. C. Seaman, were appointed by J. H. Lane recruiting commissioners for the purpose of recruiting colored regiments. January 13, 1863, a battalion of six companies recruited by the above officers was mustered into the United States service by Lieutenant Sabin of the regular army. May 2, 1863, the other four companies were organized, and the First Kansas Colored completed.—Military History Kansas Regiments, p. 246.

"LEAVENWORTH, August 5, 1862.

(Received 6:40 P. M., 6th.)

"Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War: Recruiting opens up beautifully. Good for four regiments of whites and two of blacks. General Blunt leaves immediately to assume command of troops in Indian country. I am to protect his rear with my recruits.

JAMES H. LANE, Commissioner."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 2, pp. 294, 295.]

"LEAVENWORTH, KAN., August 6, 1862.  
"Hon. E. M. Stanton: I am receiving negroes under the late act of Congress. Is there any objection? Answer by telegraph. Soon have an army.  
J. H. LANE,

Commissioner of Recruiting."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 2, p. 311.]

"TOPEKA, KAN., August 20, 1862—4 P. M.  
(Via Leavenworth. Received 8:40 P. M.)  
"Hon. E. M. Stanton: General Lane is recruiting a regiment of colored men in Kansas. Shall I commission the officers? Has a draft been made on this state?  
C. ROBINSON."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 2, p. 417.]

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., August 21, 1862.  
"Governor Robinson, Topeka, Kan.: (Via Leavenworth.) If General Lane has applied to you to commission any officers for a regiment of colored men, please give the name of the person and rank of the officers for whom application has been made and instructions will be given you on the subject.  
EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 2, p. 431.]

"WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., August 23, 1862.  
"Gen. James H. Lane, Commissioner of Recruiting, Leavenworth, Kan.:

"SIR—It has given me much satisfaction to be advised by your letter of the 18th inst. that the objects of your commission are advancing beyond your expectations. In regard, however, to that portion of your communication which contemplates the raising of two regiments of persons of African descent, you are informed that regiments of persons of African descent can only be raised upon express and special authority of the President. He has not given authority to raise such troops in Kansas, and it is not comprehended in the authority issued to you. Such regiments cannot be accepted into the service.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 2, p. 445.]

"Gen. C. P. Buckingham: "LEAVENWORTH, September 22, 1862.

"SIR—It is earnestly requested that Major Hunt may be ordered to pay the one month's advance to the three new regiments in this state without delay.

Respectfully, J. H. LANE, Commissioner of Recruiting."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 2, p. 577.]



"WASHINGTON, D. C., September 23, 1862, 7:35 P. M.

"Hon. J. H. Lane, Leavenworth, Kan.: You are not authorized to organize Indians, nor any but loyal white men. Funds to pay the regiments will be forwarded as soon as the money can be had from the treasury. EDWIN M. STANTON."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 2, p. 582.]

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,

ST. LOUIS, MO., September 29, 1862.

"General Loan, Jefferson City, Mo.:

"GENERAL—Your letter of the 26th, inclosing one from Colonel Thompson of the 192, relating to Lane and Jennison and their threatened raid on Missouri, is received.

"I will send one of my staff officers to Leavenworth to ascertain the facts. Lane's movements are often much exaggerated, and for that reason the rebels are very much afraid of him. So far as they are concerned a reign of terror is the proper check to them, and it would be well to make them understand they will have no sympathy at your hands. If he will pitch in at Cow-skin Prairie, he will not be likely to go amiss. I am told it is not much better about Independence. We have got to fight the devil with fire. We are not likely to use one negro where the rebels have used a thousand. When I left Arkansas they were still enrolling negroes to fortify the rebellion. You think Lane and Jennison should be sent to a 'safe place.' I think it will be safe to send them against the rebels and Indians that are now collected and invading McDonald, Barry and Stone counties. But let terror reign among the rebels. It will be better to have them under such power than loose to carry on this guerrilla warfare, which drives good people out of Jackson and Lafayette. SAMUEL R. CURTIS, Major General Commanding."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 13, p. 688.]

"Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief:

"ST. LOUIS, MO., October 7, 1862.

"Gen. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, has raised three regiments. He has a commission for a brigadier general from Indiana. Can I detail and give him a temporary command?" Blunt recommends it and favors it. He would help scare the rebels in southwest Missouri and Arkansas very much. SAMUEL R. CURTIS, Major General."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 13, p. 715.]

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1863.

"Special Orders, No. 255.

"38. . . . The order by letter from the War Department of July 22, 1862, under which Hon. J. H. Lane was appointed commissioner for recruiting, Department of Kansas, with power to raise troops, is at his request hereby vacated and annulled.

E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant General.

"By order of the Secretary of War.

"To the governor of Kansas." [Mss. in collection of Historical Society.]

In a letter of Guilford Dudley, adjutant general of Kansas, dated Topeka, July 25, 1863, to the provost marshal general, Washington, relative to the quota of troops furnished by Kansas, he states that in spite of the general orders of the adjutant general's office, Nos. 18 and 75 (February 21 and July 8, 1862), assigning to governors of states the duty of raising and control of regiments until their muster, and the commissioning of officers, an exception had been made in the case of Kansas, and a recruiting commission given to J. H. Lane.

"The authority so given being exclusive and original, the usual regulations governing the recruiting service were relaxed, and neither descriptive papers, muster-in rolls, nor reports of any character were filed in this department. Three regiments were thus organized during the latter part of the summer of 1862, by Hon. J. H. Lane, under the authority of the War Department. These regiments were numbered, respectively, the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth. Although neither of these were reported to this department at the time of their organization, the muster-in rolls of the Eleventh and Twelfth (except company A) have recently been received. The Thirteenth has never forwarded its rolls."—Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 3, vol. 3, p. 568.

"FORT LEAVENWORTH, July 22, 1864.

"General Rosecrans: After full consultation with General Blunt and other military men I have become satisfied that Missouri is in imminent peril of devastation. Ten thousand rebels are in course of concentration on the border and should be met by prompt action in calling out the loyal men of Missouri and arming them for the field. J. H. LANE."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 41, pt. II, p. 333.]

#### LANE IN THE PRICE RAID.

"FORT LEAVENWORTH, October 11, 1864.

"Hon. James H. Lane, Lawrence: Colonel Walker is the man to command the Sixteenth in the field. The regiment will move down to Olathe soon, and I will see what can be done. The following is part of General Orders No. 55: 'Hon. James H. Lane having tendered his services to the major general commanding, they are accepted and he is assigned to duty as volunteer aide-de-camp.'

"I shall go to Olathe soon, to-day or to-morrow. Try to urge forward militia to that point. Latest news from St. Louis is that fighting was going on near Jefferson City. I have sent out troops to open the telegraph line beyond Independence to-day. Troops turning out rapidly everywhere, but not going forward fast enough. S. R. CURTIS, Major General."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 41, pt. III, p. 793.]

\* "Answer, if any, not found."

Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, in his report of the Price raid (published in the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, vol. 41, series 1, pt. 1) makes frequent mention of the service of Gen. James H. Lane. About October 13, 1864, he had moved his headquarters to Wyandotte. "Here Senators Lane and Pomeroy had both joined me as volunteer aides, and I found both of these men of great service in giving correct intelligence to the wavering public mind, and in suppressing false impressions" (pp. 472, 473). Mentions Lane's service at Lexington (p. 475). At the battle of the Little Blue, Lane "took an active and prominent part in the conflict, and displayed much coolness and gallantry under the fire of the enemy" (pp. 478, 525). At the battle of the Big Blue "Lane's experience in former campaigns in Mexico and upon the Kansas border enabled him to be of much service in the field everywhere" (pp. 484, 526). In battle of Westport (p. 491). Battle of Marais des Cygnes: "During that night (October 24-25) Generals Pleasanton, Lane and myself traveled most of the time between the divisions, but at early dawn we went forward and saw most of the conflict. We also joined the advance movement in the timber" (p. 495). Lane very active in the field during the battle of the Osage, October 25, which occupied thirty minutes, and deserves special commendation, and is mentioned first among others for "unceasing toil and extraordinary gallantry" (pp. 496, 501). At battle of Charlot, October 25, Curtis met General Lane, who had been sent back for reinforcements, "earnest in his efforts to hurry forward the First division, which was considerably in the rear, at the same time expressing his apprehension as to McNeil's ability to hold his ground until more forces could be brought up" (pp. 502, 503). The names of Lane and Pomeroy, acting aides-de-camp, appear on General Curtis's "Roll of Honor" in Price's raid (p. 520). October 27, James H. Lane was relieved from further duty as volunteer aide-de-camp (p. 528). General Blunt also acknowledges obligations to Lane for valuable services rendered during Price's raid (p. 579). In the same volume, page 548, is found an interview between Lieut. George T. Robinson, Eleventh Kansas, chief engineer, and Gen. William S. Rosecrans, commanding Department of Missouri, who had come to the aid of Curtis, and was then, October 24, at Little Santa Fe. After expressing general dissatisfaction with General Curtis's management of the campaign, he said to Lieutenant Robinson: "I understand, sir, that Jim Lane is running this border ruffian institution, and actually in command of the whole machine."

ROBINSON: "I told General Rosecrans that General Lane was certainly at the front and doing his duty as a common soldier, as were many other Kansas men, but as to his having command of any portion of the troops it was not so."

General R. said: "Oh, yes, I understand the whole thing, sir, much better than you possibly can do; I understand and know Jim Lane thoroughly."

"FORT SCOTT, October 28, 1864.

"General Davies: Four o'clock yesterday I left Lamar, our army well closed up. Price moving on Bowers's Mills ahead of ours, and Blunt pushing and will pursue to the Arkansas river with force enough to crush him. Every step taken gives evidence that Price's army is demoralized and starving.  
J. H. LANE."

"FORT SCOTT, October 29, 1864.

"Hon. E. M. Stanton: Rosecrans and Pleasanton are escorting Marmaduke and Cabell to Saint Louis. Curtis and Blunt are pursuing Price with about 4000 men. Can they not be reinforced?  
J. H. LANE."

[Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 41, pt. IV, pp. 302, 319.]

Fort Scott at that time was a village. There were probably in the town about 300 people, composed of court officers, clerks, deputy marshals, land-office employees, and those few people who were here to furnish supplies to the permanent inhabitants and to the soldiers. There were a great many more people in Fort Scott, but they were soldiers. The real population was about 300. Under the national administration, of course, all these court and land-office employees were Democrats; and the great majority of them were Southern pro-slavery Democrats. Lane naturally hated them, and, hating them, it was easy for him to hate Fort Scott.<sup>7</sup> Because of his hatred he decided to abandon and destroy the town. The site had been selected and a

NOTE 7.—"Since the election on 21st December, this town has seemed to be watched by Lane and his coadjutors as the peculiar object of their hate, and upon which they intend to inflict exemplary punishment. They have frequently threatened to send down their bands from Little Osage and Sugar Mound and sack and burn the town, take possession of the government funds in my custody."—From Mss. of E. Ransom before quoted.

"The people [after the Marais des Cygnes massacre, May 19, 1858,] felt much incensed against Fort Scott. The citizens of the town had, however unwillingly, permitted these border ruffians to make it their regular stopping place and silently acquiesced in the establishment of their headquarters. The stigma naturally attached itself."

Ten of the perpetrators of the Marais des Cygnes massacre were well known in Fort Scott. "They were the Hameltons, W. B. Brockett, Thomas Jackson, Harlan, Yealock, Beach, Griffith and Matlock."

"Governor Denver, feeling that retaliatory measures might be taken by free-state men, ordered Deputy United States Marshal Sam Walker, of Lawrence, to arrest James Montgomery and some others. On reaching Rayssville, on his way to Fort Scott, Walker found Montgomery addressing a large body of men in favor of proceeding to Fort Scott and exacting vengeance on the proslavery men there in sympathy with the Hamelton crowd. Walker saw it was not advantageous to arrest Montgomery then, but addressed the assembly himself, and asked for war



fort located there in 1842 as a base to protect the border from the Indians, and the man who selected the site thoroughly knew his business, for, for military purposes, it is the finest strategic point in southeastern Kansas. It was the ideal spot for Lane to make his stand. But when Gen. Sterling Price was moving along the western border of Missouri, making dashes into Kansas, and on both sides of the line harrowing the Union people, Lane made up his mind to get even with Fort Scott, and issued an order to build Fort Lincoln<sup>8</sup> on the Osage river a few miles west of where Fulton now is, a spot entirely unfitted for a fortification. He also included in his order a

rants for the arrest of Geo. W. Clarke and others. Receiving the reply that the United States district judge, Joseph Williams, would not issue the warrants, he said he would make the arrests upon warrants issued by a justice of the peace, although it would not be strictly legal. Clarke was arrested on a warrant issued by a justice of the peace on Sunday, May 30. His friends demanded the arrest of Montgomery, and upon the advice of Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, then stationed in that vicinity, he was also arrested. Walker then left with Montgomery for Lecompton for trial, but was overtaken by a courier at Raysville announcing that Judge Williams had released Clarke. This action so angered Walker that he turned Montgomery loose."—Robley's History of Bourbon County, 1894, pp. 112-114.

"November 10, 1858.—A letter from Osage, in the *Leavenworth Journal*, says: 'Geo. W. Clarke, a pet in the land office at Fort Scott, was the real cause of all the troubles in that region, and a company of dragoons had to be stationed there to protect him from the merited vengeance of an outraged people.' He says Clarke 'in the summer of 1856 plundered, robbed and burned out of house and home nearly every free-state settler in Linn county, while his hands were steeped in innocent blood, and the light of burning buildings marked his course.'"—D. W. Wilder, *Annals*, 1886, p. 243.

"George A. Crawford arrived in Kansas by steamboat, landing at Leavenworth in the spring of 1857. While at Lawrence, en route to Lecompton, he encountered a party going to Fort Scott to secure the town site, and at once accepted an offer of partnership in the town project. Fort Scott was then an abandoned military post, whose buildings were occupied by pioneers. Messrs. Crawford, Eddy and their associates purchased claims to 520 acres of land and organized the Fort Scott Town Company, of which Mr. Crawford was elected president, serving in that capacity nearly twenty years. The deed to every original lot in the town bears his name. He organized a hotel company, purchasing a proslavery and making it a 'Free-state hotel,' by which name it was known far and wide. During the years 1857 to 1860, the violence and anarchy which had previously characterized the more northern portions of the territory were transferred to the region of Fort Scott. The town was in constant danger of destruction during these troubles. Mr. Crawford was opposed to the agitation kept up by the contending forces and invoked peace, and desired to settle all questions of the past by securing immigration. The proslavery men who were being driven out took refuge in Fort Scott and formed an organization. Mr. Crawford's opposition to their plans provoked a long series of attempted assassinations. Failing in these they gave him notice to leave the town within twenty-four hours or he should be killed. His answer was, 'I don't exchange messages with horse thieves.' Mr. Crawford was in the room with John H. Little, ex-deputy United States marshal, when, December 16, 1858, a raid was made on Fort Scott by James Montgomery in rescue of Benjamin Rice, who was held as a prisoner by United States Deputy Marshal Campbell."—Extract from biographical sketch of George A. Crawford, *Grand Junction (Colo.) Star*, January 29, 1891.

NOTE 8.—April, 1861, the Civil War broke out, and Kansas was as patriotic as the balance of the North. A company of 108 was raised at Fort Scott for three months' service by C. W. Blair, who was made captain. Blair and some of his company were the same year mustered into the Second Kansas for three years. "During the summer of 1861, and by September 1, some 3000 troops, more or less, collected here at Fort Scott. What troops were here then were under the command of Gen. Jim Lane, who ran things in rather a loose way. In the summer of 1861, Jim Lane had built a fort on the north side of the Osage river, and named it Fort Lincoln. It was built on low bottom land that was no more a fit place for a fort than where Knapp's park is now located. This fort consisted of a stockade and a large blockhouse. In later years this stockade and blockhouse were moved to Fort Scott and located about the junction of Lowman and First streets."—G. W. Goodlander's *Memoirs and Collections of the Early Days of Fort Scott*, page 66

"The proximity of war in Missouri led J. H. Lane who was posing as Brigadier General of Volunteers, in command of Kansas troops, to fortify Fort Lincoln, on the Osage river. The work done there, in a military or common sense view, was simply idiotic. He went down on the very lowest bottom land of the river, where he threw up an earthwork about the size of a calf pen and then blazoned it forth as a great military fortification.

"In the latter part of August [1861] a considerable force was being concentrated at Fort Scott. Old Jim Montgomery had by this time gotten a regiment together, and five companies of the Third Kansas under him arrived on the 20th of August. Other Kansas troops arrived from time to time until the aggregate force was about 2000 men. Fort Scott was now headquarters for General Lane's brigade.

"The rebel generals, Price and Raines, were operating in western Missouri with several thousand men, and contemplated an attack on southeastern Kansas. On the 1st of September General Raines with his division approached within twelve miles of Fort Scott, on the southeast, and a scouting party came within two miles of town and captured a corral full of mules and drove in Lane's pickets. A force of 500 cavalry, with one twelve-pound howitzer, was sent out next day to reconnoiter. They ran into the rebel pickets and drove them across Drywood creek, where they were reinforced, and quite a rattling good skirmish was fought until the ammunition of the Union forces gave out, when they fell back in good order on Fort Scott. The official re-



direction that Fort Scott should be burned if Price made a movement toward the town."

Nearly everybody in Fort Scott was moved, though a few of the people refused to go. Mrs. E. A. Smith, who lived in a little native lumber cabin where now is First street and Scott avenue, just under my office window, her brother in the frontier guards, announced, "I will just stay here and see who burns my house." And she did stay. A few other women did the same. Fortunately for Fort Scott, and fortunately for the honor of the Union arms, Lieut. Col. Lewis R. Jewell, of the Sixth, was the man who received the order to burn the town. He was left there with one or two companies and he sent back by the aide who brought the order a perfectly respectful response, acknowledging receipt of the order; and he added, in words which indicate the kind of man he was, "When General Price begins his occupancy of the city, then your order will be obeyed."

Price's army was about Deerfield, in Vernon county, Missouri, some ten miles away, and he sent 500 troops over to attack Fort Scott. Jewell gathered up everybody who could carry a gun, and all the arms in Fort Scott,

ports give the Union loss in this action as five killed and twelve wounded. The rebel loss was about the same. In the meantime the infantry force occupied the heights east and southeast of town.

"The entire force waited on the crest of the hill until night for the expected attack of General Raines. About dark a raging thunder storm came up.

"That night General Lane ordered the entire force to fall back on Fort Lincoln, twelve miles north, on the Osage, leaving Fort Scott to the mercy of anybody that might come along. . . . General Raines was at that moment making a forced march on Lexington, Mo., by an order that day received from General Price."—Robley's History of Bourbon County, 1894, p. 169.

"Wilder says that Lane fortified Camp Lincoln August 17, 1861. Britton claims that Lane was satisfied, on the evening of September 2, that the rebel forces would attempt to take Fort Scott the next morning, and, believing that his own force was insufficient to repel them, ordered the abandonment of the town and withdrawal of his troops to Camp Lincoln."—Britton's Civil War on the Border, 1891, p. 129.

NOTE 2.—"I was a young boy when I came to Fort Scott with my father, Dr. A. G. Osburn, and settled on the farm where I still live, near the military bridge just across the Marmaton, east of Fort Scott. I was here in 1861 when General Price was on the border, and General Lane built Fort Lincoln on the Osage and ordered that on the approach of Price's army, or any part of it, Fort Scott should be burned. I never saw the order, but I know it was issued because it was common talk among all the people about the post. All the families except three or four women left Fort Scott, and they refused to go. John Caldwell (he now lives in Drywood) and myself went up to Dayton."—C. H. Osburn, April 1, 1910.

"I was commissary sergeant here at the time Lane issued his order that when Price's army appeared Fort Scott should be abandoned, fired and burned; but I never saw the order, yet it was common talk among the officers and men that the town was to be destroyed. I had charge of the commissary stores, and issued rations from the government stores. I followed the troops to Fort Lincoln, where they had been ordered, all except Colonel Jewell, who had been left in command. I was here before the war, during the war, and helped to organize one of the companies of the Sixth Kansas, in which I was second lieutenant, and afterwards organized the company for the Fourteenth Kansas of which I was captain, and have lived here almost continuously ever since.—A. H. Campbell, March 25, 1910."

"I was in Fort Scott when General Price came by. General Lane issued an order to remove all families to Fort Lincoln, and the government stores. The greater part of the stores were removed. All the families were moved who would go. Mrs. General Blair and myself were removed by a military squad by force. Mrs. Colonel Wilson and Mrs. E. A. Smith were the only women who did not leave. Mrs. Blair was intensely indignant, as she had a babe in arms only two weeks old, but she was forced to get into the ambulance and go. My husband, Captain Haynes, was detailed with his company and another, I forget what company, to carry out the order to burn the town and the balance of the stores when Price's army came in sight. I saw all the orders, and saw that one. The town was not burned. There is no question about the order. Everybody understood it. I was acquainted with all the commanding officers, and there can be no doubt about the order."—Mrs. J. H. Haynes, March 24, 1910.

"I came here in the fall of 1858, and have lived here since excepting from 1886 to 1898, and 1901. I was here at the time of Price's raid in 1861, and Jim Lane had command here. At that time he vacated the town and moved to Fort Lincoln, all except one or two companies, expecting Price to make a raid on the town. It was the general impression of everybody left here that he had issued an order that if Price made his appearance to burn the town, and he stationed a picket at each house with a torch to set fire to the houses. I never saw the written order, but it was generally understood by all that were left here that that order had been given."—E. L. Marble, March 28, 1910.

"My name is Patrick Gorman. I live on my farm near Fulton, Kan., and have been a resident of this county continuously since 1858. I was fourth corporal of company A, Sixth Kansas

from the latest improved rifle to the single-barreled muzzle-loading shotgun and the muzzle-loading pistol, and stayed in Fort Scott. He went down to Buck Run, the little stream that divides the town, and cut cottonwood logs and hewed and painted them to represent cannon and mounted them over the breastworks built along the west side of Buck Run, fronting east, so that when Price's detachment came to the high ridge east of town he could see with the field glass a serried array of a half mile of vicious looking cannon. When Price approached the town he went out and met him. The formidable army that Jewell had quickly gotten together of old men and boys and cripples and possibly women, and the savage look of the fortifications, did its work and the Confederate soldiers withdrew.

This disobedience by Jewell of the order given by Brigadier General (?) Lane saved the city of Fort Scott from being burned, and is only one of the many things that could be told about his nerve and prompt action in emergency.

Jewell's connection with the Sixth was brief, for he joined the regiment at the first organization, in September, 1861, and was mustered out by Shelby's volley at Cane Hill on November 28, 1862. While he was with the regiment, however, he was very busy. Up to his death at Cane Hill, he and First Major Wm. T. Campbell, and Second Major Wyllis C. Ransom, were nearly always away on some sort of expedition, preserving the peace along the border. After Jewell's death Major Campbell succeeded him, and from that to the end of the war practically handled the Sixth Kansas cavalry, Wyllis C. Ransom being a close second in his services for the regiment. A. H. Campbell, the son of Wm. T., was the second lieutenant in company H, and afterward became a captain in the Fourteenth Kansas regiment. With many rare exceptions the officers were the kind of men I have described before, ready to do anything and dare anything that was necessary, and equally worshiped and as readily followed by their soldiers.

The regiment, being divided up as I have described, took part in a great number of battles of more or less moment. It made a good record at Grand River, taking a sortie around by Fort Gibson, then swung over into northern Arkansas. Newtonia was one of the places where it did good work. While in the Territory it captured the capital of the Cherokee Nation.<sup>10</sup> This tribe

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cavalry, and was present in and about Fort Scott when General Price passed along the Missouri border. At that time Gen. James H. Lane ordered the removal of all of the families from Fort Scott, and the removal of all of the property to Fort Lincoln on the Osage, which he had established there. The families and household goods were all removed, except that one or two companies were left here in Fort Scott with orders that when Price's army or any portion of it appeared in sight, the town must be fired and the rest of the troops should retire to Fort Lincoln. The women all left with the exception of two or three, who refused to go. I never saw the written order issued by General Lane, but I know that it was issued, and I know that the families were removed, and I know that preparations were made to carry out the order of burning the town. It was a matter of common understanding among all of us, and while I never actually saw the order, I am positive it was issued."

NOTE 10.—Among the papers of Col. R. J. Hinton in the Historical Society's collections is a copy of a portion of a letter written by Albert Pike to John Ross, dated Seminole Agency, August 1, 1861, in which Pike refers to his letter of June 6, 1861, to Ross renewing his propositions for a treaty of alliance between the Cherokee Nation and the Confederate states. The paper is indorsed in Colonel Hinton's handwriting as captured by him in the Territory in 1864. The following extracts refer to the purchase of the Cherokee neutral lands by the Confederacy:

"I was empowered to pledge the Confederate states, in case of the loss from any cause of the so-called 'neutral lands,' between Kansas and Missouri, to the payment of the purchase money, \$500,000, paid for it by the Cherokees, with interest from the time of purchase in 1835.

"I wish only, as you have declined to enter into any arrangement whatever with the Confederate states, even for the purpose of maintaining a real neutrality, now and for all future time to exclude the conclusion that the Confederate states will ever hereafter feel themselves bound to pay the Cherokee people the purchase money of the 800,000 acres of land lying between Kansas and Missouri. That was offered by me as one of the terms of an alliance, offensive and

of Indians was about equally divided between the Confederate and the Union sides. When the capital was captured the Sixth seized all of the records of that division of the Cherokees. These records have great historical value, and are now in the archives at Washington. The battle of Prairie Grove was another place where it contributed its share—a bloody, vicious battle, in which charges were made and repulsed, and assaults made on each side, and then again made.

#### A PLEASANT SPOT.

Lieutenant Campbell, of the Sixth, tells a story that shows one of the bright spots in the life of a soldier. When they were at Rhea's Mills he was officer of the day, and he found a couple of Confederate prisoners in the mill. They told him that they were awfully hungry, and he sent at once to the commissary and had a good meal furnished them. He has now forgotten what command they were with. Subsequently, at the battle of Cane Hill, Campbell was taken as a prisoner to a town farther down in Arkansas, where he was at once given the liberty of the town on parole, but was not returned to his command. He wondered at it, for no one else was paroled. Shortly after he was turned loose an old gray-headed man approached him and asked if he was being pretty well treated. He reported that he was pretty well treated, but that he was hungry, and being on parole had no place to sleep. The old man told him that if he would come with him he would furnish him a place to sleep and something to eat. He walked up the street with him to a fine old Southern mansion, and was taken into a room which was evidently the guest chamber, with a splendid four-poster bed, and everything around the room indicating comfortable ease. They had him sit at the table with the family, and treated him as an honored guest. That evening he noticed some little commotion around the place, and inquiry gave him the news that the great guerrilla chieftain Quantrill was coming into town that night. He came. Quantrill was a little deity among those people. When Campbell came to the house that night to go to bed he found a man lying on a pallet on the floor. He was a little bit inclined to have a spell of brain storm when the man rolled over and started to talk, and informed him that he was Quantrill. They talked together about their experiences and had a very pleasant evening, but it was a shock to Campbell. He wondered why the old man did not put Quantrill into the bed instead of on the floor. Before morning Quantrill was gone again. A week or so afterward

defensive, which, being rejected, the proposition is now withdrawn forever. It is not possible that any obligation can now or ever rest on the Confederate states to pay this large sum. In electing to remain nominally neutral, and really in alliance with the Northern states, you will have elected also to look to them for the price of that land, of which they have already plundered you. If the Confederate states ever pay any part of its value, they will only pay to those of your people who have declared themselves the friends of the South their share and proportion of that value."

"In the Cherokee Nation there were two parties—one in favor of an immediate alliance with the Confederate states, the other, headed by John Ross, declaring in favor of neutrality. Ross, as principal chief, had issued a proclamation (May 17, 1861) admonishing his people to remain neutral, and in this position he was backed by a majority of the Cherokee people.

"In August a general convention of the Cherokee people was called by John Ross as principal chief, for the purpose of considering the advisability of entering into an alliance with the Confederate states. This convention (August 21, 1861), after due deliberation, declared in favor of an alliance with the Confederate states, but the formal treaty to that effect was not signed until October 7, 1861.

"John Ross, who had long been the principal chief of the Cherokees, addressed the assembly in a statement giving the purpose of its deliberations, but very carefully avoided any word that would commit himself. When it was voted to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Confederate States, Ross, as principal chief, signed the treaty, but he afterwards repudiated that action and renewed his friendly intercourse with the Federal government."—*History of Oklahoma*, by Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, 1908, pp. 78, 79.



he old man asked him if he thought it strange that he should be taken into his house, "a damned Yankee" as he expressed it, and treated that way. Campbell confessed that his guess was right. Then the old man told him that one of those prisoners he had had at Rhea's Mills was his son, and the young fellow, when Campbell was brought a prisoner, had taken his father around and pointed Campbell out to him, and told him the story, but did not speak to Campbell himself.

General Sherman's statement that "War is hell" is undoubtedly true, but there are some little kindly spots in it after all.

CANE HILL.<sup>11</sup>

But the event of the Sixth was the battle of Cane Hill, with a description of which my story ends; for this is more a sketch of Colonel Jewell than a detailed history of his regiment. It was a little battle, but larger than we want to see again.

On November 28, 1862, General Blunt was at Boonsborough (now Cane Hill), in Washington county, northern Arkansas, with about 5000 Union troops, including several Kansas commands. Marmaduke was there with about 7000 or 8000 Confederates. Lines were formed just north of Boonsborough, but there was no battle—a little fring, that was all.

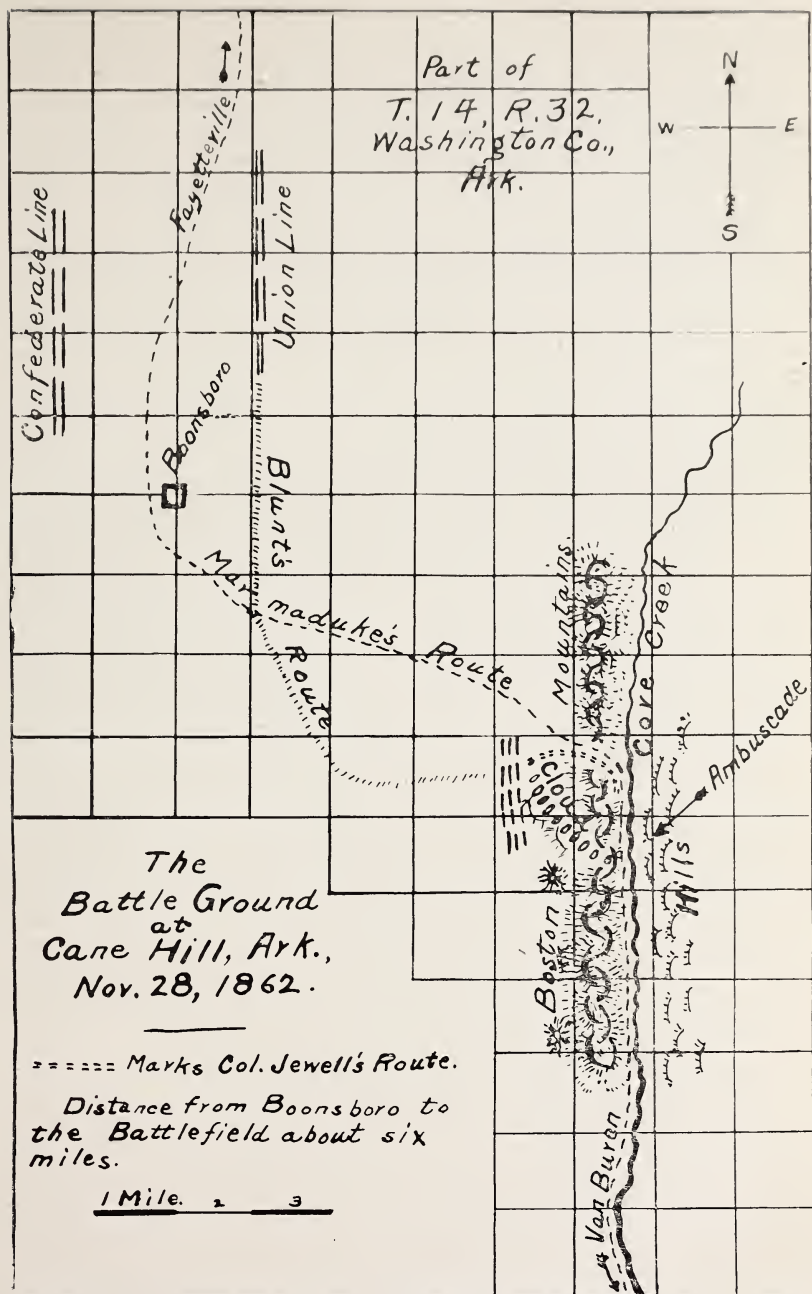
Running out of a spur of the Boston mountains, just over the ridge east of Boonsborough, is a little brook, of swift-running spring water, ten to twenty feet wide, Cove creek, running southward. Its valley is a ravine, only a few rods wide, about like a city street, with the Van Buren-Fayetteville wagon road running along the right side of the stream—that is, the west side—with bluffs on each side. Cove creek gives the name for the battle used in the Confederate archives.

The Confederate troops were moving south down the road toward Van Buren. They were going, you observe.

Blunt ordered Colonel Cloud, of the Tenth Kansas, to follow the Van Buren road and assault the Confederate troops down Cove creek. He changed his mind and directed Colonel Jewell to make the assault. Jewell asked the privilege. The little valley was so narrow that Jewell concluded that more than three companies would be a burden and in the way of each other. Colonel Judson being absent, Jewell was in command. He had his men in line and made a speech to them. Speeches to the file were common in the West. He told them that he had a very dangerous expedition before them, with the chances against them. He reminded them that Marmaduke and Shelby had somewhere about 7000 men. He would order no man to go. He wanted volunteers. He got them.

Up to this time in the story of the assault it would seem that this proposed attack was a piece of foolhardiness—a charge of a battalion against several regiments! But if the plans had been carried out the chances are that even then it would have succeeded. Colonel Cloud was ordered by Blunt, with the Tenth Kansas, to go to a lower pass, just a short distance, and cross over the narrow ridge. At the proper time he was to throw his

NOTE 11.—"Cane Hill is a ridge of perhaps eight miles in length and five miles in width, in the southwestern part of Washington county, Arkansas, just beyond the north base of the Boston mountains. Three villages are built upon it (Russellville, Boonsborough and Newburg), which almost blend with each other, covering a distance, as the road to Fayetteville runs, of three or five miles."—Official Records, War of the Rebellion, Series 1, vol. 22, pt. I, p. 139. Accounts of the action at Cane Hill, Arkansas, November 28, 1862, may be found in Britton's Civil War on the Border, 1891, chap. 29; Military History of Kansas Regiments, p. 81; Official Records, War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 22, pt. I, pp. 41-59.



force down off the ridge on Shelby's flank into the open space. This was all understood by the officers. When every company of the Sixth promptly stepped forward and volunteered to go with Jewell, and three were selected, his own old company in the number, everything was ready.

Jewell and his little band of "rough riders" made a dash over into the valley. The dash was so vigorous and sudden that the rear of the retiring forces moving down the creek gave way, and Jewell went with such impetuous haste that he actually got to the cannon of a rebel battery which was stationed in such a way that it would sweep quite a portion of the gulch, before it had time to load and fire. Jewell took the battery and went on. The little party, with Jewell a rod or two ahead of the front, went down that gulch like very devils, with Jewell in advance of every man in the battalion, roaring like a bull and swinging his saber and calling to his men to come on. They swung down around the gulch, occasionally sabering a man off his horse. When they got to the throat of the valley at the lower pass over the Boston mountains, they expected to hear the guns of Colonel Cloud's regiment. Fully expecting it, and being confident, they dashed on, because it was Jewell's idea, and the thought of every individual soldier, that the way to fight that part of the battle was to fight it with a rush and a whirl. I say they all "thought." There was not a machine soldier in the regiment. They all thought. But to their surprise they heard no guns on the flank. What could it mean? Notwithstanding this, having faith in the good work which Cloud was known to be able to do, they kept on. Cloud was a soldier, they depended on him. Up to this time the assaulting party had slight injury, because Jewell's battalion had gone so much like a whirlwind that the Confederate rear had little chance to do any fighting. Swinging on down the gulch, on the heels of the retreating foe, they turned a corner, and were suddenly face to face, just a few rods off, with about 3000 of Marmaduke's Confederates, with Fighting Jo Shelby and his cavalry protecting the rear. Still no sound from Cloud! Colonel Cloud, according to the arrangement, moved his men southward and started to climb across the ridge. He was carrying out the order and was actually just going over the brow of the ridge when a courier came dashing up with an order from General Blunt not to complete the flank charge, but to withdraw; this without any previous warning to Jewell so that he could protect himself. Why this was done will probably always remain a mystery.

Jewell's men until they got to this point had received very little punishment. They were well mounted, and had succeeded in dashing over the ground faster than the rebels could get out of their way. Every man was yelling like a fiend. In the last rush Lieut. A. H. Campbell was riding a very fine and strong horse. One of the Confederates had his horse shot from under him, and a comrade stopped to let him mount behind him, probably his brother. This delayed the two men so that they were actually in the vortex of the cyclone. Campbell made a dash after them, and as he got beside the horse he drew his revolver and attempted to fire into the back of the rear man. He snapped the revolver two or three times, and then discovered that it was not loaded. In his excitement he had emptied his revolver and not recharged it. His horse with free rein dashed on. On account of this effort he had passed Jewell. This was the only time that any Union soldier was ever ahead of Jewell in a charge. Jewell was swinging



his saber and filling the air with his voice in his yells to his men to come on. He said to Campbell, "That 's right, lieutenant, go ahead!" The last words he ever spoke before he received his death wound.

The withdrawal of Colonel Cloud's flank attack was not the worst of it. Lieut. Col. A. V. Reiff, of the Confederates, whose written story I have, had arranged an ambushade by order of General Cabell, at the narrowest part of the gulch, near where Cloud was to attack. The steep slopes were alive with hidden soldiers.

Just at the instant of Jewell's approach, the Confederates who were drawn up in line of battle at very close range and well prepared, fired a volley that was horrible. At the same time the lead rained from the ambushade above. Campbell's horse was shot from under him and he was thrown to the ground a long distance away. In his own words, "I think I was breathing splinters and dirt for half an hour." A young oak as big as a stove pipe, a few feet to one side, was clipped by a shot, just as you snip off a sunflower with your whip. The same volley did awful execution on the whole little band. One shot hit Jewell's horse and another at the same instant hit him in the breast. He fell off and the horse rolled kicking and plunging into the little stream. Then, without any support, of course they had to retreat, every instant agonizingly wondering what was the matter with Cloud.

Why somebody didn't pay dearly for the murder of Lewis R. Jewell is past finding out.

After this volley, of course, any further advance was useless. They were forced back. They could have been forced back with clubs by such an overpowering force. Quoting Confederate Lieutenant Colonel Reiff, "the valley gorged like sheep passing a narrow gate." Reiff and his men fired into the mass as they struggled to get away, but could not, as the valley was full. They were taken prisoners, some of them held for many months.

General Jo Shelby was really in command of the body of men protecting the rear against whom the assault was made. He described that scene to me just a short time before his death. After his experience through all the border troubles on the Kansas-Missouri line in the late '50's, Shelby was competent to judge. He was a soldier all over. He said that was the fiercest sortie he had ever seen on the field, and that the leader of it was the bravest man he ever met in battle. Shelby was a dignified, cultured, and scholarly gentleman. He was probably the first man to get to Colonel Jewell after he fell off his horse, and the incident is characteristic of both of the men. Shelby saw the straps on Colonel Jewell's shoulders and immediately dismounted. Shelby knew what deference he owed to a soldier, although a foe. I don't think he knew him, but simply recognized him as a lieutenant colonel. Seeing that he was badly wounded, he said, "Colonel, is there anything I can do for you?" It was intensely interesting to hear Shelby describe the incident, better than I can. He said that Jewell without a whimper, without any apparent anxiety in his voice or manner, raised on his elbow and said, "Yes, General, you can get me a cup of water." Shelby got him a canteen of water and then said, "Colonel, isn't there something else I can do for you?" Jewell said, "Oh, no, no, no. All you can do for me I guess, is to send one of your aides to General Blunt and tell him that I am disabled." Observe the quiet, cool nerve of the man. He didn't say he was killed, although he knew he was.

And so they took him. He was turned over to the Union command, and died on the 30th, two days afterward. His body was carried to Fort Scott and interred in the national cemetery and afterward reinterred at Arcadia, his old home, where his descendants keep his memory green.

#### HOW HE DIED.

I do not like to quote, but here is a description which I cannot avoid. When majestic old Olaf Gulmar, the Jarl, the descendant of the Scandinavian Vikings, was at his death, after a rigid, stormy life, he ordered his servitor Valdemar Svensen to carry him to the deck of his favorite boat, the Valkyre, set it on fire and cut the moorings. It was done. As a seaward wind and an ebbing tide carried the sloop from the northernmost point of Norway toward the pole, in a mass of flame and the roar of the storm, Corelli describes him in his death rhapsody:

“‘Hark!’ he cried, and his voice vibrated with deep and mellow clearness. ‘Hark to the thunder of the galloping hoofs! See! See! The glitter of the shield and spear!’ He raised his arms as though in ecstasy. ‘Glory! Joy! Victory!’”

“And like a noble tree struck down by lightning, he fell—dead.”

So died Lewis R. Jewell, of the Sixth Kansas cavalry.

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## THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SEVENTH KANSAS CAVALRY.

Written by S. M. Fox,<sup>1</sup> late Adjutant Seventh Kansas Cavalry, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

TO interpret history accurately and truthfully one must have lived as a part of the history of which he speaks. This is especially true as relates to the campaigns of the early Kansas regiments along the Missouri border during the first months of the Civil War. Documentary evidence relating to these movements is exceedingly meager, and we cannot confidently rely on the ever-increasing exaggeration of tradition. Therefore, when one attempts to criticise certain traditionary acts he should make himself doubly sure of the ground on which he bases his criticism.

At this day, while some of the actors in the drama are still living, the need of the Kansas Historical Society is a statement of the facts based upon the personal knowledge of the narrator. His opinion of men with whom he has been thrown in intimate relationship in the past is of value. Their authenticated deeds he may well record; but great care should be taken that injustice be not done by a loose setting forth as fact that of which he has no personal knowledge, but which has come to him second-hand, through a possibly prejudiced source.

I have undertaken this article not to embalm any personal achievement, but to correct a misstatement so baseless that I would not feel justified in letting it go unchallenged. I will endeavor to be as impersonal as possible, but it will be necessary to inject the ego into this statement long enough to say that I was a member of the Seventh Kansas cavalry and served in its ranks continuously from its earliest beginning, in 1861, until the regiment was finally mustered out as a veteran organization, in the fall of 1865, and

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NOTE 1.—For sketch of SIMEON M. FOX, see volume 8, *Kansas Historical Collections*, page 13.

therefore speak from intimate personal experience, and am not required to gather my facts from any secondary source.

This article is inspired by the following statement taken from an article printed in the ninth volume of the "Kansas Historical Collections," under the title, "The Black-Flag Character of War on the Border," contributed by Henry E. Palmer, late captain in the Eleventh Kansas cavalry. I quote as follows:

"This demoralized, inhuman condition of affairs in the district of the border was not confined to one side. The Seventh Kansas cavalry, organized October 28, 1861, commanded by Charles R. Jennison, gained under Jennison's control a world-wide reputation as the 'Jayhawkers.' Returning from their first raid into Missouri, they marched through Kansas City, nearly all dressed in women's clothes, old bonnets and outlandish hats on their heads; spinning-wheels, and even gravestones, lashed to their saddles; their pathway through the country strewn with (to them) worthless household goods; their route lighted by burning homes. This regiment was little less than an armed mob until Jennison was forced to resign, May 1, 1862. As might be inferred, this man Jennison brought only disgrace to Kansas soldiery."

Captain Palmer reiterates the above lurid statement in the *Kansas City Star* of November 24, 1908, in a reply to M. H. Madden, who had seen fit to take exceptions to some of Captain Palmer's statement in the above-quoted article. In this last communication to the *Star*, Captain Palmer goes on to strengthen his statement by saying:

"There are neighbors of Mr. Madden in your peaceful, prosperous city that have not forgotten this parade through your streets, which occurred about October 7, 1861."

I wish first to state here, before going further, that the Seventh Kansas cavalry (or the First Kansas cavalry, as it was then designated) never in its history paraded through Kansas City in the guise and manner depicted by Captain Palmer. It never "paraded through the streets of Kansas City . . . returning from its first raid into Missouri," nor returning from any other raid.<sup>2</sup>

It will be observed that Captain Palmer mixes his chronology. He has correctly given the date of the organization of the Seventh Kansas cavalry as October 28, 1861, but he later fixes the date of the alleged parade through Kansas City as October 7, 1861, twenty-one days before the regiment was organized.

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NOTE 2.—Ex-Governor E. N. Morrill, of Hiawatha, a member of the Seventh Kansas, writes: "That story of Palmer's, it seems to me, is made up of whole cloth. It is absolutely false from beginning to end. From collateral incidents he fixes the date of the raid out to Independence as the 25th of November. The negroes of Independence had been waiting for the coming of a Moses, and Colonel Anthony was apparently the Moses they were looking for, and they, doubtless following his suggestion, took wagons and carriages that they could find, loaded them with whatever they could gather up, and followed the regiment back to Kansas City, and the next day Anthony distributed the goods among the negroes and sent them over into freedom, which somewhere had an existence within the confines of Kansas. It is possible that the hazy memories of some of the old settlers have confused this negro hegira with the Seventh Kansas itself. The regiment went out and returned the same day in good order. I have no doubt this exodus of negro slaves was instigated by Anthony, and I think they went up to Leavenworth and trailed through the streets, seeking for homes in the promised land. Do you realize how much of the burning and alleged plundering in Missouri was done by the negroes, who took advantage of the conditions to even up old scores? Those negro slaves had an intelligence and knowledge of affairs beyond what many people realized. That day at Independence I remember that Colonel Anthony struck a man of company A over the head with his saber for being funny and putting on a woman's bonnet that he had picked up. Every regiment in the army had its complement of regimental fools that had to be suppressed."

Wilder's "Annals of Kansas" has the following: "December 20 (1861) one hundred contrabands freed by Colonel Anthony at Independence arrived at Leavenworth in gay procession." This freeing the slaves disturbed the rebel Missourians more than horse stealing, or any other action of the Union troops.



It is a fact, however, that three companies of the Seventh Kansas were in Kansas City during the last half of September and the first half of October, 1861. These companies were, however, dismounted and without uniforms, having been rushed down from Fort Leavenworth to help defend the city against Price, then at Lexington. These companies made no raids whatever, but did provost duty, Major Anthony being provost marshal part of the time. Colonel Jennison had no rank in the regiment until the date of organization, October 28.<sup>3</sup> It was understood, of course, that he was to be the colonel. I was in Kansas City doing duty with one of the three companies, and it seems odd that I have no recollection of any parade made through Kansas City as described. I would certainly have been impressed with such a wild and woolly performance, as I was a tenderfoot not long out of the East. I do, however, have a recollection of a story told in camp while the first companies were doing duty in Kansas City in the early part of October, 1861, that Jennison had previously marched defiantly through Kansas City with a band of his independent "Jayhawkers," but the memory is now indistinct as to time and particulars. This incident doubtless, associated with the name of Jennison, has confused the minds of some who saw or heard of it.

There are no available records to fix the dates of many border incidents, but Jennison did range about with his independent company well into September, 1861, and it seems hard for many to separate its doings from the acts of the Seventh Kansas, later associated with Jennison's name.<sup>4</sup> Captain Palmer has fallen into this common error. It will doubtless be a surprise to the captain and others to learn that Colonel Jennison never for a minute commanded the Seventh Kansas in person on any raid or during any field operation in Missouri during the time he was connected with the regiment.

I never knew how or where Colonel Jennison spent a large portion of his time, or by what authority, other than his own, he was absent from his command. A part of his time was spent over the border in Kansas at a town known then as Squiresville. An occasional orderly—his means of communication with the regiment—would sometimes intimate that he was solacing the tedium of existence by an indulgence in a game of fascinating attraction in the West, known as draw poker. Doubtless it was more attractive than the rude exercise that was necessarily an accompaniment of operations in the field. This is all that the rank and file knew of Jennison's whereabouts, and it was about all they cared. His influence on the regiment, if anything, was negative, and there were few who were not heartily glad when his wrath carried him to the precipitate step of sending in his resignation. This resignation was not forced, as Captain Palmer intimates,

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NOTE 3.—While the governor had some weeks previously issued a commission to Charles R. Jennison as lieutenant colonel, he was not mustered into the United States service until mustered as colonel, October 28, 1861. D. R. Anthony was first commissioned as major, and was mustered as such into the United States service on September 29, 1861. He was the recognized head of the regiment until Jennison was mustered, as above. The regimental staff was organized in the middle of October, by the muster of John T. Snoddy (October 14, 1861) as adjutant, and, on the same date, Samuel Ayers as chaplain. It will be seen that the alleged ungodliness of the regiment was not due to the neglect of the governor in supplying an opportunity for religious training. Robert W. Hamer was mustered as quartermaster the following day and the regimental staff was supplied with a sequence of reports, Bibles and fodder.

NOTE 4.—Capt. W. E. Prince, Fort Leavenworth, to Gen. J. H. Lane, September 9, 1861: "I hope you will adopt early and active measures to crush out this marauding which is being enacted in Captain Jennison's name, as also yours, by a band of men representing themselves as belonging to your command."—War Records, vol. 3, series 1, p. 482.

but was a voluntary act, induced by the appointment of James G. Blunt to the rank of brigadier general, a position that he personally coveted and had hoped would be his. He made an intemperate speech to the men—the regiment was at Lawrence at the time—and during its course practically advised them to desert; and before his wrath cooled his resignation was out of his hands and beyond recall. A few men, principally from company H (the company recruited by Cleveland), deserted in response to Jennison's advice. The number was not great, and doubtless some of them went to join the band that Cleveland was organizing at the time, and that later preyed for a brief season on Union men and rebel with just impartiality. Before I pass on I want to say that company H was never a disorderly organization. Cleveland resigned just as the regiment was organized, and his service with the company was practically nothing. It was always a fighting organization, and many of the best men in the regiment were in its ranks. The undesirable element had voluntarily eliminated itself.

In the sketch, "The Black-Flag Condition of the War on the Border," there seem to be many loose and inconsistent statements. Captain Palmer speaks frankly of the burning of Osceola, Mo., by his own command (Lane's brigade), and the big drunk indulged in by some of the troops that would have incapacitated them for defense had they been attacked that night. He mentions a drumhead court-martial at Morristown, when seven prisoners were summarily condemned and shot to death as a retaliatory measure. Then, later, he makes this statement:

"The seventeen Kansas regiments, three batteries, and three colored regiments, with the exceptions above noted, gave the enemy no cause for guerrilla warfare, but all left good records for brave and soldierly conduct. and the Seventh Kansas fully redeemed itself under Colonel Lee with Sherman's army, 1862 to 1864."<sup>5</sup>

The exceptions referred to were the Seventh and Fifteenth Kansas cavalry regiments.

I do not know the kind of meat that Cæsar has to feed upon to become an oracle. But the captain knew little or nothing of the redemption of the Seventh Kansas. Colonel Lee was a brigade commander, and did not personally command the regiment more than two months; and, besides, the Seventh Kansas never served in Sherman's army. Sherman was at one time a part of the army of the Tennessee, but the Seventh Kansas was never under him. I do not personally know anything relating to the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, for I was serving far away, and the enemy confronting us was giving us sufficient to occupy our minds without worrying over other troubles. The men of the Fifteenth Kansas can make their own defense. However, I do protest against the name of Jennison being used to connect the Seventh Kansas with any event that occurred in Missouri.<sup>6</sup> Through

NOTE 5.—Maj. Charles G. Halpine, assistant adjutant-general to Secretary of War, March 14, 1862: "Nothing could exceed the demoralized condition in which General Hunter found the Third and Fourth Kansas infantry and Fifth and Sixth Kansas cavalry, formerly known as 'Lane's brigade,' on his arrival in this department. The regimental and company commanders knew nothing of their duties, and apparently had never made returns or reports of any kind."—War Records, vol. 8, series 1, p. 615.

NOTE 6.—There is an error in Coffin's "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas" (vol. 7, Kansas Hist. Col., p. 360). He says: The Seventh Kansas cavalry, Colonel Jennison's regiment, was made up about this time [1863], 1200 men. They obtained orders and crossed into Platte county, and, with a besom of destruction, swept the border river counties, freeing all the slaves, of whom long calvacades, with wagons, carriages, mules and stock, were crossing into Kansas continually." The date of this makes it clear that it was the Fifteenth Kansas, and not the Seventh. The Fourth was in Mississippi during the year 1863.

two of its officers, Jennison and Cleveland, the regiment gained the name "Jayhawkers"—a heritage that brought trouble, but gave us the inspiration to make the name good.

Other statements of Captain Palmer, for the purpose of historical accuracy, call for correction. After giving a list of guerrilla chieftains who operated in western Missouri in the early part of 1861 and whose blood-curdling war cry was, "No surrender except in death!" he continues:

"The Kansans under Lane,<sup>7</sup> Montgomery, Blunt, Jennison, Anthony, Hoyt and others accepted the challenge, and until General Fremont, in October, 1861, issued his order against this retaliatory work and forced a reorganization of Lane's brigade, which forced Lane out of the army and back to the senate, there was no pretension to the common amenities of civilized war," etc.

It will be remembered, in an extract previously herein quoted, Captain Palmer states that, with the exception of the Seventh and Fifteenth Kansas cavalry regiments, none of the Kansas organizations "gave the enemy cause for guerrilla warfare." The captain's statements do not seem to track. But, as to historical accuracy, note that he rings in Anthony and Hoyt in active connection with Lane, Montgomery, etc., before the issuance of Fremont's order in October, 1861, when the fact is that Anthony was not actively engaged in the field until November 11, and Hoyt was not yet in the service. While Hoyt was in service in Missouri with the Seventh Kansas he was an inconsequential second lieutenant; he became captain just as the regiment started for Mississippi, but until he resigned, not long after, he was for most part of the time in the sick squad, and cut no figure in the regiment worthy of mention.

In a list of lurid incidents, which the captain says "come before my mind as a panorama, vivid as life, a story that can never be told," etc., the following is mentioned as traveling by, among the other glaring scenes:

"Captain Charles Cleveland's desertion with several of company H, Seventh Kansas black-horse cavalry," etc.

History demands certain corrections: Cleveland's first name was Marshall, not Charles; the Seventh Kansas was never known as the "black-horse cavalry," but company H was for a brief time called the "black-horse company;" and, finally, Cleveland did not desert, but left the regiment regularly, by accepted resignation; also, the desertion of eight or ten men from company H was five months after Cleveland resigned. Otherwise the lurid vision is correct as relates to Cleveland.

I have been compelled to make the foregoing references to Captain Palmer's article to show that he was not sufficiently careful in verifying many of his statements, and that there is much chronological confusion, as frequently the act antedates its suggested cause. The story of the motley parade of the Seventh Kansas, led through Kansas City by Colonel Jennison, is pure fiction as far as the Seventh Kansas is concerned. Captain Palmer did not admire Colonel Jennison; nothing of good could therefore result from any connection with him, and, under the mistaken idea that Jennison was in active command of the regiment during its brief service in Missouri, it could be but a disorganized rabble, and it was safe to call it so. He has

NOTE 7.—Senator P. B. Plumb once remarked to the secretary that Senator James H. Lane was the only man who commanded an army without a commission.



failed utterly to discriminate between the lawless acts of Jennison, butting in with his independent company<sup>8</sup> along the border during the early months of the war, and the regiment which later was associated with his name.

As to the Seventh Kansas cavalry, Lieut. Col. D. R. Anthony superintended the organization of the regiment and was the god of the machine. He was in active command of the regiment during the brief time it served in Missouri, and to him should be given all credit or blame that justly belongs to this organization growing out of its service along the border. This service began about November 10, 1861, and ended January 31, 1862. Two weeks of this time was spent in camp up in Kansas, south of Leavenworth, and therefore its service in Missouri was of little more than two months' duration. Regiments had been marched to and fro. Lane's brigade<sup>9</sup> of four regiments had been in the field for several months, moving up and down the border. Internecine strife was continuous with the people themselves, and when the Seventh Kansas first came into Missouri the desolate monuments that marked the destruction of barns and dwellings were to be seen with pitiful frequency; and yet it is fashionable to charge this desolation to the regiment that became heir to the name of "Jayhawkers." What this regiment actually did is sin enough, but it was a very small part when compared with the whole.

The statement that "with the exception of the Seventh and Fifteenth Kansas cavalry there were no better disciplined or better behaved troops in the Union army than the Kansas men" is a very extravagant phrase. The Kansas regiments were rushed into service before they were half organized. None of them were well disciplined at the beginning, and many incompetent officers were at first selected. It took time to get rid of incompetency, and the governor did much harm in commissioning inexperienced men from civil life and sending them out to take places that men who had made good by efficient service were justly entitled to. The first two regiments were magnificent organizations, but they received their discipline on the bloody field of Wilson Creek.<sup>10</sup> The sobering influence of a desperate battle will accomplish more in a day towards discipline than the martinet can bring about in a year of strenuous effort. None of the regiments at the first held the edge over the others, as far as discipline went. No state certainly had the variety of adventurous material that made up the Kansas organization. There

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NOTE 8.—Jennison was twice commissioned by Governor Robinson in the Kansas Militia in 1861, first on February 23, captain of Mound City Sharps Rifles Guards, and May 28, lieutenant colonel Third regiment, southern division, Kansas Militia.

A correspondent in the Leavenworth *Conservative*, writing from Fort Scott, July 10, 1861, and signing himself "Jayhawker," tells of the operations of Captain Jennison in Missouri. Starting from Mound City, July 4, with thirteen men, he entered Vernon county, Missouri, July 5, and organized a company of forty-five men, with Isaac Morris, of Vernon county, Missouri, captain. Recruits from both states came in rapidly. Another company, under Ben Rice, soon joined the first, when separately they raided several secession camps, capturing army supplies, horses, etc., among them an ox train with military supplies for Fort Arbuckle. Although Captain Jennison was not known as an officer, all recognized him as commander-in-chief of the expedition, which reached Fort Scott with 800 recruits. His purpose, it is stated, was to pass down through southwest Missouri and cooperate with United States troops in protecting Union men. —Colonel Jennison's Scrapbook, vol. 1, p. 11.

NOTE 9.—Lane's brigade was composed of the Third and Fourth Kansas volunteers, the Fifth Kansas cavalry, and the early organization of the Sixth Kansas cavalry.

NOTE 10.—In the battle of Wilson Creek the First Kansas lost fifty-one per cent of those engaged, in killed and wounded. At the time of this battle the First and Second Kansas had been in the service but two months. During the battle Major Sturgis remarked to General Lyon, "These Kansas boys are doing the best fighting that I ever witnessed." The First regiment afterwards traveled 6000 miles, through eight rebel states. The Second regiment was the last one to leave the field (Wilson Creek), and the only regiment which kept its line and organization unbroken from the first to the last of the fight, which lasted about six hours.

were Puritans and "hellions," and the intermediate grades of men; some praised God, and others cursed in His name; but they all were from a race militant, and, whether disciplined or not, fought when the chance offered.

When the Seventh Kansas was paraded for muster at Fort Leavenworth on the date of the organization, October 28, 1861, but nine companies were in line. Company K, which Capt. John Brown, jr., was recruiting in Ohio, had not reached the state. Jennison appeared in person for the first time, and, after getting himself "balled up" while trying to put the regiment through the manual of arms, rode away and left the command to Lieutenant Colonel Anthony. I do not recall having seen Colonel Jennison again with the regiment until at Humboldt in February, 1862, where he was stationed in command of a brigade. If he visited the regiment at any time while in Missouri, it was a transient call. Colonel Anthony was permitted to exercise his own will without check or hindrance, so far as any apparent interference by Jennison was concerned. What that will was, Colonel Anthony has been too recently with us and is too well known to make a statement necessary. The reader's judgment would doubtless be nearer the mark than Colonel Anthony's own, for he stated at a state editorial meeting a few years ago, while in a reminiscent mood, that he felt the greatest mistake he had made in life was, he had been too conservative.

When about the middle of October, 1861, the three companies returned from Kansas City to Fort Leavenworth, as is stated earlier in this paper, clothing and equipment began to be issued. An unmustered company came from Illinois on escort duty, and they were persuaded to remain and cast their fortune with Kansas; they became company D. Finally, on October 28, nine companies being organized, and company K just ready to start from Ohio under young John Brown, the complete organization was accomplished.

Jennison, as I have said, appeared for a brief moment; and it was just about this time that the thrilling scene that preceded Cleveland's resignation was enacted. A dismounted parade had been formed on the "blue grass," Colonel Anthony receiving the salute. Cleveland had made his first appearance. He was dressed in a somewhat motley garb—a soft hat, a regulation coat, drab trousers thrust into low-topped riding boots, a belt carrying a surplus of revolvers and a saber that seemed a hindrance. Colonel Anthony did not approve of the drab trousers, and forthwith proceeded to deliver a public censure; whereupon the restive Jayhawker proceeded to advance to the "front and center" without waiting for orders. There was language, profane and incisive, while each man looked the other directly in the eye. The amenities being passed, they glared at each other a moment, then Cleveland, with a parting compliment which has passed down into history, strode away to his horse, hitched near by, and a moment later was galloping toward Leavenworth city. His resignation quickly followed, and was as promptly accepted.

Men of the class of Jennison and Cleveland were nothing if not spectacular. Jennison while colonel of the Seventh Kansas never wore the regulation headgear; he always affected a tall, brimless fur cap. I recall my first vision of Cleveland. I was an Eastern tenderfoot, and was being inducted into a knowledge of the new Western world by a much-experienced brother recruit. We were sauntering down Shawnee street in Leavenworth, and had just stopped to read a newly posted bill. It was headed "Reward," and beneath it was set forth that a tempting number of dollars

would be handed over to the individual who would bring in the body of one Marshall Cleveland, "dead or alive." We had both concluded that we were not hard up, and had started down the street, when we saw a gentleman with a neatly trimmed black beard riding towards us up the street. He was neatly dressed in a drab suit, low riding boots, and a soft hat gracefully slouched. He wore the universal belt, and a bulge on either side in the tails of his frock coat made it plain to see that he was not defenseless. His horse looked like a thoroughbred, and he seemed wonderfully at home in the saddle. I remarked: "That's a mighty fine horse." My friend answered: "It ought to be; he has the pick of Missouri. That's Cleveland." Nobody offered to arrest him, and he rode on up the street. He went south on Fifth, and turned east on Delaware street. He was offering his person to the reward seekers with a reckless nonchalance that thrilled my unsophisticated nature to the core. I, however, did not hover in his vicinity.

The same evening while I—still inducted by my guide—was listening with curiosity rather than delight to the much-bedazzled prima donna of the slums, at the "Moral Show" that stood by the old market house at the corner of Fifth and Shawnee streets, a little flurry brought attention to the fact that Cleveland was leaning against a post in the back part of the hall. He nodded to a few acquaintances, refused the request of a cross-eyed Hebe to invest in her liquid wares, and presently sauntered out. My next information was that the offer of reward had been withdrawn, and that Cleveland had been authorized to recruit a company for Jennison's regiment.

The organization of the Seventh Kansas being effected, the regiment, well uniformed, well mounted, but indifferently armed, moved down through Kansas to Kansas City and went into camp. Anthony, in person, with companies A, B and H, went into bivouac on the Majors farm, about four miles southeast of Westport. The remainder of the regiment, except company K, camped in nearer to Kansas City, on O. K. creek.

It will be remembered that all of the city practically lay north of the junction [Main and Delaware] in those days, and did not reach out very far to the east or west. The McGee division, to the south, contained a brick block of three or four stores and a few scattering houses and was connected with the city by an unpaved road, unless six inches of Missouri clay mud can be called a pavement.

It is not necessary to keep harping about the conditions that prevailed along the Kansas border at this time, yet possibly a little retrospection may make matters plainer to those who were not participants in these affairs. The border-ruffian element in Missouri had held the ascendancy during 1855 and 1856, and rode over Kansas roughshod. They had burned Lawrence and Osawatimie, and plundered other hamlets; had committed murders and outrages through the settlements, and had shown no mercy. Montgomery and John Brown, who were essentially men of action, began to lead their followers to resistance, and others followed their lead. There were others who rode up and down and raged, but made little show of accomplishment. The steady Northern persistence finally made itself felt, and the border-ruffian element was gradually thrown on the defensive. They had sown the wind and the whirlwind had to be reaped.

When the war became a fact, the conditions along the Kansas border were unlike anything elsewhere. There were bitter wrongs to be righted,



and no one can stay the power of revenge. The creed of self-repression where the reversed cheek is to be submitted to the smiter, finds but few who will accept it in times of stress. They rather turn to the Old Testament, where a contrary doctrine can find support. John Brown had become a martyr, and his soul militant had commenced its march of freedom, and inspired feet were swinging into step to follow. Loyal Missourians, driven from their homes, had joined the Union army, with the bitter purpose to accomplish reprisal and revenge. No one can make a comparison with conditions existing anywhere else in the land. The situation must be judged by itself; it can admit of no comparison; it stands unique and alone.

Imagination doubtless depicts the "Jayhawkers," represented in the individuals who made up the Seventh Kansas cavalry, as bearded desperadoes with mustaches painted and drooping and a bellicose swagger that suggested trouble to the timorous wayfarer. The truth is that a majority of this regiment were beardless youths. Some of them had roughed it through life and were coarse of fiber, but many others had come from cultured homes in New England and Eastern states. Not half of the regiment was recruited in Kansas, but there was leaven enough to permeate the lump. One company was recruited in Ashtabula county, Ohio, organized by a son of John Brown, and did not need any leavening influence. Three whole companies and the halves of two others came from Illinois. The John Brown company came the long journey that the name of "Kansas" might be associated with their efforts toward the overthrow of slavery. They were saturated with the spirit of the martyrs. As to education, the men ranked high above the average. The regiment furnished more clerks at the various headquarters than any other similar organization in the Sixteenth army corps. The men were not ruffians or desperadoes, but averaged fairly with other regiments of the Civil War. They were probably no better or no worse.<sup>11</sup>

The name of "Jayhawker" was not an asset at first to be highly valued. The men laughed at it and accepted it. They did not realize what might happen to them in future ages when the ambitious historian turned his imagination loose on the iniquities that attended the name. When, in the spring of 1862, the regiment was ordered down to the Army of the Tennessee, where real war was on tap, the name suggested a scapegoat, and every regiment in the army corps began systematically to lay their depredations on the shoulders of the Seventh Kansas. We had our pay held up for over eight months because we refused to make good the depredations committed almost entirely by an Illinois regiment. It was for this injustice that the First Kansas, out of sympathy (God bless them!), refused to cheer General Grant when so ordered, as they marched by his headquarters at Oxford, Miss., in the fall of 1862. And this grand old regiment was mighty well disciplined, too. I love this old regiment. We served together for almost a year. I never shall forget the scene at the Tallahatchie when the rebels began their advance toward our little regiment from their forts along the bottom. Forty siege guns were filling the atmosphere with bursting shells, and things looked dubious. But just then the infantry column came

NOTE 11.—The American Bible Society had a depository at Harrisonville, Mo. When a detachment of the Seventh Kansas entered the town the store had been already looted by some previous organization, but the Bibles were left intact. The Seventh Kansas took the Bibles. It might be pleasant at this late date for the Bible Society to learn that their involuntary charity had been so appropriately applied.

up at double time, the First Kansas in the advance—"Jayhawkers, ye'll have help now!" All hell could n't have taken that hill.

During the summer of 1862 the Seventh Kansas served under the great cavalry leader, General Sheridan, then a colonel, at Rienzi, the extreme southern outpost of the army. The service was hazardous and exacting, but this efficient soldier often spoke in generous praise of the service rendered. During the advance of General Grant's army down the Mississippi Central railway toward Vicksburg in the fall of 1862, day after day the Seventh Kansas held the post of honor as the advance guard of the main infantry column, and it skirmished and fought over every foot of the way between the Cold Water and Coffeyville. It cleared and carried the crossing of every intermediate stream; charged through and captured Holly Springs in the early morning, with military stores and many prisoners; charged the rebel battery at Waterford and captured one of its guns; and finally drove the enemy behind their breastworks at the Tallahatchie, and held them there for eight hours until the infantry advance came up, led by the grand old First Kansas infantry. These eight hours were passed under the steady fire of forty siege guns that made up the Confederate batteries. Men of the Seventh Kansas crawled that night through the rebel pickets and into their fortifications, and brought the news that the enemy were evacuating. In the early morning this regiment forced a crossing and followed, harrassing their rear guard from Abbeville to Oxford, and, driving back their artillery, carried the town by a charge, fighting every inch of the way through the streets. Between the Tallahatchie and Water Valley this one regiment captured over 2000 prisoners. At Coffeyville, where the entire cavalry division was led into a trap by an inefficient leader, the Seventh Kansas was in the brunt of the battle, and fell back in order, and it was the Seventh Kansas that formed at the Tillaboba bridge against the rebel infantry and stopped their pursuit. General Grant never criticized the fighting qualities of the regiment.

Gen. G. M. Dodge, when in command of the Sixteenth army corps, always gave the Seventh Kansas cavalry the preference, and plainly told us so. While under his command the Seventh Kansas and Tenth Missouri cavalry (Cornyn's brigade), numbering less than 1000 men, whipped to a finish 3500 men under Roddy at Leighton, Ala., and a week later the augmented brigade whipped General Gholson's army at Tupello, Miss., capturing an entire regiment of Confederate cavalry.

During the campaigns of Gen. A. J. Smith against Forrest, in northern Mississippi, in 1864, that splendid fighter detached the Seventh Kansas from the cavalry corps, and the Jayhawkers were again given the honored position of advance guard of the main infantry column. It cleared the way from the north line of Mississippi to Pontotoc; and when Smith made a feint retreat to maneuver Forrest outside of his fortifications, the Seventh Kansas fought for sixteen hours, covering the rear against Forrest's entire cavalry division. Only those who have been up against Forrest know what this means. Forrest himself says, referring to this rear defense: "He took advantage of every favorable position, and my artillery was kept almost constantly busy." The whole wagon train for the most of the day had but the Seventh Kansas between it and the enemy's cavalry. General Smith's confidence in the regiment must have been great; and it was not mistaken—not a wagon was lost.

The above incidents are cited to show that under great war leaders the Jayhawkers were trusted and honored, and that as a fighting regiment it always made good. It fought an offensive warfare, not waiting to be attacked, but dashed in and got in that effective first blow that wins the fight. Even during its two months in Missouri, in the winter of 1861-'62, its killed and wounded was almost fifty per cent more than the similar loss in Lane's brigade during the whole time it was under Lane's command.

The first movement made into Missouri, as has been said, was by companies A, B and H, led by Colonel Anthony. On the evening of November 10, 1861, a loyal Missourian came in with the information that the rebel Up. Hayes had assembled his band of guerrillas for mischief, and was in camp on the Little Blue about thirteen miles out. Anthony immediately moved, with 110 men, and after an all-night march attacked the rebel camp at early morning of the 11th. A desperate fight followed. The rebel force greatly outnumbered Anthony's command, but, taken by surprise, they were driven from their camp with heavy loss, and their horses, wagons and entire camp equipment were captured. The guerrillas retreated to the bluffs and rallied behind the rocks in a strong defensive position, from which they could not be driven. Our loss was nine men killed and about thirty wounded, many of the latter, however, but slightly. The rebel dead left in camp was a much larger number. Anthony retired, bringing away all his killed and wounded and all the captured property. The writer was, with the reinforcements, hurried out to Anthony's support. He was met some eight miles out, on his return march. There were farm wagons and bedquilts, a part of the primitive rebel equipment. In some of the wagons were the severely wounded, stolidly bearing their pain; in others the bedquilts covered motionless shapes and told the pitiful story of death and sacrifice. There were no "women's dresses," nor "spinning wheels," nor "gravestones strapped<sup>12</sup> to the horses"—the gravestones were a matter for after consideration. This was the first raid of the Seventh Kansas into Missouri.

Soon after the regiment went into camp on the Westport road, near the old McGee tavern. From this camp the regiment made a march out to Independence, returning the same day. This movement is called "a raid" by Britton in his "Civil War on the Border, 1861-'62" (page 176). He erroneously fixes the date in September (more than a month before the Seventh Kansas was organized), and credits the speech in the courthouse square to Jennison. Jennison was not present; Colonel Anthony was in command and made the speech.

When Price retreated south from Lexington he promised to return soon with reinforcements and occupy the country permanently. The rebel sympathizers around Independence were aggressively elated, and the spirit of secession blatantly rampant. Threats were being made against loyal citizens, and many were being driven from their homes and compelled to come over into Kansas for safety.

Both the march out and return were orderly. It was not the first time Union troops had passed over this road. Some destroying hand had some-

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NOTE 12.—The writer of this article has had some experience with pack-trains, but is at a loss just how to proceed to strap a spinning wheel to a saddle, especially as the saddle is to be occupied by a rider. The statement seems a little extravagant. Also, the setting of the scene seems to be a little contradictory. That the route should be "lighted by burning homes" requires a background of darkness, and that the particulars of the fantastic garb and impedimenta alleged to have been borne by the recreant Jayhawkers be made evident, the light of day would seem to have been most necessary.



time preceded us; along the road were several lonely chimneys and blackened remains of houses. As we entered Independence, riding down the long, sloping street to the business part of the town, we saw two ladies waving their handkerchiefs from the upper floor of a double porch, at the rear of a house about a block to the left. When we returned in the afternoon they were again at their post. Three years later, when the veteran Seventh Kansas had been rushed by forced marches from Mississippi to help defend Kansas against Price, and as the extreme advance of Pleasanton's relieving army charged up that same street against a battery in action on the crest, two ladies were waving their handkerchiefs from that same porch. Shells were bursting and bullets were flying thick, but they maintained their post to the end. They did not seem to have any grudge against the Seventh Kansas.

While at Independence the regiment was not permitted to break ranks. The male citizens were rounded up and corralled in the courthouse square, and Colonel Anthony, from the courthouse steps, impressed upon their minds some wise and salutary truths. I do not know that much good was accomplished, but I am sure Colonel Anthony himself must have been greatly relieved when he got that red-hot stuff out of his system. No houses were burned at any time. The regiment made an orderly march back to their camp and did not parade through Kansas City, and the lurid story of the route being "lighted by burning homes" lacked the necessary background of darkness to have made it effective.

Colonel Anthony was a rigid disciplinarian and exacted obedience on every occasion. He was at times tyrannical, and on several occasions he stood perilously near death when he threatened men with the flat of his saber. He never stood for foolishness, and while on the march was constantly going up and down the column watching the conditions, and if the fool of the regiment deemed it funny to array himself in any grotesque manner he would have been ordered to dismount and continue the rest of the march on foot, and when in camp the most unpleasant part of fatigue duty would have been assigned to him. No culprit could ever hope to escape through forgetfulness; his case was always attended to. The army was too new for this excess of discipline, and often he would have accomplished more by less exacting methods. He was himself restive under authority, and did not hesitate to express his opinion of the incompetency of certain officers over him, and this was not a good pattern of discipline to set for his men. The first year of the war was a great strain on the army. A lot of incompetent book soldiers had to be tried out, and the great leaders were yet subordinates, who had still to make themselves evident by their works. In the regiment, the first selection of company officers was not always a success. They were elected by the men. But I will say this method produced better results than would have obtained from a direct independent appointment by the governor; and this opinion is abundantly sustained by the character of the appointments he later imposed upon us from civil life. Two of his appointments did make good. Capt. Jacob M. Anthony illustrated the Kansas motto, but he was helped by peculiar conditions; and Fred Emery, the other, very soon was transferred to the regimental staff as adjutant, and did not have a disgruntled company of men behind him to make life a tantalizing and troublous journey. All the rest went down to oblivion through forced resignation or the sentence of a court-martial.

A few days after this "raid" out to Independence, the Seventh Kansas moved out by a roundabout way to Pleasant Hill. On this march guerrilla pickets were in evidence on distant elevations, disappearing over the crest whenever a near approach was made. Late in the morning a heavy fog came down, and the advance was necessarily very cautious. When the fog suddenly lifted, the point, consisting of six men under the command of First Sergt. Johnny Gilbert of company C, saw a squad of men grouped up the road near a house on a hill. He immediately charged, and the guerrillas, evidently thinking the whole regiment was behind the yells that the six throats were emitting, broke and wildly stampeded down the road, and, to the surprise of the charging squad, about eighty mounted men, who had been invisible behind an echelon of barns and stacks, dashed out and, terror-stricken, followed them. One dead mule and one wounded prisoner were the material fruits of this unexpected victory. I cannot refrain from injecting here an item of personal achievement. I charged with this squad, but I could not help it—my horse ran away. As to Johnny Gilbert, he later deserted, leaving all government property carefully scheduled behind him in his tent. He had been outraged by the appointment by the governor of an incompetent, cowardly civilian to a commissioned vacancy that in all justice belonged to him. I saw him later in the service as a sergeant of artillery in a famous battery attached to the Sixteenth army corps.

A few days later the regiment came back and went into camp in the old fairground at Independence. While at this camp fifteen picked men were sent out, under command of Lieut. Frank Ray, to the north as far as the river. A written list of about a dozen houses, scatteringly located, was given him, with verbal instructions to burn them. This was systematically done. Ray had been a sergeant in the regular army. His force was small and the neighborhood was full of danger, and he kept his men compactly together. No looting was permitted, not even from houses burned. One old Roman matron helped the destruction by throwing a pillow-case a quarter full of powder in her fireplace, and walked from the ruins apparently unscathed. Whether the orders for this burning came from higher than regimental authority I never knew. There was no row made at Fort Leavenworth over it, as was the case in subsequent events.

The regiment went north into Kansas for about two weeks, being in camp about eight miles south of Leavenworth during the time. On December 10 the Seventh Kansas was ordered to West Point, in the northern part of Bates county, Missouri. There was no town there at the time, it having been burned by other vandals than the Jayhawker regiment. On December 24 the regiment marched north, in the face of a blinding blizzard, to Morristown, or where Morristown<sup>13</sup> had once stood. This town was also little more than a name; the anticipatory torch had some time before blotted it out. It was here that Col. Hampton Johnson of the Fifth Kansas cavalry had been ambushed and slain at the crossing of the stream, in September; and it was here, I believe, at that time, that seven Confederate prisoners were subjected to the action of a drumhead court-martial and shot at the

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NOTE 13.—A correspondent signing himself "A. B. M.," writing from near Morristown, July 23, 1861, speaks of the capture of Morristown, Mo., July 22, by Captain Jennison with twenty-five of his own men and twenty volunteers. Two wagon-loads of "contraband" goods were taken and distributed through the camp. To the writer's share fell two hats, a necktie, drawers, bridle bit, soap, pencils, blank books, writing paper, and, as company steward, a supply of drugs and medicines.—Jennison Scrapbooks, vol. 1, p. 13.

edge of their graves. The justice of this act does not concern the history of the Seventh Kansas. It occurred before the service of that regiment began. This was the permanent camp of the regiment during the remainder of its stay in Missouri.

On the last day of 1861 a raid was made out to Dayton and Rose Hill. The latter town was in the southeast corner of Johnson county. Fulkerson, Scott and Britty, rebel officers, were recruiting through this neighborhood. Many Union families were being driven out and over into Kansas, and brought stories of burning and outrage to our camp. There was much skirmishing during this trip, and Colonel Anthony was in personal command.<sup>14</sup> The town of Dayton was burned by his order, and he never shrank from the responsibility. Scattering farmhouses were also burned, and doubtless horses were taken and some looting done. Anthony made a report of this expedition. His action was disapproved by General Hunter, and he was censured, but never punished.

I cannot speak personally of the occurrences during the month of January, 1862, for I passed that month in an old remnant of a house at Morristown set apart for a hospital. The delirium of typhoid fever blotted out my memory during that time. I can say, however, that there was much fighting during that month, and the regiment lost seven or eight men killed in action, and a number of men were wounded. On January 9 an expedition was made, under Major Herrick, to Holden and Columbus. Company D was ambushed at the latter place and driven back. Captain Utt, with company A, captured the town, buried our dead and burned the village. There was much scouting during the remaining time in Missouri. Horses were brought in, and doubtless many found their way to private homes in Kansas and not many to the government corrals. It has been said that Jennison profited by the sale of some of them; but it is better understood that his active coöperator, when he resigned and sold this stock, told Jennison to whistle for his share.

Jennison evidently directed operations from a distance, in a limited sense, and a very limited portion of the command was involved. It is to be remembered that the desertions from company H were a matter of subsequent history. The regiment, as a body, was under a reasonable state of discipline. On January 31, 1862, the Seventh Kansas started on its march to Humboldt, Kan., which town had been burned during the previous October by rebel raiders led by Colonel Talbott. Missouri knew the Seventh Kansas no more until the Price raid in the fall of 1864 brought back that regiment by forced marches from Mississippi. The hurried rush up the river to

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NOTE 14. —The rebels in Jackson county never fought unless they had the advantage; they laid in ambush and bushwhacked. They did not wear uniforms, but wore citizens' clothing, and when cornered hid their guns and came out whining that they were Union men. Whenever a house was burned they always sent up a howl about being "Union," when no house was burned unless it was well known that the owner was a guerrilla and out in the "bresh." The only howl made was by "Grandmother" Halleck, and General Hunter, who learned better later. In Alabama we went out and burned and destroyed barns, corn and fodder, and brought away all horses and mules; also cattle, as a rebel brigade made this their home and came out to raid upon our outlying camps. Whenever a train was fired upon by guerrillas we immediately destroyed all buildings and property within a radius of several miles. We burned Oxford, Miss., in retaliation for the burning of Chambersburg, Pa., by Early. (We got the news from a rebel newspaper which was exulting over it.)

Order of General Grant to General Sheridan, August 16, 1864: "If you can possibly spare a division of cavalry, send them through Loudon county to destroy and carry off the crops, animals, negroes, and all men under fifty years of age capable of carrying arms," etc.

This destruction was common throughout the army. It was a necessity. When Grant fell back from Oxford, Miss., in the winter of 1861 and 1862, we covered the rear. Fences, barns and houses were burning, destroyed by the infantry column in advance of us.



St. Louis from Memphis, the day-and-night march across Missouri, and the charge at Independence were subsequent history. The firing in the rear of Price's army, that told the almost exhausted Union soldiers at Kansas City that relief had come, was directed at the charging Kansas regiment, that had outlived obloquy and come into its heritage.

There is a good deal of rot connected with the theory that an especial man or deed was responsible for the raid on Lawrence. The original burning of Lawrence, Osawatomie, etc., was responsible for Montgomery, Jennison, etc., and the campaigns along the border in 1861 held the Missouri guerrillas in check for the time. Quantrill was a moral degenerate, and when one follows the subsequent career of train robbing and murder of Jesse James, Cole Younger and others of Quantrill's old gang, the question of inducement to slaughter seems to be a superfluity. Quantrill doubtless had his eyes on Lawrence from the beginning, and was only watching for a propitious season to carry out a long-matured plan.

As to the conditions in Missouri after the Seventh Kansas left, the following extract from a letter of O. G. Cates, of Jackson county, Missouri, to Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, bearing date of February 26, 1862 (War Records, vol. 17, part II, p. 93), will illustrate:

"It now appears that, although the Kansas volunteer troops in obedience to orders did leave the state of Missouri, the substituted United States troops in that county (Jackson) have made no change in their mode of warfare for the better; the same wanton and lawless violation on the rights of private property have continued without check or hindrance. Bands of negroes, slave and free, and clans of white men, thief and Jayhawker, from the state of Kansas, with the knowledge of the United States forces thus substituted, are permitted in open day to enter our county and freely gratify their savage lust of plunder and private revenge on defenseless and terror-stricken people."

It would appear from the above that the Seventh Kansas was not responsible for all the wrongs on the border.<sup>15</sup> The Seventh Kansas had become heir to the name "Jayhawkers," and they bore it to the end. The regiment was neither an aggregation of devils nor saints. The regiment did always fight well, and gained some honor. Propitious fate transferred them to the Army of the Tennessee, and their initial service there was directly under Col. Philip Sheridan. Without orders, the regiment charged

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NOTE 15.—A careful reading of the war records of operations in Jackson and surrounding counties between 1862, between the time that the Seventh Kansas was withdrawn and the "Red Leg" service began—that houses of rebels continued to be burned by Union troops, as is noted in the reports of Col. John T. Burris and others (War Records, vol. 8), and the "capture" of horses by the hundreds that were seized and brought out of Missouri, which are mentioned in these reports—indicate that the warfare of 1861 continued, and it does not appear that any specific censure emanated from headquarters. Also Gen. Ben. Loan, on November 17, 1862, assessed \$15,000 against the disloyal citizens of Jackson county, \$7500 to be applied to subsid enrolled militia, and \$7500 for destitute families of soldiers engaged in active service. General Curtis alone seemed to comprehend the situation, as his communication to General Loan (War Records, vol. 13, p. 688), dated September 29, 1862, indicates:

" . . . You think Lane and Jennison should be sent to a 'safe place.' I think it would be safe to send them against the rebels and Indians that are now collected and invading McDonald, Barry and Stone counties. But let terror reign among the rebels. It will be better to have them under such power than loose to carry on guerrilla warfare which drives good people out of Jackson and Lafayette. . . . What rights have the rascals that go skulking about in the garb of citizens, not soldiers? Even our enrolled militia go with a badge on their hats; but these bands of so-called 'Partisan Rangers' sneak through the brush with no emblems of war, but with the stealthy, concealed garb of a private citizen seek to continue the business of stealing, robbing and murdering. They deserve no quarter, no terms of civilized warfare. Pursue, strike and destroy these reptiles, and report to these headquarters as often as possible."

On the date that General Curtis wrote this characteristic letter the Seventh Kansas was hanging on the flank of Van Dorn's army, advancing on Corinth, and attacked their train at Bone Yard.

General Price's camp at Marietta, Miss., and rode through it and brought away his headquarters flag, and would have burned the camp had not Sheridan in person ordered us to withdraw. The Seventh Kansas rode down through Funderberger's Lane in the night against an unknown foe, and routed a superior force. The Seventh Kansas, unaided and far from support, charged Jackson's veteran cavalry division of over 4000 men, and the lane at Lamar was strewn with rebel dead. Thirty-six killed, 500 prisoners, hundreds of horses and over 2000 stands of arms were the fruits of this victory. The infantry regiments came out and cheered us as we passed their camps on our return, and it became a custom that obtained for months after. We began to feel that we could eventually trot in the same class with the old First Kansas infantry, which was among the cheerers. It is an old story and has been briefly told elsewhere. As time went on the name "Jayhawkers" lost its opprobrium, and the Seventh Kansas began to make it an honorable appellation. Yet it was the same regiment, little changed from the band which had served about two months in Missouri, and, if we believe vague tradition, laid the country desolate.

Cleveland met his fate as a discredited outlaw at the ford of the Marais des Cygnes. Jennison has cashed in his checks, withdrawn from the turbulent game of life, and judgment has been passed upon him. With all his sins, he had a gambler's generosity, and he often made life endurable to some poor struggling soul. May his deeds of kindness be remembered and all that was evil in his nature be forgotten.

Let us see. Kansas aspires to be called the "Jayhawker State." Our most illustrious citizens hail the name as a badge of honor. Our great University perpetuates the name in its war cry that celebrates victory or shouts defiance after stubborn defeat. How came dishonor to be purified? Did not that one cavalry regiment that inherited the name and bore it through four years of strenuous war do much to make it what it is? How else was the miracle accomplished?

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## MEMORIAL MONUMENTS AND TABLETS IN KANSAS.

A paper read at the University of Kansas, December 4, 1908, by GEO. W. MARTIN, Secretary of State Historical Society, on the occasion of dedicating markers in Lawrence.

**T**HERE is no place where greater pride in the past should exist than among the people of Lawrence. I sincerely congratulate you upon this movement to honor and establish in bronze and granite the events which have given the greatest possible historical significance to the town of Lawrence.

The citizens of Lawrence were from the beginning a peace-loving people. They came to these prairies to make homes, to develop a state according to a certain idea of public policy and morality, which from the start incurred for them the most strenuous persecution. They exercised a natural right in settling upon these prairies, and came in spite of the fact that certain convictions they held brought them warnings not to come, which upon their settlement grew into threats that they must leave or be destroyed. The result was repeated violence, met for years on the part of the settlers by the most patient endurance of outrages, without resentment or reprisal. Is there another instance in history where a people having every moral, po-

litical or property right, outraged so frequently by mobs of illegal voters and armed bodies determined upon their destruction, and who having endured this for six or seven years have, with a meekness unparalleled, done so little in the way of violence to get even when the tide turned and help came?

"War is hell," we are told, and we know that on the outbreak of our Civil War the worst devils, encouraged by the success of those who had for years persecuted Lawrence, gathered on the border line between Kansas and Missouri. By 1861 every line had been broken down. The spirit which prompted the persecution of Lawrence sought the life of the government, and the devil likewise got in his work under the guise of loyalty. If there was any idea promulgated or principle established, or at least exposed, during the war on the border, it was the doctrine of total depravity and original sin. The outrages started in 1854 grew, and grew, and grew, terminating in a nation on fire, and what was intended to be the total final destruction of Lawrence, on the 21st of August, 1863.

It has been a frequent remark with me that, if I was a millionaire I would come down here and dot this town all over with bronze, granite and marble tablets and shafts. I look with pride upon the fact that Lawrence did nothing to justify her afflictions, and so little when opportunity came to secure revenge. These emblems of remembrance are justly due those who lived here and who suffered. They suffered and died because they were a part of Lawrence. They were citizens killed in their homes, and not soldiers. The surprise and massacre at Baxter Springs was reasonable, because the victims were soldiers, armed and in the service. But the citizens of Lawrence died in accordance with the threats made in 1854, that they would not be tolerated in the territory. Probably ninety-five per cent of them never harmed a man to the extent of a dollar, and were as innocent of any raids upon other people, as soldiers or robbers, as an unborn child. They did not die and all this property was not destroyed because some irresponsible citizen, operating under the cloak of war or the lawless conditions established by the persecutors of Lawrence, stole a horse or two from the enemy, burned a house, or killed a man for the fun of it. They would not have so died if they had remained in the East or if they had settled in some other town. No; they died because they were a part of Lawrence. All the remembrance and love possible for you to bestow is their due.

Times are growing better and the people are getting closer together all the time. The hatred of the early days has practically disappeared. We can attend Confederate reunions and listen to the talk with the utmost complacency and friendly feeling; we can note and appreciate their memorials and monuments—they stand for heroic service in what they believed. We have them among us enjoying every advantage and success which comes from peace and a strong and helpful government, and to-day we find no fault with them. Radical Kansas has been more liberal than some other sections of the country. But amid this glorious tendency there is one thing left to rattle a Kansan, and that is the annual Quantrill reunion over the line. The shamelessness of such a reunion is its worst feature. It is, however, the last flickering relic of the barbarism which prompted the repeated and practically unresisted outrages upon Lawrence prior to 1861. But this sole annoyance will soon pass away. The record of Quantrill and his followers, however, should not be permitted to pass into oblivion. It is impossible to-day to find a Kansas man who boasts of outrages committed in



Missouri during the war—there was no such thing prior to the war—but you will hear the bitterest denunciation. Neither is there a set of Kansas men to hold a reunion commemorating some outrage perpetrated by our citizens. The civilization for which Lawrence stood has won out, and these markers are set not in animosity, but through motives of patriotism and pride that the record of our predecessors is so little tarnished, and as a token of love and remembrance for those who have gone before.

The object of a monument or tablet is to give emphasis to the better side of an act or controversy, and by no means to perpetuate the unpleasant. Memorials to heroic deeds or persons have prevailed in all climes and among all peoples since the race began. In ancient times great extravagance prevailed in monuments, arches and memorial buildings. In some instances purposes and motives might be criticized as vainglorious and of questionable taste and judgment from our viewpoint; but the fact remains that they were at all times the emphatic and enthusiastic expression of peoples in the light they had. In the United States, at the beginning of the last century, the memorial idea first appeared, but it was left to the wealth of the last fifty years to fill our cities and cemeteries with statues and memorials of which any people might be proud. The Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution were almost entirely organized to rescue from oblivion places and incidents made interesting to every lover of his country during the Revolutionary war for independence, and they have not only covered the East with markers suggested by that period, but have also contributed to the preservation of the record of those enterprises and events which show the westward growth of the nation.

One of the most remarkable monuments in the world is of recent construction, and stands three miles above the ocean on the summit of the Andes on the boundary line between Chili and Argentina. It is a colossal statue of Christ, cast from old Spanish cannon, and dedicated to eternal peace. It commemorates the conclusion of a treaty of peace and arbitration between these two spirited nations, and was set up March 13, 1904. We should remember that the misguided of fifty years ago were not all Missourians. Let these markers be dedicated to eternal peace, as well as to the patriotism, patience and forbearance of your forefathers.

It has been only within the past twelve or fifteen years that any special effort along this line has been made in Kansas. But there is a growing interest, and, with our \$2,500,000,000 tax roll, we ought to move more rapidly, not only in what individual enterprise might do, but what the state should do. We cannot live without sentiment. More should be done to encourage it. The State Historical Society has had three applications in the past year from patriotic and historical organizations in the East for a statement of what has been done towards the marking of historic spots in Kansas.

There are many minor soldiers' monuments in the various cemeteries of Kansas of which we have learned. Post 180, at Garnett, has a \$500 monument erected by that post with funds furnished by the county; post 42, at Marion, built a \$150 monument; and at Manhattan the post secured a large siege gun and the W. R. C. raised the funds to properly mount it; at Cheryvale, post 142 erected a monument sixteen feet high, built of Bedford limerock, costing \$230, obtained by one-dollar donations, principally from old comrades; at Wichita the soldiers have a 7000-pound, 11-inch Columbia gun, properly mounted; at Belle Plaine, post 337 has erected a monument

sixteen feet high, costing \$250, raised by popular subscription; post 380, National Military Home, has a \$150 monument erected by the Ladies of the G. A. R. and the children of Leavenworth, in memory of Thomas Brennan; post 451, of Bluff City, has a 12-foot shaft representing a tree (Comrade A. B. Work left by will \$150 to apply to the cost of this monument); post 49, at Girard, is the custodian of a granite monument eighteen feet high, built at a cost of \$500 by the W. R. C., and by deed transferred to the post; the Corps at Wilder also erected a monument at a cost of \$100. Oread cemetery, two miles southwest of Lawrence, was located in 1854, and in it there has been a small marker placed to several pioneer soldiers, at a cost of \$100. The walls of the chapel at Fort Leavenworth are literally covered with elegant and costly tablets in memory of officers who gave their lives in the Indian service on the frontier. There are a great number of rich memorial windows in churches, but they are personal or family, and not public expressions.

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Listed below are the more important and historically significant markers thus far placed in Kansas, given in the order of their construction or dedication:

On the 3d of August, 1855, Maj. E. A. Ogden, constructing quartermaster in charge of the building of Fort Riley, died of cholera, incurred in nursing his private soldiers and laborers. Fifteen died on the same day. The disease developed on August 1, and by the 6th between 75 and 100 had died. Major Ogden's remains were later taken to New York, but on the highest knoll in the reserve, overlooking the post, now a beautiful modern city, and the valley of the Kansas, Smoky Hill and the Republican for miles around, stands a monument erected to him by quarrymen, teamsters, stonecutters and laborers.

In the spring of 1876, when preparations were being made for the exhibit at the Centennial at Philadelphia, Alfred Gray, then in charge, found that all the buildings there, except the Kansas building, were to be furnished with fountains, and that Kansas must have a fountain or we would never be in it. The ladies of Topeka gave theatricals and dances and suppers until they had raised \$1000. This sum was used to purchase the fountain. During all that marvelous show this fountain furnished spray and coolness to thousands upon thousands who visited that building, and many who were caught up and later transplanted to Kansas. In 1874 the grasshoppers had been charged with devastating Kansas, and that winter and the spring of 1875 beggars overran the country in the name of Kansas. But 1875 ended with a record-breaking crop, which enabled the state at the exposition of 1876 to beat the world. This was the first and greatest stroke for Kansas. At its close the fountain was brought back and continued its refreshing labors in front of the statehouse in Topeka until permitted to freeze up. For a few years following it remained in a junk-pile in the cellar of the statehouse, when A. B. Quinton borrowed and repaired it, and for a few years past it has been doing duty in a small park at Twelfth and Topeka avenues, Topeka. This fountain not only represents the enthusiasm of the women of Topeka for the proper representation of Kansas at the Centennial, but it was participant in and witness of a display of great utility to the state.

August 30, 1877, on the twenty-first anniversary, a monument at Osa-

watomie was dedicated to those killed in the battle at that place August 30, 1856. It is called the John Brown monument, although at first it was not so designed. Charles Robinson, John J. Ingalls, Dudley C. Haskell, James Hanway, D. R. Anthony and John Ritchie made addresses on the occasion. The names of Theron Parker Powers, Charley Keiser, David R. Garrison, George W. Partridge and Frederick Brown, are inscribed upon it. William Williams was also killed by the ruffians in their retreat from the town. It was erected by a local monument association, and its dedication was attended by 10,000 people. The inscription reads: "In commemoration of those who, on the 30th of August, 1856, gave up their lives at the battle of Osawatomie in defense of freedom." The following additional inscription was an afterthought—gave direction to the speeches and excited almost world-wide comment: "This inscription is also in commemoration of the heroism of Capt. John Brown, who commanded at the battle of Osawatomie, August 30, 1856; who died and conquered American slavery on the scaffold at Charleston, Virginia, December 2, 1859."

Fifty years ago on the 19th of last May the Marais des Cygnes tragedy occurred in Linn county. Eleven free-state men were gathered from their fields, placed in line and fired upon by a body of proslavery men led by Charles A. Hamelton, a Georgian. Five were killed, five wounded, and one escaped. Two stones stand in the gulch five miles northeast of Trading Post, showing the ends of the line of the victims, and a splendid monument in a cemetery marks their graves. For this monument the legislature of 1883 appropriated \$1000. This massacre has been immortalized by Whittier's beautiful poem, "Le Marais du Cygne."

Marysville probably erected the first soldier monument in Kansas. It is the usual statue of a soldier, with his gun at "order arms," made of Vermont marble, mounted on a base of native stone about six feet high. It cost \$1350, not including the labor of constructing the base. The money was raised by G. A. R. post No. 9, by giving public entertainments. There is a tablet on each side for inscription, one only being used. The inscription is as follows: "An acknowledgment of the debt which mankind owes to the heroes who fought to maintain the integrity of our national Union, and preserve to the world a government founded upon liberty and equality." It is the purpose to use the other tablets in time, and a friend suggests for one: "God has been good to Liberty's nation."

In the Topeka cemetery stands a handsome monument to Alfred Gray, for which the legislatures of 1881 and 1883 appropriated \$1500, in recognition of his services in establishing the work of the State Board of Agriculture, and thereby attracting a vast emigration to our prairies.

In 1889, at the instance of Senator P. B. Plumb, the United States government removed to the Mound City cemetery the bodies of the soldiers killed at Mine creek in resisting the invasion of Gen. Sterling Price's army. It also erected a monument, six feet by six feet at the base, and eighteen feet high, including a figure of a private soldier in full uniform standing with "arms at rest." There is also a flagstaff on the grounds erected by the government. The ground occupied by the cemetery was deeded to the United States, and Mound City agreed to keep it in good condition. The monument cost \$2000, besides transportation and setting. There are forty-five soldiers buried in the tract, among them Col. James Montgomery and



Maj. John T. Snoddy. The inscription is as follows: "Erected by the United States, 1889. In memory of the officers and soldiers buried within this cemetery, who gave their lives in defense of the Nation."

Fort Leavenworth has a beautiful memorial to Gen. Ulysses Simpson Grant, in the form of a bronze statue of the great soldier and president of the United States. It was the first of the kind to be erected in the West to an officer of the United States army. It is the result of a suggestion by Henry Shindler in the *Kansas City Times*, made within a week after the General's death, which occurred July 23, 1885. The governors of several Western states soon thereafter held a meeting in the office of Gen. Nelson A. Miles to urge the matter. The bronze statue is the work of Lorado Taft. It was unveiled September 14, 1889, in the presence of an audience of 10,000 people, including public men, Federal and Confederate, from all parts of the country. It cost \$4791.61, not counting rock foundation and labor required. The inscription on the statue, west side, is as follows: "This statue was erected by officers and enlisted men and employees of the Quartermaster's Department of the U. S. Army; citizens of the states of Kansas and Missouri, including the Leavenworth Athletic Association; Woman's Relief Corps No. 40, Wichita, Kan.; Post 132, G. A. R., Junction City, Kan.; the Traveling Men's Grant Monument fund; the subscription list of the *Kansas City Times*; J. A. Garfield post No. 2, Chamberlain, Dakota; citizens of Philadelphia, and others." On the north side of the pedestal or base is a bronze tablet showing Grant mounted at the head of his staff. A tablet on the south side and underneath the feet of the statue contains a list of the battles of the Mexican and Civil wars in which General Grant participated.

The occurrence which the monument on the grounds of the Winfield high school commemorates took place on Timber creek, in the environs of the city. A party of boys were skating on ice that at best would scarcely hold them up. In a bend was a deep pool, where subaqueous springs kept the water from freezing except in a strip along one shore. Paull Bedilion, about twelve years old, skated too near the edge and broke through. Thomas Morgan, the only large boy in the crowd, lay down on the ice and endeavored to pull the endangered one to firm footing, but was himself drawn in. The other boys buckled their straps together and cast an end to those in the water. It was grasped by Morgan, who was holding Paull (as it was spelled) firmly. The boys on the shore were unable to pull both onto the ice. Paull, seeing this, called to Tom to let him go and save himself, which he probably could have done. Tom replied, "No, Paull; if you go, I'll go too." A little afterward, numbed by the cold, he lost his hold on the strap and both, weighted by their skates, sank in eighteen feet of water. The monument was unveiled in August, 1891. It was bought by a subscription fund of \$800, contributed mostly by school children and college students. The inscription is as follows: "To the memory of Thomas Morgan, aged 19 years, who was drowned January 16, 1891, in an attempt to save the life of Paull Bedilion, his companion. This monument is erected by the people to commemorate his unselfish and heroic act."

In Oak Grove cemetery, Kansas City, Kan., there is a monument to Mary A. Sturges, an army nurse. It is an oblong about six feet high, four by five feet on the ground. It cost \$600, and the money was raised by subscription. On the top is an open book, with the word "Mother" inscribed.

Facing west is the following: "In memory of Mary A. Sturges, 1809-1892; a Union army nurse. Erected by Burnside W. R. C. No. 1, Department of Kansas. Sturges." On the back, which fronts east, is the following: "In November, 1861, at the call for nurses, Mrs. Sturges, with her daughter Mary B., enlisted in the 6th Illinois cavalry; was immediately sent to Camp Butler, Springfield, Illinois, where she entered upon the duties of regiment nurse. Here her patient, loving care of the boys in blue won for her the endearing name by which she was ever afterwards called. In January, 1862, she was sworn into the United States service and entered a broader field of hospital work at Memphis, Tennessee. She was finally placed in charge of Adams Block Hospital, and remained until mustered out of service, in June, 1865. Many noble women entered the ranks as army nurses, but none gained a warmer place in the soldier's heart than did Mother Sturges. The dear old mother never relaxed her interest in charitable work until she died, in her 83d year, happy in a Christian faith that sustained her through life. Truly it may be said of her, 'This woman was full of good works which she did.'"

In the Olathe cemetery there is a soldier monument costing \$1000, raised by Franklin post No. 68. The base and body of the monument is of granite, surmounted by a life-size figure of a soldier standing at rest, executed in white marble. It was erected in 1893. In a circle at its base are buried thirty-seven soldiers. The inscription reads on the west side: "Erected by Franklin Post, No. 68, G. A. R. In memory of our dead comrades." On the north side is a representation of a G. A. R. badge and the date 1893.

There are also soldier monuments in the cemeteries at Monticello, Gardner and Spring Hill, Johnson county, costing each about \$400, raised by subscription, erected shortly after the one at Olathe.

In December, 1890, the Seventh cavalry was ordered from Fort Riley to quell the Sioux Indians in South Dakota. On the 29th and 30th of December occurred the battle of Wounded Knee, in which twenty-five soldiers were killed and thirty-five wounded. The Indian loss was eighty-four men, forty-four women and eighteen children killed, and thirty-three children wounded. A monument was erected at Fort Riley, and dedicated July 25, 1893, with great ceremony, to the deeds of the Seventh cavalry. On the west side is the following inscription: "To the soldiers who were killed in the battle with Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee and Drexel Mission, South Dakota, December 29 and 30, 1890. Erected as a tribute of affection by their comrades of the Medical Department and Seventh Cavalry, U. S. A., 1893." The monument cost \$2000. The enlisted men gave \$1167, and the balance came from officers and the medical department. The names of those killed are inscribed on the monument.

In Oak Grove, Lawrence, there stands a beautiful monument, eight by four feet at the base, and eight feet seven inches high, bearing this inscription: "Dedicated to the memory of one hundred and fifty citizens who, defenseless, fell victims to the inhuman ferocity of border guerrillas, led by the infamous Quantrill in his raid upon Lawrence, August 21, 1863. Erected May 30, 1895."

Kansas has three monuments, authorized by the legislature of 1895, to mark the positions of the Eighth Kansas regiment at Chickamauga and Chattanooga. The sum of \$5000 was appropriated, of which \$4472.63 was used. One is located on Mission Ridge, one at Orchard Knob, and one at

Viniard's Place. The first is inscribed, "Eighth Kansas Infantry, Third Brigade, First Division, Twentieth Army Corps"; the second is inscribed, "The Eighth Kansas Volunteer Infantry occupied this position at 1 p. m., September 19, 1863"; and the third, "Eighth Kansas Volunteer Infantry." Each has a bronze plate of the seal of Kansas, and each also contains an elaborate statement of the movements of the regiment, results and losses. In the battle of Chattanooga the Kansas troops were among the first to reach and drive the enemy from Mission Ridge. The monuments were accepted and turned over to the state September 20, 1895.

In the Topeka cemetery there stands a magnificent monument, the figure of a private soldier, erected by Guilford G. Gage in memory of his comrades of the Shawnee county militia who were killed at the battle of the Blue, October 22, 1864. There were twenty-four killed and twenty wounded and sixty-eight taken prisoners. Twenty thousand Kansas militiamen were in the field at that time to resist the invasion of the state by the army of Gen. Sterling Price. The monument cost \$10,000. It was unveiled on Memorial Day, 1896, and Gen. J. C. Caldwell made the principal address. Mr. Gage also gave land adjoining the city on the west, valued at \$10,000, for a park. He was born at Sheffield, Ohio, October 17, 1834, settled in Topeka May 5, 1856, and died May 19, 1899.

May 30, 1896, a soldier's monument was dedicated at Baldwin. It cost \$500. The inscription is as follows: "In memory of the soldiers who fought for the preservation of the Union in the war of the great rebellion, from 1861 to 1865. Erected by E. D. Baker Post No. 40 and Woman's Relief Corps No. 102."

Junction City has a fine memorial arch at the northeast corner of the city park, costing \$2100, unveiled September 9, 1898. Its total height is thirty-five feet. Its base is twenty-three feet; each pier is seven feet six inches square, and the arch eight feet wide and sixteen feet to the keystone. On the top is a block three feet thick, and on this stands a bronze figure of an American volunteer soldier, eight feet tall. On either side is a stand of old army muskets and a cannon. It was built by public subscription, the list containing 190 names.

In the chapel at Washburn College there are two memorial windows. One is inscribed: "My Country, 'tis of Thee. In Memoriam, John H. Bartlett, Co. F, 20th Kansas Vol. Inf.; died in Hospital, July 14, 1898." The second bears the name of "Richard M. Coulson, Co. H, 22d Vol. Inf.; died in Hospital, Sept. 23, 1898."

In the cemetery at Elmdale, Chase county, there is a soldier monument costing \$200, paid for by subscription raised under the direction of the U. S. Grant post No. 201, Department of Kansas, G. A. R. It is twenty feet high. On the east side is this inscription: "In memory of the soldiers and sailors of 1861 to 1866." On the west side: "Grand Army of the Republic, 1861, Veterans 1866. Dedicated by U. S. Grant Post, May 30, 1898."

In the Miami county courthouse at Paola there is a tablet four and a half feet wide and seven and a half feet high, in the shape of a mantel, dedicated to soldiers from that neighborhood who were killed or died during the Spanish-American war. It cost \$350. A fund is being raised in the county with which to erect a monument in the city park to the soldiers of the Civil War.

At Ottawa there is a memorial gateway at Forest park. It is built of Carthage limestone and embraces seven columns. The central column is



surmounted by a bronze eagle, six feet spread, perched on a pyramid of cannon balls. It cost \$2000. An inscription on a polished granite tablet is as follows: "In honor of Company K, 20th Kansas regiment, Kansas volunteers. In appreciation of their gallantry and patriotism in the Philippine Islands, 1898-1899. This gateway was erected by the citizens of Franklin county."

In the chapel at the Kansas University, Lawrence, is a bronze tablet two by three feet, placed there in honor of Lieutenant Alford, who was killed at Caloocan. It cost \$200, and the fund was raised among his University friends. It bears this inscription: "Alfred Cecil Alford, First Lieutenant Commanding Company B, Twentieth Kansas Infantry, U. S. V., killed near Caloocan February 7, MDCCCXCIX. The first son of the University to die on the field of battle. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" ("Sweet and seemly is it to die for one's fatherland.")

In the Albert Taylor hall of the State Normal building at Emporia there is a bronze battle-piece tablet in memory of Normal students who died in the Spanish-American war. It measures fifteen and a half by forty and three-fourths inches, and bears the following inscriptions: "Lieut. W. A. McTaggart, died in action May 4, 1899. 20th Kansas Volunteers." "Died in the service of his country: Rutherford D. Park, August 25, 1898." "Clifford T. Rhinehart, September 28, 1898. 22d Kansas Volunteers." "Curran Craig, died of wounds, March 26, 1899. 20th Kansas Volunteers." The Philomathian Society has placed on the walls of its hall two brass tablets in memory of its members: "Curran C. Craig. Died in the service of his country at Manila, March 26, 1899." "Clifford T. Rhinehart. Died in the service of his country, September 28, 1898."

The monument to Ex-Gov. John A. Martin, at Atchison, is a broken column of Westerly (R. I.) marble. The design represents an unfinished life, and is a duplicate of the monument to J. G. Holland, the poet. It was erected by John A. Martin post No. 93, G. A. R., Atchison, at a cost of \$1080, with funds raised by this post and from friends throughout the state. There is a life-size bronze medallion of the governor on the face of the monument, and below it a bronze tablet containing the following inscription: "In memory of a soldier and statesman, John A. Martin. Born at Brownsville, Pa., March 10, 1839. Died at Atchison, Kansas, October 2, 1889. Colonel of the 8th Kansas Volunteers, and Brevet Brigadier General of U. S. Volunteers. Editor and publisher of the Atchison *Champion* from 1858-1889. Governor of Kansas from 1885-1889. To commemorate his public and private virtues, his friends have erected this monument."

There is a bronze tablet about two by four feet in size on the walls of the capitol building in Topeka, with this inscription: "Franklin George Adams, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society, 1876-1899. Born, 1824; died 1899. A Tribute by the Kansas Editorial Association." Away back in the start of things Judge Adams was filled with the idea that newspaper files were of great value for historical purposes. He gathered and put away with the utmost diligence, amid the jeers and smiles of smart people, every newspaper printed in Kansas. He had a very meager salary and no money for other expenses, and so his children, after school hours and all day Saturday, cared for these newspapers without pay. The small fellow and the grafter immediately started a howl about a "family snap," and many good but thoughtless people from suspicion fell in with it. To-day the

usefulness and popularity of that newspaper collection makes it a great monument of itself, of which the tablet is but of slight recognition. But the incident is a stinging rebuke to those who never credit anyone with doing anything other than for gain.

Two markers have been placed by the Daughters of the Revolution on Kansas avenue in Topeka. One is the corner stone in the wholesale house of the Davis Mercantile Co., corner Kansas avenue and First street, bearing this inscription: "This building marks the site of the first cabin in Topeka, where the town company was organized, December 5, 1854. Dedicated by the Topeka Chapter, D. A. R., September 19, 1901."<sup>1</sup> The other is a large cast-iron tablet in the sidewalk on the west side of Kansas avenue, lots 135 and 137, street numbers 427 and 429, north of Fifth street, with this inscription: "Constitution Hall, where the Topeka constitutional convention met in 1855 and the Topeka legislature was dispersed by Col. E. V. Sumner, July 4, 1856. Used as state capitol 1864-'69. Placed here by the Daughters of the American Revolution, July 4, 1903."

The legislature of 1901 gave \$3000 to mark the site of the Pawnee village, in Republic county, visited by Zebulon Montgomery Pike in 1806. A twenty-seven-foot granite shaft marks the place, and an iron fence incloses about six acres, on which the rings of the *tepees* are yet distinctly visible. The monument bears the following inscription: "Erected by the State of Kansas, 1901, to mark the site of the Pawnee Republic, where Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the flag of the United States to be raised, September 29, 1806." A four-days celebration of the centennial of this event was held in September, 1906, attended by thousands of people from the neighboring counties in Kansas and Nebraska. The proceedings of this first centennial celebration of Kansas, with addresses, are published in the tenth volume of the Kansas State Historical Society's Collections.

The Quivira Historical Society, under the direction of J. V. Brower, of Minnesota, an archeologist and student of early explorations, erected four monuments in the counties of Geary, Dickinson, Riley and Wabaunsee to commemorate the Spanish explorations of 1541-'42. The first is at Logan grove, two miles south of Junction City, on the property of Robert D. Henderson, in honor of Coronado. This was dedicated August 12, 1902. The inscription reads as follows: "Quivira and Harahey. Discovered by Coronado, 1541. Jaramillo, Padilla, Tatarra. Rediscovered by J. V. Brower, 1896. Erected for Quivira Historical Society, by Robert Henderson, 1902. John T. Keagy, chairman, Edward A. Kilian, secretary, Kansas, U. S. A." Also one at Herington, Dickinson county, in the city park, in honor of Friar Juan de Padilla, the first Christian martyr to die on the soil of the United States, was dedicated October 26, 1904; a third, in the city park in Manhattan, Riley county, in honor of Tatarra, chief of the Harahey Indian tribe, who visited Coronado while on his exploring expedition, was dedicated October 27, 1904; and one at Alma, Wabaunsee county, in honor of the Harahey tribe of Indians, dedicated October 28, 1904. These four monu-

NOTE 1.—The building containing this tablet has been twice destroyed by fire. It was first destroyed on the morning of February 13, 1904. It was occupied by the wholesale grocery firm of Parkhurst, Davis & Co. It was originally a five-story building. It was immediately reconstructed in four stories, and the firm resumed business after a loss of about \$250,000. About ten o'clock P. M. Thursday, February 11, 1909, the building was again totally destroyed by fire, with an equally heavy loss. A fireproof building was immediately erected, and business resumed by the Davis Mercantile Co. The marker retains its old position.

ments cost \$2000, the principal part of the expense being borne by Mr. Brower.

The legislature of 1903 authorized the city of Wichita and the county of Sedgwick to appropriate \$3000 to erect a monument or monuments to their dead soldiers in that neighborhood. No action has been taken under the law up to date.

On the 30th of May, 1904, more than thirty-four years after his death, a large Oklahoma red granite boulder, with a bronze tablet, was placed with much ceremony at the grave of Thomas J. Smith, in the cemetery at Abilene. The boulder is six feet long by three feet six inches wide, and weighs 6400 pounds. It cost \$200. The bronze tablet bears this inscription: "Thomas J. Smith, Marshall of Abilene, 1870. Died a martyr to duty, November 2, 1870. A fearless hero of frontier days, who in cowboy chaos established the supremacy of law."

The legislature of 1903 voted that a marble statue of John J. Ingalls should be placed in Statuary hall at Washington, and appropriated \$6000 to pay for the same. It was unveiled and dedicated with many speeches, January 21, 1905. It is a splendid representation of the senator.

Capt. Hugh H. Siverd, who won his title in the First Ohio cavalry, was an early settler in Cowley county. In 1880 he became deputy sheriff and jailer, and thereafter was either that or constable to the time of his death. He was a splendid officer, fearless, honest and capable. He died at the hands of Wilber Norton and Morgan Wright, two young law-defying desperadoes, on October 25, 1903. He was shot down in cold blood on the principal corner of the town, being then in the discharge of his duty. A bronze tablet star, marked with the initial "S," is set in the pavement at the spot where his life-blood ran out. Except his headstone in Union cemetery, no other public memorial to him is in existence. The local G. A. R. post, slowly going the way of all mortals, is named for him. No monument was voted to him by the legislature, except in the act of 1905 which authorizes the city of Winfield to raise \$3000 by taxation to build a soldier's monument, upon which should be displayed a medallion portrait of Captain Siverd, but no action has ever been taken under this authority.

At Burlingame they have a fine soldier monument in the cemetery, mounted by a statue of a private soldier at rest, in all sixteen feet high, on a base over five feet square. It bears the Grand Army and Relief Corps emblems and the inscription: "1861—Our Heroes—1864." It stands in the center of the local cemetery. The ladies of the Relief Corps raised the money by furnishing meals on various public occasions and by literary and other entertainments. It cost \$1250, and was dedicated May 30, 1905.

On Beecher Island, seventeen miles south of Wray, Yuma county, Colorado, and five or six miles west of the Kansas state line, is a monument costing \$5000, erected jointly by the states of Colorado and Kansas. One-half the money was voted by the Kansas legislature of 1905. This battle was fought September 17, 18 and 19, 1868, between fifty-one citizen scouts and a large party of Indians, comprising northern Cheyennes, Ogallalah and Brule Sioux, and Dog soldiers. Col. George A. Forsyth commanded the scouts, and the noted war chief Roman Nose the Indians. The scouts were held on this island nine days, subsisting on horse and mule meat. Seventy-five Indians were killed; wounded unknown. The scouts lost five killed and sixteen wounded. The monument was unveiled and dedicated on the anniver-



sary, in September, 1905. The scouts engaged were all pioneer settlers in Lincoln and Ottawa counties, Kansas. Great credit is due Hon. E. T. Skinner, of Beverly, for the appropriation.

The legislature of 1905 gave to the Daughters of the Revolution \$1000 with which to mark the Santa Fe trail. The school children of Kansas, January 29, 1906, added to this, after expenses of collection and prizes were paid, \$584.40, by a penny subscription. The Daughters thus had \$1584.40 to spend. With this amount they placed along the trail from the eastern to the western lines of the state, through twenty-one counties, eighty-nine markers. Individual chapters and local interests added at different points six markers, making ninety-five. In July, 1908, three additional markers were added by a school district, an Old Settlers' Association, and the Wichita Daughters of the Revolution, in Marion county, making in all ninety-eight. The legislature of Colorado expended \$2000 in continuing these markers from Hamilton county, Kansas, along the Arkansas, or upper route, thence southwest to the line of New Mexico.

A bronze tablet in honor of Edward Grafstrom was presented to the state through the Kansas State Historical Society, by the Mechanical Engineers of the United States, June 2, 1906. It is four feet nine and a half inches by three feet in size, and is mounted on an iron pedestal furnished by the employees of the Santa Fe shops in Topeka. It was received in the hall of the house of representatives by Gov. E. W. Hoch. James A. Troutman also made an address. The Presbyterian choir rendered appropriate music. The tablet is of elegant design and bears the following inscription: "In memory of Edward Grafstrom. Born in Motola, Sweden, December 19, 1862. He was educated at Orebro University and at Boras Institute of Technology, where at the age of nineteen he received the degree of mechanical engineer, and at the time of his death was chief mechanical engineer of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad. During the great flood of June, 1903, which swept over North Topeka, he designed and built a small side-wheel steamer, in which, with a volunteer crew of six men, he rescued hundreds of people. While making the last trip, on the night of June 2, 1903, the boat was cap-sized and Mr. Grafstrom was drowned. His noble personality endeared him to all. This tablet is erected in grateful appreciation of his heroic sacrifice in giving up his life to save others." Neither the body of Mr. Grafstrom nor his boat were ever found.

Fort Scott has a very handsome soldiers' monument in the courthouse yard. It stands thirty feet high, including a statue of eight feet six inches. The weight of the monument, of gray New Hampshire granite, is 60,000 pounds. The monument is composed of three bases, the first eight feet square. The first die contains this inscription: "In memory of the volunteer defenders of the Union, 1861-1865"; the second: "1906. Erected by Wm. H. Lytle Post, No. 32, Department of Kansas, Grand Army of the Republic, by public subscription"; the third: "The men in whose honor this monument was erected were led by fires of liberty. They fought for no North, no South, no East, no West, but for one glorious and united country." The statue is also of granite, and represents a private soldier at parade rest. The total cost was about \$2000. It was dedicated May 30, 1906, and Gov. E. W. Hoch was the principal orator.

Antietam Post, No. 64, at Parsons, owns a burial plat in Oakwood cemetery, furnishing room for 500 bodies, in which are now interred ninety-eight

ex-Union soldiers and sailors, representing sixteen different states and seventy-six different organizations of the Civil War. In the center of this plat has been erected a rotunda of cement twenty-four feet in diameter at the base, twelve feet high to the ceiling, with a total height of twenty-eight feet. It is surmounted by a pyramid of cannon balls and an eagle. The cost of beautifying the grounds, grading, coping, erecting the rotunda and erection of the flagstaff was \$8000. About \$5000 was raised by a half mill tax on the property of Labette county, authorized by the legislature of 1905. There are also two large cannon given by the United States government, and a flagstaff. The only inscription is "Antietam Post, No. 64, G. A. R., 1907."

In October, 1867, six laborers were killed by Indians on the Union Pacific railway near Victoria, in Ellis county. The bodies were taken to Victoria and buried in a natural mound on the railroad's right of way just south of the track. The burial spot was later fenced at the railroad company's expense, and kept in repair until, a couple of years ago, the railroad company marked the place by setting up a large piece of Rocky Mountain granite, on one side of which is embedded a copper plate bearing an inscription as follows: "This stone marks the burial place of six track laborers, who were in the employ of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, and, while on duty, about one mile west of here, were massacred by a band of Cheyenne Indians, in October, 1867. Erected by the Union Pacific Railroad Company." There is no record of the names\* of the men who were killed. They had firearms and ammunition on their hand car with which they could have defended themselves had they been able to reach them. James Behan, a farmer in the neighborhood, has furnished the Historical Society with two photographs of the stone. Mr. Behan has given much care and attention to the graves.

In the cemetery at Erie, Neosho county, a beautiful granite monument, erected by the local post, was unveiled May 30, 1907. It is thirty-two feet high, with "a full-size private soldier at parade rest on the top." It cost \$2,000, which was raised by general subscription. The only inscription is "In Memoriam. Erected under the auspices of Erie Post, No. 311."

At Lindsborg, McPherson county, there is a statue in honor of Rev. C. A. Swensson. It was made in Italy, of Carrara marble. The statue is six feet nine inches high, and the pedestal, made of Bedford stone, is five feet eight inches high. It cost \$975. The fund was gathered from far and near, under the auspices of the Commercial Club of Lindsborg. It was dedicated April 29, 1907. On the south side of the pedestal is this inscription: "Founder of Bethany College, 1881. President from 1889 to 1904." On the west side: "Carl Aaron Swensson, born June 25, 1857, at Sugar Grove, Pa. Died February 16, 1904, at Los Angeles, Calif." On the south side: "Ordained as a minister of the Lutheran Church June 22, 1879." A monument costing \$1000 is being placed over his grave in a near-by cemetery.

At Princeton, in Franklin county, there is a monument of Barre granite, six feet high, dedicated to the old soldiers on Flag day, June 14, 1907. It cost over \$600. The money was raised largely by the Ladies of the Grand Army. There is also a steel flagstaff fifty feet high, from which the flag is always waving. There are twenty-one old soldiers buried at the base of

\* See statement copied from *Wakefield Advertiser* regarding these graves in Historical Collections. vol. 10, p. 487, note 7.

the monument. The inscription is as follows: "In memory of our soldiers who fought in the great rebellion of 1861-1865." And on the reverse side: "Loyalty and Patriotism. Erected by Princeton Circle, No. 33, of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic." The purpose was to dedicate on Decoration day, but the preceding day and night the gates of the skies were opened and the floods came, and every stream in Franklin county was out of its banks. Mr. Parkinson was the only speaker of Ottawa who succeeded in reaching his post, but everything was afloat, and the exercises at the monument were postponed until Flag day, June 14. The exercises of Decoration day closed with a brief address at the church by Mr. Parkinson. He was very weak, as he was in the grasp of a deadly disease, and on the morning of Flag day "taps" were sounded for Comrade Parkinson, and he joined his host of comrades on the other shore. Rev. Howard I. Keer, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Ottawa, and a former Princeton boy, as his father was pastor of the Presbyterian church for many years, kindly consented to fill the gap, which he did with a splendid and well-nigh impromptu address to a large audience, with the "starry flag" waving overhead.

The soldiers' and sailors' monument, in Mount Hope cemetery, Bolton township, Cowley county, was erected by the Sunflower Club, a social and literary organization of the township, including also the ladies of Arkansas City. The monument is constructed of the best Barre granite, and consists of three bases and one main die surmounted by a cap, with the granite figure of a soldier six feet two inches high at parade rest. The complete height of the monument is seventeen feet. It was erected at a cost of \$1000, and bears the inscription: "To the memory of the unknown soldiers, sailors and marines, from '61 to '65." Just beneath the inscription is a beautiful Grand Army badge. The monument was dedicated October 24, 1907, with appropriate and impressive ceremony. The monument was entirely veiled with a large American flag, bound around it with red, white and blue ribbon, and at the proper time, while the Chilocco Indian band played an appropriate march, six children—three girls and three boys—marched around and unwound the ribbon, and "Old Glory" floated to the breeze to the strains of "Star-spangled Banner." Ex-Gov. W. E. Stanley gave the main address of the day, followed by R. Campbell, department commander.

In October, 1907, Col. Samuel F. Woolard started to raise a fund with which to restore and make as permanent as possible the walls of the building, on the Fort Riley reserve, first used for legislative purposes in Kansas. Sessions were held in this building July 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, 1855. The bank troubles of 1907-'08 curtailed the job somewhat, but enough was done to permanently mark the place of beginning of organized government in the territory. All missing stone was restored to the walls, the windows and doors squared, all cracks filled with cement, and one coat of cement plaster applied to the inside and the top of the walls, making all weather-proof. The walls were also braced by several iron rods. Signs were placed on three sides of the building. The amount of \$499.50 was raised by a five-dollar state-wide subscription, and \$441.37 expended. As a relic, these walls are good now for a century. During the month of August last, 7000 troops were camped on the hillside facing this building, including militia from Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Kansas, besides several regiments of



the regular army. An agitation for the preservation of these walls was begun about 1900.

In the Elmwood cemetery at Coffeyville a beautiful monument was dedicated October 8, 1908, to the memory of "Union Soldiers and Sailors." It is of Vermont granite, fifteen feet high, and stands at the entrance to the cemetery, a tribute to nearly 100 heroes resting near by. It cost \$1400, raised by the Woman's Relief Corps. The inscription reads: "In memory of the Union Soldiers and Sailors of the Civil War of 1861 to 1865. Erected by Woman's Relief Corps, No. 171, of Coffeyville, Kansas." The ladies were four years raising the money.

At Quenemo, in Osage county, there is a soldiers' monument eighteen feet high, including a statue of a private soldier at rest. It is five feet square at the base. The cost was \$1070, raised by contributions from the citizens of Quenemo and surrounding country. It was dedicated October 15, 1908, and stands on a beautiful piece of ground donated by the Oak Hill cemetery. The funds were solicited by J. A. Nelson and G. W. Largent.

The Woman's Kansas Day Club resolved at their meeting January 29, 1908, that they would make an effort to save Pawnee Rock, near Larned, in Pawnee county. It was being destroyed for the rock. By November the title was passed to the state. For hundreds of years this rock was a landmark for all the tribes who preceded the white man, and since wagon travel begun, in 1822, it has been a harbor of rest and safety for many a weary traveler. The Santa Fe trail ran along the base of the rock. It is twenty feet high, and lies about two miles from the river. On the 13th of July, 1846, Gen. Alexander W. Doniphan's army of two regiments of Missouri volunteers, destined for the Mexican war, reached Pawnee Rock, where they camped two days because of high water. They planted the flag on top of the rock and left it there. Two soldiers died and were buried at Pawnee Rock. One was named N. Carson and the other Copeland. The chaplain preached a funeral sermon from the following text: "And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." Isaiah, 32:2. This is the second mention of the flag in Kansas. Lewis and Clark celebrated the Fourth of July at Atchison in 1805, and Doniphan celebrated the day, in 1846, at Council Grove; they no doubt each had a flag, but neither mentions it.

On Kansas Day, the 29th of January, 1909, the legislature met in joint convention for the purpose of receiving the deeds of the historic Pawnee Rock, in Pawnee county, and a road leading to it. The deeds are for the old rock itself and five acres of ground surrounding it. Lieutenant Governor W. J. Fitzgerald presided at the meeting, and by his side was seated Speaker J. N. Dolley of the House. Just in front of them sat Mrs. J. S. Simmons and Governor W. R. Stubbs. The story is told in the short address of Mrs. Simmons, president of the Woman's Kansas Day Club:

"No greater honor can be conferred upon a Kansas woman than to be permitted to talk to a Kansas legislature—the men who represent the noblest and the best in the state—unless it be the honor of representing the women of Kansas. As president of the Woman's Kansas Day Club, composed of loyal and patriotic women of Kansas, I am doing both. The purpose of the club is to collect relics and records of the early days of the state and to instill patriotism in the hearts of the people of Kansas. The work of the past year has been largely that of securing for the state the site of the

ancient and historic Pawnee Rock, the greatest natural landmark in the state. Before any effort was made to preserve it, it was greatly desecrated, but there will be no more of that. The women have secured the deed for the property from Benjamin P. Unruh. Mr. Unruh was born on Russian soil, of German parents, and is an alien in Kansas. However, he is a naturalized citizen of the state and has made this occasion possible. The conditions under which this historic rock is deeded to the state is that \$3000 be spent upon it in improvements. This has been done. This occasion is a formality alone. The deeds were accepted by the governor last December. I desire now to formally present to the state, in behalf of the women of the Woman's Kansas Day Club, the deeds to this property."

The legislature of 1909 appropriated \$500 to assist the ladies in making certain improvements.

The legislature of 1909, at the instance of Hon. J. D. Flanagan, passed an act, House bill No. 678, appropriating to the board of county commissioners of Decatur county the sum of \$1500, for the purpose of erecting a monument to citizens killed in said county in a raid of Cheyenne Indians September 30, 1878. This was the last raid and the last scalping within the borders of Kansas, an incident in our history certainly worth marking. In that raid William Laing, John C. Laing, jr., Freeman Laing, J. G. Smith, E. R. Humphrey, John Humphrey, Moses F. Abernathy, John C. Hutson, George F. Walters, Marcellus Felt, Ed Miskelley, Ferdinand Westphal and son, Mr. Wright, Mr. Lull, Mr. Irwin and Frederick Hamper were murdered and scalped by said Indians. Their graves furnished the nucleus of the public cemetery at Oberlin.

May 9, 1909, the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs erected a monument in Oak Grove cemetery, Kansas City, Kan., to the memory of Mary Tenney Gray, the lecturer and one of the founders of that organization. The monument is of Vermont granite and overlooks the Missouri valley, which Mrs. Gray once declared was "the most beautiful and romantic view in America." Mrs. Gray died in 1902.

May 13, 1909, John Brown's battle field at Osawatimie was purchased and presented to the state of Kansas. The Woman's Relief Corps of Kansas purchased the tract for \$1800, of which \$1500 was raised among members and the remainder pledged from the state department funds. The address was delivered by Mrs. Anna Heacock, of Parsons, retiring state president. State Senator F. H. Stannard represented Governor Stubbs and presented Prof. Wm. Wheeler, an early-day educator, to make the speech of acceptance. The state is to name a committee of three to have charge of the property. On the 30th of August, 1856, the Missourians under John W. Reed and Rev. Martin White attacked Osawatimie and burned the town. Their number was about four hundred, and John Brown's forty-one. Captain Brown's son Frederick was killed. Six free-soilers and at least two Missourians were killed, and a few on each side wounded.

On Monday, May 31, 1909, the people of Lincoln county, in the presence of a large assembly, dedicated a monument to the memory of the early settlers who were killed by Indians in the raids through the county in the '60's. The monument was unveiled by Mrs. Mary Edwards, of Sylvan Grove, niece of Mrs. Susanna Alderdice, who was killed by the Indians. The monument cost \$500, which was raised by popular subscription. It is of dark Quincy granite, fourteen feet high, and rests upon a five-foot concrete foundation. It stands in the Lincoln county courthouse yard, at the front entrance. On the

6th of May, 1909, the Masonic lodge of Lincoln laid the corner stone. Preceding the unveiling, Rev. John S. Strange, one of the early settlers, who had a son killed by the Indians, made a few remarks. The inscriptions on the monument are as follows: Front view, facing south: "Erected by free gifts, in memory of those massacred or captured by Indians in what is now Lincoln county. Dedicated May 30, 1909." And this sentence follows: "Remember the days of old." On the west side is this inscription: "Massacred May 30, 1869, between Trail and Beaver creeks, E. Lauritzen, Mrs. Stine Lauritzen, O. Petersen, F. Meigherhoff, G. Weichell, F. Alderdice, 2½ years, A. Alderdice, 3 months, J. Dailey, 7 years, J. H. Strange, 14 years, A. Schmutz, 14 years." On the north side: "Captured May 30, A. D. 1869, Mrs. Alderdice, Mrs. Weichell; Mrs. Alderdice killed by a Sioux chief during battle with U. S. cavalry, July 11, 1869, on south fork of Platte river, Colorado Territory; Mrs. Weichell wounded and rescued," in the same battle. The east side inscription reads: "Massacred August 6, A. D. 1864, on Beaver Creek, J. L. Moffitt, T. Moffitt, J. W. Houston, J. Tyler."

December 1, 1908, the State Historical Society, following the efforts of individual members, appointed a committee of nine, extending from Fort Scott to Oberlin, to labor in behalf of an appropriation for a memorial building in which to care for the magnificent historical collection now in the state capitol, a movement having again been launched by the council of administration of the Grand Army in June, 1908. The circumstances were propitious, a return of several hundreds of thousands of dollars to Kansas from the federal government, money expended in defense of the state forty years ago, being anticipated. There was a hearty agreement between the Grand Army of the Republic, through its commander, William A. Morgan, and the Historical Society in this request for a memorial building to house the offices and collections of both organizations.

It had been the hope of some for many years that such a monument might be erected as a memorial to the Civil War soldiers, who contributed so much to the history of the state. During the past twenty-two years several efforts were made to this end, but not until in 1909, when a practical, daily, continuous and wide-spread sentimental use for a memorial building was suggested, did the legislature give serious attention. In 1887 house bill No. 323 was introduced in the legislature to enable the soldiers of the Rebellion, and those who engaged in the contest for free soil, to erect a monument to perpetuate the memories of their lives. This was reported adversely by the committee. An act, house bill No. 431, in the same legislature, authorizing the condemnation and purchase of the site of the Baxter Springs massacre in Cherokee county, and to create the same into an historical park for the use of the Kansas National Guard and reunion grounds for the Grand Army of the Republic, died on the calendar. In 1889 house bill No. 313 was introduced, providing for an appropriation of \$150,000 to build a soldiers' memorial hall at the University, Lawrence, to be used as a library for the University. This was indefinitely postponed. In 1895 the legislature, house bill No. 365, very generously provided the Grand Army rooms for a museum and headquarters in the capitol, and in 1899 added a provision for certain printing. In 1901 a bill was introduced (senate bill No. 535) providing for the levy and collection of a tax of one-tenth of one mill each for the years 1901 and 1902, for the creation of a fund for the erection and maintenance



of a monument to the memory of the patriotic and heroic service of the Kansas soldiers and sailors, 1861-'65. This was pigeonholed by the ways and means committee. In 1903 house bill No. 400 asked for an appropriation of \$200,000 for a soldier's monument in the statehouse grounds at Topeka. A tenth-of-a-mill tax for two years was also considered. In the senate this bill was recommended for passage by the committee of the whole, but in the house the ways and means committee reported that the bill be not passed. In 1907 senate bill No. 596 was introduced, providing for the erection of a state soldiers' and sailors' monument or memorial hall, or monument and memorial hall combined, and certain taxes were to be levied to erect the same. This bill, proposed by Department Commander P. H. Coney, was referred to the ways and means committee and by them reported back with the recommendation that it be referred to the committee of the whole, where it was allowed to die on the calendar. The house took no action on this bill.

The present movement, which resulted so successfully, was inaugurated June 6, 1908, by the council of administration of the Grand Army. Charles Harris introduced the following preamble and resolution:

"WHEREAS, A large sum of money due the state of Kansas by the federal government since the war has been allowed and turned over to the state authorities; and

"WHEREAS, There seems to be some diversity of opinion regarding how this money should be most advantageously expended; therefore,

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of the members of this council of administration that the said money would be most appropriately expended in the erection of a building as a memorial to the memory of the Kansas soldiers of the War for the Union, a portion of said building to be used as a headquarters for the Department of Kansas, Grand Army of the Republic, so long as the organization may exist, the rest of the building to be used by the Kansas Historical Association; and the entire building to revert to the use of the Historical Association, with all Grand Army relics, souvenirs, etc., whenever the Grand Army may go out of existence."

On the 18th of December, 1908, Commander Morgan issued a strong appeal to Civil War soldiers and citizens to actively join in this movement.<sup>2</sup>

NOTE 2.—

(Circular No. 2.)

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF KANSAS,  
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,  
TOPEKA, KAN., December 18, 1908.

"Comrades: Nearly every loyal state has erected either a monument or a memorial building to commemorate the services of the Union soldiers of 1861-'65. Kansas stands almost alone in its dereliction in this matter, although it has been agitated more or less for years. Recently the state has received over \$97,000 from the government, and that sum is now in the state treasury subject to such disposition as the legislature which meets next January may determine.

"That money is the interest due on money expended by the state of Kansas in raising and equipping troops for the suppression of the Rebellion, and the proof to secure that money was furnished almost entirely by the State Historical Society—papers and documents collected and preserved by the organizers of that Society—and the state agent at Washington assures me that, with the continued assistance of that Society, he is confident of being able to secure over \$200,000 more.

"The statehouse is already crowded beyond its capacity. There are only two small rooms for the use of the forty or more committees of the house of representatives, besides the fact that many of the departments are cramped for room, and the necessity for additional accommodations is constantly growing as the business of the state increases.

"It is very generally conceded that the time has come for loyal Kansas to build an enduring memorial to 'the boys of '61 to '65,' and that a building should be erected to commemorate their deeds, as well as to relieve the congestion of the present state building, a condition that should be met promptly, has arrived.

"This matter was presented to the council of administration by the department commander last June, and the department commander, and comrades O. L. Moore and A. M. Fuller were appointed a committee to consider the matter and formulate a plan looking to the realization of a memorial building. That committee made a partial report to the council of administration at its meeting on the 11th of this month, recommending that the legislature be asked to appropriate a sufficient sum to erect a suitable building for the double purpose of commemorating the heroism displayed by the boys of this great republic and to house the historical relics, not only of the

The significance of a memorial covering not alone the soldiers, but all the activities that have made this people, appealed to the legislature with great force. Memoir and history are synonyms, and each or either covers the tale or account of the action of individuals and communities, and suggests a remembrance of the same. Hence a memorial in the shape of a serviceable building involves credit for all the records therein preserved—the Kansas struggle for a free state, the service of our soldiers in the Civil War, the coming of our population, the opening of our farms, the establishment of our cities, schools and churches, the construction of our railroads, the care of our dependent classes, the development of our mineral resources, the creation of industrial plants, the improvement in our live stock, and in the means of converting into fruitful farms our share of the "Great American Desert." The soldiers had made possible the constructive period which followed, and due credit and acknowledgment of all this was involved in the idea of a memorial to the soldiers of the Civil War.

And so, by an almost unanimous vote this joint appeal of the State Historical Society and the Grand Army for a memorial building was granted, and \$200,000 appropriated. Senator C. S. Huffman, chairman of the ways and means committee in the senate, and E. B. Jewett and J. H. Mercer, of the house committee of ways and means, furnished the nerve and effort in the start of the movement for the appropriation, ably and efficiently assisted by J. W. Davis of Kiowa, W. Y. Morgan of Reno, W. L. Brown of Kingman, S. L. Ryan of Brown, W. P. Feder of Barton, and others, in the passage of the bill. Late in the session State Agent John C. Nicholson secured the passage by Congress of the Kansas claim above referred to, and reached Topeka just before the close of the legislature. He urged upon the members the wisdom of providing for the safe accommodation of the library and archives of the Historical Society in a fireproof building, in which he was indorsed by the delegation at Washington. The legislature, too, realized that relief was needed in the capitol building, and provided in the act that the Academy of Science and the Goss Collection should also be accommodated.

And so to-day<sup>3</sup> the memorial building is under construction, and Governor Stubbs and the entire commission and the state architect are determined that in solidity, convenience of arrangement, good taste and finish it shall meet all the requirements of a storehouse of history, and that it shall come up to the highest conception of the idea embraced in a memorial to those who gave their lives that the nation might live, and be a living memorial, influencing to higher citizenship for all time to come the children of this great state.

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war of the rebellion, but of the early history of Kansas, which, according to population, gave more soldiers to the Union than any other state.

"Therefore, in connection with the Historical Society, a bill for the purpose herein stated will be introduced in the legislature of 1909, and every comrade and every friend of the Union army, which contained more than one million boys twenty-one years of age and under, are hereby urged to see their members of the legislature (senators and representatives) and secure their aid to pass the bill.

"We do not ask for the expenditure of money for a monument or other memorial which cannot be utilized for some practical purpose, but for a building already demanded by the state for the proper conduct of its business and a home for the Grand Army of the Republic as long as it exists.

"Official: CHAS. HARRIS,  
Assistant Adjutant General.

Yours in F., C. and L.,  
W. A. MORGAN,  
Department Commander."

NOTE 3.—In preparing the copy of this paper for printing, additional matter was added, bringing the subject down to date of publication.

May 4, 1910, a handsome soldiers' monument, consisting of a huge granite block surmounted by a cannon procured by Congressman Wm. A. Calderhead, was unveiled and dedicated in the Axtell cemetery. It is five feet six inches high, and two feet thick. It cost \$150 and the freight on the gun. A photograph shows it to be a beauty. Large delegations from the G. A. R., Woman's Relief Corps from Marysville, Seneca and Beattie, and the Marysville drum corps, were present and assisted in the ceremonies. The erection of this monument was made possible largely through the efforts of Thomas Scott and Henry Spooner, two Axtell veterans. The monument was unveiled by Miss Nettie Scott. Rev. G. E. Moorehouse delivered the dedicatory address, after which short talks were made by ex-Lieut. Gov. Andrew J. Felt, of Seneca, Wm. H. Smith, and Mrs. Emma E. Forter, of Marysville.

This makes a total expended for memorial purposes approximately as follows: By the state since its admission, \$222,472; the United States, at Mine creek, \$2000; by popular subscription at various points in the state, \$49,650. Total, \$274,122.

A movement is on foot at Fort Leavenworth to obtain an eighteen-ton boulder, twelve miles from the post, to place at the grave of Gen. Henry Leavenworth, whose remains were removed from Delhi, New York, to Fort Leavenworth, and reinterred in the national cemetery at the Fort, Memorial day, 1902. The general located the site upon which now stands the post, which he established May 8, 1827.

Under the auspices of the department of American History, State University, seven points of interest in the city of Lawrence were marked by marble slabs in the fall of 1908. On the occasion of the dedication of these markers, December 4, 1908, this paper was read before the students in Fraser hall at the University. Several other points are to be marked. The following is a list of those already set:

1. In front of Fraser hall, University of Kansas, Mount Oread—"Site of barracks and trenches, 1863."
2. Louisiana street, between Quincy and Hancock—"Site of Governor Robinson's first house; burned by Sheriff Jones, May 21, 1856."
3. Ohio street, between Berkeley and Warren—"Site of Unitarian church. First free public school in Kansas."
4. Winthrop street, between Indiana and Louisiana—"Here Griswold, Baker, Thorp and Trask were shot, Aug. 21, 1863."
5. Corner of Massachusetts and Winthrop streets—"Site of Free-state Hotel; burned by Sheriff Jones, May 21, 1856. Eldridge House; burned by Quantrill, Aug. 21, 1863."
6. Massachusetts street, between Winthrop and Pinckney—"Site of first house in Lawrence, sixty feet east."
7. New Hampshire street, between Warren and Berkeley—"Here near a score of unarmed recruits were shot, August 21, 1863."

But why these particular markers in Lawrence? I have said in the outset that your first citizens were persecuted for opinion's sake. This is so generally known that I am not called upon to prove the statement. I would not weary you with a recital—many have already been wearied too much. But others have been wearied by the flippancy, malice and contempt with



which some people refer to those days. It is an impossible proposition to prove that the free-soiler was any more of a citizen in 1854 than the Missourian, and it is just as likely that he would have left, as the Southern men did, had Kansas been made a slave state; but the free-soiler came without violence and outrage, and he immediately began the work of development. He persisted and he won, and he is here yet, with conditions surrounding him not surpassed in the world. Does anyone suppose that if your forefathers had lost out, made to retreat by the force which was exercised, that this wonderful institution on the hill would be here? No! Two civilizations clashed right here in Lawrence. The best statement I find is in a manuscript of a book<sup>4</sup> concerning Quantrill and his outrages, written by William E. Connelley, and which it is hoped may soon be published. A chapter on the Lawrence massacre opens thus:

"The genesis of the Lawrence massacre lies back seven years. The roots of this bloody and inhuman deed were sunk deep in the political compost of the affairs of territorial Kansas and Missouri border-ruffianism. It was the consummation of the unrelenting purpose of the spirit of slavery which ran riot along the border in 1856. There were subsequent causes, but these were subordinate and local.

"Lawrence was founded in the spirit of human liberty. It had its inception in the idea that slavery should not be one of the institutions of Kansas. When the Emigrant Aid Company made the town its headquarters in Kansas the forces of slavery on the border decreed its destruction. This Emigrant Aid Company caused deeper and more lasting bitterness in Missouri than all other incidents in the history of Kansas. Nothing else so enraged the South, and Lawrence was the town of the Aid Company. It stood as the embodiment of the antislavery sentiment of the North—abolitionism, if you will, the final destruction of the institution of slavery. . . . The Missourian believed that in fighting Lawrence he was battling against national abolitionism, and that in her destruction the evil day for his favorite institution might be postponed, if even complete victory should not be attained. To him Lawrence was Kansas."

As early as June, 1854, meetings were held in Missouri and vigilance committees appointed to repel the "wave of fanaticism" which threatened, meaning Northern immigration. At that time, of course, there were no "Red Legs" or other Kansas miscreants to excite them. The creation of the Emigrant Aid Company was an act of the Massachusetts legislature of 1854, very remote from the victims of August 21, 1863. Those free-state emigrants who came here in 1854 and later were denounced as "unsightly and unspeakable blackguards," the sole purpose of whose coming was to "pauperize the territory." As early as the 13th of October, 1854, a slight gun display seemed essential, but no harm happened. The mob which came to vote March 30, 1855, would have been smarter if its members had quietly scattered over the territory; but with arms and whisky and no Red Legs to resist, they elected a legislature, and so accomplished their purpose anyway. In December, 1855, Lawrence was besieged by 1500 Missourians, with no Red Legs or other excuse, and the patient, peace-loving citizens of Lawrence got down on their knees and begged for peace.

About this time, without the citizens of Lawrence giving the slightest possible offense, it was urged that this "God-forsaken class of humanity," meaning the settlers of Lawrence, ought to be killed, as the only way of settling the troubles on the border. By this time outrages were common

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NOTE 4.—This volume was published in 1910, and is entitled "Quantrill and the Border Wars."

throughout the territory, with as little cause as those directly aimed at Lawrence.

But there was some humor amid their madness. The State Historical Society only a few weeks ago came into possession of two volumes of the memoirs of Dr. Alexander William Reese, of Pleasant Hill and Warrensburg, Mo., covering the period from March, 1855, until the spring of 1866, Doctor Reese was surgeon of the Thirty-first Missouri volunteers, and after the war was connected in a similar capacity with the Soldiers' Home at Leavenworth. He says, on page 50, that in the summer of 1855 a company of cavalry had been formed at Pleasant Hill for the enforcement of the laws in Kansas. The members were armed and equipped with double-barrelled shotguns and navy revolvers. It was an imposing spectacle as they moved westward towards Kansas. Great fears were entertained lest the Yankees should not make a stand at all, and so disappoint the boys. There were some, however, who had their secret fears and misgivings that the Yankees might after all make a stand and actually fight. Their rallying-cry as they moved toward the state line was: "Lawrence must be wiped out."

The doctor is much given to detail, but he does not mention a Kansas Red Leg. They soon reached a small stream, which rejoiced in the classic name of Bull creek. In the morning they learned that the Yankees were in great force at no considerable distance, so they concluded to fall back to the state line and wait for reënforcements. But three or four mischievous young fellows in the command, meaning to secure some fun from the occasion, fired several shots from a ravine near by thickly studded with forest, and at breakneck speed came thundering upon the rear guard of the retreating column, shouting in frantic tones, "The Yankees! the Yankees!" "The panic and confusion which ensued," says the account, "beggars all description." The news reached Pleasant Hill that three or four of the leading citizens of the town had been killed and several wounded, that there had been a dreadful battle with the Yankees, and intense excitement prevailed. Women wrung their hands and indulged in all sorts of lamentation, while several men endeavored to organize a company to go to the relief of the law-and-order soldiers, appealing to the patriotism of the people and denouncing as poltroons and cowards all who would not move quickly. When the truth leaked out, great was the indignation and wrath heaped upon the young men who had gotten up the scare, and in the course of the wrangling that ensued several bloody noses were made, and it was a long time before a man who did not desire to take a hand in a free fight or risk a black eye could make any comments, or indeed even a faint allusion, to the famous retreat of the Cass county militia from Bull creek, Kansas.<sup>5</sup>

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NOTE 5.—This incident has been perpetuated and immortalized in verse by Martin Rice, of Lone Jack, Mo., in a publication entitled "Rural Rhymes," page 46, published in 1877.

Allen S. Copeland, of Salida, Colo., writes as follows: "Replying to your request for information relative to an incident that occurred in August, 1856, in the border war between Kansas and Missouri, in reference to the Bull creek campaign, will say: Pleasant Hill, Mo., seemed to be the storm center where the war cloud hung most heavy. In this vicinity, and in that particular time, there were squads mobilized. I belonged to the second detachment. Being one day or more behind, in the rear of the first company, it being our first day's march, we arrived at a place called New Santa Fe, on the Missouri line, where we reached the old Santa Fe trail. On the second day we left Santa Fe and started for Bull creek, about thirty miles west on the same road. We stopped at a watering place for noon, where we ate a cold lunch, letting the horses rest. I presume this was about six or eight miles nearly east of Bull creek. While here a messenger or dispatch arrived from General Sumner, who was stationed at Fort Leavenworth and at that time in command, ordering us to disband, so we returned to Missouri that evening, camping with the farmers in small squads over night. The next morning, within a mile and a half of

In Doctor Reese's volumes there are 900 pages of manuscript of splendid penmanship, interestingly written, filled with the most awful statements of robbery, violence and murder which prevailed in Missouri from the beginning of the war until its close. Nearly every night bushwhackers raided a house and robbed or murdered the inmates. He was a practicing physician in that section, and his statement of the brutalities perpetrated upon the slaves, which called for medical treatment because they were valuable as property, explains all that happened in Lawrence August 21, 1863. Kansas had but a strip of this fiendishness, but in Missouri it was as broad as the state. Doctor Reese was a free-soiler, born, raised and educated in Indiana, and had settled in Missouri in March, 1855.

On page 65 Doctor Reese says: "Well do I remember my feelings on contemplating, for the first time in my life (in 1855, long before there was a Red Leg), the sight of American citizens armed and equipped and drilling in open day for the avowed purpose of slaughtering their neighbors. My bosom was filled with emotions of horror at the sight. I was in the beautiful little city of Independence at the time, and saw General Reid drill his men in the courthouse square preparatory to leading them over into the territory of Kansas for the purpose of making war upon its citizens. And why was this? Simply because the citizens of Kansas were unwilling to have an institution repugnant to their feelings and loathsome to their moral sense forced upon them."

At this time a secret organization known as the "Sons of the South" was formed. A member told Doctor Reese afterwards (page 43) that the password into the secret council of this organization was the significant term, "Hemp"; in short, "Death to all Yankees."

Not satisfied with the unprovoked assaults upon the political rights and lives and property of your predecessors on this town site, every effort was resorted to to harass and destroy their business. Naturally they were the

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home, we learned of the scare. I enclose herewith for your perusal and consideration a copy of a poem from 'Rural Rhymes,' by Martin Rice, written in 1877, giving a true and lifelike description of this scare. I remember Doctor Reese very well and favorably, as a fine and conservative gentleman."

Bull creek is a tributary of the Marais des Cygnes, and flows south about the center of Miami county. It is thirty miles directly west of Warrensburg, and about thirty-eight miles southwest of Pleasant Hill. Paola is located on Bull creek.

About February 1, 1909, the following citizens of Kansas, refugees from Missouri, upon hearing of Doctor Reese's books, called at the historical rooms and made the following statements:

William M. Copeland, a resident of Quenemo, Osage county, says: "I was born at Pleasant Hill, Mo., September 6, 1845, and resided there until the spring of 1861. I was raised on a farm and was occupied with the ordinary duties of farming and attending school. My people were all Union, and in the spring of 1861 we were compelled to leave Missouri and move into Kansas, because of our loyalty to the government. My father was born in Tennessee and settled in Missouri in 1843. Father and mother both died in Wamego, Kan. We sold the farm and were occupying property we had bought in Pleasant Hill. There were twelve in the family—father, mother, six brothers and four girls. We all settled in Kansas except two brothers killed in the army. Lieut. Levi S. Copeland of company C, Second battalion, Missouri state militia, was captured at the battle of Lone Jack. He was kept ten days, tied to a tree on Charley Coward's farm on the Blue, and shot. Quantrill left word with Coward to go and bury him, but Coward was sick in bed. When he was able to go he found the hogs had eaten Copeland's body, and all that was left was his head. This was recognized by his red hair, an upper tooth and a slight bend in his nose. All this information came from Coward, who was a rebel. The rebels would first disarm the Union people, then take their horses, and then order them to leave the country. I know one man living east of Pleasant Hill who started for Kansas under such orders, and a couple of miles west of town he was taken from his wagon, shot, and left for dead. His wife was in the wagon. He recovered, lived through the war, followed his persecutor, and took no prisoners. Another neighbor, who refused to leave, was thrown out of the house and the place burned. His wife was in bed, having just been delivered of a child, and she was taken out with her bed and laid on the snow. This man formed a company of such men as himself (his wife knew the men who put her out), and this independent company took no prisoners, killing most of the men engaged in the outrage. I knew Dr. A. W. Reese when I was nine years old. I am familiar with the story of the company organized in the fall of 1856 to enforce the proslavery laws in Kansas. I knew the captain and all those mentioned by the doctor—Col. Tom Thomas, Harry Bracken, Jo



customers of St. Louis, and in an appeal to the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis by the peace-loving citizens of Lawrence, in February, 1856, it is shown that they had paid to that city over \$100,000, and that they had developed a business adjacent to Lawrence worth to the state of Missouri \$1,000,000. All freight shipped to Lawrence was broken open and inspected at various points on the river, and emigrants were subjected to the most offensive interruptions or turned back, which, according to this appeal had resulted in a "general paralysis in all departments of business throughout the territory. Our trade is not one-third as large as it was three months ago; mechanics, laborers of all kinds, complain alike of the general depression. In the border towns of your state the same want of enterprise is observed." "We came to build up for ourselves and our children beautiful homes, where, as the inheritance of a free government, we and they might enjoy a lifetime, having our hearts filled with the pleasure of domestic joy; but," this appeal continues, "our soil has repeatedly been invaded by armed bands, as well as organized armies from your state, who, without provocation or the slightest pretext, have murdered our peaceable citizens, destroyed our ballot boxes, pillaged our property, blockaded our towns and threatened them with demolition and their inhabitants with death." This is a close second to the document hurled at George III.

May 17, 1856, a committee of peace-loving citizens of Lawrence begged the United States marshal to protect them from outrages by an armed body in the neighborhood. Four days later, on the 21st, the town was practically destroyed by a mob of nonresidents. There were still no Red Legs to commit outrages in Missouri or elsewhere.

For a third time, September 15, 1856, Lawrence was besieged by an army, and saved from destruction by Governor Geary and the United States troops. Up to this time, also, two raids were made on Osawatimie. Thus making

Lisle, Ruf Gattrell, Jack Winn, Bill Maddox, and Jim Freeman. The retreat of the company from Bull creek, Kansas, occasioned more fun than the doctor mentions. The company were dressed in red shirts and blue jeans pants, and when the stampede was on some of the boys got off their horses and rolled in every mud puddle on the way, to cover up their red shirts. When their horses were exhausted they stopped at an abandoned farmhouse, and Capt. Tom Thomas turned a barrel bottom up and poured his powder and shot on the barrel, and said: 'Boys, stand by me until I die.' The captain was a good citizen, and was plagued so about this that he did not visit the town for months. Doctor Reese was a fine man and worthy of the utmost confidence. After our family settled in Kansas, father enlisted in Lane's brigade and four of the sons enlisted in other Kansas regiments. I knew a great many refugees—that is, people driven out of Missouri for their loyalty, and their property destroyed, who immediately enlisted in Kansas regiments and returned to Missouri for revenge. The family returned to Pleasant Hill in 1865 and lived there until 1871, when all settled permanently in Kansas."

John E. Hutson, of Caldwell, Kan., says: "I was born in Greene county, Missouri, December 1, 1842. My father was born in Tennessee, and settled in Missouri in 1842. I was raised in Johnson county. I lived at Kingsville, eight miles from Pleasant Hill, from 1848 until the war broke out. My father was a Union man. There were eleven children in his family. There were four boys in our family who joined a Missouri regiment, and all were captured at Lexington, under Colonel Mulligan. Then the family moved to Kansas—driven out because of our political sentiments. After settling the family in Kansas my father and two of us boys returned and enlisted in the First Missouri battery, where we served three years, reenlisting in the Second Missouri battery, serving until November, 1866—the last year or so on the plains. We soldiered from Arkansas as far east as West Virginia. I had a farm in Missouri when discharged, to which I returned, but the first night I was at home some of my neighbors took a shot at me. I immediately loaded up and started for Kansas, settling in Miami county. My father was a Mexican war soldier, well versed in politics and a good talker, and those people always had it in for him. I am familiar with the story Doctor Reese tells of the retreat of the Cass county militia from Bull creek, Kansas; was an eye witness to a good deal of it, and everybody in the county was familiar with it. Those people were constantly raiding Kansas. I remember, when a boy, that a man named William Greathouse, whom my father knew in Tennessee, stopped at our house on his way to Kansas with a bunch of men from Lafayette county. Father asked him where they were going, and he responded that they were going to Kansas to vote. My father endeavored to persuade him not to go; that he was going with head up, and that he would return with his head drooping. Greathouse responded that they would never allow the abolitionists to hold Kansas; that they would vote it into the Union as a slave state. Greathouse was killed in this raid, on the Wakarusa, by free-state men, and his men straggled back by our house almost in as bad order as that of the Cass county militia from Bull creek. After my father and my oldest brother voted

five raids, without a Red Leg to offend, inflame or exasperate the gentle and mild-mannered citizens east of the line.

Near Leavenworth, in August, 1856, a ruffian named Fugit made a bet that he could have a Yankee scalp before night. He got a horse, rode out into the country a few miles and met a German named Hopps. He asked if he was from Lawrence, and Hopps replied that he was. Fugit immediately drew his revolver and Hopps fell a corpse. He dismounted, cut the scalp-lock from Hopps, tied it to a pole, and returned to town with a most exulting display of his achievement.<sup>6</sup> When the wife applied for the body Fugit was one of a party who put her on a boat and sent her down the river. Who would suppose that the human mind could conceive such an outrage? The tarring of Pardee Butler, the killing of William Phillips of Leavenworth, and of Reese P. Brown, at Easton, the Marais des Cygnes massacre, and a score of other outrages before the days of Civil War out-classed all the meanness of all the Red Legs or other scoundrels turned loose by the war. Ordinary human nature was not equal to them. They could only be instigated by the spirit of an institution which raised babies for sale.

In the fall of 1861, upon his return from prison in Texas, having been captured at Wilson creek, James A. McGonigle, of Leavenworth, and a comrade, called on Gen. Sterling Price at Springfield. Price remarked, when he learned where they were from, "I am going to wipe out your state from one end of it to the other." And in 1864, when he made the attempt, L. A. McLean, famous in territorial days for fraud, now on Price's staff, told some Kansas prisoners that when they (Price's army) got over the line they would desolate Douglas county. Why all this animosity toward Kansas, and particularly the region about Lawrence?

The misfortunes of Missouri came from the same source as did the troubles in Kansas. There were very few Kansas soldiers in Missouri after 1861. At Butler, Calhoun, Gasconade, Harrisonville, Independence, Jefferson City, Kansas City, Lexington, Osage City, Pleasant Hill, Saint Aubert's, Sedalia and Warrensburg the garrisons were all Missouri Union militia. These assignments were made December 31, 1862. I have had several who were residents of Missouri at that time tell me that the greater portion of the fiendishness then existing was between the loyal and the rebel Missourians. It was worth a life to vote for Lincoln in Missouri in 1860, and of course this sort of spirit would come back to plague them without the aid of a Kansas Red Leg. Capt. William Monks, of the Sixteenth Missouri, in his history of "Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas," says: "The writer

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for Lincoln, at Kingsville, in 1860, we never slept in a house until Sumter was fired upon. In two or three days after Sumter was fired upon they took eleven horses and all our saddles, and burned up about \$2500 worth of tobacco belonging to my father. My father never would own a slave. I was on an errand for my father to the Trading Post on the Marias des Cygnes, and saw Hamelton's bunch of men, and was the first to see his nine victims of the massacre of May 21, 1859. I got the doctor for Asa Hairgrove, and this greatly inflamed the neighbors against our family. People who had been good friends and neighbors came to our house and abused my mother and sister shamefully. From 1854 it was practically impossible for a stranger to pass through our part of Missouri without losing his horse. The region about Pleasant Hill at that time was literally hell. I knew Dr. A. W. Reese well. He was a fine talker, a rabid antislavery man, a splendid physician, and was bold and sometimes violent in his utterances. I am delighted to see his book. My father died at Fontana, Kan., in May, 1872, and my mother died at Westphalia, Kan. I have resided in Sumner county, Kansas, for thirty-six years."

NOTE 6.—In a manuscript recently filed by Frank M. Gable, of Leavenworth, concerning the settling of his father's family in Kansas, in 1855, he says: "Life was dirt cheap in those days. Barnabas Gable found himself involved in the conflict. It was he who first came upon the dead scalped body of the man Hopps, the free-soiler, who was killed while on his way from Lawrence to Leavenworth, by a proslavery man named Fugit."

wants to say that there was not a Union man or single Union family left at home (in the summer of 1861) from Batesville, Ark., to Rolla, Mo.—a distance of 200 miles.” He says they hung, shot and drove the Union people out. As early as May, 1861, Union men began to move out of Missouri. Those of us old enough can easily recall the droves of wagons, loaded with women and children, lining all the roads, fleeing from Missouri into Kansas. The “refugees,” as they were called, were then an important element of newcomers. Kansas has credit for furnishing more soldiers in the Civil War than she had voters. Many enlistments in Kansas regiments were from other states. It can be shown that many refugees, who were robbed and their families driven out of Missouri, enlisted in Kansas regiments and returned to Missouri as Union soldiers for revenge. In 1819 and 1820, when the compromise was pending, similar outrages were perpetrated in Missouri on those who did not approve of slavery. A free-soil candidate for Congress was shot and killed on the highway by his proslavery competitor, and no notice whatever taken of it.

There were other causes assigned by the Missourians for the prejudice against Lawrence, aside from the Red Legs—there were so many loyal men over there who were outraged by Union soldiers at the beginning of the war. The Youngers say they were impelled to take to the brush because their dear father was a Union man; and yet he was killed by federal troops. Gen. J. O. Shelby, an ex-Confederate, and United States marshal during Cleveland's second administration, says that Henry W. Younger, the father, was at Lawrence in December, 1855, and in May, 1856, and was also one of the party who burned Osawatomie. Shelby knew, because he was here himself, and years before his death acknowledged that he and his comrades who were in Kansas at that time were scoundrels and had no business here. But Shelby was a great and gallant soldier, and was not in Lawrence in August, 1863, and did not continue after the close of the war as a bank and train robber. In Doctor Reese's manuscript, heretofore referred to, on page 164, I find the following: “First, there is no evidence whatever that Younger was killed by Kansas men, or any other person in the military service of the United States. It was a cold-blooded assassination, the perpetrators of which are unknown to this present day. In the second place, it is not true that Younger was any kind of a Union man. On the other hand, he was the strongest kind of a rebel, and in the old border-ruffian times was one of the most active men for that cause in Jackson county—so very sound, in fact, was he considered at that time that he was elected by the Missourians to a seat in the Kansas legislature [house, Seventh district], and, I understand, went up there and acted in that capacity.” Rev. Thomas Johnson, president of the first territorial council, but during the war a Union man, was also assassinated about midnight, January 2, 1865, by Jackson county and Quantrill men, to obtain \$1000 he had received the day before, although some of his friends still maintain that he was killed because he stood by the Union. The border people in Missouri sowed the seed of lawlessness in 1855, when they raised their hands against Lawrence, and a Kansas Red Leg was not necessary in aiding them to reap the harvest, in the Quantrill massacre.

And who were the leaders of the proslavery citizens of Kansas who persecuted Lawrence in those days? Thomas Ewing, jr., was a conservative, and, as a representative from Kansas in a peace conference held in 1861,



after the war had opened, voted for peace. But listen to an extract from his private correspondence! In a letter to his father, Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, under date of January 18, 1858, he said there were not over 1000 voters, out of 16,000 then in the territory, interested in the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution; that they were "composed of the ruffians who figured conspicuously in the arsons and murders of the first two years and who have not yet died of delirium tremens." He said, also, that "I believe that the ringleaders of this faction will be put to death the moment that Calhoun decides the election against us," and that "it is more than probable that they (the people) will seize the state government by killing enough of the proslavery men to give them a majority." You will note that after three years the free-state men were beginning to get mad, but not mad enough to stuff a ballot box in Missouri or invade that state for any purpose.

Martial law was proclaimed in Missouri August 31, 1861. The clash between the loyal and disloyal Missourians, and a general state of war, was the cause, and this before there was a chance for a Kansas Red Leg to do any mischief. Osceola was not raided until September 22. But the habit of raiding Kansas continued, and in the month of October Humboldt was burned and Gardner sacked. In December settlers were driven from Mine creek and Potosi was sacked. March 7, 1862, Quantrill raided Aubrey and killed three men; September 6 and 7 he visited Olathe and destroyed property, and on October 17 again came into Johnson county, at Shawnee, and killed seven citizens, after murdering fifteen escorts of a Santa Fe wagon train in camp near the town.<sup>7</sup> June 30, 1862, Bill Anderson made a raid as far west as Council Grove, burned a house and killed two men. August 15, 1862, Quantrill and Upton Hayes issued orders in Missouri that all men caught going to Federal posts to enlist in the Union army would be shot when taken. Hence their appetite for blood was abundantly whetted without any exterior circumstances, or mental or spiritual suggestions other than whisky, to provoke.

During the war on the border there was a legitimate organization of Union scouts called the "Red Legs." The name came from the fact that they wore red leggings. They were men of boundless nerve and quick and certain in the use of a gun. There were never less than 50 of them, nor more than 100. The organization was formed in December, 1862, or January, 1863, and but little was known of them until the spring of 1863. They were not enlisted soldiers. They dressed in citizens' clothes, and the red legging was a sign of recognition to each other. They were employed by the generals in command, and were carried on the pay rolls at seven dollars each per day. Cyrus Leland, jr., who was an officer on Gen. Thomas Ewing's staff, says that Ewing always had several of them in his employ; so that Ewing, when he talked of those who "stole themselves rich in the name of liberty," did not mean the Red Legs. Thomas J. Anderson, of Topeka, who was a member of General Blunt's staff, tells me that Blunt also had many of them on the pay roll. W. W. Denison, assistant adjutant general of Kansas, was a private soldier in the Eleventh Kansas regiment. He tells me that he was detailed with several others to act as scouts for the command sent out to enforce General Order No. 11. He was dressed in

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NOTE 7.—Quantrill and the Border Wars, by William E. Connelley, 1910, p. 274.

citizens' clothes and furnished red leggings. He was in this service for several weeks. This was the only time he wore red leggings.

So the red leggings seem to have been a badge of desperate service in the Union army, furnished from headquarters. I have known five or six of those who wore them. All were good citizens in time of peace. I have heard of but one of them who wantonly killed a man, or stole a horse other than for immediate service on duty. But the term "Red Leg" became general on the border, and was made to cover all sorts of deviltry. Kansans were, however, all saints when in Missouri, as compared with the Missouri bushwhacker in Kansas. Those of you raised after the war, and who have enjoyed peace for forty years, can have no conception of the hideousness of human nature with the "lid," or the law, taken off. We had but little legitimate war on the border; it was all bushwhacking, the most savage, reckless and daring—the product of the institution which decreed the destruction of Lawrence as early as 1854. I think I have made it clear that the Kansas Red Leg, legitimate or illegitimate, was not responsible for the woes of Lawrence.

Mr. Albert R. Greene, a soldier in the Ninth Kansas cavalry, and since known from the Mississippi to the Pacific coast, says he knew many Red Legs personally and was familiar with the nature of their service. He says:

"There was not one of them but performed valuable service for the Union cause, and, so far as I know and believe, always within the rules of civilized warfare. That the organization was disbanded before the close of the war was owing more to the fact that the necessity for its existence had ceased than because a few of its members had thrown off the restraints of discipline. What was the necessity for the existence of such an organization, do you ask? It was simply this: The exigencies of border warfare demanded the organization of a company of picked men, capable of independent action, for general scouting duty; men who would act on the instant on their own initiative, without waiting for orders from superior authority and the cumbersome machinery of military etiquette, being responsible only for their soldierly conduct on all occasions and the efficiency of their services. This is essentially different from the organization led by Quantrill, which seldom took a prisoner, and which made a practice of torturing its few captives with all the unspeakable horrors of savages.

"It is enough to say for the propriety and wisdom of such an organization as the Red Legs, that it did more to protect the homes of Kansas than any regiment of men in the service, and was the organization of all others most dreaded by Quantrill."

In a further talk with Cyrus Leland and T. J. Anderson, both enthusiastically indorsed what Mr. Greene says about the nature of the services rendered by the Red Legs. Mr. Leland says that General Ewing always had fifteen on his pay roll; that he would venture everything that they had never killed a man in Missouri who was not a Quantrill man; that their chief service was performed in 1863, and that they were practically through with their job by 1864. Major Anderson said the Union forces on the border absolutely required similar service to match Quantrill; that the Red Leg was a terror in Missouri. All these witnesses say that the Red Leg was away above the average man in ability. They were recognized by the government as fully as any captain, colonel or general.

Josiah C. Ury, living at Thirteenth and Kansas avenue in Topeka, was a captain of scouts from 1862 until the close of the war. He came to Kansas in July, 1857, and his family settled near Fort Scott. He did a great deal of recruiting for the Sixth Kansas cavalry. He was not an enlisted man,

but served under employment by Gen. James G. Blunt, Gen. Charles W. Blair and Maj. B. S. Henning, at different times. The squad he had with him ranged in numbers always from fifteen to twenty, and each obtained one hundred dollars a month. His headquarters most of the time were at Fort Scott. They wore red and tan colored buckskin leggings, and were known as the Buckskins and sometimes as Red Legs. He mentions as having engaged in the same service, W. S. Tough, Jack Harvey, Walt Sinclair, Bill Sinclair, Red Clark, and Thomas Allen Cullinan (Yellow Tom). That these men were up against some unspeakable coarseness, as well as brutality, Captain Ury relates that at the Baxter Springs massacre of about ninety Kansas and Wisconsin soldiers, Quantrill put five shots into a Wisconsin soldier named Jack Splain, with the remark: "Tell your Jesus that the last man you saw on earth was Quantrill." Splain lived some time after. Captain Ury agrees with Leland, Anderson and Greene, as to the necessity for and the effectiveness of such service as the Red Legs or Buckskins rendered along the border.

So the citizens of Lawrence whose memory you to-day revere and honor were the innocent victims of loyalty to the home they, with you, had selected. True, Lawrence, as well as other points on the border, had a bunch of thieves near by, one of whom was Quantrill, working both proslavery and free-state men; but not one of them was ever identified with the business, politics, public affairs, history or development of Lawrence. We have shed a great many tears over the poor fellows who died on the Pottawatomie because of conditions established by those who would force slavery upon the new state; let us reserve some hereafter for Samuel Collins, Charles W. Dow, Thomas W. Barber, R. P. Brown, William Phillips, David C. Buffum, those killed in the defense of Osawatomie, the victims of the Marias des Cygnes, and scores of others who died, as did those of August 21, 1863, in their homes, because of convictions they held and were endeavoring to live up to without violence to others.

Pardon me for briefly recalling these events—it would require hours to mention them all; there is nothing else to talk about on such an occasion. It is well to check up once in a while, that some history may not be lost. Your pioneers were in no way responsible for what happened; on the contrary, they labored and gave up their lives to uplift humanity.

I sincerely hope to see the day when Mount Oread may be surmounted by a shaft or memorial building such as outlined at the recent meeting of the veterans of 1856, commemorating the suffering, the valor, the heroism, as this magnificent educational institution stands for the higher civilization and ambition, of the forefathers of territorial days. The world is covered with monuments and memorials representing heroic deeds and the love of a people. They not only recall the past, but they address the future.



## WAR INCIDENTS AT KANSAS CITY.

KANSAS CITY, MO., August 15, 1907.

*George W. Martin, Secretary, Topeka, Kan.:*

DEAR SIR—Yours of the 25th ult. is at hand, also volume IX of the Kansas Historical Collections, for which I thank you very much.

You very graciously asked me to send you a paper made up of general reminiscences, together with a brief sketch of myself, but I fear such a document will be sadly lacking in public interest.

Some one has said that a man's life is not measured by years, but rather by his achievements; and gauged by such a standard my biography would be exceedingly brief, for my past has been so uneventful as to excite neither malice nor emulation in the minds of my contemporaries, and had it been filled with the glow of romance and adventure, I have not the literary training to portray it.

Briefly, I will say I was born in the town of Geneva, Seneca county, New York, April 10, 1835, and inspired by the sentiment later expressed by Horace Greeley my parents moved west to Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1836.

I remember quite well the removal of the Miami Indians, in 1846,<sup>1</sup> from the state of Indiana to the Indian Territory, now the state of Kansas, and being a small boy at the time I was much interested in the affair. They were collected at Fort Wayne, placed upon canal boats, and transported thus to Terre Haute, where the Wabash canal ended, and thence overland to St. Louis, from which point they were shipped to the territory on steamboats. They were located in the southern part of Miami county, which was named for the tribe. Father Benoit, of the parish of Fort Wayne, accompanied the Indians and remained with them until they were well established in their new homes.

When I attained the age of twenty-one, I migrated westward, bound for bleeding Kansas, and while coming up the Missouri river decided to locate at Fort Riley, understanding it was the head of navigation, and accordingly left the boat upon which I was traveling at Kansas City, intending to resume my journey by boat later; but finding no boats in this port ready to sail for Fort Riley I remained here—and here I am.

Kansas City was then a straggling, unsightly village of perhaps 500 inhabitants, and I have seen it grow from that small beginning to its present metropolitan proportions and have had the personal acquaintance of every one of its mayors. I was assistant city engineer in 1857, 1858 and 1859; city registrar in 1860 and 1861, and later city clerk in 1870, 1871 and 1872, and was reappointed by mayor R. H. Hunt, but declined to accept the office, preferring a position in one of our banks which was offered to me.

Mayor Hunt had previously been chief of artillery of the Department of Kansas, with the rank of major, and was a model officer. I first met him at the Leavenworth arsenal, when I was stationed there subject to the orders of Capt. J. McNutt of the Ordnance Department. Major General Sykes, of the army of the Potomac, was there in retirement at the same

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NOTE 1.—Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1846, p. 214.

time, chafing keenly under the restrictions imposed on him by the War Department.

I was commissioned captain and adjutant of the Seventy-seventh regiment of the Missouri militia in 1862, and was detailed as post adjutant by Gen. Thomas Ewing while in command of the District of the Border, with headquarters at the old Pacific Hotel, at Fourth and Delaware streets, in this city, and also acted as provost marshal, of which fact I was lately reminded by being shown a permit I issued allowing one of our citizens to purchase a barrel of salt! There were restrictions on trade even in those days.

I was appointed by Governor Gamble "commissary of exemptions," and as such it became my task to enroll all inhabitants of the county subject to military duty. The law creating the office had a double purpose in view, viz.: First, to organize the militia, and second, to obtain needed revenue, as no taxes could be assessed or collected, by reason of the warlike conditions existing in the state. The law required me to issue a certificate exempting from military service anyone presenting the examining physician's certificate of physical disability, or upon the payment of thirty dollars for the use of the state. I remember this enrollment revealed an alarming condition of the public health of which I had no previous knowledge. But a large number unable to procure a certificate of physical disability promptly paid the thirty dollars to secure their exemption from service. All deferred the matter until the last day, and as I had to write the certificates, I recall it as the hardest day's work of my life. I was much impressed by the unanimity of feelings prompting them to decline seeking fame and glory at the cannon's mouth, or perhaps they thought,

"Let gulled fools the toils of war pursue,  
Where bleeds the many to enrich the few."

In 1861 I carried dispatches and mail from Fort Leavenworth and this city to Generals Sturgis and Lane, then at Springfield, Mo. I accompanied a regiment of troops from Fort Scott, also on the way to Springfield, eastward about twenty miles, where they encamped for the night, but such alarming reports of the presence of rebels and of bushwhackers were received by the commanding officer (I refrain from mentioning names) that he prudently returned to Fort Scott. After some deliberation I resumed my journey at dark, traveling all night, avoiding the highways and guided only by the stars. It was a lonely and tedious ride, but the possibility of losing my scalp kept me wide awake. I reached Greenfield before daylight, and Springfield at nightfall. I found the army under General Fremont much excited, expecting to be attacked the next morning by General Price, who was encamped a short distance southward. The following day, November 2, General Fremont was relieved and Maj. Gen. David Hunter assumed command.

After resting a couple of days I started on the return journey, carrying much mail from Kansas officers and soldiers, knowing full well if captured by bushwhackers, with such freight in my possession, my career would come to an abrupt end; but fortunately I encountered none, as I avoided all paths and highways. I was young then and not devoid of a spirit of adventure, and willing to take chances. I also made similar excursions, for like purposes of perhaps a more perilous character, through Jackson, Lafayette and Cass counties, but *was never killed*.

All this, perhaps you will say, is personal history of an adopted Missourian, and should have no place in the history of Kansas; but it must be remembered that for twelve or fifteen years the history of the two states was largely blended and intermingled, and hence the history of one was to a considerable extent a history of the other.

I notice in your volume IX Bill Todd's name is frequently quoted, whereas it should read George Todd. I knew him and his family well. They were Scotch people and came to Kansas City from Canada in 1859, as I now remember it. The family consisted of five persons: the father, mother, one daughter and two sons, Tom and George, the latter being the youngest of the family. The father and Tom were practical stonemasons, and worked at the trade, while George, then about eighteen years of age, was a helper. I was assistant city engineer at the time, and when not at work the Todds spent much of their time in my office. They were awarded a contract to construct a sewer in the bottom of a deep ravine across our public square, and during the progress of this work Tom was struck and killed by a stone which rolled down the embankment to the bottom of the ravine. The father and Tom were highly respected, but George was of a sullen, morose disposition, having little to say to anyone, and with no close associates, but without vicious habits as far as I know. Why he took to the "bresh" will always remain a mystery, as he had no knowledge of the issues involved in war, no grievances to redress, no wrongs to avenge nor property interests to protect. One would think from his origin he would have been an enemy of slavery, but the eccentricities of the human family are many, varied and past explaining. At one time it was reported he was at the family residence in this city, whereupon a half dozen young men, including myself, banded together to capture him. Accordingly we went to the house about ten o'clock P. M., all well armed, and were met at the door by his mother. We informed her we came to see George, and she at once denounced us in a volume of vitriolic vituperation, declaring "You wretches want to spill the best blood of Scotland, the noblest blood of Scotland"; but unheeding of her scolding we proceeded to search the house, and not finding him, we descended into the cellar carrying lighted candles, but he was not there. I have since thought it fortunate for the members of that expedition that Todd was absent, otherwise some blood would have been shed and it might not have been the best blood of Scotland. Todd became one of the most savage and bloodthirsty of Quantrill's followers, and was killed October 22, 1864, the day of the battle of the Big Blue.<sup>2</sup>

I read many articles in your volume IX with much interest, especially that of Captain Palmer, many of whose statements are quite surprising. On page 461, he says: "Quantrill was wounded and his brother killed on the Cottonwood by Jayhawkers." The people of the South should not be censured for believing and circulating this fiction, when they can quote a Federal military officer as their authority. On page 460 he says five of Quantrill's men were hanged on the present site of the Coates House in this

NOTE 2.—"Tom Todd had married in St. Louis before 1859, as I now remember, an estimable young woman. At the time of his fatal injury he asked his brother George to take good care of her and see that she was protected. Soon after George went with the guerrillas he married her. After his death she again married and removed to California, where she still lives. Morgan T. Mattox, one of Quantrill's men, gave me the information from which I wrote my account of the death of George Todd, printed in my 'Quantrill and the Border Wars,' page 455. On the 24th of March, 1910, Mattox again repeated this story to me, and added that when he went up to Todd he was still quivering in death, and that a volley was fired at him and one other man while they were dragging Todd down into the slough."—W. E. CONNELLEY.



city. I never heard of this episode before.<sup>3</sup> While Colonel Jennison was stationed here he arrested a young man named Mockabee, then living a short distance south of Westport, on the charge of stealing horses. Mockabee was tried by court-martial, convicted, and executed by being shot on the present site of Convention Hall. Another young man named Vaughan was arrested in Wyandotte and brought here charged with being a spy. He was court-martialed, convicted, and hanged at the intersection of Eleventh and Wyandotte streets. These are the only official military executions that took place in Kansas City during the war of which I have any knowledge, and had there been others I believe I would remember them. Some of our citizens were wantonly killed by lawless soldiers, but these were purely personal affairs.

On page 441 Captain Palmer states that Westport was occupied by the rebel army in the Price raid of 1864. This is news to me and will surprise others. On page 464 he speaks of the desertion of Capt. Charles Cleveland of the Seventh Kansas cavalry, with a number of his men, and of their subsequent career as highwaymen and of the efforts made to capture or kill them.<sup>4</sup>

“Soldiers are perfect devils, in their way;  
When once they’re raised they’re cursed hard to lay.”

I remember this incident well. I happened to be on the levee at the foot of Main street and saw Cleveland coming down the street at a furious pace, and when he reached the banking house of J. Q. Watkins & Co., located on Main street, near the levee, he dismounted, went into the bank and took all the funds of the institution, remounted his horse and fled to the West, to return no more. This, I believe was the beginning of a new industry, namely, bank looting by outsiders, and the precedent thus established has been followed with more or less success ever since.

I remember well the first entry of United States troops into this city, in the spring of 1861.<sup>5</sup> The command consisted of two companies of infantry and three of cavalry from Fort Leavenworth, under Capt. W. E. Prince. This invasion of the “sacred soil of Missouri” by United States soldiers without an invitation from Gov. Claib Jackson created great excitement and indignation in the minds of the secession element, and with a view to expelling the invaders a large force collected at Rock Creek, east of Kansas City, armed with rifles taken from the Liberty arsenal, shotguns and such weapons as could be procured; and recruits came rapidly to the camp. Capt. Prince ordered Captain Stanley to go with his company to the rebel camp and demand an explanation of their aims and purposes. The next morning he went to the camp with a flag of truce and demanded an interview with the commanding officer, Capt. Edmunds B. Holloway, of Independence, a West Point graduate. During the parley Stanley noticed that he was being surrounded, and called Holloway’s attention to the matter. Holloway replied that his force was a mob, without discipline, and could not be con-

NOTE 3.—Cyrus Leland, jr., had command of the fort, where the Coates House now stands, from December, 1861, to April, 1862, and he says no such thing ever occurred as the hanging of five bushwhackers on the site of the Coates House.

NOTE 4.—Corrections of Palmer’s statements regarding Cleveland are made by Colonel Fox on page 242 of this volume; see, also, vol. VIII, pp. 23 and 24.

NOTE 5.—“These troops were ordered to Kansas City at the request of Mayor R. T. Van Horn, and were relieved June 24, 1861, upon the muster into service of Van Horn’s battalion of United States volunteer reserve corps.”—Case’s History of Kansas City, Mo., 1888, p. 73.

trolled, whereupon Stanley ordered a quick retreat and was fired upon at once by Holloway's men, which resulted in the killing of Holloway and two of his men, while of the cavalry, who did not fire a shot, none were killed or wounded.<sup>6</sup> Early next morning Captain Prince marched his whole force to the camp to disperse them or enforce a surrender, but the enemy, anticipating a move, had decamped, scattering in all directions. Captain Prince followed some to Liberty, captured a number, and was barbarous enough to require the captives to take an oath of allegiance to the United States, to which they readily consented. This was the punishment usually inflicted on Confederate prisoners at that early stage of proceedings. Such oaths, however, rested lightly on their consciences, and they were not long in rejoining the Confederate ranks.

In reflecting on the past my mind often recalls this battalion of regulars that opened the four years of bloody struggle on this border, which was attended with so many horrors from its incipency until its close, and I ask myself how many of them escaped destruction and are now in the land of the living. Many of the officers during the progress of the war attained distinction and high command. Of these I can only recall the names of Col. W. E. Prince, Generals S. D. Sturgis, David S. Stanley, Jos. A. Mower, and Gordon Granger. Many of them I knew well. Sturgis succeeded to the command after the death of General Lyon at the battle of Wilson creek, near Springfield, Mo. Many Kansas soldiers participated in this battle.

In the spring of 1861 Col. R. T. Van Horn, of this city, under the authority of General Lyon, enlisted a battalion of volunteers, and with the rank of major was placed in command of this post, subject to the orders of the commandant at Fort Leavenworth. Soon thereafter Major Van Horn received an order to have all army supplies collected here removed to Wyandotte and be ready with his command to reinforce Fort Leavenworth, reports having been received that a formidable force was concentrating in Missouri to capture it. This order was executed at once. There were in this town at that time two banks, branches of parent banks located in St. Louis, and a short time before two banks in Missouri had been looted by armed marauders, and it seemed a like fate awaited the Kansas City banks when military protection should be withdrawn, and acting in the light of these events Major Van Horn marched two companies to the banks and demanded all the money in their possession, under his authority as commander of the post. After some parleying the officials of the banks, seeing no escape from the situation, complied with the demand, and the money, some \$80,000 in gold, was transferred to a wagon, taken to the ferry boat and transported to Wyandotte, where wagons were secured and a company of soldiers under the command of Capt. Geo. C. Bingham (painter of the well-known picture "Order No. 11") took possession of the money and safely delivered it to the commander of Fort Leavenworth, by whom it was forwarded to the parent banks in St. Louis. The officers of the banks later sent letters thanking Major Van Horn for his action, as the safety of the funds had caused them much anxiety, by reason of lawless conditions obtaining here at that time. This incident being the first of the kind, though trivial compared with later events, created great excitement in the town and was regarded as a wise and proper exercise of authority, or as an act

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NOTE 6.—History of Jackson County, Missouri, published by Birdsall, Williams & Co., 1881, p. 469.

of high-handed villainy, according to the political proclivities of the spectator, as no explanation of the motives prompting the act was given out.

I will briefly refer to the Morgan Walker<sup>7</sup> tragedy enacted in this county in 1860, and described on page 324 of your volume VIII. I knew none of the participants, and can only give the opinion prevailing here at the time regarding it, which was that the actors in the tragedy were engaged in running slaves from Missouri to Kansas, and returning them for rewards; and certainly the manner in which the affair was conducted would not lead one to believe the sole purpose was to free the slaves. This villainous practice certainly prevailed along the border for several years. I recall the fact that one man accused of this vile business was arrested and imprisoned here, and one citizen openly advocated lynching him, but no violence was done and my recollection is he was given his freedom.

On the same page is quoted Major Edwards's account of the Walker affair and not much credence is given to it. I knew Edwards well, and while he remained a lover of the lost cause until the last, he was a genial, kind-hearted personality and wished harm to no one. He seemed always to have a romantic attachment for the James boys, and even to the end of their career as bank- and train-robbing highwaymen he never uttered a word of censure on their conduct. It was understood here that they often visited him socially while he was associate editor of the *Kansas City Times*, and such visits were usually followed by one of his characteristic editorials. He was not a reliable historian of the times, but rather a pyrotechnical rhetorician, and if facts stood in the way of his glowing brass-band periods so much worse for the facts. He belonged to the knight-errantry.

General Sturgis, with his command of regulars, left this city for Springfield in conjunction with General Lane's brigade in October, 1861, and I remember there was much friction between the two forces while stationed here and also on the march southward. Shortly before the departure of these troops the Twenty-seventh and Thirty-ninth Ohio and the Third Iowa regiments were in town for a short time. They were well disciplined, and their orderly conduct and behavior were highly commended by all classes and their departure was much regretted. They inherited none of the prejudices or revengful feelings engendered by the Kansas free-state war. The war as conducted on the border I have heard epitomized as organized assassination modified by theft and arson; and as to responsibility for such evil conditions, the Federal commanders rightly contended that the bushwhackers had no legal or recognized standing under the rules of war as conducted by civilized nations, inasmuch as they held no commissions as Confederate soldiers so far as is known, wore no uniforms, had no established headquarters, operated in the territory which was in absolute control of the Federal army, were incapable of resisting any considerable force and did not attempt to do so, but confined their activities to surprising and shooting from ambush small detachments of Union troops passing along the highways; were bushwhacking one day and farming the next, as the exigencies demanded, and were therefore simply spies under the laws of war.

When a Confederate army came north to the Missouri river, which was seldom, the bushwhackers affiliated with it, and when the army retreated south the bushwhackers remained and resumed independent operations in

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NOTE 7.—Quantrill and the Border Wars, by W. E. Connelley. Chapters 9 and 10 are devoted to the Morgan Walker raid.



accordance with their usual methods. Such conditions were very exasperating to the Federal commanders, and the assassination of their comrades aroused a spirit of revenge in the minds of the private soldiers which often resulted in excesses on their part. The bushwhackers rendered no substantial aid to the Confederate cause, but brought ruin and destruction to the rural districts where their sympathizers abided.

I might perhaps be expected to give a narrative of some of the many bloody collisions between bushwhackers and Federal troops which took place in this vicinity, and the resultant slaughters, but a recital from memory alone, after the lapse of more than forty years, would not be acceptable as history. They have often been written up in horrible detail, and a further description at this time would serve no useful purpose. It is a sad reflection on the Christianity and civilization of the age that such atrocities could be committed and such evil conditions exist in a Christian country in the nineteenth century. I am trying to forget them.

When General Ewing came to this city and assumed command of the District of the Border, he made a public speech outlining the policy which would guide him, and made the declaration that "the practice of Federal soldiers stealing themselves rich in the name of liberty had to cease."<sup>8</sup> This happy expression of his views and purposes was widely published and commended by the press of the country, but fine rhetoric would not cure the evils then existing on the border, as was proven later by his issue of the famous "Order No. 11," as a sequence of the Lawrence raid. This order has been widely criticized as barbarous and inhuman, and his responsibility for such a drastic measure was effectively used against him in later years when he was a candidate for governor of Ohio. That the enforcement of such a measure worked a hardship and property loss to many unoffending citizens goes without saying, and yet I have heard Confederate soldiers indorse it as justified by the conditions then existing. That it failed to accomplish the purpose of its author is the strongest argument against it, for in war, as in many other affairs of life, things are judged by results, and no credit is given for well-meant failures.

Before the war began there was a young man named Parker serving as clerk of the Union Hotel of this city, whom I knew well, as I was stopping there at the time. I remember that in writing the word August on the hotel register he always used the letter "e" instead of "u" in the last syllable of the word. When the war was well under way he resigned his position and took to the "bresh," raised a company, and was thereafter known as "Captain Parker" and became a very efficient bushwhacker. Why he adopted this calling I cannot understand, as he was of Northern birth. Some time later our state militia joined issue with Captain Parker's force near Wellington, and during the progress of the engagement he mounted a fence and crowed like a rooster, and just as his crow was completed a ball struck him and he fell dead beside the fence, and I often wonder if his distant relatives ever learned of the manner of his taking off. This episode, though unimportant, is indelibly impressed on my memory.

In the early stages of the war I was ordered to take four companies of militia and proceed to Lexington and get some infantry arms, which had been previously stored there by the state, and bring them to the city.

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NOTE 8.—The history of this saying is given in volume X of Kansas Historical Collections, p. 124.

These arms were "Garabaldi rifles" and carried a ball an inch in diameter. They were certainly dangerous weapons, but not more so to the man in front than to the man behind the gun, but they were much inclined to peace as they could be seldom fired. Good arms were precious at that time and hard to get. The significance in this march lay in the fact that had we been attacked by bushwhackers, I was in doubt on which side of the fight two of my companies would be aligned; but we were not attacked and their loyalty was not put to the test. Later some of these men did join the bushwhackers, influenced largely, I believe, by the persecutions they were subjected to by some of their associates.

For the purpose of illustrating the romance of travel in Missouri during that stormy period I will relate another personal experience. General Ewing ordered me to take some official documents to the commandant at Lexington, and tendered a military escort, but believing it would be less perilous to go alone I declined the escort. It so happened that a tramp steamboat came along on its way to St. Louis and I boarded it. When we reached Wellington, a small town on the south bank of the river about fifteen miles from Lexington, we saw the place was occupied by bushwhackers, giving apparently a wild west exhibition, all being mounted and riding at full speed about the streets. When we arrived opposite the town the bushwhackers gave a sign for the boat to land, but the captain of the boat declined the invitation and steered for the opposite shore, whereupon the gang fired at the boat. The few persons aboard ran to cover and no damage was done. At the towns of Wellington and Napoleon might be found almost any time the festive bushwhacker in his native lair.

Having delivered my documents to the post commander at Lexington the question was, How should I return? Here luck again came to my aid, for I met an acquaintance of Southern proclivities, who had purchased two very fine mules, and was anxious to take them to Kansas City. After some discussion we entered into a treaty of alliance whereby he bound himself to protect me from bushwhackers in consideration of my extending protection to him and his mules from Federal soldiers and military forces, though I doubted his ability to make good had the necessity arisen. Accordingly we bought saddles, mounted the mules and crossed to the north side of the river. Ray and Clay counties, through which we had to pass, had troubles of their own, but compared with the pernicious activities obtaining on the south side of the river were like the light of a tallow dip contrasted with the effulgency of the noonday sun. When we neared Carrollton we were arrested by a body of armed men wearing no uniforms, and I was in doubt as to whether they were bushwhackers or militia. We were taken to their camp and I soon discovered they were a state militia force, whereupon I exhibited my credentials and we were promptly released. For a time the situation seemed precarious.

What I have written thus far pertains to my observations and experiences in Missouri, but I will now relate an adventure I had in the then short-grass region of Kansas. In 1866 or 1867 I had occasion to go to Ellsworth, then the end of the Kansas Pacific railroad, now the Union Pacific, arriving there in the afternoon. After transacting my business I strolled about to see the sights. The village, except some of the best business houses, consisted of tents, and every other tent was a saloon, regardless of

where the count began. As I was passing a row of these wet-goods emporiums, I was unfortunate enough to run against one George Craig, formerly a resident of Kansas City, with whom I had had a personal difficulty just before his departure. He was keeping a saloon and I had no desire to meet him, but there was no escape from the situation so I put on a bold front and shook hands with him. He seemed glad to see me and we had a pleasant talk about Kansas City affairs, and no allusion was made to the past difficulty. Later, about dusk, while walking along the street which fronts the railway, I saw Craig and two companions walking rapidly towards me, and all drunk. Believing this meant trouble I doubled my speed to avoid them, but they were determined to overtake me, and I was determined they should not. I darted into a mattress store owned by one Clancy, passed out the back way, and made rapid strides around the block to the railroad train, and entered one of the cars, and remained there until the train started for Kansas City, keeping a clean lookout for Craig and his associates. I eluded them by passing through the mattress store. They entered the store but could trace me no farther. My strategy saved me. About two hours after the train left a telegram came to the conductor saying that Craig and his two companions, after they had shot up the town, had been hanged by a vigilance committee, and the news was true. When I arrived in Kansas City Craig's father, a most estimable citizen, having learned that I had just returned from Ellsworth, came to see me about his son. In great anguish of mind, and with tears in his eyes, he constantly exclaimed, "My poor, innocent George; my poor, innocent boy." I assuaged his grief as best I could. Ellsworth was a typical border town in those days, well calculated to inspire visitors with feelings of awe. I saw Wild Bill meandering about the streets of the town in his shirt sleeves with a brace of six-shooters buckled to his belt. His personal appearance went far to justify his reputation as a handy man with a gun.

The day before my arrival in Ellsworth the Indians attacked the railroad construction men<sup>9</sup> at Pond creek, a few miles to the westward. I seem destined for a long life, for a few days ago a street car ran over me and railroad officials tell me I was not hurt, and I know I was not killed.

In the nearly fifty-two years of my residence here I have seen wonderful changes in the West resulting from the industrial labor of man. A large portion of what is now the great prosperous state of Kansas was designated on the maps of this country as "The Great American Desert," but where is that desert now? Much of it is cultivated by prosperous farmers, and the arid part is growing smaller by degrees and beautifully less, and producing its annual crop of hogs, sheep, cattle, alfalfa, and other useful products. The people of Kansas, intelligent, enterprising and industrious as they are, have good reason to feel proud of their achievements, for they have created a great and prosperous commonwealth, which has not yet reached the zenith of its glory.

The state of Kansas made Kansas City, Mo., what it is to-day, as commerce recognizes no geographical nor political boundaries, being guided solely by its underlying principle of buying in the cheapest market and sell-

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NOTE 9.—"The author probably refers to the killing of John Kessler and wounding of George Waite at Wilson's creek, eighteen miles west of Fort Harker, June 27, 1867, about where is now the town of Wilson." (Dispatch of J. B. Riley, resident engineer, to R. M. Shoemaker at Leavenworth, dated Fort Harker, June 28, 1867.)—Volume of Executive Telegrams, p. 37 (Archives Department).



ing in the highest, and the people of this city, with good reason, regard the people of Kansas as part of themselves.

Kansas City had to be—destiny decreed it; and many far-seeing merchants of Kansas, seeing the handwriting on the wall, came here to avail themselves of the larger trade facilities which the city afforded, and I believe none regret the change. Kansas City is to-day substantially a Kansas town, and is becoming more so from year to year. Some years before his death Morrison Munford, then proprietor of the *Kansas City Times*, a Democratic newspaper, inaugurated a movement to have the state line at this point moved eastward far enough to include Kansas City in the state of Kansas. The obstacles in the way could not be overcome, and his plans came to naught, but the advantages to flow to this city by such a change were many and manifest to all.

This narrative contains nothing sensational or startling, but you ask for reminiscences and as such I give them. Perhaps I have exceeded the limit permitted to such effusions, but age is garrulous and loves to recount the days of youth.

DANIEL GEARY.

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## LIFE OF CAPT. MARCUS D. TENNEY.

MARCUS DE LAFAYETTE TENNEY was born at Hillsboro, N. H., February 11, 1826, son of Daniel G. and Sarah Tenney. The family moved to Illinois in 1836 and settled near Alton, where they lived for one year only. It was during that year that the Lovejoy riots began. As is well known, Lovejoy had been driven out of St. Louis, Mo., on account of his strong antislavery ideas, which he was not slow to express through the columns of the papers he edited in that city. He came to Alton, thinking to find more freedom of tongue and pen, and established an office in lower Alton, where amid constant persecution he continued his fight against slavery until his violent death, November 7, 1837. His presses had been broken and thrown into the river and his type scattered in the street gutters. The morning after his death Marcus Tenney, then a small boy, hearing and understanding all of this, went into the street and gathered up some of the scattered type and carried it home and kept it for many years; in fact, until it was lost during the Civil War. Those little pieces of type were as seed planted in the mind of the child, which grew and produced the desire and courage to stand for freedom of tongue and pen for both the white man and the black man.

In 1837 the family moved to Pekin, Ill., where Marcus entered the public school. He remained at Pekin until the beginning of the Mexican war, and was among the first to answer the call for volunteers. He enlisted in the Fourth Illinois infantry<sup>1</sup> under Col. E. D. Baker, and was afterwards transferred to the Eleventh U. S. infantry. On the 11th of February, 1847, his regiment encamped at Tampico, Mexico, and from there shipped by vessel for Vera Cruz. The voyage was made directly down the Gulf coast. When

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NOTE 1.—Ford's history of Illinois says that the troops from Illinois left Alton between July 17 and 22, 1846, and arrived in Mexico early in August. The Fourth regiment was attached to the brigade of General Shields and participated in the movements against Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo, the latter fought under the eye of General Scott April 18, 1847. Colonel Baker succeeded to the command of the brigade during the latter battle when Shields was severely wounded. In this action the Fourth regiment lost forty-eight killed and wounded. The regiment was mustered out at New Orleans, May 25, 1847.—Vol. 1, pp. 495-497.

about opposite Vera Cruz a violent storm was encountered, which drove the vessel out to the West India islands and caused some delay. At the end of the sixth day out Vera Cruz was reached. Landing was made from surf boats, which ran into shallow water, and each soldier was ordered to hold his musket and ammunition above water, and jump in and wade ashore. The water was about four feet deep, which made it very difficult wading. Tenney was the tallest man in the regiment, being six feet and two inches, so he was the first from his vessel to land at Vera Cruz. The plan of the siege was to surround the city as nearly as possible. When this was accomplished the line of the United States entrenchments, including five batteries, extended from water front to water front, while the United States naval vessels prevented escape by sea. Several attempts were made by Mexican troops to get through the lines to succor the city, but each time they were repulsed by the Northern army. Provisions got so low within the city walls that there were no scraps left for the dogs, so they were allowed to escape, and the country without became full of homeless dogs. One night, about twelve o'clock, an officer selected two men, one being Marcus Tenney, and with them proceeded to examine the city walls. Silently they crept close to the wall until they were able to hear the Mexican sentinels, when the heavy step of one of the men upon the dry prickly pear bushes caused the sentinels to suspect the approach of the enemy. In an instant the heavens were illuminated with skyrockets, and the little party dared not attempt flight, but lay close to the ground scarcely breathing until all was quiet again.

After the surrender of Vera Cruz, which occurred March 29, 1847, the regiment next marched against Cerro Gordo, a mountainous position about fifty miles northwest, that had been heavily fortified by the Mexicans. On the night of April 17, 1847, Tenney's detachment was on duty to open a road around the left of the mountain, which was accomplished by the next morning, when the charge began. Some of the Northern army took this road, and some charged up the heights after the intrenched Mexicans. On the night of the 17th, forty of the Eleventh infantry, Tenney among the number, had become separated from their comrades and wandered around lost. Early on the morning of the 18th they saw a road through the trees and made for it, but before they reached the open they saw a large number of Mexican soldiers. The boys had come upon the national road to the City of Mexico, and had come in behind the fleeing Mexican army. Santa Anna was there in his carriage, and there were several wagon loads of silver dollars, but a regiment of lancers and some other troops were guarding that end of the retreat. Nothing daunted, the forty men began to file out of the chaparral, shooting as they came. The Mexicans, thinking that the whole American army was upon them, fled, taking a path into the chaparral on the other side of the road.<sup>2</sup> Santa Anna was in the midst of his bodyguard and the Americans did not see him, but they ran out and captured the carriage he had just vacated. Tenney was the first to reach the carriage, and captured Santa Anna's cork leg, which he had taken off that he might ride

NOTE 2.—The following is an extract from a Mexican officer's report of the battle of Cerro Gordo: "General Santa Anna, accompanied by some of his adjutants, was passing along the road to the left of the battery when the enemy's column, now out of the woods, appeared on his line of retreat, and fired upon him, forcing him back. The carriage in which he had left Jalapa was riddled with shot, the mules killed and taken by the enemy, as well as the wagon, containing \$16,000, received the day before for the pay of the soldiers."—History of the Mexican War, by C. M. Wilcox, 1892, p. 292.

more safely through the thick chaparral on a mule which had been cut loose from the carriage. Tenney carried the cork leg on his shoulders all the way back to the encampment, and sent it back to Illinois. For months the leg stood behind the door at his home, then with a distant relative. When the younger members of the family passed the door, as they tell it now, they always shut their eyes, connecting many wild and terrifying incidents with that dismembered limb of the Mexican general. After being exhibited in New York and many other places it was presented to the Springfield museum.

Peace being declared, the Northern soldiers began to look toward home. Before setting sail for home the regiment was encamped at Vera Cruz four weeks.

After receiving his discharge at New Orleans, Mr. Tenney returned to Illinois, and entered into business at Mackinaw. March 29, 1848, he was married to Frances Emily Nichols, who was born in Boston, Mass., September 16, 1828. Miss Nichols's parents lived at Tremont, Ill., but the young couple were married at St. Louis, where she had been several months with relatives. In 1858 Mr. Tenney, with his wife and son, came to Lawrence, Kan., where they remained one year, during which he was engaged in business. In the spring of 1859 the presiding elder of that district informed Mr. Tenney that during the Methodist Episcopal conference, just ended, he had been given an appointment to preach. Mr. Tenney was surprised and also doubtful as to accepting the appointment, as he had had no intention of entering conference. But when the elder took from his pocket the report from the conference showing that M. D. Tenney had been appointed to the Osage circuit in Bourbon county, Kansas, and that the towns of Mapleton and Fort Scott were on his circuit, he could no longer doubt.<sup>3</sup> Feeling that it was a call to which he should respond, he accepted, and in a week's time was on his way to the new field of labor.

And labors and trials many did he encounter. Trouble was then brewing between the North and South, but nothing daunted he worked faithfully and long, preaching the gospel and proclaiming the wrongs of the black man. In 1860 he was sent to Mound City. That was the year when Kansas was without rain for eleven months, and there was great suffering for both food and water. But Reverend Tenney stayed at his post, living in his log cabin, which was nearly as open as a rail fence. It stood just three feet from the road, in which the dust was from four to five inches deep, and the pigs and chickens died in the yard for want of water and food.

From Mound City Mr. Tenney was sent to Gardner, Johnson county, and it was there that he came to the conclusion that he could do more in the army than out. He was urged to enlist as chaplain, but refused, saying that he could do chaplain's work while in the ranks, but that he could not be satisfied to do only chaplain's work during such active times.

August 15, 1861, Mr. Tenney enlisted at Mound City as a private in Capt. Samuel Stephenson's company H, Third regiment, Kansas volunteers, Col. James Montgomery (later company E, Tenth Kansas infantry, Capt. John F. Broadhead, Col. William Weer), commanding. On the 12th of September, 1861, he was promoted to sergeant major, and on the 15th of January, 1862, he was promoted to first lieutenant, First Kansas battery, light artillery, Capt. Thomas Bickerton, later Norman Allen, commanding. He was

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NOTE 3.—Minutes of Fourth Session Kansas and Nebraska Annual Conference Methodist Episcopal Church, April, 1859, p. 13.



promoted to be captain of his battery on August 27, 1863. Mr. Tenney served also for a time as acting adjutant on the staff of Brigadier General Weer, and, later, as ordnance officer of the general commanding the division. He participated in the following battles: Johnstown, Lone Jack, Dry Wood, Morristown and Osceola, Mo., Prairie Grove and Fayetteville, Ark., Locust Grove, I. T., Newtonia, Mo., Old Fort Wayne, I. T., Cane Hill and Van Buren, Ark., Johnsonville and Nashville, Tenn.

The following extract is taken from the official report sent by William Weer to Col. Thomas Moonlight, after the battle of Prairie Grove, fought December 7, 1862:

"SIR—The conduct of Lieutenant Tenney and his battery was under the immediate eye of the general commanding. Their destructive and rapid fire has even extorted high encomiums from the enemy. I desire to officially call the attention of the general to the condition of this battery, and would respectfully state that it is due to the valor, skill and patient labor of Lieutenant Tenney, that the proper steps be taken to place him as its captain (he having for a long time been discharging the functions of that office), and that the meritorious officers under him be promoted."<sup>4</sup>

The following paragraph is quoted from the report of H. H. Williams, major of the Tenth Kansas volunteers, after the battle of Prairie Grove:

"In the meantime the First Kansas battery, Lieutenant Tenney commanding, which was in our rear, opened upon the rebels, obliquely across our right, with canister, which checked the force of the rebels extending beyond our right, and sent them in disorder to the brush. The Tenth then formed on the right of the battery, when the rebels commenced playing upon us with a battery which they had planted on their extreme left, but it was quickly silenced by a few well-directed shots from Tenney's battery."<sup>5</sup>

The standing of the battery with the Confederates is about as good a criterion as any, there being no jealousy in the make-up of their opinion. General Forest was considered as an efficient officer. About November 1, 1864, he undertook to capture the Union army stores at Johnsonville, Tenn., and afterwards sent word by a citizen that had it not been for Captain Tenney and his artillery he would have been successful. General Forest said, "Tell Captain Tenney he has the best battery I have met during the war."<sup>6</sup>

General Hindman, who commanded the rebel army at the battle of Prairie Grove, said a few days after, in giving the cause that led to his defeat in that action, "It was Blunt's artillery that beat me. If Blunt will give me the 'Black Battery,' I will fight him any time and whip him." He certainly had a fair estimate of the fighting qualities of the First Kansas battery.

General Thomas thought proper to speak, in a personal letter to Captain Tenney, of the good condition of the battery in December, 1864. Gen. James B. Steedman at the battle of Nashville used two guns, and after the ammunition was all expended, wanted the Kansas battery to stay on the field for the rebels to look at.

As already intimated, the shooting ability of the battery was good, above

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NOTE 4.—Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 22, p. 90.

NOTE 5.—Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 22, p. 91.

NOTE 6.—Capt. Henry Howland mentions the First Kansas battery in the defense of Johnsonville, November 4, 1864, during Forest's raid into West Tennessee.—Official Records War of the Rebellion, S. 1, vol. 52, pt. 1, pp. 122, 123.

medium. The men prided themselves upon accuracy rather than rapidity. For instance, at Cane Hill the cannon came up in time to only throw three shells. A rebel officer afterwards said, "Those three shells did more harm than all that preceded them." Corporal Thomas at Newtonia sent one shot a mile at a squad of rebel cavalry and killed eleven horses. Corporal Massey, when in point-blank musket range, must get upon the stock to see something to shoot. Such was the dread of the rebels in the Western Department of the "Black Battery" that it amounted almost to a superstition. For instance, one of General Herron's surgeons, in attending to the wounded, was captured and detained in the rear of the rebel army. He was in conversation with a rebel officer when our battery opened on them as they were swinging around to envelop Herron's command. One of our shells went screaming over the officer's head when he said, "There is that Black Battery again; we must get out of here." And they got.

Very few commands can show a longer road marched over than the Kansas battery. As a command they claimed quite 12,000 miles. This does not include the lonely chicken hunts and weary tramps of necessary military service. The battery started with 160 men, but was soon reduced to 100, and the last three years numbered even less.

During his military service Mr. Tenney received several injuries. He was struck once in the chest by a spent ball, and again in the side by the end of a caisson, which caused him a great deal of suffering all his remaining life. His hearing was very much affected by an explosion close to his head. He received his discharge at Leavenworth, Kan., his muster-out roll being dated July 17, 1865.

Rev. Marcus D. Tenney belonged to the Methodist Conference for about twenty years, and then to the Congregational Association for about twenty years longer. He preached in nine different states and territories and three Indian reservations. During the last ten years of his life, what public speaking his health enabled him to do was spent in lecturing for the Unitarian Church in Dallas, Houston and Galveston, Tex. He became a Free Mason in 1848 and an Odd Fellow in 1849. He is mentioned by Greeley in his account of the battle of Prairie Grove: "Meantime, our batteries were advanced at various points and served with rare efficiency; Lieutenant Tenney, with six ten-pound Parrotts, repelling with shell and cannister, while unsupported, a formidable infantry attack."<sup>7</sup>

Mr. Tenney's grandfather died in service during the War of 1812. Rev. M. D. Tenney died at his home, in Junction City, Kan., May 26, 1907, where his widow still resides, aged eighty-one years, with their son, Frank G. Tenney.

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NOTE 7.—The American Conflict, 1866, vol. 2, p. 40.

## PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

By LEANDER STILLWELL.<sup>1</sup>

THERE has been a great deal said and written about the battle of Shiloh, both by Confederate and Union officers and writers. On the part of the first there has been, and probably always will be, angry dispute and criticism about the conduct of General Beauregard in calling off his troops Sunday evening while fully an hour of broad, precious daylight still remained, which, as claimed by some, might have been utilized in destroying the remainder of Grant's army before Buell could have crossed the Tennessee. On the part of Union writers the matters most discussed have been as to whether or not our forces were surprised, the condition of Grant's army at the close of the first day, what the result would have been without the aid of the gunboats, or if Buell's army had not come, and kindred subjects. It is not my purpose, in telling my story of the battle of Shiloh, to say anything that shall add to this volume of discussion. My age at the time was but eighteen, and my position that of a common soldier in the ranks. It would therefore be foolish in me to assume the part of a critic. The generals, who, from reasonably safe points of observation, are sweeping the field with their glasses, and noting and directing the movements of the lines of battle, must, in the nature of things, be the ones to furnish the facts that go to make history. The extent of a battle field seen by the common soldier is that only which comes within the range of the raised sights of his musket.

NOTE 1.—LEANDER STILLWELL was the son of Jeremiah O. Stillwell and his wife, Ann Eliza White, natives of North Carolina, who emigrated to Illinois in 1834. The son was born in Ottawa precinct, Jersey county, September 16, 1843. The means of education were poor in his neighborhood, but he made the most of them, and later in life became a ripe scholar and linguist of no mean ability. He worked on his father's farm until his enlistment in the Civil War as a private in Company D, Sixty-first Illinois infantry. He reenlisted as a veteran in February, 1864, and later was promoted successively first sergeant, second and first lieutenant. He participated with his regiment in the battle of Shiloh and the siege of Vicksburg, among many other engagements. After his muster out, September 8, 1865, Mr. Stillwell studied law at Albany, N. Y., and was admitted to the bar in December, 1867. The following May he came to Kansas and located at Erie, which he has since made his home, except for a few years' residence at Osage Mission. Upon his settlement in Kansas Mr. Stillwell began the practice of law. In 1877 he was a member of the Kansas house of representatives, and was elected judge of the seventh judicial district in 1883. He was reelected to this position five times in succession, and served until September, 1907, when he resigned because of the fatal illness of his wife. Judge Stillwell was married to Miss Anna L. Stauber, daughter of Dr. C. F. and Catherine (Frymire) Stauber, at Erie, May 9, 1872. Mrs. Stillwell was born at Wooster, Ohio, September 12, 1851, and died at her home April 9, 1909, after an illness of two years' duration. Of the five children born to Judge and Mrs. Stillwell, four are still living, Rena and Nora, Hubert and Jeremiah; a son, Charles R., died some years before his mother. November 25, 1909, Judge Stillwell was appointed by President Taft first deputy commissioner of pensions, with residence at Washington.

As will be seen by reference to the following statement, Judge Stillwell presented the paper here given in competition for a prize offered by the *New York Tribune*, in 1890:

### "AWARD OF PRIZES.

"To the *Tribune Association*: Under the terms of your offer of prizes for war stories, each was required to be 'a story of actual experience in the war,' written by a soldier or sailor not above the grade of captain in the army or its equivalent, and the writer 'must have taken part in the scenes narrated by him.'

"After reading and carefully considering the twenty-five stories submitted for competition, we award the first prize of \$250 for the 'best story' to 'Scenes at Shiloh,' by Leander Stillwell; the second prize of \$150 to 'In a Rebel Prison Pen,' by John H. Hagar; and the third prize of \$75 to 'In Mosby's Power,' by Stephen Golding. 'The Guerrilla's Captive,' by J. S. Hurst, deserves honorable mention.

"We regret that the interesting sketch called 'Long Sall's Last Shot,' by E. W. Gurley, is outside the strict terms of the competition, not being a narrative of events in which the writer took part.

RICHARD B. IRWIN.  
LEMUEL ELY QUIGG."



And what little he does see is as "through a glass, darkly." The dense banks of powder smoke obstruct his gaze; he catches but fitful glimpses of his adversaries as the smoke veers or rises.

Then, too, my own experience makes me think that where the common soldier does his duty, all his faculties of mind and body are employed in attending to the details of his own personal part of the work of destruction, and there is but little time left him for taking mental notes to form the basis of historical articles a quarter of a century afterward. The handling, tearing and charging of his cartridge, ramming it home (we used muzzle-loaders during the Civil War), the capping of his gun, the aiming and firing, with furious haste and energy—for every shot may be his last—these things require the soldier's close personal attention and make him oblivious to matters transpiring beyond his immediate neighborhood. Moreover, his sense of hearing is well-nigh overcome by the deafening uproar going on around him. The incessant and terrible crash of musketry, the roar of the cannon, the continual zip, zip of the bullets as they hiss by him, interspersed with the agonizing screams of the wounded, or the death-shrieks of comrades falling in dying convulsions right in the face of the living—these things are not conducive to that serene and judicial mental equipoise which the historian enjoys in his closet.

Let the generals and historians, therefore, write of the movements of corps, divisions and brigades. I have naught to tell but the simple story of what one private soldier saw of one of the bloodiest battles of the war.

The regiment to which I belonged was the Sixty-first Illinois infantry. It left its camp of instruction (a country town in southern Illinois) about the last of February, 1862. We were sent to Benton Barracks, near St. Louis, and remained there drilling until March 26. We left on that day for the front. It was a cloudy, drizzly and most gloomy day, as we marched through the streets of St. Louis down to the levee, to embark on a transport that was to take us to our destination. The city was enveloped in that pall of coal smoke for which St. Louis is celebrated. It hung heavy and low and set us all a-coughing. I think the colonel must have marched us down some by-street. It was narrow and dirty, with high buildings on either side. The line officers took the sidewalks, while the regiment, marching by the flank, tramped in silence down the middle of the street, slumping through the nasty, slimy mud. There was one thing very noticeable on this march through St. Louis, and that was the utter lack of interest taken in us by the inhabitants. From pictures I had seen in books at home, my idea was that when soldiers departed for war beautiful ladies stood on balconies and waved snowy-white handkerchiefs at the troops, while the men stood on the sidewalks and corners and swung their hats and cheered.

There may have been regiments so favored, but ours was not one of them. Occasionally a fat, chunky-looking fellow, of a German cast of countenance, with a big pipe in his mouth, would stick his head out of a door or window, look at us a few seconds, and then disappear. No handkerchiefs or hats were waved; we heard no cheers. My thoughts at the time were that the Union people there had all gone to the war, or else the colonel was marching us through a "secesh" part of town.

We marched to the levee, and from there on board the big side-wheel steamer *Empress*. That evening she unfastened her moorings, swung her head out into the river, turned downstream, and we were off for the "seat

of war." We arrived at Pittsburg Landing on March 31. Pittsburg Landing, as its name indicates, was simply a landing place for steamboats. It is on the west bank of the Tennessee river, in a thickly wooded region, about twenty miles northeast of Corinth. There was no town there then, nothing but "the log house on the hill" that the survivors of the battle of Shiloh will all remember. The banks of the Tennessee on the Pittsburg Landing side are steep and bluff, rising about 100 feet above the level of the river. Shiloh church, that gave the battle its name, was a Methodist meetinghouse. It was a small hewed-log building with a clapboard roof, about two miles out from the landing on the main Corinth road. On our arrival at the landing we were assigned to the division of Gen. B. M. Prentiss, and we at once marched out and went into camp. About half a mile from the landing the road forks; the main Corinth road goes to the right, past Shiloh church, the other goes to the left. These two roads come together again some miles out. General Prentiss's division was camped on this left-hand road and at right angles to it. Our regiment went into camp almost on the extreme left of Prentiss's line. There was a brigade of Sherman's division under General Stuart still further to the left, about a mile I think, in camp near a ford of Lick creek, where the Hamburg and Purdy road crosses the creek; and between the left of Prentiss's and General Stuart's camp there were no troops. I know that, for during the few days intervening between our arrival and the battle I roamed all through those woods on our left, between us and Stuart, hunting for wild onions and "turkey peas."

The camp of our regiment was about two miles from the landing. The tents were pitched in the woods, and there was a little field of about twenty acres in our front. The camp faced nearly west, or possibly southwest.

I shall never forget how glad I was to get off that old steamboat and be on solid ground once more, in camp out in those old woods. My company had made the trip from St. Louis to Pittsburg Landing on the hurricane deck of the steamboat, and our fare on the route had been hard-tack and raw, fat meat, washed down with river water, as we had no chance to cook anything, and we had not then learned the trick of catching the surplus hot water ejected from the boilers and making coffee with it. But once on solid ground, with plenty of wood to make fires, that bill of fare was changed. I shall never again eat meat that will taste as good as the fried "sowbelly" did then, accompanied by "flap-jacks" and plenty of good, strong coffee. We had not yet got settled down to the regular drills; guard duty was light and things generally seemed to run "kind o' loose." And then the climate was delightful. We had just left the bleak, frozen North, where all was cold and cheerless, and we found ourselves in a clime where the air was as soft and warm as it was in Illinois in the latter part of May. The green grass was springing from the ground, the "johnny-jump-ups" were in blossom, the trees were bursting into leaf, and the woods were full of feathered songsters. There was a redbird that would come every morning about sunup, and perch himself in the tall black oak tree in our company street, and for perhaps half an hour he would practice on his impatient querulous note, that said, as plain as a bird could say, "Boys, boys! get up! get up! get up!" It became a standing remark among the boys that he was a Union redbird, and had enlisted in our regiment as a musician to sound the reveille.

So the time passed pleasantly away until that eventful Sunday morning,

April 6, 1862. According to the Tribune Almanac for that year, the sun rose that morning in Tennessee at thirty-eight minutes past five o'clock. I had no watch, but I have always been of the opinion that the sun was fully an hour and a half high before the fighting began on our part of the line. We had "turned out" about sunup, answered to roll call, and had cooked and eaten our breakfast. We had then gone to work, preparing for the regular Sunday morning inspection, which would take place at nine o'clock. The boys were scattered around the company streets and in front of the company parade grounds, engaged in cleaning and polishing their muskets, brushing up and cleaning their shoes, jackets, trousers, and clothing generally. It was a most beautiful morning. The sun was shining brightly through the trees, and there was not a cloud in the sky. It really seemed like Sunday in the country at home. During week days there was a continual stream of army wagons going to and from the landing, and the clicking of their wheels, the yells and oaths of the drivers, the cracking of whips, mingled with the braying of the mules, the neighing of the horses, the commands of the officers engaged in drilling the men, the incessant hum and buzz of the camps, the blare of bugles, and the roll of drums—all these made up a prodigious volume of sound that lasted from the coming up to the going down of the sun. But this morning was strangely still. The wagons were silent, the mules were peacefully munching their hay, and the army teamsters were giving us a rest. I listened with delight to the plaintive, mournful notes of a turtledove in the woods close by, while on the dead limb of a tall tree right in the camp a woodpecker was sounding his "long roll," just as I had heard it beaten by his Northern brothers a thousand times on the trees in the Otter creek bottom at home.

Suddenly, away off on the right, in the direction of Shiloh church, came a dull, heavy "Pum"! Then another, and still another. Every man sprang to his feet as if struck by an electric shock, and we looked inquiringly into one another's faces. "What is that?" said every one, but no one answered. Those heavy booms then came thicker and faster, and just a few seconds after we heard that first dull, ominous growl off to the southwest came a low, sullen, continuous roar. There was no mistaking that sound. That was not a squad of pickets emptying their guns on being relieved from duty; it was the continuous roll of thousands of muskets, and told us that a battle was on.

What I have been describing just now occurred in a few seconds only, and with the roar of musketry the long roll began to beat in our camp. Then ensued a scene of desperate haste, the like of which I certainly had never seen before, nor ever have since. I remember that in the midst of this terrible uproar and confusion, while the boys were buckling on their cartridge boxes, and before even the companies had been formed, a mounted staff officer came galloping wildly down the line from the right. He checked and whirled his horse sharply round right in our company's street, the ironbound hoofs of his horse crashing among the tin plates lying in a little pile where my mess had eaten its breakfast that morning. The horse was flecked with foam and its eyes and nostrils were red as blood. The officer cast one hurried glance around him, and exclaimed: "My God! this regiment not in line yet! They have been fighting on the right over an hour!" And wheeling his horse, he disappeared in the direction of the colonel's tent.

I know now that history says that the battle began about 4:30 that



morning; that it was brought on by a reconnoitering party sent out early that morning by General Prentiss; that General Sheridan's division on the right was early advised of the approach of the rebel army, and got ready to meet them in ample time. I have read these things in books and am not disputing them, but am simply telling the story of an enlisted man in a regiment on the left of Prentiss's line as to what he saw and knew of the condition of things at about seven o'clock that morning.

Well, the companies were formed, we marched out on the regimental parade ground, and the regiment was formed in line. The command was given: "Load at will; load!" We had anticipated this, however, as the most of us had instinctively loaded our guns before we had formed company. All this time the roar on the right was getting nearer and louder. Our old colonel rode up close to us, opposite the center of the regimental line, and called out: "Attention, battalion!" We fixed our eyes on him to hear what was coming. It turned out to be the old man's battle harangue.

"Gentlemen," said he, in a voice that every man in the regiment heard, "remember your state, and do your duty to-day like brave men."

That was all. A year later in the war the old man doubtless would have addressed us as "soldiers," and not as "gentlemen," and he would have omitted his allusion to the "state," which smacked a little of Confederate notions. However, he was a Douglas Democrat, and his mind was probably running on Buena Vista, in the Mexican war, where, it is said, a Western regiment acted badly, and threw a cloud over the reputation for courage of the men of that state which required the thunders of the Civil War to disperse. Immediately after the colonel had given us his brief exhortation, the regiment was marched across the little field I have before mentioned, and we took our place in line of battle, the woods in front of us and the open field to our rear. We "dressed on" the colors, ordered arms, and stood awaiting the attack. By this time the roar on the right had become terrific. The rebel army was unfolding its front, and the battle was steadily advancing in our direction. We could begin to see the blue rings of smoke curling upward among the trees off to the right, and the pungent smell of burning gunpowder filled the air. As the roar came traveling down the line from the right it reminded me (only it was a million times louder) of the sweep of a thundershower in summer time over the hard ground of a stubble field.

And there we stood, in the edge of the woods, so still, waiting for the storm to break on us. I know mighty well what I was thinking about then. My mind's eye was fixed on a little log cabin, far away to the north, in the backwoods of western Illinois. I could see my father sitting on the porch, reading the little local newspaper brought from the post office the evening before. There was my mother getting my little brother ready for Sunday school; the old dog lying asleep in the sun; the hens cackling about the barn; all these things and a hundred other tender recollections rushed into my mind. I am not ashamed to say now that I would willingly have given a general quitclaim deed for every jot and tittle of military glory falling to me, past, present, and to come, if I only could have been miraculously and instantaneously set down in the yard of that peaceful little home, a thousand miles away from the haunts of fighting men.

The time we thus stood, awaiting the attack, could not have exceeded five minutes. Suddenly, obliquely to our right, there was a long, wavy flash

of bright light, then another, and another! It was the sunlight shining on gun barrels and bayonets, and there they were at last! A long, brown line; with muskets at a right-shoulder-shift, in excellent order, right through the woods they came.

We began firing at once. From one end of the regiment to the other leaped a sheet of red flame, and the roar that went up from the edge of that old field doubtless advised General Prentiss of the fact that the rebels had at last struck the extreme left of his line. We had fired but two or three rounds when, for some reason—I never knew what—we were ordered to fall back across the field, and did so. The whole line, so far as I could see to the right, went back. We halted on the other side of the field in the edge of the woods, in front of our tents, and again began firing. The rebels, of course, had moved up and occupied the line we had just abandoned. And here we did our first hard fighting during the day. Our officers said, after the battle was over, that we held this line an hour and ten minutes. How long it was I do not know. I “took no note of time.”

We retreated from this position, as our officers afterward said, because the troops on our right had given away and we were flanked. Possibly those boys on our right would give the same excuse for their leaving, and probably truly too. Still, I think we did not fall back a minute too soon. As I rose from the comfortable log from behind which a bunch of us had been firing, I saw men in gray and brown clothes, with trailed muskets, running through the camp on our right, and I saw something else, too, that sent a chill all through me. It was a kind of flag I had never seen before. It was a gaudy sort of thing, with red bars. It flashed over me in a second that that thing was a rebel flag! It was not more than sixty yards to the right. The smoke around it was low and dense and kept me from seeing the man who was carrying it, but I plainly saw the banner. It was going fast, with a jerky motion, which told me that the bearer was on a double-quick. About that time we left. We observed no kind of order in leaving; the main thing was to get out of there as quick as we could. I ran down our company street, and in passing the big Sibley tent of our mess I thought of my knapsack with all my traps and belongings, including that precious little packet of letters from home. I said to myself, “I will save my knapsack, anyhow,” but one quick backward glance over my left shoulder made me change my mind, and I went on. I never saw my knapsack or any of its contents afterwards.

Our broken forces halted and reformed about a half a mile to the rear of our camp, on the summit of a gentle ridge covered with thick brush. I recognized our regiment by the little gray pony the old colonel rode, and hurried to my place in the ranks. Standing there with our faces once more to the front I saw a seemingly endless column of men in blue marching by the flank, who were filing off to the right through the woods, and I heard our old German adjutant, Cramer, say to the colonel: “Dose are de troops of Sheneral Hurlbut. He is forming a new line dere in de bush.” I exclaimed to myself, from the bottom of my heart, “Bully for General Hurlbut and the new line in the bush. Maybe we’ll whip ’em yet.” I shall never forget my feelings about this time. I was astonished at our first retreat in the morning across the field back to our camp, but it occurred to me that maybe that was only “strategy,” and all done on purpose; but when we had to give up our camp and actually turn our backs and run half

a mile, it seemed to me that we were forever disgraced, and I kept thinking to myself: "What will they say about this at home?"

I was very dry for a drink, and as we were doing nothing just then, I slipped out of ranks and ran down to the little hollow in our rear, in search of water. Finding a little pool, I threw myself on the ground and took a copious draught. As I rose on my feet, I observed an officer about a rod above me also quenching his thirst, holding his horse meanwhile by the bridle. As he rose I saw it was our old adjutant. At no other time would I have dared accost him unless in line of duty, but the situation made me bold. "Adjutant," I said, "what does this mean—our having to run this way? Ain't we whipped?" He blew the water from his mustache, and quickly answered in a careless way: "Oh, no; dat is all ride. We yoost fall back to form on the reserve. Sheneral Buell vas now crossing der river mit 50,000 men, and vill be here pooty quick; and Sheneral Lew Wallace is coming from Crump's Landing mit 15,000 more. Ve vips 'em; we vips 'em. Go to your gompany." Back I went on the run, with a heart as light as a feather. As I took my place in ranks beside my chum, Jack Medford, I said to him: "Jack, I've just had a talk with the old adjutant, down at the branch where I've been to get a drink. He says Buell is crossing the river with 75,000 men and a whole world of cannon, and that some other general is coming up from Crump's Landing with 25,000 more men. He says we fell back here all on purpose, and that we're going to whip the secesh, just sure! Ain't that just perfectly bully?" I had improved some on the adjutant's figures, but the news was so glorious I thought a little variance of 25,000 or 30,000 men would make no difference in the end. But as the long hours wore on that day, and still Buell and Wallace did not come, my faith in the adjutant's veracity became considerably shaken.

It was at this point that my regiment was detached from Prentiss's division, and served with it no more that day. We were sent some distance to the right to support a battery, the name of which I never learned. It was occupying the summit of a slope, and was actively engaged when we reached it. We were put in position about twenty rods in rear of the battery, and ordered to lie flat on the ground. The ground sloped gently down in our direction, so that by hugging the ground close the rebel shot and shell went over us.

It was here, at about ten o'clock in the morning, that I first saw Grant that day. He was on horseback, of course, accompanied by his staff, and was evidently making a personal examination of his lines. He rode between us and the battery at the head of his staff. He went by in a gallop. The battery was then hotly engaged; shot and shell were whizzing overhead, and cutting off the limbs of trees, but Grant rode through the storm with perfect indifference, seemingly paying no more attention to the missiles than if they had been paper wads.

We remained in support of this battery until about two o'clock in the afternoon. We were then put in motion by the right flank, filed to the left, crossed the left-hand Corinth road, then we were thrown into line by the command: "By the left flank, march!" We crossed a little ravine and up a slope, and relieved a regiment on the left of Hurlbut's line. This line was desperately engaged, and had been at this point, as we afterward learned, for fully four hours. I remember as we went up the slope and began firing, about the first thing that met my gaze was what out West we would call a



"windrow" of dead men in blue; some doubled up face downward, others with their white faces upturned to the sky, brave boys who had been shot to death in "holding the line." Here we stayed until our last cartridge was shot away. We were then relieved by another regiment. We filled our cartridge boxes again and went back to the support of our battery. The boys laid down and talked in low tones. Many of our comrades, alive and well an hour ago, we had left dead on that bloody ridge. And still the battle raged. From right to left, everywhere, it was one never-ending, terrible roar, with no prospect of stopping.

Somewhere between four and five o'clock, as near as I can tell, everything became ominously quiet. Our battery ceased firing, the gunners leaned against the pieces and talked and laughed. Suddenly a staff officer rode up and said something in a low tone to the commander of the battery, then rode up to our colonel and said something to him. The battery horses were at once brought up from a ravine in the rear, the battery limbered up and moved off through the woods diagonally to the left and rear. We were put in motion by the flank and followed it. Everything kept so still, the loudest noise I heard was the clucking of the wheels of the gun carriages and caissons as they wound through the woods. We emerged from the woods and entered a little old field. I then saw to our right and front, lines of men in blue moving in the same direction we were, and it was evident that we were falling back. All at once, on the right, the left and from our recent front, came one tremendous roar, and the bullets fell like hail. The lines took the double-quick toward the rear. For a while the attempt was made to fall back in order, and then everything went to pieces. My heart failed me utterly. I thought the day was lost. A confused mass of men and guns, caissons, army wagons, ambulances, and all the debris of a beaten army surged and crowded along the narrow dirt road to the landing, while that pitiless storm of leaden hail came crashing on us from the rear. It was undoubtedly at this crisis in our affairs that the division of General Prentiss was captured.

I will digress here for a minute to speak of a little incident connected with this disastrous feature of the day that has always impressed me as a pathetic instance of the patriotism and unselfish devotion to the cause that was by no means uncommon among the rank and file of the Union armies.

There was in my company a middle-aged German named Charles H. Oberdeik. According to the company descriptive book, he was a native of the kingdom of Hanover, now a province of Prussia. He was a typical German, flaxen-haired, blue-eyed, quiet and taciturn, of limited and meager education, but a model soldier, who accepted without question and obeyed without a murmur the orders of his military superiors. Prior to the war he had made his living by chopping cordwood in the high timbered hills near the mouth of the Illinois river, or by working as a common laborer in the country on the farms at fourteen dollars a month. He was unmarried, his parents were dead, and he had no other immediate relatives surviving, either in his fatherland or in the country of his adoption. He and I enlisted from the same neighborhood. I had known him slightly in civil life at home, and hence he was disposed to be more communicative with me than with the other boys of the company. A day or two after the battle he and I were sitting in the shade of a tree, in camp, talking over the incidents of the fight. "Charley," I said to him, "how did you feel along about four o'clock

Sunday afternoon when they broke our lines, we were falling back in disorder, and it looked like the whole business was gone up generally?" He knocked the ashes from his pipe, and, turning his face quickly towards me, said: "I yoost tells you how I feels. I no care anydings about Charley; he haf no wife nor children, fadder nor mudder, brudder nor sister; if Charley gets killed it makes no difference, der was nobody to cry for him, so I dinks nutting about myself, but I tells you I yoost den feels bad for de Cause!"

Noble, simple-hearted old Charley! It was the imminent danger only to the "Cause" that made his heart sink in that seemingly fateful hour. When we heard, in the malignant and triumphant roar of the rebel cannon in our rear, what might be the death knell of the last great experiment of civilized men to establish among the nations of the world a united republic, freed from the curse of pampered kings and selfish, grasping aristocrats—it was in that moment, in his simple language, that the peril to the "Cause" was the supreme and only consideration.

It must have been when we were less than half a mile from the landing in our disorderly retreat before mentioned, as we turned a bend in the road, that we saw standing in line of battle at ordered arms, extending from both sides of the road until lost to sight in the woods, a long, well-ordered line of men in blue. What did that mean? And where had they come from? I was walking by the side of Enoch Wallace, the orderly sergeant of my company. He was a man of nerve and courage, and by word and deed had done more that day to hold us green and untried boys in ranks and firmly to our duty than any other man in the company. But even he, in the face of this seemingly appalling state of things, had evidently lost heart. I said to him: "Enoch, what are those men there for?" He made answer in a low tone: "I guess they are put there to hold the rebels in check till the army can get across the river." And doubtless that was the thought of every intelligent soldier in our beaten column. And yet it goes to show how little the common soldier knew of the actual situation. We did not know then that this line was the last line of battle of the "Fighting Fourth Division" under General Hurlbut; that on its right was the division of McClernand, the Fort Donelson boys; that on its right, at right angles to it, and, as it were, the refused wing of the army, was glorious old Sherman, hanging on with a bulldog grip to the road across Snake creek from Crump's Landing, by which Lew Wallace was coming with 5000 men. In other words, we still had an unbroken line confronting the enemy, made up of men who were not yet ready, by any manner of means, to give up that they were whipped. Nor did we know then that our retreating mass consisted only of some regiments of Hurlbut's division, and some other isolated commands, who had not been duly notified of the recession of Hurlbut, and of his falling back to form a new line, and thereby came very near sharing the fate of Prentiss's men and being marched to the rear as prisoners of war.

Speaking for myself, it was twenty years after the battle before I found these things out; yet they are true, just as much so as the fact that the sun rose yesterday morning.

Well, we filed through Hurlbut's line, halted, reformed, and faced to the front once more. We were put in place a short distance in the rear of Hurlbut, as a support to some heavy guns. It must have been about five o'clock now. Suddenly, on the extreme left, and just a little above the

landing, came a deafening explosion that fairly shook the ground beneath our feet, followed by others in quick and regular succession. The look of wonder and inquiry that the soldiers' faces wore for a moment, disappeared for one of joy and exultation as it flashed across our minds that the gunboats had at last joined hands in the dance, and were pitching big twenty-pound Parrott shells up the ravine in front of Hurlbut, to the terror and discomfiture of our adversaries. The last place my regiment assumed was close to the road coming up from the landing. As we were lying there I heard the strains of martial music, and saw a body of men marching by the flank up the road. I slipped out of ranks and walked out to the side of the road to see what troops they were. Their band was playing "Dixie's Land," and playing it well. The men were marching at a quickstep, carrying their guns, cartridge boxes, haversacks, canteens and blanket rolls. I saw they had not been in the fight, for there was no powder smoke on their faces. "What regiment is this?" I asked of a young sergeant marching on the flank. Back came the answer in a quick, cheery tone, "The Thirty-sixth Indiana, the advance guard of Buell's army."

I did not, on hearing this, throw up my cap into the air and yell. That would have given those Indiana fellows a chance to chaff and guy me, and possibly make sarcastic remarks, which I did not care to provoke. I gave one big, gasping swallow and stood still, but the blood thumped in the veins of my throat, and my heart fairly pounded against my little infantry jacket in the joyous rapture of this glorious intelligence. Soldiers need not be told of the thrill of unspeakable exultation they all have felt at the sight of armed friends in danger's darkest hour. Speaking for myself alone, I can only say, in the most heartfelt sincerity, that in all my obscure military career, never to me was the sight of reënforcing legions so precious and so welcome as on that Sunday evening when the rays of the descending sun were flashed back from the bayonets of Buell's advance column, as it deployed on the bluffs of Pittsburg Landing.

My story is about done. So far as I saw or heard, very little fighting was done that evening after Buell's advance crossed the river. The sun must have been fully an hour high when anything like regular and continuous firing had entirely ceased. What the result would have been if Beauregard had massed his troops on our left and forced the fighting late Sunday evening would be a matter of opinion, and a common soldier's opinion would not be considered worth much.

My regiment was held in reserve the next day, and was not engaged. I have, therefore, no personal experiences of that day to relate. After the battle of Shiloh, it fell to my lot to play my humble part in several other fierce conflicts of arms, but Shiloh was my maiden fight. It was there I first saw a gun fired in anger, heard the whistle of a bullet, or saw a man die a violent death, and my experiences, thoughts, impressions and sensations on that bloody Sunday will abide with me as long as I live.



# THE INDIANS.

## MY EXPERIENCE WITH THE CHEYENNE INDIANS.

Address by HENRY C. KEELING,<sup>1</sup> of Caldwell, Kan., before the State Historical Society at its thirty-fourth annual meeting, December 7, 1909.

IN the winter of 1879 I was appointed post trader at Cantonment, in what was then known as the Indian Territory. The post is described in the official records as "Cantonment<sup>2</sup> on the west side of the North Fork of the Canadian river." This post was established a short time after the raid of Dull Knife through western Kansas in 1878. The site finally selected for the post by General Sheridan was at what was known as Sheridan's Roost,<sup>3</sup> where he had been very successful in killing wild turkey during the winter of 1863-'69, although he had wanted it located in the hills at what is known as Barrel Springs. Col. Richard I. Dodge was in command of the Twenty-third infantry at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, at the time the post was established. He, with his regiment, left the cars at Dodge City and marched in by way of Fort Supply. When he reached Barrel Springs he was not satisfied with the location, it being in the sand hills, and considered the place unhealthy. Colonel Dodge therefore located the cantonment about eight miles south, on the North Fork of the Canadian river.

A great many Indians were camped in the vicinity of this post shortly after its establishment. Little Raven, an Arapahoe, was chief of quite a large band, as was also Stone Calf, a noted Southern Cheyenne Indian, whose band had massacred the Germaine family<sup>4</sup> in the fall of 1874, excepting

NOTE 1.—HENRY C. KEELING was born in New Orleans, La., August 6, 1858. His father was born in Montpelier, Vt., and his mother in Belfast, Ireland. His father was a sea captain, running for many years out of New Orleans. The mother's family settled in New Orleans when she was six years old. Mr. Keeling was educated in the high school at Amboy, Ill., and took a business course in Chicago. He came to Fort Leavenworth in March, 1873.

NOTE 2.—Cantonment is situated in the northwest corner of Blaine county, Oklahoma. "During the last winter it became necessary, for the protection of the Kansas frontier, to establish a cantonment in Indian Territory on the North Fork of the Canadian, between Fort Supply and Fort Reno. It is now occupied by six companies of infantry (one mounted), and has served and will serve as an almost complete check to any movements of the Indians in that region toward the north. The troops have hutted themselves, and will get along without suffering this winter, but as this cantonment will be needed and more needed every year, as well for the protection of the Indian Territory against white invasion as for the security of the Kansas frontier against Indians, I ask that an appropriation of \$50,000 be requested this winter to build a permanent post. Whatever may be the condition of the Indian tribes in the future, it is quite certain that this post will be needed to maintain them in possession of their lands, and to protect them against broils and difficulties with the whites, both respectable persons and outlaws."—Report Secretary of War, 1879, p. 84.

NOTE 3.—Sheridan's Troopers on the Border, by DeB. Randolph Keim, 1870, p. 154.

NOTE 4.—Gen. Nelson A. Miles prefaces his account of the capture and rescue of the Germaine sisters with the following explanation: "The wholesale destruction of buffaloes during the years 1872, '73 and '74, numbering over 5,373,000, the main dependence of the plains Indians, exasperated them to such an intense degree that the tribes of the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes and Arapahoos held a great council at Medicine Lodge, I. T., in the latter year, to take united and vigorous action in regard thereto. The result was a determination to make war upon the whites.

"One of the tragic incidents of these marauding expeditions was the catastrophe to the Germaine family. This family consisted of the parents, one son who was a grown man, and five daughters. Formerly they had lived in the state of Georgia, later in western Missouri, and were now moving thence to Colorado. They were fairly well equipped with wagons, a few horses and

four girls, whom he had kept as prisoners. They were afterwards recaptured by Lieut. Frank D. Baldwin, of the Fifth infantry, a detachment of Gen. Nelson A. Miles's command.

In July, 1876, after the Custer massacre, I had left Fort Leavenworth, where I had been with my brother, Maj. Wm. H. Keeling, to go to the mouth of Tongue river, Montana, where Gen. Nelson A. Miles was building Fort Keogh, in the winter of 1876-'77. My brother, in 1879, resigned his position as quartermaster of the Second battery Thirteenth U. S. infantry, to take the position of post trader at Cantonment, I. T., at the request of Generals Sherman and Sheridan, having been Sherman's quartermaster during his march to the sea. During my stay at Fort Keogh I first met the Cheyenne Indians, General Miles having captured Crazy Horse's band of Northern Cheyennes during the spring of 1877. As my duties as quartermaster's clerk brought me in contact with these Indians continually in issuing their rations, I learned their language, a very difficult thing to do. I am referring back to the time of 1876-'77, to draw the attention more particularly to the friendship of the Cheyennes when they once take a liking to any person. I became quite friendly here with Black Wolf, a noted Cheyenne, who was afterwards killed at or near the Standing Rock agency by Capt. Henry W. Wessells, of the Third cavalry, and another, by the name of Stone. At the time of my appointment as post trader at Canton-

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some other stock. They had passed through, as they hoped, the dangerous district, and expected to arrive at a place of safety the next day, when suddenly a band of warriors appeared, killing the man and his wife, also the son, who was a short distance away just returning from a hunt for game, and taking the girls captive. After traveling a short distance they decided for some reason not to keep the eldest daughter, a woman grown, and killed her in the presence of her four sisters. These were aged respectively fifteen, thirteen, nine and seven."

November 8, 1874, a detachment of General Miles's command under Lieut. Frank D. Baldwin rescued the two youngest girls, Julia and Adelaide, on the north branch of McClellan creek, in the Texas panhandle. Here the general first learned that besides these two the two elder sisters were in the hands of these Indians. The children were sent back in charge of Doctor Powell to Fort Leavenworth, where they were well cared for. A photograph of them in their improved condition was sent by General Miles, by the hand of a friendly Indian, to the two older sisters, with the following message written upon them:

"IN THE FIELD, January 20, 1875.  
 "To the Misses Germaine: Your little sisters are well, and in the hands of friends. Do not be discouraged. Every effort is being made for your welfare.  
 (Signed) NELSON A. MILES, Colonel, etc."

A message was also sent by the same hand to the band holding the girls captive, to come in and surrender to the authorities, and the chief was told "that no peace could be made except on condition that they brought in alive the prisoners they had in their hands. The chief at once sent for these two girls and placed them in a tent next his own, and had them well cared for, and the whole body immediately commenced to move toward the east, traveling through the storms of winter and over the snow and ice a distance of more than 200 miles to their agency, where they finally surrendered. . . . After the surrender of the Indians the warriors were formed in line in the presence of the troops, and the two elder Germaine girls went along down the line pointing out to the officers the different men who had been engaged in the murder of their family, and in other atrocities; and to the number of seventy-five these men were taken out of the camp and placed under guard and taken under the charge of Captain Pratt to St. Augustine, Fla. . . . At the close of the campaign the rescued Germaine girls were sent to Fort Leavenworth, and I was appointed their guardian. I secured a provision in an appropriation by Congress diverting \$10,000 from the annuities of the offending Indians, to be given to them. This sum was set apart for the benefit of these girls, the interest to go for their support during their minority, and the principal to be divided and given to them on reaching their majority. They have since grown up, and have each received \$2500. They are now married, and are occupying happy, though widely separated, homes in Kansas, Colorado and California."—Personal Recollections of General Nelson A. Miles, 1896, pp. 158-181.

"Letter from the Secretary of the Interior presenting a further communication from the War Department upon the subject of the destitute condition of Catherine and Sophia Germaine, two Cheyenne captives."—U. S. Ho. of Rep., 44th Cong., 1st Sess., Ex. Doc. No. 59.

According to an article published in the Wetmore *Spectator* of December 16, 1892, after their recovery the four sisters were placed in the family of Patrick Corney, then blacksmith at Fort Leavenworth. About 1880 Mr. Corney removed with his foster family to Granada township, Nemaha county, where the young women later married. The *Spectator* gives rather a fanciful account of the recovery of the two younger sisters that does not agree with the story as told above by General Miles.

General Dodge gives the place and date of the capture of these sisters and murder of their family, as on the banks of the Smoky Hill river in western Kansas, September 10, 1874.—Plains of the Great West, by Richard I. Dodge, 1877, p. L.

ment, in 1879, I was erecting a tent and it was raining very hard, when this old man Stone came to my assistance. I did not recognize him, although he kept calling me "Arkeese," a name which the Indians had given me at Fort Keogh. After having a conversation with him I remembered having met the old gentleman, and he was with me continually thereafter while I was at Cantonment, some four years.

In 1880 we had a great deal of trouble with the Cheyennes because the Interior Department had cut down their rations, although game was very scarce. Many of these Indians had recently come in from the warpath in the North, and in August, 1877, had been brought to the agency of the Southern Cheyennes, in the Territory. They had lived upon buffalo and were really starving on the short rations furnished by the government. They would not eat wild turkey, which was plentiful at that time, as they claimed it would make cowards of them, nor would they eat fish; nothing but beef or buffalo.

About this time I became personally acquainted with Young White Horse, a chief of the "Dog Soldiers," they, as you know, being a secret military organization, and he afterwards proved to be one of my best friends, of which I will tell you later.

Black Wolf I first met at Fort Keogh, Montana, in a fight which he had with a party known there as a "wolfer"—a white man living the life of a trapper only so far as poisoning wolf and coyote is concerned. In this fight one of Black Wolf's eyes was destroyed by the wolfer. I happened to be present and took him to the hospital and looked after his welfare. At the time of the trouble with the rations in the territory, Black Wolf came to Cantonment with his band of Northern Cheyennes who were all young warriors anxious to go on the warpath, not realizing that should they do so it would be but a short time before they would be wiped out. The young warriors came into the store and were very saucy, demanding that I give them this and that; in fact, the best goods that I had. I tried to intimidate the Indians by telling them that two regiments of troops were then on the way from the end of the railroad at Caldwell, Kan., and should they insist on taking my goods they would have trouble. They paid no attention to that and quite a number took some of my best goods. About that time Black Wolf came in, and, looking at me for a few minutes, said, in Cheyenne, "Did I not meet you at the Big Wapowats?" meaning a camp at the mouth of the Tongue river. I said, "Yes, I used to live there," and I recognized him and remembered the fight he had had with the wolfer. He at once called the attention of all the young warriors, and stated to them that I was a friend of his, and had assisted him when he was in difficulty, and that if any of them should in any way cause me trouble he would kill the offender. They stopped right there, as Black Wolf had a reputation for doing just exactly what he said he would do. Our position at Cantonment was dangerous, although we did not realize it.

A few days after this transaction a number of old warriors and dog soldiers were in the quartermaster's office awaiting a courier whom they had sent to Darlington Indian agency to ascertain if the agent, John D. Miles, intended to increase their rations. While there each of the old men got up and counted his queues; that is, told the number of white men he had killed and where he had killed them. I do not know what possessed me at



this time, but being young and not having the right sense of our situation, as a person should, I pinned a newspaper to the blanket of an old fellow named Bark and set it afire. When he felt the heat from the burning paper he became very angry. It was extinguished by Young White Horse. Bark stated before the old warriors that he would kill me before evening. It was then about twelve o'clock. After taking me to the back of the building, Young White Horse asked me "Are you maseoney?" interpreted as meaning "crazy." I told him that I realized what I had done. He had a very fast horse tied to a post back of the store, and said to me, "I will know when I see the courier coming whether we get the rations or not. If we do not, you take the horse and go. Pay no attention to anyone else, because our young men mean to kill all the white men at the post." About an hour afterwards I noticed an Indian riding a horse on quite a prominent hill which overlooked the valley of the Canadian river, and Young White Horse said to me, "There's the courier. If he makes a circle three times and gets off his horse we are to have the rations; if he makes four circles and rides south, we're to go on the warpath." He made a circle three times and got off his horse and pointed south, and we knew then that the rations were to be issued. The young warriors seemed to go wild in being defeated in their plan of going on the warpath. During the entire summer the Indians were very bold, stopping freight teams from Caldwell, and taking provisions; even cattlemen could not protect themselves against the depredations committed by these young fellows. Maj. Geo. M. Randall was then in command at Fort Reno, and only through him did we receive any protection at all, as he was fearless, and having the noted scout, Ben Clark, a brave man also, with him, he did not hesitate in telling the Indians just what they had to do.

Another instance of an Indian's gratitude was the case of a young fellow by the name of Abseney or Bad Face. I was asked by the quartermaster if I would take \$7000, which he had on hand from the sale of commissaries, to Fort Leavenworth, as I was going to that post. The stage company did not carry a cash box, and sending by me was the only way he had of getting the money to the chief quartermaster. I told our quartermaster that I would leave the post about sundown, as I intended to make Pond Creek stage station the next morning, thereby escaping, as I thought, the rustlers (white men with renegade Indians), who were holding up freighters and other parties. After crossing what is known as the Hog Back, a range of hills on the Cimarron, Bad Face and I were following down a long draw to the Cimarron, when he said to me, "Arkeese, some one is following us." I hardly believed it until we rode to the top of the hill, when I saw four men riding toward us very rapidly, but who stopped as soon as they saw they were observed by us. Bad Face said, "We will fool them. We will go into camp early and slip out at night." This we did, leaving a bright camp fire, and reached Pond Creek in safety.

The spring of 1881 the Twenty-fourth infantry, under command of Maj. Richard F. O'Beirne, was stationed at Cantonment to take the place of the Twenty-third infantry, which was stationed in the Uncompahgre valley, Colo. These troops had served on the Rio Grande river in Texas from the close of the Civil War and had never had any experience with Indians. A short time after reaching the post, a number of the young officers asked me if I would accompany them to the Indian encampment, about two miles

from the cantonment, for the purpose of seeing an Indian dance. I agreed to do so and we walked over that evening. The tepee entered by us belonged to one of the squaws of old man Bark who had threatened to kill me. I did not know it at the time or I should not have gone in, but on seeing my mistake decided that it would not do for me to hesitate or show fear. Old Bark was sitting in the tepee with a number of other Indians, and among them was Stone, my friend from Tongue river, Montana. As soon as Bark saw who it was he lit his pipe and passed it among the Indians who were sitting along the side of the tepee, and I being at the extreme end was the last to receive the pipe. I refused to take it on the ground that Bark had threatened to kill me and I did not propose to make friends with him in that way. As soon as I had refused he jumped up and commenced counting his queue and said he would kill me as soon he could go to his own tepee and secure his gun. Stone was standing next to me and said to me in Cheyenne, "Arkeese, I am going to give you my six-shooter and you must return to the post as fast as you possibly can, but should Bark overtake you, you must use this to defend yourself." I told the officers that I had business at the post and was going to make a run for it. They asked me my hurry and stated that they wanted to see the Indian dance. I said, "Not this evening; we will see that later on." And I believe that we three men never made a better run than we did that evening. Bark afterwards became a very warm friend of mine, for I found him on the South Canadian with a broken leg, where he had been thrown from a horse, and carried him to the post, where it was set by the post surgeon.

I overlooked one experience with old Bark before I found him with the broken limb. Amos Chapman, a noted scout, and I were attending an Indian dance on the North Fork of the Canadian river about ten miles from our post, about eight or nine o'clock in the evening. We were going through some timber on the river when a shot was fired and my horse stumbled. I said to Chapman, "Old Bark has got my horse; he intended that for me." When we came to the Indian lodges where I could have a light, I found that the ball had taken the leather off the pommel of my saddle, so that he gave me a close call that time.

White Horse, as I have stated before, was the chief of the dog soldiers in our vicinity. Through him I ascertained one day that an initiation of one of the dog soldiers was to take place at what is known as Red Hill, north of Fort Reno about eight or ten miles. This initiation is usually held in the spring and the Indians from all through the lower country attend in a body, even the Kiowa, Comanche and all other Indians whose young men are members of the dog soldiers. They make it a great holiday of a week or ten days. The candidate to be initiated on this occasion was Bad Face, a young warrior friend of mine. For three days and nights prior to the initiation the candidate does not eat or drink anything, and must be kept awake by some member of the association. The Indians make a very large tepee, from four to five times the size of the smaller ones, seating probably from 250 to 300 Indians, to witness the ceremonies. The chief of the dog soldiers, Young White Horse, first cut two places in each breast of the candidate with a knife, and made similar incisions on his shoulders. He then ran a rawhide lariat through the places in his breast, and fastened it to the main centerpole of the tepee. Two dry buffalo heads were then attached

to the victim's shoulder blades by a cord run through the shoulder incisions. The candidate is expected to dance and shake off the buffalo heads from his shoulders and tear loose the lariat from his breast without fainting. If he faints he is carried out by the men, and the squaws, who are not allowed in the tepee, at once take clubs and beat him to death. In some instances the candidate is saved by some member of his family. I have been told by good authority, white men who have been among the Indians for a great many years, that I was the only white man that had ever witnessed the initiation of the dog soldiers.

Afterwards, when I removed to Caldwell, Ken., in 1885, the Indians were freighting their goods, as well as soldiers' supplies, to the different posts, and at times had from 75 to 125 teams in one train. Once while I was sick at home quite a number of Indians came to see me, and my neighbors thought it very strange to see the Indians sitting on the fence while the chief was in the house visiting with me.

In the spring roundup of 1881 I was with a party of cattlemen who were gathering cattle belonging to Robert Bent, a brother of George and Charlie Bent, and in some way a dispute arose between George Jones, foreman of the Dickey Brothers' ranch, and an old Indian by the name of Gray Wolf, as to the branding of a cow. Jones was cutting out this cow for the Dickey brand when Gray Wolf claimed that it was his. The majority of the cattlemen at the time were not armed, and an Indian who had an old rifle handed it to Gray Wolf for the purpose of shooting Jones. We expected trouble right there, but through Bob Bent, who was a very cool-headed half breed, trouble was averted. It was a very tight place while it lasted, as Indians in the surrounding camps mounted their horses and came toward us with the intention of mixing in the fight should there be one.

Speaking of Bob Bent, he was a son of Col. William Bent, of old Fort Bent, on the Arkansas river, and was educated in St. Louis. At one time he was at the cantonment when quite a number of cowboys who were returning to Texas after delivering beef herds to the railroad at Caldwell had stopped at the post and were telling what bad men they were, and more particularly as to their prowess in killing Indians. One party, whom they had nicknamed "Milliner Bill," was very loud in his talk as to his being such a bad man. Bob Bent, speaking to Lieut. M. C. Wessells, of the Twenty-fourth infantry, who was quartermaster at the post at the time, and myself, said that it would be a good joke on the cowboys to make a charge into the room and give the Cheyenne war whoop at the same time. He believed he could make it very interesting for them. So Lieutenant Wessells and myself, with Bent, mounted our horses and rode up the river possibly half a mile. We then came back, riding very rapidly, and rode on into the room in which the cowboys were, Bob Bent and Lieutenant Wessells shooting and giving the Cheyenne Indian war whoop. These brave Indian killers did not wait to go through the door but jumped through the windows, taking the sash and all with them. The last we saw of them they were on their way to Texas, not waiting to say "Good-by."

In 1881, at the time we had a small garrison at Cantonment, the Twenty-third regiment being in the Uncompahgre valley (leaving us temporarily with about twenty men of company G), old Stone Calf, a Southern Cheyenne chief, whom I have referred to before, put up his tepee within five



feet of my door, and ornamented it with a string of scalps hung on a raw-hide lariat. He had a number of white men's, two white women's and a number of Indian scalps. I said to him, "What are you doing this for, to try and scare some one?" He said, "Oh, I am just putting them out there to dry." I knew better. He wanted to show us few white men that he was not afraid of what we had told him about a large number of soldiers being then on their way to the cantonment. He stated to Capt. Charles Wheaton, who was then in command of the post, that unless the government issued rations he would go on the warpath. That he would rather die fighting than to starve to death.

We had a great deal of trouble that summer and fall with renegade Indians, as they invariably demanded a gift of cattle from every herd that came up from Texas on the way to Caldwell across their reservation. The demand of these Indians became so notorious that the post commander instructed the Indian scouts to go to the South Canadian at the regular cattle crossing and tell the cattlemen that if they wanted any protection to send to the post. As the regular interpreter, whose name was Chapman, was away at the time, I did the interpreting for the post, and of course was sent to relieve these cattlemen. I stated to Buffalo, who was the leader of the band of Indians demanding toll, that these cattle belonged to me; and the first four or five herds went through without question. After a while Buffalo said to me, "You seem to own a great many cattle, and you say they are yours. But I believe you are a coyote, and not telling us the truth." Thereafter I had to have the cattlemen give the Indians two or three head from each herd that crossed, and it seemed to satisfy them.

In the fall of 1882 a cattleman by the name of Johnson had started 1000 beef cattle from Fort Cobb, then Indian Territory, to Hunnewell, Kan., to be shipped to Kansas City. The cattle were held across the river from the cantonment, and the foreman and one of the hands came to the post and became intoxicated. Getting very saucy, he rode through the Indian scouts' camp, and firing through some of the tepees killed the dog of one of the scouts, besides shooting up the trader's store. Capt. Charles C. Hood, of the Twenty-fourth infantry, had been ordered to the post and was then in command. He also had been stationed on the Rio Grande for twenty years. He started after these two cowboys, but they got away from him. He then ordered out twenty-five mounted men of troop K, Ninth cavalry, which was then stationed there, and they surrounded the cowboys and took them prisoners into the post. When first brought before Major Hood they were very saucy, telling of all the fights they had had in Texas, one party stating that he had built the courthouse in the county where he was born with the fines he had paid. Major Hood told him that he was a pretty bad man himself, and that he was going to send them to Fort Smith, Ark., which was then the seat of justice for the Indian Territory. When the ambulance and escort came up to the adjutant's office, these two wild and woolly cowboys commenced to beg, the foreman stating that the cattle were left in his charge by the owner and were worth from \$50,000 to \$75,000, and that if he should be sent to Fort Smith the owner would incur a great loss. Major Hood, knowing the owner and not wanting him to sustain any loss, agreed that if they would pay the Indians for the damage they had done, or whatever agreement that I as interpreter had made with them, he would let

them go. They paid twenty dollars for the dog and gave the Indians five head of beeves, and were very fortunate to get out of it so easily.

During the summer of 1880 I was a guest at the quarters of Capt. Geo. M. Randall, who was then commanding Fort Reno. John D. Miles was agent of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Darlington, just across the river from that post. This was the time of the short rations, when the Indians were demanding an increase which the agent could not give without instructions from the Indian department. During my visit some young Indians quirted the agent and then made a break for the sand hills south and east of Fort Reno. Major Randall ordered out his mounted company of the Twenty-fourth infantry, three troops of the Fourth cavalry and one company of the Sixteenth infantry, but after reaching the Indian intrenchment made up his mind that it would not do to attack them, as there were at least 1500 to 2000 Indians, while his command would not exceed 300 soldiers as the companies were only 50 to 55 men strong. Returning to the post he ordered Ben Clark, scout and interpreter at the post, to bring his horse, White Stockings, as he wished to go to the Indian agency. He also told Ben to get his own horse and accompany him, which he did. With a field-glass belonging to Major Randall I saw all that happened at the agency, and was told by Ben Clark upon his return that when they reached the agency Major Randall ordered him to mount a box, which he did, and to tell the Indians that he then had on the march from the end of the railroad at Caldwell, Kan., more soldiers than there were blades of grass on the hills, and that if the Indians should make a fight they would be wiped off the face of the earth. I could see the Major with his cigar in his mouth standing up before those Indians seemingly as unconcerned as if he were in his own quarters, while surrounding him and Ben Clark were from 1500 to 2000 Indians with their guns leveled on them. The least thing would have started the Indians to massacre these men, and possibly all the white men at the post, but the coolness and determination of the Major and Ben Clark averted a fight. Captain Clapp, of the Sixteenth infantry, who was left in charge at Fort Reno, had ordered what Gatling guns and Rodmans they had in camp to be taken down on the river bank to cover the retreat of Major Randall and Ben Clark in case they had to make a run for the post. It was a very exciting time.<sup>5</sup>

I could continue to cite instances of my experiences with these Indians, but my paper has become lengthy and I do not want to consume more time than has been allotted to me. I hope at the next meeting to be able to give you a better description of my experiences with these people.

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NOTE 5.—Report of the Secretary of War, 1880, pp. 89, 90.

## THE CHIPPEWA AND MUNSEE (OR CHRISTIAN) INDIANS OF FRANKLIN COUNTY, KANSAS.

By Rev. JOSEPH ROMIG,<sup>1</sup> of Independence, Kan., their missionary.

IN Franklin county, about eight miles west of Ottawa, and a little south, there are located the remnants of two small tribes of Indians, the Swan Creek and Black River bands of Chippewas of Michigan, and the Munsee or Christian Indians from Ohio. Although few in number, their history is yet of considerable interest. Their reservation<sup>2</sup> of two by six miles was wedged in between that of the Sac and Fox on the west and of the Ottawas on the east.

The Chippewa party, which removed to Kansas in 1839, consisted only of the chief, Esh-ton-o-quot<sup>3</sup> (Clear Sky), or Francis McCoonse, with his family and a few relations and followers, about sixty-two<sup>4</sup> persons all told. Henry R. Schoolcraft, acting superintendent for Michigan, and himself related by marriage to the Chippewas, was a party to the treaty of May 9, 1836<sup>5</sup>, by which these two bands disposed of their lands near Detroit for 8320 acres "west of the Mississippi." Mr. Schoolcraft says:

"No agreement was entered into as to their removal; but in order to determine the question, a delegation of their chiefs visited the country west in the summer of 1837, and selected their lands at the forks of the Osage river, a location combining the prerequisites of a good soil and climate, running waters, and a due proportion of forest. These bands have been living amid populous white settlements, in parts of the state where their increase was hopeless and their decline and degradation certain. They had dwindled to a small fraction less than 200 in the autumn of 1838."<sup>6</sup>

They "reached their destination on the Osage early in the month of November, 1839, and were received with kindness by the Shawnees, the Ottawas of Maumee, the Delawares and other kindred tribes, and immediately began to clear lands and make preparation for building and fencing. The mildness of the climate permitted them to labor uninterruptedly through the winter. . . . An eye witness writes, 'That they are doing as well, if not better, than any other emigrant tribe.' By the 20th of April, 1840, each head of a family had cleared and fenced and planted a number of acres, and most of them had built comfortable log cabins; some had made as many as 5000 rails. The chief had from twelve to fifteen acres enclosed, and had completed a good log dwelling. Not a case of drunkenness had been known. Major Pilcher had promptly furnished them subsistence upon their arrival; and I have it from their chief, as well as from others, that they have been kindly received by the government agents west, and found the country to surpass in fertility and climate any that they had ever known. . . . Eshtonquot, taking up a handful of black earth from his reservation, said to one of the emigrating officers, 'This is richer than all the land I left on Swan creek.'"<sup>7</sup>

NOTE 1.—Biography of Rev. J. Romig will appear in the addenda.

NOTE 2.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 86.

NOTE 3.—Henry Schoolcraft spells the chief's name "Esh-ton-o-quot."

NOTE 4.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1841, p. 247; 1842, p. 15.

NOTE 5.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 461.

NOTE 6.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1839, p. 478.

NOTE 7.—Ibid, 1840, pp. 120, 121.



These two Kansas bands are a small fragment of the very numerous tribe of Chippewas who formerly lived on both shores of Lakes Huron and Superior.<sup>8</sup>

The Chippewas took part with the other tribes of the Northwest in all the wars against the frontier settlements to the close of the War of 1812. Those living within the United States made a treaty with the government in 1815, and have ever since remained peaceable.<sup>9</sup> And a few members of the Kansas band in 1863 were in the Union service, according to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for that year.

Their old chief, Esh-ton-o-quot, was quite a noted character, and in his younger days lived in Canada; in fact, there was some French-Canadian blood in his veins, and he spoke French quite fluently. He was one of a delegation of twenty-one Indians who visited England to pay their respects to their "Great Father," King George IV, whose death occurred in 1830, and as Esh-ton-o-quot was the only one who could speak any other than the Indian language, he came into considerable notoriety. After stopping six months in England, they spent a like period at the French capital. The distinction thus attained the chief never forgot. In fact, it is said that this was the cause of his moving to the United States—there was no room for him as second chief to live with his superior.

Esh-ton-o-quot was not only a chief but somewhat of a doctor, and with his herbs and teas was quite successful, especially with chronic complaints. At one time he set up shop in Detroit, to the chagrin of the medical profession. Later, in Kansas, he made frequent trips, especially into Arkansas, to practice his profession, and usually returned after an absence of a month or two with a number of ponies and some money. He always made sure of his pay before treating his patients.

Physically, Esh-ton-o-quot was of a wiry constitution, of great energy, and of equal determination. He always made his will felt and he never let things become monotonous if they did not go his way. Some of his prominent men were his son, Ed McCoonse, for some nine years interpreter for the once noted trader and Indian agent, Perry Fuller. Another was his son-in-law, Antoin Gokey, for many years interpreter for the government or for the traders at the Sac and Fox agency, at what is now Quenemo, Osage county. William Turner, also a son-in-law of the chief, was a half-breed Pottawatomie brought up in the family of the Baptist missionary, Jotham Meeker, among the Ottawas, a very intelligent man and very fond of reading. A third son-in-law was Louis Gokey (or Yokey), also an interpreter for many years. Louis was a very quiet, steady, Christian man.

There were, in 1907, a few of the earlier and more noteworthy persons still living. One, Sebilla Elliott, some ninety years old, was one of the emigrants from Canada in 1837; another, Wm. H. Kilbuck, was a dignified and highly respected person seventy years old. His great-grandfather was Chief Gelemend of the Delawares, who was with the American and British forces under General Braddock at the defeat at Fort Duquesne. In that engagement Gelemend's life was saved from the French bayonets by Colonel Henry, of the American forces. Out of gratitude for this act the chief adopted the name of Henry in addition to his other name; and ever since all

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NOTE 8.—Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, 1907, pt. 1, p. 277.

NOTE 9.—Ibid, p. 278.

of his descendants have retained the name of "Henry," as, for example, "William Henry Kilbuck," "Rachel Henry Kilbuck." A third person is Ignatius Caleb, a most excellent Christian man, and one whom the writer heard say a few years ago that for forty years he had not touched whisky. Another person of note is John H. Kilbuck, son of Wm. H. Kilbuck, a highly educated Christian Indian who has for more than twenty years been a noted pioneer missionary in Alaska, known from the Aleutian Islands to Point Barrow.

The Chippewas were placed under the Osage River agency at the time of their settlement in Kansas. Anthony L. Davis was then agent, with headquarters<sup>10</sup> on the Wea reservation about forty miles a little west of south from Westport, Mo., their post office. The first four years they seem to have prospered, but the flood year of 1844<sup>11</sup> was disastrous to their farms, and the following year brought much sickness to all the tribes.<sup>12</sup> The agent, Alfred J. Vaughan, that year recommended a little help from the government, as the two bands were entitled to but \$300 annually. He also gives their number as not to exceed thirty. Whether some had returned to Michigan, or deaths had occurred, is not stated.

In 1847 they suffered a drought,<sup>13</sup> which so much discouraged them that they were inclined to follow Esh-ton-o-quot, who in 1848 visited his old haunts in Canada, and suggested that they return thither.<sup>14</sup> But they listened to the advice of their agent, James S. Rains, and remained. Charles W. Handy, his successor, says, in 1849:

"There are less than thirty of them remaining who emigrated to this country. They are an interesting and deserving people, located upon Ap-panoose creek. . . . They beg of their great father a present next spring in the way of farming utensils."<sup>15</sup>

Their neighbors, the Sacs and Foxes, made discouraging inroads on their hogs and cattle. In 1850, "they are very industrious, making use of all the means in their power to improve their condition."<sup>16</sup>

Fortune smiled upon their efforts, and by 1853 they had an abundance and to spare. This year the United States commissioner, George W. Manypenny, visited Kansas for the purpose of learning what tribes were willing to dispose of their lands, preparatory to opening the territory to settlement by the whites.<sup>17</sup> The Chippewas would listen to no propositions of this nature.

At a council held at the agency, August 25, 1858, chief Esh-ton-o-quot claimed for his people back standing interest and other money due from sales of lands in Michigan. They were opposed to a missionary establishment, thinking it too expensive to maintain, but were in favor of common schools, of which they stood in great need.<sup>18</sup> A census of the little band taken in 1857,<sup>19</sup> and again in 1859, shows 11 men, 11 women and 20 children; or seventeen males and 23 females. Their property aggregated \$4671.<sup>20</sup>

By virtue of a treaty with the United States, made by David Crawford,

NOTE 10.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1842, p. 67.

NOTE 11.—Ibid, 1844, p. 430.

NOTE 12.—Ibid, 1845, p. 554.

NOTE 13.—Ibid, 1847, p. 868.

NOTE 14.—Ibid, 1848, p. 454.

NOTE 15.—Ibid, 1849, p. 157.

NOTE 16.—Ibid, 1850, p. 28.

NOTE 17.—Ibid, 1853, pp. 320, 271, 343.

NOTE 18.—Ibid, 1858, p. 120.

NOTE 19.—Ibid, 1857, p. 186.

NOTE 20.—Ibid, 1859, p. 522.

special agent, on July 16, 1859,<sup>21</sup> the Munsees or Christian Indians then living near Leavenworth, Kan., became confederated with the Chippewas, to the apparent satisfaction of both. Each individual was given forty acres of land, while the balance of the thirteen sections belonging to the three bands was left open to their common use, or for allotment to the coming generations. The combined bands numbered 85 in 1861—39 males and 46 females.<sup>22</sup>

We go back now to the Munsee or so-called Christian Indians, who for fifty years shared with the Chippewas in the Franklin county reservation. Their history is no less interesting than that of their countrymen. Before the French and Indian war the Moravian church had established a mission in Pennsylvania among this division of the Delaware tribe. Under the leadership of David Zeisberger, the distinguished missionary, these Christian Indians were later conducted to what is now the state of Ohio, where, during the years 1772 to 1782, they founded four prosperous mission stations on Muskingum, now the Tuscarawas river, in Tuscarawas and Coshocton counties. The principal station was named Gnadenhuetten (tents of grace), but the war of the Revolution played havoc with them. Their location placed them about half way between the British at Detroit and the American outposts at Pittsburgh and Wheeling. Both sides were apprehensive that the Christian Indians might be rendering aid or information to the other side. In the autumn of 1781 the commandant of Detroit, Col. A. S. de Peyster, sent forces, and had the Indians with their missionaries removed to near Lake Erie. Here, amidst the severities of winter and with no supplies, they were compelled to seek subsistence. In the following spring (1782), a party of these Indians returned to their former station to gather their corn, when the American forces under Col. David Williamson came upon them, and under pretenses of friendship and with promises of taking them to a place of safety, took advantage of them, confined them in their mission buildings, and the next day put them all to death and burned their buildings over them. This is known in history as the massacre of the Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, March 8, 1782.<sup>23</sup> There perished here 29 men, 27 women and 34 children.

The Christian Indians finally located with their missionaries at Fairfield, Canada, on the Thames river. Here some of them have resided ever since, though a party of them returned with Zeisberger to Ohio and reestablished the mission at Goshen. Here they remained until after Zeisberger's death, in 1823. But because of the influence and aggressiveness of the whites, these Goshen Indians removed, as F. W. Hodge says,<sup>24</sup> with the Delawares to Kansas. In 1837 some of the Munsees at Fairfield, Canada, decided to return to the States. With one of their missionaries, Vogler, they tarried with the Stockbridges for a while, then crossing Wisconsin they descended the Mississippi, crossed the state of Missouri, arriving at Westport Landing on the 28th or 29th of October. By invitation of the Delawares they located on the Delaware lands at Muncie, now Wyandotte county. However

NOTE 21.—Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 792.

NOTE 22.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1861, p. 215.

NOTE 23.—John Heckewelder's Narrative, 1820, pp. 320-321; found also in Wm. E. Connelley's edition of the Narrative, Cleveland, 1907, pp. 425-426.

NOTE 24.—Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, 1907, pt. 1, pp. 880-881.



a part of these Munsees tarried at Green Bay until the following year, when they, too, came to Kansas. I was familiar with quite a number of these emigrant Munsees, and these subjects were familiar talk with us. Missionary Vogler soon returned to Canada, and other missionaries took his place,<sup>25</sup> but I cannot give their order or all of their names. Among these were Reverends Micksch, Luckenbach, H. Bachman, G. F. Oehler and D. Z. Smith. The station at Muncie in church records is always called Westfield. There is an Indian cemetery there, where lies buried Mrs. G. F. Oehler, and, probably, Micksch. Last September (1909), an aged Munsee went there and located and identified Mrs. Oehler's grave.

My information is in the main correct. I had the church records, not the diary, dating back to 1738, with entries by Zeisberger himself. But a few years ago I sent the three books to the Moravian Historical Society, at Bethlehem, Pa.

Dr. Johnston Lykins, of Kansas, in a letter to Rev. John D. Pratt, missionary to the Delawares, dated Westport, December 21, 1839, writes that seventy Stockbridges and some Munsees have come on with Henry Skiggett, and are about to settle below the garrison, Fort Leavenworth.

Richard W. Cummins, Indian agent at Fort Leavenworth, in his annual report for September, 1840, says:

"Those (Munsees) who emigrated last fall, at the same time and with the Stockbridges, and those that came about two years previous [1837] (in all, about 183 persons), are located among the Delawares, near the mouth of the Kansas river, on a beautiful rich tract of country, with fine timber and water. These people came here poor and remain poor. Many of them appear to be industrious, but have little or nothing to work with, and no means to purchase. The most of them have managed to raise corn and vegetables sufficient to subsist on until the new crop comes in. Many of them have labored for the white people this season, and made good hands in the harvest field or elsewhere, and have made money in this way."<sup>26</sup>

Major Cummins mentions in 1842 that the Munsees have "built comfortable little cabins and made small farms, . . . and this year raised a plenty of Indian corn, pumpkins, potatoes, beans, cabbage and other vegetables for a subsistence, and have also procured some milch cows and hogs."<sup>27</sup>

Superintendent Harvey, in 1845, reports that—

"The Munsees have a missionary and a teacher among them supported by the Moravian Missionary Society. They have sustained a severe loss during this year by the death of the Reverend Mr. Misch, who has been for some time among them. Mr. M. was remarkable for his piety and simplicity of manner. He was a teacher not only of religion and letters, but his time was devoted to the general improvement of the Indians. He taught them to build and to plant; indeed, he was a father, and his excellent wife a mother, in the practice of everything that was calculated to advance their temporal and spiritual interests."<sup>28</sup>

This year Major Cummins also reports at some length:

"The Christian Indians are a small band of mixed Indians, Munsees and

NOTE 25.—Richard W. Cummins, September 30, 1840, reports: Moravian Mission, Westerfield Station, located within the Munsee or Christian Indians, in the Delaware country, have a school of twenty-one scholars—fourteen boys and seven girls.

Boys: First class—Five spell and read, and are trying to write.

Second class—Five spell in two syllables.

Third class—Three new beginners.

Girls: First class—Four spell and read, and are trying to write.

Second class—Three spell in three syllables.

NOTE 26.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1840, p. 94.

NOTE 27.—Ibid, 1842, p. 62.

NOTE 28.—Ibid, 1845, p. 533.

a few Delawares. They number 208, and are located on the Delaware land, on the north bank of the Kansas river, eight or ten miles above its junction. The Missionary Society of Moravians has established a mission among them, and most of the Indians are members of that society, and to it I think belongs the credit of civilizing, Christianizing and educating many of them. I must remark that the missionaries who have labored among them here I consider among the best of people, and they will receive all the encouragement I am able to give them. This band of Indians are generally sensible and well disposed. They are industrious. The most of them made their farms on bottom lands, and all their crops of every kind were swept off last year by the freshets, and many of them have shared the same fate this year, for they returned to their old farms on the bottom lands and were swept off again. They had to scuffle hard last year to make a subsistence. As it has turned out, it would have been much better for them if they had started anew at some other place on the high lands. Many are good hands in the harvest fields, and got this year and last from the whites one dollar per day for harvesting, and by their labor had to make a subsistence for themselves and families. The small pittance they received from the government was of great relief to them. It afforded them breadstuffs while they were pitching their crops that were swept off by the freshet this year."<sup>29</sup>

In 1847, he again says:

"The Munsees are doing well, becoming more and more civilized and better agriculturists every year. This year they have raised an abundance of corn. The Moravian school superintendent has not yet reported to me, and I have not had it in my power to visit the school. It has heretofore done well, and I have no doubt has this year."<sup>30</sup>

The average value of the agricultural products raised by the Christian Indians in 1848, and the result of their hunting expeditions, amounted to about \$22.76 each.<sup>31</sup>

The Wyandots had emigrated to Kansas in July, 1843, and had purchased land of the Delawares in the forks of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, which included the land occupied by the Munsee Indians. Thomas Mosley, their agent, in his report for 1852, states that the Munsees—

"Are yet residing on the lands of the Wyandots, as they have done for the last six or eight years; but the Wyandots have given them recently to understand that they must leave during the ensuing fall and winter. No annuity has been paid to these Indians since my agency of their affairs. The \$400 I received in October last for them, as annuity, I was instructed to retain until ordered to pay it over, and the funds are now in my possession. These Indians are in rather a destitute condition as regards a home. It would be a great act of kindness on the part of the government to assign them a home that they could call their own."<sup>32</sup>

Two Munsees attended the Friends' Shawnee Labor School in 1853 (p. 338).

Some unruly members of the Munsee band had committed depredations upon the property of the Wyandots, and had been called to account by the Wyandot council.<sup>33</sup> The Munsees seem to have promptly heeded the order, and to have taken refuge among their Delaware brethren near the new town of Leavenworth, in the neighborhood where many of them had first landed with the Stockbridges in 1839, for they were already dwelling there in May, 1854, when the Delawares ceded to the United States a portion of their Kansas reservation, and excepting from the sale four sections on which the

NOTE 29.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1845, p. 541.

NOTE 30.—Ibid, 1847, p. 845. NOTE 31.—Ibid, 1848, p. 446. NOTE 32.—Ibid, 1852, p. 367.

NOTE 33.—Connelley's Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory, 1899, p. 347.

Munsees were then living, and which was to be confirmed to them by patent, "provided the Christian Indians can pay them for the land."<sup>34</sup>

Commissioner Manypenny states in his report for 1856 that "Provision has been made for educational aid to the Christian Indians, and their reserve being well adapted for agricultural uses, it is hoped they will avail themselves of all the legitimate means within their reach to improve their condition and to qualify themselves to discharge properly all their obligations and duties."<sup>35</sup>

Regarding the patent for these lands, B. F. Robinson, agent of the Delawares, reports, September 14, 1857:

"The remnant of Christian Indians under charge of this agency have received a patent for four sections of lands, secured to them by the late treaty with the Delawares. This land, on account of its locality and superior quality, is greatly desired by some of their white *friends*. Already have a few of the society or band (the head men), under bad counsel, attempted to dispose of the whole of this tract, against the consent, as I understand, and to the prejudice of the larger portion of these people. Thus the title is embarrassed, and in all probability ruinous litigation will follow. It is to be hoped that Congress will so restrict the power to sell as to place their homes beyond the grasp of the speculator."<sup>36</sup>

The land, however, was sold, and is thus referred to by their agent:

"The small band of Christian Indians residing near the city of Leavenworth, finding themselves unfit for the surrounding society, have, I understand, sold their four sections of land to Col. A. J. Isacks, who, during the last session of Congress, obtained an act legalizing the contract, or, perhaps I should say, confirming his title."<sup>37</sup>

Charles E. Mix, United States commissioner, also refers to the subject:

"The act of Congress of the 8th of June last required that the sale which had been made by the Christian Indians to A. J. Isacks, of the reservation of four sections of land which they held in Kansas, should be confirmed by the President on the payment of the purchase money, viz., \$43,400, to the Secretary of the Interior within ninety days after the passage of the act, the amount to be applied in part for the purchase of a permanent home, the erection of buildings, and for other beneficial objects for the Indians, and the remainder to be invested for the support of a school among them. The money having been so paid, the sale was duly confirmed, and measures will be adopted to procure those Indians a suitable home."<sup>38</sup>

The final settlement of the Munsees with the Chippewas is mentioned by the new commissioner, A. B. Greenwood, under date of November 26, 1859, in these words:

"The efforts of the department to provide for the Christian Indians, as required by the act of June 8, 1858, have resulted in a conventional arrangement, by which they are confederated with the Swan Creek and Black River bands of Chippewas in Kansas, and secured comfortable homes among these Indians."<sup>39</sup>

Agent Perry Fuller reports, in 1860, that—

"The Munsee or Christian Indians have hitherto been so sadly neglected that it is now a difficult matter to persuade them that habits of industry will do much towards improving their condition in every respect. To these

NOTE 34.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 617.

NOTE 35.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1856, p. 560.

NOTE 36.—Ibid, 1857, p. 166.

NOTE 37.—Ibid, 1858, p. 109.

NOTE 38.—Ibid, 1858, p. 14.

NOTE 39.—Ibid, 1859, p. 382.



Indians, as well as to all others in this territory, the failure of the crops will be a great drawback, and they will have to be supported for another year, or until such time as they can be benefited by the growth of vegetation in the spring of 1861. Taken together, these people will compare favorably with any of the Indian tribes of this territory, and are treated with kindness and respect by their white neighbors. I would earnestly and respectfully request that some immediate action be taken towards assisting them in the erection of church and school buildings, and also towards maintaining teachers among them capable of taking charge of their instruction. A good and kindly feeling seems to exist between the two tribes."<sup>40</sup>

August 19, 1862, the school long wished for by both tribes, was opened on what is now the south half of section 12, range 18, town 17, Franklin county. The recent treaty had provided that forty acres be set aside for school purposes. On this a small building was erected for school and church purposes, having a seating capacity of 100, with graduated desks and hard-finished blackboards. A convenient little dwelling was also provided for the use of the teacher, with a well of water. Half of the tract was fenced for pasture and the balance for cultivation. Here the first missionary and teacher, the writer and his wife, came and dwelt among them. C. C. Hutchinson, the agent, says of the premises:

"There is no schoolhouse in the state better adapted to the purposes for which it is intended, to wit, both for school and meetings. By giving to a teacher and missionary the use of the land and buildings, these Indians can henceforth be supplied with a school and religious instruction, with preaching regularly."<sup>41</sup>

The Moravian Missionary Society, under whose auspices we came, bore our other necessary expenses.<sup>42</sup> Besides the common branches, which at first were for the elementary grades, we taught sewing and singing. Sabbath school and preaching were regularly kept up.<sup>43</sup> Out of school I labored to advance the Indians in their farming. The seeds furnished by the government in 1863 increased their variety of vegetables."<sup>44</sup>

For some reason the government in 1865 decided to reduce the unassigned lands of the little reserve, which amounted to 1428 acres.<sup>45</sup> This was finally done, though the Chippewas at least became anxious as to the outcome, and experienced a season of discontent.<sup>46</sup> The money thus raised was thrown into a common fund, together with other moneys belonging to the Munsees, the income from which was designed to advance the combined bands in civilized life. Miss Kate E. Ricksecker assisted me in the mission work during the year 1865.<sup>47</sup>

The following items I find in my annual report to the United States agent, Maj. Albert Wiley, in 1867:

"There has been kept during the year past seven months school, with average attendance of twelve. The whole number capable of attendance is only about twenty-five. The studies have been the common English branches. The progress has been quite good. The mission, or preaching and Sabbath school, has been remarkably prosperous; quite a number of

NOTE 40.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1860, p. 112.

NOTE 41.—Ibid, 1862, p. 110.

NOTE 42.—Ibid, 1863, p. 245.

NOTE 43.—Ibid, 1864, p. 361, 362.

NOTE 44.—Ibid, 1863, p. 245.

NOTE 45.—Ibid, 1865, p. 45; 1866, p. 271.

NOTE 46.—Ibid, 1865, p. 381; 1866, pp. 271-272.

NOTE 47.—Ibid, 1865, p. 381.

persons who were once turbulent and immoral are peaceable, humble worshippers in the house of God. Our congregation now numbers a majority of the tribe; in industry, too, these people have made very laudable progress, and have in prospect excellent crops."<sup>48</sup>

But the writer cannot say that it was always quiet and steady in the little community. Sometimes, in the earlier days of his missionary work, night assumed quite a hilarious aspect. But on the whole his flock was industrious and well intentioned, and when a school was established a more willing and better class of scholars could not have been desired. I remained among them until 1871, and then, after an absence of twenty-nine years, returned to them in 1900, staying until 1905, when the Moravian mission's long supervision ceased.

There is but one of the old Munsees now living, Ignatius Caleb, now seventy-four, born in Canada in 1836. A few years ago Sebilla Elliott died at the age of ninety-one. At the migration from Canada she was twenty-one. Her daughter Josephine, now Mrs. John Plake (Ottawa), often narrated or interpreted the above events in conversation with her mother.

I might yet mention, historically, that the missionaries who succeeded me from 1871 to 1900 were Revs. Levi Ricksecker, eight years; C. R. Kinsey, six years; Charles Steimfort, fourteen years, and I followed again from 1900 to 1905, five years.

I used in teaching only the English textbooks. We made no use of the books you mention, "The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ," first translated by David Zeisberger and retranslated by J. D. Blanchard, nor the "Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book," by Zeisberger, published at Philadelphia in 1806. The speller is rare and is sought after by the Church Society. There were no Chippewa books. We did use in church service a "Harmony of the Gospels," of which I sent to Bethlehem, Pa., a number of volumes. [The Historical Society has a little book of thirty-two pages, entitled "Hymns in the Chippewa or Ottawa Language, to which is appended a short summary of Christian Doctrine, by Thomas Hulburt, missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1846."]

The Chippewas and Munsees have now become full-fledged citizens of the state, having on November 8, 1900, received patents for their lands and their trust fund in full, \$43,000, an average per capita of \$494.<sup>49</sup> I have a photograph group taken on the day of their final payment, probably the last gathering of them that will ever be taken.

The old chief, Esh-ton-o-quot, died January 25, 1868, and this brings me to a point I wish to especially note. The graveyard where he lies buried, with quite a number of his people, is quite an interesting spot historically. It has some nine or ten flat tombstones, 2½ feet wide by 5 to 7 feet long and 5 to 7 inches thick, dressed square and smooth. Some have inscriptions and ornaments put there by the Indians; others are plain, with little or no inscriptions. The chief's daughter, Juliann McCoonse-Bittenbender, owns the forty on which is the graveyard, and some twelve years ago was paid \$25 for the site, one acre, but the title has never been vested in any society's care, to be looked after and to be kept from desecration. She and her people have gone on, and the forty will pass into the hands of strangers.

NOTE 48.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1867, pp. 302-303.

NOTE 49.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 1, p. 623.

Mrs. Bittenbender still lives on the place, and knows the names of almost every one buried there. I have a rough plot of those nine or ten large sand-rock tombstones as identified by her.

There is also another cemetery on this old reservation, known as the Munsee or Christian Indian graveyard, situated on the highland. This also was paid for, Juliann Davis Jones receiving twenty-five dollars for the one acre. This cemetery is fenced, has cedar trees, tombstones and several monuments. The title is vested in the name of the Moravian Historical Society, of Bethlehem, Pa.; while the other, the Chippewa graveyard, it is not certain that the Moravian Society would wish to assume the responsibility for its care. It is more purely Indian in its character, and it seems as though the state or the county ought to assume this responsibility.

The Hills, or Chippewa Hills, as the site of the old reservation is known, is a beautiful locality, and often visited by people from Ottawa. It is highland, hills, timbered bottom and river combined.

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## THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION AMONG THE PAWNEE INDIANS IN NEBRASKA, 1834 TO 1836.

By Rev. JOHN DUNBAR.

IN 1834, on the day that is annually set apart in our churches for special prayers for the conversion of the world, the Presbyterian church at Ithaca, N. Y., determined to increase their efforts to promote that important object. The plan adopted at the time to augment their labors and contributions was this: The church unanimously resolved to select certain persons from her own bosom who, provided the project met with the approbation of the American Board and was deemed worthy of its patronage, should perform an exploring tour among the Indian tribes near and beyond the Rocky Mountains. Should a location be found in this vast and almost unknown country where it would be safe and desirable to commence a mission, it was to be forthwith occupied. The expenses of the exploring tour and of the mission, should one be established, were to be defrayed by this church. The mission was to be called the Oregon Mission. Three persons, the number designated, were soon obtained to engage in the undertaking. One of these was a clergyman for some time a resident in the place; the other two were young laymen. The church afterwards excused one of the laymen at his request, and adopted a son to supply his place.

May 5 of the same year Rev. Samuel Parker, Mr. Samuel Allis and myself started from Ithaca to perform the exploring tour already mentioned. We arrived at St. Louis May 23. On making inquiries we were informed

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NOTE 1.—The author remained in this mission until 1846 or 1847. A brief sketch of his work is embraced in the biography of his son, Prof. John B. Dunbar, published in the tenth volume of the Kansas Historical Collections, p. 99. The following letter accompanied the gift of the manuscript:

"Geo. W. Martin, Topeka, Kan.:

"MY DEAR SIR—I send you to-day by mail a manuscript of my father's early experiences in Kansas and Nebraska with the Pawnees, in 1834-'35. In order to the more effectually secure their confidence, he chose wisely to live with them at their villages, or upon their summer and winter hunts. Wherever they went he accompanied them. The fact that their buffalo hunts were always toward the south or southwest, the data here given virtually belong to Kansas, and as such, if worthy of publication, should appear in one of your biennial volumes. . . . My own feeling is that the essential matter recorded relates almost entirely to Kansas. When not with the Pawnees my father was in eastern Kansas in the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth, or the present Kansas City. . . .

Very sincerely,

JOHN B. DUNBAR."

"BLOOMFIELD, N. J., September 22, 1909.



that the party of traders whom it was designed we should accompany from that place to and beyond the mountains had started six weeks before our arrival. They had been gone so long that we could not expect to overtake them, and as we were unacquainted, both with the way through the country and with the mode of traveling and subsisting in it, we were advised to delay our undertaking till the ensuing spring. After we had gained what information we could relative to our enterprise at this place, we did not deem it expedient to prosecute our exploring tour at present. Mr. Parker concluded it would most promote the cause in which he had engaged, that he should return and procure other associates who with him should be at this place in season to have company beyond the mountains, and thus accomplish the exploration of that remote region. It was thought advisable that Mr. Allis and myself should proceed to the Pawnee country, and if we should find that people prepared, commence a mission among them. Of the Pawnees and the tribes in their vicinity we had received favorable intelligence.

We left St. Louis on the 7th and arrived at Liberty on the 14th of June, 1834, a distance of 400 miles by the course of the river. Liberty is the most western village in the state of Missouri on the north side of the stream. Here we stopped a few days, and then proceeded to Cantonment Leavenworth, thirty-four miles above Liberty, and on the opposite side of the Missouri. We had intended to go directly up to the place of our destination, when we came to this place, but we could find no opportunity to get thither. It is rare that whites pass either up from or down to the cantonment from the last of May till the first of September. We were compelled to remain in the vicinity of Leavenworth till the latter part of September. The way seemed to be hedged up before us. This was to us a time of deep anxiety and anxious suspense. We were fully aware that our patrons were expecting us to go forward in our work, but we seemed to be doing comparatively nothing. We did indeed visit some of the tribes in the vicinity of the cantonment, and endeavored to study Indian character, but this at the time seemed to be accomplishing very little. Once during the time of our delay I made arrangements to accompany a wretched, half-starved party of Otoes, who had come down to the cantonment to beg provisions, when they should return to their village. At this village I would be within thirty miles of the place I wished to visit. When I went to their camp in the early part of the day on which they had advised me they would set out on their return, they informed me they had determined to pay their friends, the Kanzas, a visit, and it would be several weeks before they would reach their place of residence on the Platte. The true reason, however, of their not wishing my company was that they were desirous to take home with them a quantity of whisky, and they were fearful they might get into trouble about it should I be in the company. The next day I saw some of them coming up from the settlements in the border of the state having with them six or eight horses laden with the waters of death to the Indian. Some white man with a devil's heart had for a little paltry gain furnished these creatures, already sufficiently wretched, with that which is speedily working their destruction.

We had not been at this place many days before Mr. Allis's health became impaired, and for several weeks the prospect of his ever benefiting the Indians directly by his personal efforts was darkened. At length his

health began to mend, and before we were able to reach our destined field was fully restored. Now came my turn to lie and pine on a sick bed. My sickness was severe, but of short duration. My disorder yielded readily to medical treatment, but exposure, when recovering, brought on a second and a third attack of the same disease. The strength of each in turn was prostrated, and we felt that if God had anything for us to do for the benefit of the Indians he would spare us and give us strength to accomplish it; if he had not, his time for winding up our labors for the good of our fellow men was the best time. We now saw our own weakness and were made to feel we could do nothing toward the accomplishment of our contemplated work without God. Here we were taught a useful lesson. We had been over-anxious, and wished to do too much in our own strength. Now we felt, and afterwards were made to see, that God's way is the best way.

September 22 I started from the cantonment, and on the 2d of October reached Bellevue, at that time the seat of the government agency for the Pawnees, Otoes and Omahaws. This place is in the Otoe country, and about 200 miles above Leavenworth on the same side of the Missouri. It is ten miles above the mouth of the Platte and twenty below the site of the old fort called Council Bluffs. Here we found Rev. Mr. [Moses] Merrill,<sup>2</sup> his wife and a female assistant, who had come out in the autumn of 1833 as missionaries to the Otoes, under the patronage of the Baptist Missionary Society. Here were also the Otoe blacksmith, his family and assistants. The Omahaws have a blacksmith and his assistants stationed at this place. The interpreter for the Otoes and Omahaws then resided here with his family. Half a mile below is the establishment of a gentleman who is engaged in the fur trade in the mountains. Mrs. Merrill, with her female assistant, had gathered the children of these families into a school which was at the time quite flourishing and numbered about twenty scholars. Their people, the Otoes, then lived thirty miles from them. At this time no missionaries, except the Methodist brethren who crossed the mountains the spring before, had penetrated the Indian country farther than this place.

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NOTE 2.—The following extracts from the manuscript collection of Rev. John G. Pratt in the Historical Society's library, relate to the closing of the Merrill mission:

"MARCH 9, 1840.

"DEAR BROTHER PRATT—

"The chief object of this line is to inform you that our dear Merrill is dead, or rather, alive (that is) has been removed from time, and that sister M. has left the Otoe station, and to entreat you if it is possible for the board to sustain a missionary there, to find a brother for the Otoe station. Comfortable buildings are already, some books printed, and much preparatory work has been done. Must it all be lost? And must the Otoes all perish? The light of the Gospel among them be forever extinguished? Let the children of Jesus answer. I know your anxiety for the spiritual welfare of the Indians, and need not beg you in a case of this kind—feeling assured you will do all you can to send us aid.

J. LYKINS."

Postscript of letter to Mr. Pratt dated November 8, 1840:

"I expect to be absent three or four weeks. Am going to the Otoe station. The buildings I am told are now occupied by the Indians, who, it is said, are very much injuring them. I wish to get the smith or some white person to go into them. May be detained a while among the Putawatomes.

LYKINS."

In his letter of December 13, 1840, Mr. Lykins mentions that he has reached Bellevue, and describes his journey thither, and closing with the following words:

"On the side of this low plain, and near the Missouri bank, rest the remains of our dear Brother Merrill. I have stood at his grave saying, or at least feeling:

"Brother, to thy lonely tomb I come,  
A brother's tender tears to shed,  
And not with spice of rich perfume  
To scent thy lonely bed."

See, also, Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 10, p. 320, for further information regarding the life and work of Mr. Merrill.

The traders and others who have heretofore traversed this immense region have almost without an exception kept the knowledge they have acquired of the country and its inhabitants to themselves, or communicated it only to their fellow traders. In this country men may not infrequently be met with who have spent fifteen, twenty or more years in it, who have traveled over almost every part of it, and who appear to be as well acquainted with its geography as we are with that of our native state. These men rarely travel beyond the limits of the Indian country, consequently their knowledge, not being committed to writing and diffused, dies with them, and does not benefit the world. Those engaged in trade in this country may deem it to be for their interest to keep the world in ignorance of the geography and inhabitants of this extensive portion of our continent. Certainly the conduct of many white men who live in, and others who occasionally visit, this country, needs only to be known to be condemned in any decent society. Their deeds are deeds of darkness and cannot bear the light of civilization merely.

About the middle of October the Pawnees were called in to the agency to receive their annuities for the first time under the provision of the treaty stipulated with them by commissioners on the part of our government the previous autumn. As many as 600 or 800 of the Pawnees were present at the time. The agent delivers the annuities to the chiefs, and they make such distribution of them among their people as they may think proper. The chiefs keep but few of the goods to themselves. The Pawnees received of them, I think, in proportion to their rank and wealth. The annuities of the different bands of Pawnees come in distinct parcels. At this time they were highly gratified with the quantity of goods received. A better state of feeling among this people toward our government and its subjects never perhaps existed. We were now led to see that we had come to the Pawnees at precisely the right time to obtain a favorable introduction to them. Had we come earlier in the season they would have been out on the prairie prosecuting their summer hunt, and we would have been unable to have gained access to them till they had returned to their villages. At this place we would not have had so favorable a place to have studied Indian character as we had where we spent the summer. God brought us to this people just when they were best prepared to receive us.

The first chief of the Pawnee Loups, soon after his arrival, having heard casually that two missionaries had come who were desirous to go and live with the Pawnees and teach them a new religion, went to his father, the agent, and requested that one of them might live with him and teach his people. When the agent communicated this intelligence it inspired us with hope and raised our expectation of being yet in the hands of God instruments of good to this benighted people.

Before the receipt of this intelligence we were intending to spend the ensuing winter together and with the Grand Pawnees, but now after having prayerfully considered the subject in view of this unexpected opening, we concluded to separate and go with different bands, provided the chiefs of either of the others should apply for a missionary.

The agent told us he would give us an introduction to the Pawnee chiefs, state our object in coming to live with them and recommend us to their good treatment, in the evening after he had finished his business with them.



Accordingly, when he had completed his business, the agent introduced us to the chiefs who were sitting about the council room; they all rose, passed round, shook hands with us and sat down again. The chiefs of the Grand Pawnees demanded a missionary. We were now both spoken for and the chiefs of the other bands would have been pleased to have taken each a missionary to live with them.

The agent now proceeded to inform them we had come to tell them about God, to teach them our religion and to learn their children to talk on paper like the white man does. He also told them that it would be pleasing to him to hear that we were well treated by them. The first chief of the tribe arose and made a speech, the substance of which was that he was very glad we had come to tell his people about God and all the things of religion. He said his people were in the dark on these subjects, their religious notions were vague and indistinct, and they would receive gladly our instructions. He also said it was well we had come to live with them and teach their children, and promised that we should be well treated. Some of the other chiefs followed to pretty much the same effect. This was more than we had ever ventured to expect from these savage sons of the prairie.

The next day we started from the agency to accompany our new acquaintances to their villages. We had not proceeded more than a mile when we came to a place where our respective guides and protectors separated, each taking the trail that led to his own village. From this spot we were each alone with our savage companions. Mr. Allis was under the care of the first chief of the Pawnee Loups. My conductor and host was the second chief of the Grand Pawnees. Our trail crossed the Big Horn and Platte and led up to the Grand Pawnee village on the south side of that stream. The first and second days of our journey I ate nothing until night and slept on the ground under the spangled curtains of the heavens. In the afternoon of the third day we rode into the village and came to the old chief's lodge. He dismounted and walked directly into his dwelling. Forthwith his daughter, a young woman of twenty-two, made her appearance to unsaddle our horses and bring in our luggage. The young woman unsaddled and unbridled her father's horse, then attempted to do the same to mine. But my horse seemed to have a more just sense of propriety in this respect than prevails among the Pawnees. She did not succeed, and I willingly removed the saddle and bridle myself. I now entered the lodge and found the bear skin already spread for my reception. This was to be my chair and table by day and my couch by night. The old chief had treated me with the utmost kindness by the way and his family appeared highly pleased to welcome me to their humble mansion. The women commenced expressing their good feeling by placing before me a large wooden bowl containing a good quantity of dried buffalo meat, and when I returned this, another bowl of equal dimensions, containing not a sparing portion of boiled corn and beans, was received in exchange. I was not long unemployed before a third bowl with a liberal share of mush was presented. This was followed by a quantity of pounded corn, an ear of roasted corn, etc., and my eating for that day was finished. The news of my arrival having spread through the village, the next day before noon I had been to six different lodges to be feasted. Nearly my whole time had been occupied, and the fragments of time I was permitted to spend at my new home were chiefly taken up with the presen-

tation of food by my kind hostess. This will serve as a specimen of my feasting during the five days we remained at the village. All, from the highest to the lowest, seemed to be perfectly kind and friendly, and apparently gratified when they could do me a favor.

The Pawnees are divided into four distinct bands. These are the Grand Pawnees, the Republican Pawnees, Pawnee Loups and Tapage Pawnees. The Grand Pawnee village is on the south side of the Platte, 130 miles from its junction with the Missouri. Tapage and a part of the Republican band live in the same village on the north side of the Loup fork of the Platte, thirty miles above its mouth. The other part of the Republican band live in a little village four miles above the Tapage on the same stream. The Pawnee Loups have a village on the Loup fork three miles above the little Republican village. The four villages have a population of 8000 or 10,000 souls, and may all be visited by riding thirty miles. It may be questioned whether there be another spot in the whole Indian country where so many immortal beings may be visited with so little travel.<sup>3</sup>

The different bands intermarry. The chiefs of each band seem to be independent in managing the affairs of their respective clans. But when business of common interest is to be transacted a general council of the chiefs and others from the different bands is held. The first chief of the Grand Pawnees is the first chief of the nation. Jealousies often exist between the different clans, villages and chieftains. The Loups have longest been separated from the parent stock, and between this and the other bands there is a less intimate connection existing than between either of the three other bands. Between the Loups and the other bands war has been waged. The Loups have been so long a distinct band that their language has become dialectically different from that spoken by the others. The Rees, or Aricaras, were once probably a band of Pawnees, but their separation has been of such long standing that their language has become materially different from the Pawnee tongue, yet there is still a striking resemblance. This tribe numbers from 2000 to 3000. They have been hostile to the whites, are poor and wretched, and are distinguished for the beauty of their females.

The government of the Pawnees is exercised by the chiefs. Some of these possess a good degree of authority and influence over their people. Usually they are the fathers of their people, and instead of receiving any compensation for their services do much directly to promote the happiness of their subjects by feeding them and giving them presents. In the exercise of their authority they are generally mild, but when the occasion requires it they are sufficiently severe. Instances have been known of lives having been taken to secure obedience. A man who persists in his disobedience is pretty sure not to escape a sound beating. The chiefs take a deep interest in the welfare of their people. I have known them to manifest much anxiety to benefit their people, and this too when they stood most in need of the sympathies and efforts of their rulers. Rank among the Pawnees is hereditary. A man is a chief because his father was. But all authority is conferred by the common consent of the people. A man may be in rank a chief, yet have no authority. To be an authoritative chieftain a man must have rank and be a favorite of his clan. Among the Pawnees a man becomes a brave

NOTE 3.—Prof. John B. Dunbar explains in a letter to the secretary that he at one time located these villages upon a map of Nebraska, but the information was afterwards irrevocably lost.

by stealing horses and killing his fellow men. It is not necessary, however, among those wild savages for a man to have contributed to the destruction and misery of so many of his fellow mortals to constitute himself a hero as it is in lands denominated Christian.

The Pawnees make two hunts each year, the summer and winter hunt. To perform the winter hunt they leave their villages usually in the last week of October, and do not return to them again till about the first of April. They now prepare their cornfields for the ensuing season. The ground is dug up with the hoe, the corn is planted and well tended. When it has attained to a certain height they leave it, and go out to their summer hunt. This is done near the last of June. About the first of September they return to their villages. Formerly the buffalo came down to and far below their villages. Now they are obliged to travel out from ten to twenty days to reach them. The buffalo are rapidly diminishing and will in time become extinct.

When they leave their villages to hunt the buffalo, they take every man and beast with them, and the place of their habitations is as desolate and solitary during their absence as any other spot on the prairie. When the time of departure arrives all the furniture and provisions they wish to carry with them are packed on the horses. The residue of their scant furniture and provisions are concealed in the earth till their return. As each family gets ready they fall into the train, which frequently extends some miles. They travel of course in Indian file, and each boy, woman and girl that has a horse to lead walks in the trail before it. Their children who are yet unable to walk with them the women either carry on their own backs or pack them on their horses. The aged and infirm are obliged to travel with the others, and get along the best way they can. It is piteous to see the poor, wretched, crippled creatures drag themselves along. These start early and in the course of the day come to the next camp. They do not start very early in the cold season, but during the warm season they set off as soon as it is light and sometimes before light, and travel till 11, 12, 1, 2, 3, 4 o'clock; then stop and turn their horses loose to feed. It is not customary with them to take any food till their day's travel is ended. The women now set up their tents, wood and water are brought and food prepared. They now eat till ample amends are made for the morning's fast. They travel from eight to twenty miles a day. It frequently occurs when they are traveling that a horse gets frightened, jumps about, breaks away from its leader, kicks till it has divested itself of everything that was put on it, and then runs off at full speed. The unfortunate wife must now follow her horse till she can catch it, bring it back, gather up her scattered utensils, replace them on her horse, then follow the train. All the recompense she receives for her trouble is a severe chiding from her lazy husband, who may have been a witness to the whole transaction without having offered at all to assist his inferior half. They camp where there is both wood and water, when it can be done. When they come to the spot selected, each family chooses a site for their dwelling, and a populous village soon grows up in the midst of a solitary place. When they have traveled all day, and just at night come to the camping ground, a scene usually ensues that beggars description. The horses are fretful and uneasy, the children cold and hungry, the women vexed and weary, the men ill-natured



and imperious. The dogs yelp and howl, the horses whinny, the mules and asses bray, the children cry, the boys halloo, the women scold, the men chide and threaten, no one hears, and everything goes wrong. Tongue and ears at such a time are of but little use.

The Pawnees kill the buffalo on horseback and with the bow and arrows. They throw the arrows with such force as sometimes to pass entirely through the bodies of those animals. They ride close alongside of the buffalo, and while at full speed shoot their arrows into them. Generally every arrow tells in the work of death. They are very strict in their regulations while killing the buffalo. A body of soldiers are enrolled whose duty it is, in connection with the chiefs, to take charge of this business. They keep men out to look for the buffalo and, when a band of them is discovered, to watch their movements. When the village has come sufficiently near to a herd to warrant a hunt, the intelligence is proclaimed through the village by some old man designated for the purpose. All who wish to participate in the sport now catch their horses and prepare for the work of destruction. Two or three of the leading soldiers, curiously painted and wearing a variety of ornaments, ride out of the village bearing the soldiers' escutcheon, with about a dozen armed attendants, and stop on some eminence till all the hunters have come up with them. The soldiers now move forward in the direction of the buffalo, and the hunters follow. Two old men, bearing their gourds and medicine sacks, run on foot at full speed before the hunters, sweating, singing and shaking their gourds. A man who should now have the temerity to ride before the soldiery would scarce escape with his life. At any rate he would secure to himself a most savage flogging. Thus the soldiers and old men precede the hunters till they have come as near the herd as they can safely go without frightening them. The hunters are now drawn up in line, that all may have an equal opportunity of killing game. The word is given, the charge is made, and in a few moments each is seen alongside the animal he has selected, the fatal arrow flies, the wounded animal stops, a second victim is marked out, and soon winged death overtakes it; a third, fourth, and sometimes a fifth fall before the swift destroyer, and in the short space of one hour a band of 200 buffalo are slain, butchered, and their flesh moving toward the dwellings of their destroyers. The Pawnees are excellent horsemen, and with good horses deem it rare sport to kill the buffalo. The regulations of the soldiery are so strict that it would not screen a man from punishment who should go out and frighten a herd of buffalo, should he even plead that his family were starving for want of food. This is a wise regulation, though it may appear uselessly severe. Did no such thing exist among them a part of them would starve to death.

The food of the Pawnees consists principally of buffalo flesh and corn. The buffalo flesh is preserved by drying, and is cooked in a variety of ways, usually boiled. They grow a good quantity of corn. This is harvested at different times and prepared in different ways. They usually have more corn than is sufficient for their own consumption. They also cultivate pumpkins, beans, watermelons, etc. At the proper seasons they dig a variety of edible roots. Their food is coarse but wholesome.

The men say their appropriate employments are hunting (taking the buffalo) and war; consequently everything else that is to be done is the appropriate business of the women. The women are very laborious, but

most abject slaves. One educated in our privileged land can scarcely form a conception of the ignorance, wretchedness and degraded servitude of the Pawnee females. We cannot contemplate the condition of these wretched creatures without being led to feel deeply that for all that is better in the condition of females in Christian lands they are indebted to the gospel of Jesus Christ. The female, no matter who she is, that makes light of the Christian religion, trifles with that which makes her to differ from the most abject slave and degraded heathen.

I have wandered with these savage people during four of their hunting campaigns—two winters and two summers. In their winter excursions they kill as much meat as they think they will need, as soon as may be after coming into the region of the buffalo. When this has been done they retire into winter quarters; that is, they go to some place where there is wood, water and plenty of horse fodder. Here they remain until the feed for their horses becomes short, then they remove to another place, and do not return to their villages till the 1st of April, because their horses could not live there before that time. In the summer they stay no longer on the prairie than is necessary to procure a supply of meat. As soon as they can accomplish this and return to their villages, their corn harvest is ready to be commenced. The first hunting tour I performed with them they traveled, from the time they left their village till they returned to it again in the spring, about 400 miles. During the first summer hunt I was with them they traveled 700 miles before returning to their village. During my second winter hunt they traveled 900 miles, second summer hunt 800 miles. Mr. Allis has performed three hunting tours with the Loups and been treated with uniform kindness and respect. Said his host, the first chief of that band, in a conversation one day, "Any persons to injure that man," meaning Mr. A., "must step over my dead body." I suppose Mr. A. was more beloved by the family of his host than any other member of it. All of us who have lived with them are constrained to say that they are a kind-hearted, liberal people, but they are heathen—dark-minded heathen.

Last spring the Pawnee mission received its first reinforcement, consisting of Doctor Satterlee<sup>4</sup> and Mrs. Allis. The wife of Doctor Satterlee died before reaching the Indian country. I was wholly unacquainted either with the Doctor or his lady, yet when I received the sad intelligence I could not but deeply sympathize with our bereaved brother in his affliction, and feel that the mission had sustained a loss in our sister's early death. But I did not fully appreciate our loss till I had learned the character of that soul-loving, amiable young woman. She seems to have been admirably fitted for usefulness in the sphere to which she had been assigned. She is happy now, and her afflicted partner is spared to do his Master's work. Doctor Satterlee spent the last summer with me among the Grand Pawnees. When I left him he was expecting to return and spend the winter with them. He is quite useful to them in the practice of his profession. Mr. Allis spent the last summer at Bellevue, and was intending to remain there during the winter.

Among the variety of vices that are practiced by the Pawnees is that of polygamy. It is a common usage with them for the same man to marry all

NOTE 4.—A brief account of the missionary service and death of Dr. Benedict Satterlee, by Prof. J. B. Dunbar, is contained in note 9, Kansas Historical Collections, volume 10, page 102; see, also, same volume, page 100, for further particulars.

the sisters of the same family. When a young man wishes to enter the married state, at the proper time he puts on his buffalo robe with the fur side out, and draws it over his head and face so as to nearly conceal his visage. In this predicament he walks to the lodge of his intended fair one, enters it and sits down. No one speaks to him, nor does he utter a word till he leaves the lodge. But the object of his visit is understood by all the parties concerned. When he has sat in silence awhile he rises and leaves the lodge. After the lapse of a few days he ventures to visit the dwelling of his beloved a second time, wearing his robe as before. When he enters the dwelling, if he sees the bear skin or other skin is spread for his reception, he may now show his face and be seated, for this is a sure indication that his visits are not unacceptable; but if no seat is prepared for him he may retire, his company is undesired. If he is favorably received the young woman soon takes a seat by his side. Her father also makes it convenient to be at home at the time. A conversation ensues between the young man and the young lady's father, in the course of which the suitor asks the old gentleman's mind with respect to the proposed connection. The old man replies that neither he nor his family have any objections to his becoming their son-in-law. The old gentleman moreover tells his intended son-in-law to go home to his own lodge, make a feast, invite all his relatives and consult them with respect to his proposed marriage. In the meantime, he tells him, he will make a feast, invite his daughter's relatives, and consult with them concerning her marriage. If the relatives offer no objections on either side the union follows as a matter of course, without further ceremony. This is followed by a series of feasts on the part of the bride. The parties thus brought together may have previously settled the marriage question between themselves, or they may have been wholly unacquainted. The husband comes to the lodge of his father-in-law and lives in it with his wife. The son-in-law, on taking his wife, gives his father-in-law from one to six horses, according to his ability, for his daughter and the privilege of living in his lodge. This is the case with the eldest daughter. The others are given to the son-in-law by their father as they become marriageable, and he receives in return a horse or two for each of his daughters. The son-in-law has a particular portion of the lodge allotted to him, and it is his appropriate business to take care of all the horses that belong to the family. The eldest sister is the principal wife, and commands the younger sisters, who seem to be little more than domestic slaves. It is a regulation among the Pawnees, rank being equal, the younger shall obey the elder. How little to be desired is the condition of the younger sisters in a Pawnee family, and particularly the youngest.



## THE SAUKS<sup>1</sup> AND FOXES IN FRANKLIN AND OSAGE COUNTIES, KANSAS.

Written by Mrs. IDA M. FERRIS,<sup>2</sup> of Osage City, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE Sauk Indians bore the designation among themselves of "Sau-kie," a name having many forms of pronunciation and spelling among the early writers. The Foxes, known to the French as Renards, called themselves "Mesh-kwa-kihug," or "red-earth people."<sup>3</sup>

The first treaty with the Sauks was that made with the Wyandots and other nations at Fort Harmar, Ohio, in 1789, to settle boundaries in the Northwest Territory, regulate trade, and establish a league of peace under the promised protection of the United States. As Fort Harmar was out of their own territory, they probably signed merely to obtain presents.

I have been told that some time before the eighteenth century the Sauks occupied northwestern Ohio and southeastern Michigan. Major Marston says:<sup>4</sup> "I have been informed by some of the old men of the two nations

NOTE 1.—In Kansas, this tribal name is commonly spelled "Sac", but the Bureau of American Ethnology seems to have adopted the form used in this paper. The following forms are found in Thwaite's *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 73, p. 303: Sacs, Sachis, Sakis, Sakkis, Saky, Satzi, and Ousaki, which also had the other forms of Ousakiouek, Oussaki and Oussakis. The following quotation from the journal of Father Cramoisy, 1666-'67, is from the same authority. vol. 51, p. 45, and is evidently the first mention found regarding this tribe:

"It is said of them (Ottawas) and of the Osaui that when they find a man alone and at a disadvantage, they kill him, especially if he is a Frenchman; for they cannot endure the beards of the latter people. Cruelty of that kind makes them less docile and less inclined to receive the Gospel than are the Pouteouatami [Pottawatomies]. Still I failed not to proclaim it to nearly six score persons who passed a summer here. I found none among them sufficiently well prepared for baptism, though I conferred it on five of their sick children, who then recovered their health.

"As for the Ousaki, they above all others can be called Savages. They are very numerous, but wandering and scattered in the forests, without any fixed abode. I have seen nearly two hundred of them, to all of whom I have published the faith, and have baptised eighteen of their children, to whom the sacred waters were salutary for both soul and body."

NOTE 2.—IDA M. (St. John) FERRIS was born at Milan, Erie county, Ohio, September 14, 1849. Her father, Silas St. John, born at Rutland, Vt., was twelve years old in 1800, and saw Washington when on his trip in Vermont reviewing his battle grounds. Her grandfather, John W. St. John, was second in command under Ethan Allen, at Ticonderoga. Her great grandfather, John St. John, fought in the Colonial wars, and was a captain in the Revolution, he being the John of the family of Mathew, Mark, Luke and John, St. John. Her mother, Ava Ann Comstock, was born at Litchfield, Conn., April 10, 1812, being the daughter of Daniel Comstock and Polly Ostrander. Daniel Comstock was a captain in a Connecticut regiment in the Revolution. Polly Ostrander was a young girl on the Hudson river during the Revolutionary war and became acquainted with the young officer. At Litchfield, Conn., they reared their family, neighbors to the family of Dr. Lyman Beecher, to whose church they belonged. Harriet Beecher Stowe was but one year older than the mother of Mrs. Ferris. Daniel Comstock later emigrated to the Connecticut Fire-lands in Ohio reserved for Revolutionary soldiers. Mrs. Ferris was born on her grandfather's farm, one mile east of the academy at Milan, Ohio. C. R. Green, the historian, also born at Milan, says that the first Quenemo was born there. Mrs. Ferris remembers a magnificent, never-failing spring that gushed from the hillside back of her grandfather's house, forming a brook that rushed off to join the Huron river. Here the Indians must have refreshed themselves many times. Perchance the mother of Quenemo might have lingered here. About 1851 her parents removed to Republic, Seneca county, Ohio, which she found, while teaching in Marquette county, Wisconsin, from Chief Big John, himself a Sauk, had at one time belonged to the Sauks, and here again, in Wisconsin, she was on Sauk and Fox territory. Returning to Republic, she graduated from the Northwestern Normal in 1873. The next year she married Hiram L. Ferris, of Springport, Mich., whose mother was a cousin of Gen. Henry Leavenworth. In 1877 Mr. and Mrs. Ferris removed to his farm near Osage City, Kan., where they still reside, and, strange to say, the farm is a part of the McMannus purchase, and Mrs. Ferris is still on the Sauk and Fox lands. They have two sons, Frank E. Ferris and Raymond M. Ferris. Like her mother, Mrs. Ferris was a teacher. The mother taught in Erie and Huron counties, Ohio, twenty years, eleven months out of twelve. Mrs. Ferris has taught twenty-one years, but not so much actual time as did her mother.

NOTE 3.—Report of Jedidiah Morse to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs, 1822, p. 121; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Handbook of American Indians*, pt. 1, p. 472, the authority there given being William Jones.

NOTE 4.—*Ibid*, p. 123.

that the Sauk and Fox nations emigrated from a great distance below Detroit and established themselves at a place called Saganau (Saginaw), in Michigan territory; that they have since built villages and lived on Fox river, Illinois." It was on the Fox river, Wisconsin, that they were first known to the French, about 1666, in the region of Green Bay. (See note 1.)

The two tribes are closely allied by language, and it is supposed that they were originally one people, the division into two nations occurring further back than tradition. They became united again, politically, as early as 1780, after a severe defeat of the Foxes at the hands of the Chippewas. Since known to the whites their emigration has been south and west, to the Wisconsin, and then to the Rock river, in Illinois. They laid claim to Iowa through conquest, and this claim was established by Keokuk at Washington, in a debate with the Sioux and other tribes.<sup>5</sup>

Black Hawk, a Sauk, was born near the mouth of Rock river in 1767, and Keokuk, also a Sauk, on the same stream about 1780. Before 1800 the tribes had crossed the Mississippi and built large villages on the Iowa river, but by 1804 they were again in the neighborhood of Rock Island.<sup>6</sup> That year, at St. Louis, they made their first effective treaty with the government. It was one of the thirteen important treaties negotiated by William Henry Harrison, who was at that time dubbed "Old Indian Chaser." By this treaty the Sauks and Foxes ceded their Wisconsin and Illinois lands, retaining territory embracing the greater part of Iowa; were taken into the friendship of the United States; were to receive goods to the amount of a thousand dollars annually, and protection was promised them from all other tribes, and from intruders of all kinds; the nation was to deliver up all offenders, and return all stolen horses; a trading house was to be built, and none but authorized traders allowed on their reservation. They were to be allowed to live and hunt upon the ceded lands east of the Mississippi so long as they remained unsold.<sup>7</sup>

During the war of 1812 a majority of the two tribes sided with Great Britain. Those loyal to the United States removed to Missouri, and were thereafter known as the Sauks and Foxes of the Missouri, and are recognized in the treaty of September 13, 1815.<sup>8</sup> In the same year a treaty was made with the Foxes of Rock river, and in 1816 one with the Sauks, confirming to each all the privileges of the Sauk and Fox treaty of 1804, and forgiving them for their participation in the late war. These latter were thereafter known as the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi.<sup>9</sup>

As early as 1820 white men began to squat on the rich corn lands of the old village near the mouth of Rock river. Two years later the government agent at Fort Armstrong (Rock Island) urged upon the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi the propriety of their removal to the west side of the Mississippi river. To this Black Hawk was opposed from patriotic motives, and to some extent because the removal was actively favored by his rival, Keokuk.<sup>10</sup> The latter promptly removed to Iowa.

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NOTE 5.—Handbook of American Indians, pt. 1, p. 472.

NOTE 6.—Morse's report, pp. 123-4.

NOTE 7.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 74.

NOTE 8.—Ibid, p. 120.

NOTE 9.—Ibid, pp. 121, 126.

NOTE 10.—Drake's Life of Black Hawk, ed. 7, Cincinnati, 1851, is my principal authority for the history of the nation up to and including the period of the Black Hawk War.

Black Hawk remained, and in 1829 the government, to create a pretext for the immediate removal of his band to the west side of the Mississippi, sold a few acres of land at the mouth of Rock river, including Black Hawk's village site (though the nearest legal white settlements had not approached that point within fifty miles), and he was again importuned to go. But he still refused to abandon his old home, until finally, by show of arms, he was obliged to remove to the west side of the Mississippi. June 30, 1831, Black Hawk subscribed to a treaty of capitulation and peace, with General Gaines and Governor Reynolds, acknowledging that his Rock river lands were sold, and promising that he would remain in Iowa. However, in the spring of 1832 he again crossed the Mississippi on his way to the Winnebago towns, whether to raise corn with this tribe or to make war on the whites with their assistance will never be known. He was attacked by Illinois and United States troops, and a merciless war followed,<sup>11</sup> other tribes participating.

In July Black Hawk's forces had retreated north into Wisconsin, and were attacked, with large loss, while crossing the Wisconsin river. He was overtaken again and defeated while making preparation to cross the Mississippi river near the mouth of Bad Axe river, some twenty miles above Prairie du Chien, August 2, 1832. Black Hawk himself escaped, but was soon taken captive by two Winnebagoes, who delivered him, on August 27, to General Street, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien. Here it is supposed that Black Hawk made his famous speech, which for oratory, eloquence, pathos and logic is not surpassed.

SPEECH OF BLACK HAWK.<sup>12</sup>

"You have taken me prisoner, with all my warriors. I am much grieved; for I expected, if I did not defeat you, to hold out much longer, and give you more trouble before I surrendered. I tried hard to bring you into ambush, but your last general [Atkinson] understood Indian fighting. I determined to rush upon you, and fight you face to face. I fought hard, but your guns were well aimed. The bullets flew like birds in the air, and whizzed by our ears like the wind through the trees in winter.

"My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose dim on us in the morning, and at night it sank in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. That was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. His heart is dead, and no longer beats quick in his bosom. He is now a prisoner to the white men; they will do with him as they wish. But he can stand torture, and is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian!

"He has done nothing for which an Indian ought to be ashamed. He has fought for his countrymen, against the white men who came, year after year, to cheat them and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war. It is known to all white men. They ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies. Indians do

NOTE 11.—While the Indians were preparing for this war, J. F. White, for many years an old settler of Osage county, and a resident later of Osage City, and who was at that time a soldier of the Fourth Illinois, in which Abraham Lincoln was a captain, was sent among them as a spy, dressed as an Indian. Mr. White had been brought up among the Sauks and Foxes, knew their language thoroughly, was acquainted with Black Hawk personally, having at one time entertained the great chieftain at his home over night, and besides knew many of the Indians by sight and name. It was a most hazardous thing to do. Among many other things he saw was Black Hawk, whose Indian name was Mah-kut-tali Mes-she-ka-kaque, sitting on his pony, holding a long, bright red cloth on which were represented bodies, some headless, some legless, others armless, embroidered in white beads, these representing the white people Black Hawk had himself killed. Mr. White succeeded in obtaining the information needed and in getting safely away without being recognized.

NOTE 12.—Willson's American History. Chicago, 1856, p. 36.



not steal. An Indian who is as bad as a white man could not live in our nation. He would be put to death and eaten by the wolves.

"The white men are bad schoolmasters. They carry false looks and deal in false actions. They smile in the face of the poor Indian, to cheat him; they shake him by the hand to gain his confidence, to make him drunk, and to deceive him. We told them to let us alone, and keep away from us; but they followed on, and beset our paths, and they coiled themselves among us, like the snake. They poisoned us by their touch. We were not safe; we lived in danger. We were becoming like them, hypocrites and liars; all talkers and no workers.

"We looked up to the Great Spirit. We went to our Father. We were encouraged. His great council gave us fair words and big promises; but we obtained no satisfaction. Things were growing worse. There were no deer in the forest. The opossum and the beaver were fled. The springs were drying up, and our people were without food to keep them from starving. We called a great council and built a big fire. The spirit of our fathers arose and spoke to us to avenge our wrongs or die. We set up the war whoop and dug up the tomahawk; our knives were ready, and the heart of Black Hawk swelled high in his bosom when he led his warriors to battle. He is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty. His father will meet him there and commend him. Black Hawk is a true Indian. He feels for his wife, his children, his friends, but he does not care for himself. He cares for the nation and for the Indians. They will suffer. He laments their fate.

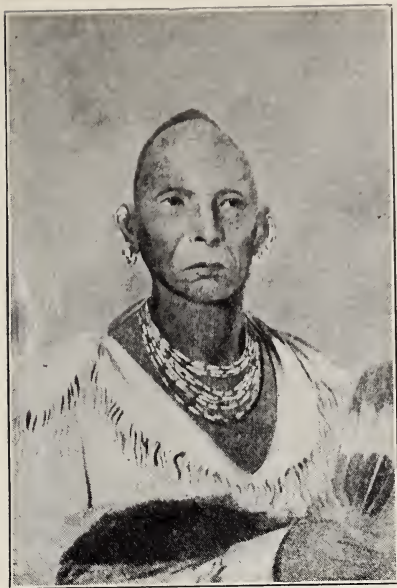
"The white men do not scalp the head, they do worse—they poison the heart. It is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but will in a few years be like the white men, so you cannot trust them; and there must be in the white settlements as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order.

"Farewell, my nation! Black Hawk tried to save you, and avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner, and his plans are stopped. He can do no more! He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk!"

We quote this masterpiece of Indian eloquence because Black Hawk's sons came subsequently with the tribe to Kansas, and are buried at Greenwood; and because, viewed in the light of the later history of this tribe, and the gigantic frauds perpetrated upon them in this country, known to men now living, and who say they have facts and figures in their possession, will tend to make the lovers of truth and honor feel that this speech is a just criticism, and a stinging rebuke upon the entire white race, that ought to be and will be remembered against us by the great eternal Spirit forever.

Black Hawk, his two sons, Neapope, the prophet White Cloud, who had counseled the war, and five other chieftains were taken to Jefferson barracks, near St. Louis, Mo., in September, 1832, and were here detained, heavily ironed, until April, 1833. They were then brought before President Jackson, at Washington. During this interview the President reproved Black Hawk for bringing on the war. Black Hawk replied, "Sir, you are a man; so am I. But fortune has placed us in different circumstances. Your people are stronger than mine. You can dictate your terms. I am your prisoner, and must submit, but I am still a man, the same as you."

From Washington the Indians were sent to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, where, though still prisoners, they were treated kindly. After a time it was thought best to take Black Hawk and his companions from prison and show them the great cities of the East, and thus impress upon them the great number of whites, and the utter uselessness of ever again going on the war-



**BLACK HAWK.**

Courtesy of Mr. F. E. Steven,  
Dixon, Ill.



**KEOKUK.**

From life-size portrait in Kansas State  
Historical Society's museum.

path. They were then given another interview with President Jackson. Everywhere they were taken the wildest enthusiasm prevailed; excited throngs demanded they exhibit themselves on balconies and platforms. When they had completed the tour they were returned home by way of Albany, Buffalo and Detroit, to Rock Island.

Here a treaty was made September 21, 1832,<sup>13</sup> and signed by Keokuk, head chief, with others, by which "the remnant of the hostile bands shall be divided among the neutral bands of the tribes according to blood, the Sauks among the Sauks and the Foxes among the Foxes." A large present of food, including 6000 bushels of corn, was made for the benefit of the women and children whose natural protectors had been killed in the late war. A cession of lands from their Iowa reserve was also made. It was not until the council of October 12, 1841, that amicable relations seem to have been quite fully restored between the two factions.

But white settlements still encroached upon the Sauks and Foxes, and another cession of Iowa lands was made by the nation September 28, 1836.<sup>14</sup> At this treaty provision was made for certain half-breed children, among them a child of Niwa-ka-kee, a Fox woman, by one Mitchell, for whom \$1000 was given to Joseph M. Street, Indian agent, for its use and benefit. The children of "their friend John Connoly, deceased, Thomas and James," were also remembered by a gift of \$200, the interest to be used in their education. This John Connoly was a subagent and interpreter for the tribe

NOTE 13.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, vol. 2, p. 349.

NOTE 14.—Ibid, pp. 476, 495.

as early as 1824. His name frequently occurs in the manuscript book of accounts for that agency until February, 1828. The treaty of October 21, 1837, at Washington, further curtailed the Sauk and Fox reservation in Iowa, paid certain of their debts, provided a mill, goods, the plowing of ground, farm laborers, horses, a blacksmith and a gunsmith, increased their annuities, but allowed Keokuk to remain at his old village on the ceded ground for a certain time. Keokuk, the "Watchful Fox," signs as principal chief of the federated tribes.

Black Hawk died at his home near Iowaville, on the Des Moines river, October 3, 1838, at the age of seventy-two years. In the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, is an imposing wax figure of the old chief. It is clad in blanket and beaded buckskin leggings and moccasins. Projecting from above the forehead at an angle of fifty-two degrees stands a large hawk's feather, and a succession of feathers of the same length and quill extend over the top of his head and down his back to his heels. His copper-colored face expresses a consciousness of kingly dignity. Black Hawk was buried at his own request, as was his father.

The following description of the Sauk and Fox burial customs was given me by a gentleman<sup>15</sup> who had long acquaintance with the tribe:

"Before he expired the medicine men anointed him and he was painted for death. A grave was dug in the form of a seat, so the top of the head of the corpse, when seated, would be even with the top of the ground. A piece of domestic or strong cloth was passed around the body and tied tightly over the top of the head. The gun, wampum and other personal effects were buried also, so that when the departed brave should have been resurrected these things would be handy for use. They provided a contrivance for resurrecting the body. A green pole was set in the ground and bent over so that the end of this spring-pole came over the head of the departed Indian. Then the spring-pole was held down by being tied to a stake driven into the ground on the opposite side of the grave. The cloth on top of the Indian's head was then tied to the spring-pole. The idea was that when the resurrection day should come the fastenings would give way at the stake and the spring-pole would elevate the Indian and set him upon his feet. His pony and dog were there waiting for him; he picked up his gun, and he was in the happy hunting grounds. After the dead Indian had been fixed to his spring-pole, the grave was cribbed with logs, solidly built and lined with cloth, so no one could look into his resting place. This work of burying the dead was done by the squaws. In case the ground was so frozen a grave could not be dug, the body was sewed up in a rawhide and laid up in a tree until spring, when it was taken down and buried."

#### FINAL SALE OF THE IOWA LANDS.

##### *Agency of John Beach, 1841-1847.*

October 15 to 16, 1841,<sup>16</sup> a council was held, with reference to a treaty, at the Sauk and Fox agency in Iowa territory. The commissioners in behalf of the government were T. Hartley Crawford, John Chambers and James Doty. It was proposed by them that the tribes sell to the United States all the land then claimed by them in Iowa for \$1,000,000, and money enough besides to pay their debts, amounting to about \$300,000; to remove them to the headwaters of the Des Moines river, west of Blue Earth river; that the government should build each family a frame house and break six

NOTE 15.—Geo. W. Logan, of Quenemo, is authority for this statement. W. Henry Starr, of Burlington, Iowa, gave Mr. Drake, March 21, 1839, an account of the burial of Black Hawk, which may be found on page 241 of the volume previously quoted.

NOTE 16.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1841, p. 248.



acres of land near it; that the houses should be built near together for social intercourse; that they should have blacksmiths, etc.; that three forts should be established and held between them and the Sioux and Winnebagoes, for their protection. The nation numbered at this time but 2300 men, women and children, while fifteen years before there were 1600 warriors alone.

Replies were made by several chiefs. Keokuk, chief of the Sauks, said:

"We have never heard so hard proposals. The country to which you wish to send us, we are acquainted with. It looks like a country of distress. It is the poorest country in every respect I have ever seen. We own this land from our fathers, and we think we have a right to say whether we will sell or not. You have read and heard the traditions of our nation. We were once powerful. We conquered many nations, and our fathers conquered this land; we now own it by possession, and have the same right to it that white men have to the land they occupy. We hope you will not think hard of our refusal to sell. We wish to act for the benefit of our children and those who come after them, and we believe the Great Spirit will bless us for so doing. As to the proposal to build schoolhouses, etc., we have always been opposed to them, and will never consent to have them introduced into our nation. We do not wish any more proposals made to us."

Wa-pel-lo, chief of the Foxes, said:

"I remember when Wiskonsan was ours, and it now has our name; we sold it to you. Rock river and Rock Island once were ours; we sold them to you. Dubuque was once ours; we sold that to you. And they are occupied by white men who live happily. Rock river was the only place where we lived happily, and we sold that to you. This is all the country we have left, and we are so few now we cannot conquer other countries."

The prejudice was so great, especially to the lands proposed, the commissioners were obliged to discontinue negotiations.

However, the following year, 1842, a treaty was made whereby the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi ceded the remainder of their Iowa lands to the government; for which they were to receive \$800,000 and a tract of land upon the Missouri or some of its waters. Each of the principal chiefs was to be paid \$500 annually, and \$30,000 was to be retained at each annual payment, and expended for general national purposes and support of the poor. Certain funds were to be used for agricultural purposes; the remains of the late Fox chief, Wa-pel-lo,<sup>17</sup> were to be buried at the agency near the grave of their late agent, Joseph M. Street. The Indians reserved the right to occupy the western half of the land for three years after signing the

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NOTE 17.—Wapello was second in command of the Sauk and Fox nation after the deposing of Black Hawk. In company with these two chiefs and other members of the tribe he was taken East in 1837. At the Boston statehouse he responded to the welcoming address of Governor Edward Everett, and led the war dance on Boston commons. The stone that marks his resting place bears the inscription:

"In memory of Wapello, principal chief for the Foxes. Born the year 1787; died near the forks of Skunk river, March 15, 1842, and here buried at his own request. This stone was erected by the Sac and Fox nation. Distinguished from early years for his valor, he was no less remarkable for kindness and benevolence toward his people, while honesty of character and strong friendship toward the white man won for him universal regard."

The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of November 25, 1906, says that no better or more famous Indian agent ever existed than Joseph M. Street. At the time of the Black Hawk war he was agent of the Winnebagoes, whom he moved from camp to camp to avoid Black Hawk who confidently expected help from them. In 1835 Street became agent of the Sauks and Foxes in Iowa, at the place now known as Agency City. Street was a Virginian, born in Lunenburg county, December 18, 1772. He became famous through his effort at Frankfort, Ky., to expose the treachery of Aaron Burr, and was nearly assassinated in consequence, being unable to appear as a witness against Burr. In November, 1827, he became agent of the Winnebagoes, appointed by President John Quincy Adams. Andrew Jackson reappointed him twice, though Street was a vigorous whig. Street quickly made the Indians respect and love him, did away with abuses, and introduced scores of necessary reforms. The article from which the above notes are taken appears to be authentic, and is finely illustrated.

treaty, October 11, 1842. This treaty was ratified February 15, 1843.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Crawford, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, says:

"The Indians, without any reminder by any authority, removed to the western portion of the old reserve in a quiet and orderly manner. This is a spectacle worthy of contemplation. A race of wild and uneducated Indians, mindful of their engagement, and more—leaving the grounds on which they had hunted and roamed to the occupancy of our citizens, and voluntarily and quietly, without any agency of ours, turning their backs, in a body of about 2300 souls, on the scenes of their former joys and sorrows."

The superintendent, John Chambers, in his report for 1843, states that:

"This confederation of Sauks and Foxes are entitled to rank among the most bold, honest and independent of the tribes north of the Missouri, and are second to none in their apparent respect for the government, and peaceful disposition toward their white neighbors, and yet it is found impracticable to induce them to devote any portion of their very large annuities to the amelioration of their condition. To the establishment of schools among them they manifest an obstinate resistance."<sup>19</sup>

They were opposed to permit any portions of the proceeds of their money to be used in building comfortable houses or opening a pattern farm. John Beach fortells:

"Unless by their final position upon the waters of the Missouri, some insuperable barrier is interposed to their communication with the white population, or until by some suitable legislation some means are adopted of rendering spirituous liquors totally inaccessible to them, no great success should be expected in attempting the civilization or improvement of these tribes."

The cause of this state of affairs seems to be the "bad white man":

"The Indian frontier appears to have become the natural rendezvous of this class of people, who willingly suffer every inconvenience and complain of no discomfort, so long as they have the means of successfully continuing their infamous traffic in whisky."<sup>20</sup>

Mr. Chambers reports, in 1844:

"They are a brave and warlike people, and comparatively honest and intelligent. . . . Some of their chiefs are men of a very high order of intellect and yet they are, without exception, inveterate sots."

The agent, John Beach says:

"The agricultural labors of the Sauk and Foxes have been attended with better success this season than for the two previous. In the winter some of the chiefs applied to me to purchase four ploughs and the requisite harness. They have cultivated a large quantity of ground, mostly in corn."<sup>21</sup>

#### THE REMOVAL FROM IOWA.

The time stipulated by the treaty of October, 1842, for the final removal from their Iowa lands was near at hand. Agent Beach suffered a serious illness. Keokuk gave him every assistance in his power and displayed more than his usual capacity and firmness, managing the tribes in a superior manner. In Beach's report, September 1, 1845, he says:<sup>22</sup>

"The Sauks, under the good management of old Keokuk, are only waiting their payment in order to commence their journey. The Foxes are less

NOTE 18.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1842, p. 5; 1843, p. 264. Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 546.

NOTE 19.—Ibid, 1843, p. 374.

NOTE 20.—Ibid, 1843, p. 380.

NOTE 21.—Ibid, 1844, pp. 413, 418.

NOTE 22.—Ibid, 1845, pp. 481, 484.

satisfied with the idea of leaving the country, still I believe the principal men, aware of the fact they must move, are intending to go without opposition."

And again, in speaking of Keokuk, he says:

"It is a pleasure to transact business with him, because of his aptness to understand motives and arguments, and to appreciate the condition of his people, while his readiness to coöperate and forward every measure suggested by me merits the approbation of the department."

At some time previous to the date of starting, at a council at their agency on Racoon river, it was decided that owing to their abundant supply of horses and a plentiful crop, they would need no assistance in removing. The agent, John Beach, removed to Kansas with his charges, to whose interests he seemed deeply devoted. By the last day of September, 1845,<sup>23</sup> all of the Sauks, led by Keokuk, were on their way to the promised land. By the 8th of October the Foxes began their march, so that by the 11th, the date specified, all the nation excepting 100, the Mesquite band, among whom were many of the aged and infirm, had actually left their former home.

By the first of the year 1846 all of the Sauk and one-fifth of the Foxes had gathered on the Kansas river to await the coming of the remainder of the tribe, that they might together make a choice between the two tracts which the government had offered them. The Shawnees, upon whose lands they halted, had given their permission, at the solicitation of the government.

The band of Foxes who were behind had stopped with the Pottawatomies in Iowa, who had invited them to remain, as they were old allies. The visit continued so long that the planting of corn could not be postponed by the emigrants already in Kansas, and as all were gathered who had continually kept their obligations, and were in a large majority, these made the selection in the spring of 1846, choosing for permanent reserve the tract lying upon the headwaters of the Osage river. A large number of these Indians immediately commenced their settlement, while those who had already planted corn upon the Wakarusa and Kaw, thirty miles away, remained to harvest their crop before coming on to the reservation. The enrollment in September, 1845, was 2278 souls.

By the time of the payment of the next annuity all had gathered at the new reservation.<sup>24</sup>

The Sauk and Fox reservation in Kansas embraced, generally speaking, all of Weller (now Osage) county south of Dragoon township, to the present Coffey county line, and extended six and one-half miles east into Franklin county, and some three miles west into Lyon county.<sup>25</sup> The plats of the United States surveys on file in the auditor's office, Topeka, show the agency buildings to have been situated near the center of the northwest quarter of section 16, township 17, range 18, Franklin county, at least a mile south of the Marais des Cygnes. The post office was Westport, Jackson county, Missouri, sixty-five miles away. Mr. Beach describes the reservation as being pleasantly situated, agreeably diversified as to surface, moderately

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NOTE 23.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1846, pp. 299-300.

NOTE 24.—Ibid, 1847, p. 735.

NOTE 25.—Map showing the progress of public surveys in Kansas and Nebraska, 1866. Surveyor General's office, Leavenworth, August 25, 1866.



well timbered, springs scarce, the water of the streams unhealthy, and a rock substratum making difficult the digging of wells. The climate was delightful. The country had been reported sickly, but notwithstanding the excessive heat, exposed situation, unacclimated habits, "our apprehensions have proved entirely unfounded." The Sauks and Foxes had for neighbors on two sides partially civilized tribes—the Chippewas and Ottawas—and the agent thought it essential that the Chippewa boundary be established without delay. Thus far no instructions had been received as to the agency buildings, shops, etc. The smiths had erected a temporary forge, where repairing was done, but were limited for want of iron and steel, that for lack of a place for its safe-keeping Mr. Beach was unable and unwilling to incur the risk of bringing out. Chas. H. Whittington, later of Allen, Lyon county, came as gunsmith to the tribe in 1846. In 1851 he went to Council Grove and kept store.

This was the year of the Mexican war, under Polk's administration, and it was not strange the government was slow in providing agency quarters. This was the year Doniphan, Price, Sumner and Weightman, with infantry, cavalry and artillery, marched from Fort Leavenworth over the Santa Fe trail, a distance of 700 miles, in fifty days.<sup>26</sup>

"Already several villages have sprung up," reports Mr. Beach, in the fall of 1847,<sup>27</sup> "and their numerous fields of corn give evidence of a commendable industry." The Sauk and Fox buffalo hunt proved unusually successfully, and they returned in the early part of August heavily laden with meat. During this year some missionary society offered to erect and support, at its own expense, a mission and school for the nation, but the offer was refused by the chiefs and headmen. Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent at St. Louis, makes some complaint of the manner in which the agent paid the tribal annuities.<sup>28</sup> Mr. Beach, whose wife had died a short time before the removal of the nation west, returned in the fall of this year to visit his family in Iowa.

*The Agency Under James S. Raines, 1848-'49.*

During the year 1848 the agency buildings were erected and plenty and harmony prevailed. In the annual report we learn that the Ottawas, being thrifty, disposed of their surplus to surrounding tribes, and complained of depredations committed by the Sauks and Foxes. The chiefs admitted the charge and were anxious to settle the difficulty, so a council was held in which the differences were amicably adjusted.<sup>29</sup>

While on their summer hunt in July in company with several neighboring tribes, the Sauks and Foxes met the Pawnees on the prairies and were friendly, but while Chief Moses Keokuk was handing to a Pawnee the pipe of peace, a Kansas Indian shot and killed the Pawnee. His friends, who were but a short distance away, seeing one of their braves killed, immediately attacked the hunters, who were forced to fight. They killed and scalped five of the Pawnees. No other Indians were killed, but several were wounded.

Late in the fall the nation gathered and buried their crop, and then prepared to go out upon their winter hunt. Many had expressed a desire to

NOTE 26.—Connelley's Doniphan's Expedition, 1907, pp. 140, 148.

NOTE 27.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1847, p. 846.

NOTE 28.—Ibid, 1847, p. 842.

NOTE 29.—Ibid, 1848, p. 453.



CHIEF KEOKUK MONUMENT,  
Rand Park, Keokuk, Iowa.

have farms which were laid out during the winter. A doctor was also requested, notwithstanding their prejudice to white doctors.

The western superintendent of Indian affairs, Thomas H. Harvey, of St. Louis, in his report for 1848, says:

"The Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi are the only Indians within this superintendency who are opposed to schools; how far their prejudice may relax by the death of their principal chief, Keokuk, who has made no concealment of his opposition to schools, time alone can determine."<sup>30</sup>

The old chief died in April, 1848, and was buried at the agency. It is said that Keokuk was poisoned by a member of his own tribe, and that the files of the St. Louis newspapers of June, 1848, tell the story. The murderer was arrested, tried, convicted and shot. About 1883 his bones were reinterred at Keokuk, Iowa, and a handsome granite shaft

raised over them, in which is embedded the marble slab that marked his grave in Kansas.

*The Agency Under C. N. Handy, 1849-'50.*

In April, 1849, Charles N. Handy became agent:

"The Sauk and Fox tribe I found in a very unsettled condition, requiring rigid government. They did not appear naturally disobedient or malicious. They are a noble race of men, honest and honorable."<sup>31</sup>

FIRST PROHIBITORY LAW IN KANSAS.<sup>32</sup>

Agent Handy also states that their condition was due to two causes—a lack of proper government heretofore, and to the influence of bad white men whom he had run out of the reservation. He bears witness that the majority of the Sauks and Foxes drink no spirituous liquors, and that Tuck-quas, chief of one of the largest bands, never tastes ardent spirits, and has prohibited it in his band—the first prohibition law in Kansas, some

NOTE 30.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1848, p. 437.

NOTE 31.—This reminds the compiler that in the genealogy of the Leavenworth family, page 152, it is recorded that in 1816 Gen. Henry Leavenworth, then Colonel, was appointed Indian agent for the northwestern territory, with headquarters at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien); that he sent for his wife to join him some years later. His wife, Harriet Lovejoy, sister of Owen, and little daughter, went from New York by boat, via New Orleans and St. Louis, where they were met by fourteen Indians sent by Colonel Leavenworth for their escort on their journey of 700 miles through the then unbroken wilderness. Four of them carried the palanquin, five marched in front and five in the rear, and two stood guard at night, and all were polite, kind and obliging. They arrived safely the thirty-fourth day. She is said to be the first white woman who traveled through the wilderness to that remote station.

NOTE 32.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1849, p. 155. It is possible that the Ottawa was under Meeker made a similar rule before this time.

thirty-four years before John P. St. John, the apostle of prohibition, inaugurated the prohibitory law of Kansas. The agent continues:

"There have been three murders within the last six months occasioned by whisky. During my spring payment I arrested one of the murderers of Mr. Colburn,<sup>33</sup> a Santa Fe trader. His accomplice was found in the Pottawatomie nation. There is no doubt of their guilt and they are now in the hands of the United States marshal and will be tried in April at St. Louis."

Mr. Handy reports, in 1850:<sup>34</sup>

"The Sauks and Foxes number about 3000, and are divided into nine bands, each headed by one recognized as chief. The chiefs are selected often from among their braves on account of their heroic deeds, rather than from inherited royal chieftaincy. This is the cause of incompetent men. There are two principal chiefs, acting, authorized chiefs, with whom we transact most of the business of this nation—[Moses] Keokuk, the Sauk chief, and No-qah-cos-see, the Fox chief. They are honest and better fitted for this station than most other Indians occupying similar posts. . . . The nation is at peace, and entirely under the control of the agent in matters of business, but not in the use of intoxicating drinks. This they have used to a greater extent in the last eight months than ever before. I have exerted myself to the extent of my capacity to prevent it, but lack law, or authority to execute it. Since my last report there have been six murders from the use of intoxicating drinks.

"I have little encouragement from the Indians as to missionaries or schools. Indeed such a proposition in many instances excited them almost to hostilities. They have advanced in farming, and tilled this season five or six hundred acres of corn, but unfortunately there has been an entire failure of the crop, only one good rain since planting time, and the thermometer for six weeks ranging from 95 to 110. The Indians complain about the government paying their money for old claims, without their consent, and there was much excitement at the spring payment. They have erected a spacious council house, office, and wareroom for storing salt, tobacco and other supplies, and when not in use, as a hospital.

"While speaking of interpreters, I will take occasion to say that the salaries, as a general thing, are not sufficient to secure suitable men; for instance, the Sauk and Fox interpreter is needed most all of his time with the agent, yet the agent has frequently to get along without him, his services being required by the surgeon, and with him he must frequently make a visit of ten or fifteen miles. The residence of the agent and interpreter is the home of the Indian; their rooms are always open, and their table is always spread. The interpreter must be a reliable man, a man of intelligence; he must be one who will live clear of all other influence, especially those of the trader and other whites."

Mr. Handy did not tell us he brought his slaves with him, but he did.

*The Agency Under John R. Chenault, 1851-'52.*

In Mr. Chenault's report for 1851, he says:<sup>35</sup>

"The enrollment of the Sauks and Foxes in May last was 2660, and they occupy a country in which the soil is very sandy and greatly inferior in quality to that occupied by any other tribe over which I have had any control. and were in a much worse situation than the others. Fortunately they had a fund set apart by treaty stipulations, which could be applied in supplying their wants, and were furnished about 3000 bushels of corn, which enabled them to sustain themselves well through the winter. . . . Some of the braves, who have been reared to believe it was degrading for an Indian warrior to be seen tilling the earth, this season have taken hold of the plow and rendered valuable assistance in preparing the fields for the present crop, though many of the men are averse to such labor.

NOTE 33.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1849, p. 157.

NOTE 34.—Ibid, 1850, p. 25.

NOTE 35.—Ibid 1851, p. 64.



"When I proposed to use a portion of the fund set apart by the fifth article of the treaty of 1842 to build a mill, to relieve their women of the labor of beating meal, they replied that they would not object to the mill if it would not bring missionaries among them. They are of the opinion that as soon as they permit any houses of any description, the extraordinary charm of their medicine bags and medicine lodge will cease, and the religion of the white man will be supplanted in their stead.

"This medicine lodge<sup>36</sup> is a secret society, hereditary in certain families, and the members of it are the living repositories of the secret mysteries and religious superstitions of their tribe. They meet once a year. When the meeting begins you can see the Indians flocking to it from all directions. For two days the initiated keep themselves in a lodge prepared for the occasion, and the rest of the tribe are not permitted to enter. At the expiration of the two days the members of the lodge come forth, and for three days and nights they keep up their religious worship. The medicine men exercise a great influence over the rest of the tribe. The common people believe they possess the power, when they displease them, of inflicting upon them great calamities."

While the Sauks and Foxes were out upon their summer hunt this year (1851) a young Indian who was sick, and who was the only son of an aged father, was attacked and murdered. The Sauks and Foxes were greatly exasperated at this outrage, and Mr. Chenault says he tried to induce them to abstain from avenging this wrong. Perhaps the great affliction that came upon them prevented, rather than Chenault's persuasion, for in May

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NOTE 36.—When the compiler was a young girl teaching in Wisconsin, the Sauks and Foxes and Winnebagoes who had fled to the hills at the time of the Black Hawk War, and never did go west, even to Iowa, gathered about Westfield, Wis., during the summer of 1869, until there were between one and two hundred by the time their medicine council was held. The fall before the squaws who lived in the locality had gathered from the marshes every long rush obtainable, and during the winter had woven them into long strips of rush cloth, the width of the rushes, some six feet. A great many white people visited their camp on Duck creek during their council week. Among a party of young people we attended one afternoon. The squaws were at work preparing the evening meal, cooking out of doors over an open fire; a huge kettle was filled with boiling potatoes, cooked in their jackets and without washing, the mud boiling up thick and black. Other groups were cleaning up the children, combing their hair, catching lice, and dressing them up for the night's dance. Some were putting the finishing touches to a brave's shirt, trimming the tops and sleeves with gay ribbons, while the bottom was left unhemmed. Two young fellows were playing tom-toms, a drum with one head, and all the rest were singing their monotonous song "Ty-yi, ty-yi, ty-yi, ty-yi." A large group of young Indians were playing a sort of "three-card monte" with three square cloth pads lying on a blanket spread upon the ground and around which the players were sitting. The player hid a bullet under one of the pads; the player opposite, with a long stick in his hand, watched the proceedings. When the bullet had been hidden the finder struck the blanket a sharp rap with the stick, and if the bullet did not roll out he took the point of the stick and overturned the pad under which he thought it was. If successful the first time, he had won his point; when he had to turn all the pads over before he found it, he lost. The young Indians were not at all embarrassed by our presence, and it was interesting to watch their faces and actions as they played. Near by a group of youngsters were arranged in file one behind the other, hopping up and down, a step forward at a time, describing a circle, and singing "ty-yi" to the music of the tom-toms. This they called dancing.

We saw the bride and groom to be in her mother's tent. The tent was thrown wide open. Sitting upon a couch of skins and furs were the bridal pair, with her mother seated near by on a box, sewing. When the Indians came begging for food they always left their ornaments at home for fear you would want some in exchange; but every one was bedecked that day, and the bride was simply loaded with ornaments. Every finger was stiff with rings. Her ears had three rings apiece; one at the top, one in the middle, and a heavy pendant in the lower lobe; besides, there was a succession of bracelets from her wrists nearly to her elbows, and anklets encircled her shapely ankles and calves. And the beads; well, there was enough to make a white girl's eyes sparkle with admiration. There was every color, every size and kind imaginable; some very pretty, others ugly. The strands nearest her neck were short, with succeeding strands and bunches of strands longer and longer, until the whole front to below the waist line was solid beads. The brave was dressed up too in beads, feathers and paint; and both looked supremely happy, while genuine regard and love shone from their eyes. They were not afraid of us, and had considerable fun at our expense. We could not understand their words, but the expression of their faces and the stolid disgust of her mother as she looked upon us, was readable. We saw the white dogs they were fattening for the wedding feast, and which three days later were converted into dog soup.

But the greatest object of interest was that medicine council tent; and we saw where all those rushes that were cut from our swamp the fall before had gone. Of course we wanted to see what we knew we could not; but our party approached the tent where stood a young, or nearly middle-aged, brave on guard at the door. Our spokesman asked if we might enter. The guard shook his head as if he could not understand. We asked again and again, and received a "No" that had a tone to it that said, "You ought to know better." Then our spokesman began

of that year a Missouri Sauk came among them with the smallpox, which spread rapidly from village to village and greatly alarmed the Indians. At the request of the chiefs a physician was appointed for them, Dr. Edwin R. Griffith. A majority of the Indians had been exposed. Nearly all of the Sauks and a portion of the Foxes submitted to inoculation, and encamped a mile from the agency for that purpose. Of the 1700 who were inoculated, forty died, and nearly every one of the forty was suffering with some fever when inoculated. Those who refused inoculation were under the influence of an old Winnebago prophet, and scattered in the hope of escaping the smallpox. Later in the season, when the Indians began using green corn, an epidemic of flux carried away many, the mortality among the children being greatest. About 300 deaths had occurred in the tribe from all causes since April, 1851. Mr. Chenault writes:

"The traders say the tribes have drank less liquor this spring and summer than heretofore. Keokuk and Pow-a-shick are both well-disposed men, but neither are sons of temperance. Tuck-quas, a chief of a strong band of Sauks, never tastes liquor, and his influence has made his band the most sober and the best regulated band in the tribe."<sup>37</sup>

It was ever thus; temperate life and habits insure the most perfect individual and community.

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arguing with him, and several of the party began talking. Looking the young man squarely in the eyes the guard said sternly, "You talk too much with your mouth." We gave a shout of merriment as we dispersed. The guard never relaxed his visage, but there was a twinkle in his eyes.

A little later I remarked to one of the party that I would like to see inside of that tent, and was informed that around on the back side, out of sight of everybody, about the center of the long tent, was a place where I could see inside. "But," he added, "it's dangerous to be caught at it; don't let anyone see you go." So watching my opportunity, I tiptoed around that tent down a well-beaten path, cautiously—for there were only the rushes between me and the braves in council. I readily found the opening left by a short rush mat that would not reach up quite as high as the rest, and was the only defective spot in the whole wall of the tent, and had been placed behind to keep the curious from temptation. In the center of the long room, right opposite me, was a fire on the ground, and the whole interior was filled with smoke. I could understand now why so many Indians had sore eyes. I could see how the tent had been fashioned. The roof was made of layers of rush cloth with a hole in the center for the smoke to escape, and through which a part of it was curling. A framework of poles had been set up. The wall was one strip of the same cloth fastened to the supports of the roof poles.

There were about seventy-five men inside the tent; some old, some middle-aged, but all very sedate and solemn. They were seated tailor fashion upon skins, on the ground, with their backs to the wall of the tent; and I observed I dare not touch this wall for the life of me for fear the Indian who was sitting within a few inches of me, and whom I was almost standing over, could feel my touch and presence. So I never stirred—simply looked. These Indians were in full dress, costumes they rarely wore when foraging for something to eat, which I had read about, but had never seen. They were most gorgeously bedecked, and painted to the highest notch. No two of them were decorated alike. My heart stood still with fear, but chief Big John was there, and I knew him. He had been a personal friend of my sister's family for twenty-five years, and he liked white people; and I reflected he would let no harm come to me. So I watched. Some of the men looked kindly and good, and there was a benign, dignified expression and bearing, indicative of a communion with the Great Spirit. Others had a hideous look, revolting in the extreme; faces deeply scarred during war, and who would not hesitate an instant to scalp an enemy or commit any depredation. I shuddered as I looked them over, but I remembered that during the uprising of the Sioux in Minnesota agents were sent by them to Wisconsin to induce these Indians to join them, but John had not consented, for he had signed a treaty promising not to take the warpath again, and his people could not dig up the tomahawk; though if any of the young men wanted to go to Minnesota on their own account they might. And thus he had saved the white settlers of Wisconsin from massacre, and I was comforted to know they could not nor would not be allowed to follow the instincts of their depraved natures.

The spokesman of the council was talking. It was all Choctaw to me, but he soon began marching around the fire, and one after another they got up and followed him around; and grunting and nodding satisfaction, were again seated. Then another spoke, and when he concluded he walked around the fire, but no one followed him, and he sat down. Others made speeches, and walked around the fire; followed sometimes by two or three, sometimes by a dozen or more, all chanting. It seemed as if those who were marching after a speaker were acquiescing in what he said, while those who did not sat still. Finally one fine old Indian, who seemed to have the attention of the assembly, made a lengthy talk, and when he started around the fire, every brave, as he passed them, arose and followed, until the whole of them were marching around the circle chanting, and every one of them was passing not more than two feet from my eye. The thought came, What if one of them turn his head? and I precipitately fled.

In 1852, Mr. Chenault thinks that—

“More died from smallpox and flux in 1851 than reported; also, that a large number died from pneumonia and other diseases while on their winter hunt. Their country is healthy; but the use of liquors, which the squaws are sent fifty miles to procure, and which are immediately buried, and taken out in small quantities to escape detection, may be ascribed their rapid decrease. The distribution of land to be cultivated is very unequal, the braves being governed more by a predilection for persons or families in making a division than by any principle of justice. The common men of the tribe who have never killed an enemy in battle have no voice in council. The present system of paying annuities to heads of families has had a salutary effect in breaking down, to some extent, the despotic influence of a few chiefs and braves. Now many of the common people are anxious to abandon their towns and have farms built for them. The agricultural fund of \$30,000 cannot be used unless the chiefs give their consent, which they refuse, as it would lessen their control over the separate fields. Keokuk is the only chief who is willing to have this fund applied to making separate fields.

“The practice of recognizing requests signed by chiefs to pay debts contracted by individuals as binding, and authorizing the amount to be deducted from the common annuities of the tribe, is well calculated to make Indians dishonest. An Indian who has been in the habit of paying all his debts, when he sees that his per capita annuity is taken to pay the debts of the dishonest or profligate portion of the tribe, who stand in with certain chiefs, feels the injustice of the rule, and often refuses to pay his debts when he has the ability and inclination to do so.”

Chenault thought the surplus lands should be opened up to white settlers by the government, and the Indians concentrated. This he believed would oblige the Sauks and Foxes to take up agriculture as a means of support, and spend their funds for educational purposes.<sup>38</sup> This is the beginning of the end in Kansas.

*The Agency of B. A. James, 1853-'57.*

George W. Manypenny, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, was sent to Kansas in 1853 to make treaties with the Indians, for the purpose of opening a portion of their territory to settlement, in accordance with the bills then under discussion in Congress.

B. A. James, of Missouri, was appointed agent for the Sauks and Foxes that year, and continued in that capacity for five years, a longer period than any except their friend, John Beach, who brought them to Kansas. The Indians promised Mr. James<sup>39</sup> that, if they did not sell their land, they intended to commence work and live like the whites. At their last payment they numbered about 2173. They had two gunsmiths, one blacksmith and an assistant. Their annuity was \$71,000 in money, forty kegs of tobacco, and forty barrels of salt. Twenty thousand of this annuity would expire with the salt and tobacco in 1862.

At this time there were great temperance societies and thousands were signing total abstinence pledges all over the United States, so Mr. James, seeing the great need of reform among the Sauk and Fox nation, held a council with them on the 16th of August, 1853, at which very nearly the whole nation was present. All the chiefs, braves and head men signed the following:

“We, the undersigned, chiefs, braves and head men of the Sauk and Fox tribe of Indians, do hereby promise our agent, B. A. James, and through him

NOTE 38.—Com'r Indian Affairs, 1852, p. 381.

NOTE 39.—Ibid, 1853, p. 342.



our great father at Washington City, that we will use all the means in our power to prevent our people from bringing liquor among us, and should any of our tribe go to the state [Missouri] for whisky, we pledge ourselves to inform our agent of it, in order that the same may be spilled."

It will be observed that Missouri then, as now, furnished all the "booze," and then, as now, "it was ordered to be spilled."

But Mr. James had a reason for excluding liquor, other than for the best good of the Indians; for although the Kansas-Nebraska bill was not passed until the next year, the project was in formation whereby Kansas was to be settled by slave owners before the North was aware of it, as was Missouri in 1821. Mr. James had brought his slaves with him and did not want them taught the drink habit. They built for themselves quarters near the agency residence.

The year 1854 was a dry one.<sup>40</sup> Very little corn, potatoes or other vegetables were raised. White settlers were coming in, and a doggery, eight miles from the agency, supplied the Indians with more liquor in six months than they had ever been known to use before. Missourians were rushing in with their slaves. Now isn't that like later temperance history in Kansas? It has been alternately dry and wet ever since. It shows that the habit, once formed, is hard to break, and that no matter how or when, or what may be the race, or the intelligence of the individual, alcohol always does its deadly work.

The season was so unfruitful that the Sauks and Foxes took an extended hunt, and, as game was scarce, went farther than usual—a hundred miles west of Fort Riley. During the summer of 1853,<sup>41</sup> the government had made its first treaty with the Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches at Fort Atkinson, and for certain presents they had agreed to allow the government to establish roads and military posts, to cease to molest travelers and to make incursions into Mexico. So, in this year of 1854, these Indians, together with some bands of Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Osages, gathered at the Pawnee Fork for the purpose of "wiping out" all the emigrant Indians they could find upon the plains.<sup>42</sup> Plainsmen said it was the largest gathering ever known on the Arkansas, and before their agent, John W. Whitfield, could reach them with their annuity, the warriors had started north. They numbered about 1500, and owned from 40,000 to 50,000 horses and mules. A hundred miles west of Fort Riley they came upon our hunters, only 100 in number. It was such a handful they thought they were going to have a picnic. With war whoops they charged; our braves rushing to the shelter of a ravine, where they took their stand. All attempts to dislodge them or drive them from the ravine proved fruitless. The Sauks and Foxes had guns and knew how to use them, not one bullet going astray. The majority of the attacking party used bows and arrows. Had they succeeded in driving the little band from their station out upon the prairie, they could have easily ridden them down and speared them. But they reckoned without their host, for the fire of these stalwart Indians was so fierce and furious that the 1500 plains Indians ingloriously fled, leaving their dead

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NOTE 40.—Comm'r Indian Affairs, 1854, p. 311.

NOTE 41.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1853, p. 359; Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 600.

NOTE 42.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1854, pp. 297, 312.

and wounded behind, a thing Indians do not do unless they are very badly whipped. The plains Indians lost 16 killed outright and 100 wounded, besides a number of horses, while our fighters lost only five or six killed. They were enabled by the swift flight of their enemy to get all their scalps, which they brought home with them to the agency, where they had a dance of victory. This battle occurred July 10, 1854.

The Sauks and Foxes accused the Osage Indians of doing all the execution in the fight against them, as they had fine guns, and as they were neighbors it was nothing short of treachery. After a month had elapsed, and it had been talked over, and the Osages had reached home, one young Sauk, whose brother had been killed in the battle, mounted his pony and rode to within 400 yards of an Osage encampment, where he met two Osage men, and shot and scalped one. He could have killed the other, but he had only one death to avenge; besides, he wanted the other to carry the news of what he had done to the village. He waited until he heard the cries of those in the camp for the dead warrior, and mounting his pony and carrying his scalp, he returned home. Thus we see that not only were the Sauks and Foxes honest, keeping their word, but brave, and relentless in executing revenge against treachery and injustice, and they proved also that after years of peace, and without any practice in warfare whatever, they could, when occasion required it, exhibit their fighting stock. This was the last battle in which the Sauks and Foxes engaged, and, considering the circumstances and the disparity of numbers, was as great a victory as was ever won by Black Hawk. We are glad they had one more opportunity to show their heroism and blue blood, and that they gained so brilliant a victory.

Mr. James says, in the same year, that "the Indians need a missionary in agriculture—a man to teach them how to farm, to work, to use the different kinds of tools, and above all to be with them and set an example before them." That was Mr. James's opportunity and privilege. But no; he was setting the example before them that a white man must not work, and that labor belonged to the black man, and was an inheritance to him forever.

The year 1855 saw bountiful crops and the beginning of the border war. Governor Reeder had arrived, and in due time was accused by Secretary Marcy (the same interesting old plotter who had helped to connive with Polk and his cabinet to bring on the Mexican war for the purpose of extending slave territory) of fraud in land deals with the Indians, and who, removed from office, was obliged to go East and answer to those charges, and to leave the state incognito in order to save his life. Secretary Woodson succeeded Reeder, and Governor Shannon succeeded Woodson that year. The capital was removed from Pawnee to Shawnee Mission, and the next year to Leocompton. Events crowded so fast and furious that we are led to believe that these things occupied Mr. James's mind largely, for although the first census of Kansas was taken that year, he does not give the enumeration of the Indians. But he does recognize the proslavery legislature, when he says, "An efficient law passed by the present legislature to prevent the sale of liquor to the Indians would do much toward their civilization," and then suggests that as the Indians have more land than they can possibly ever use, treaties should be made for a part of their lands.<sup>43</sup>

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NOTE 43.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1855, p. 425.

The year before seven treaties had been made in Washington, whereby seven tracts of land had been ceded in eastern Kansas by the Indians, and Missouri settlers were moving in with their slaves.

The following is Mr. James's record for 1856.<sup>44</sup>

"The Sauk and Fox Indians have made no advancement during my residence here. They are decreasing every year—they number 300 less than they did at my first enrollment. Liquor is the great drawback upon this tribe; we have doggeries all around us, and it is impossible to keep these Indians away from them. The men will not work."

Mr. James advances this suggestion toward the solution of the Indian problem:

"Not a dollar should ever be paid to an Indian in money. Supply him in goods, mechanical and agricultural implements, such as his wants require, but never give him money. If you wish to civilize an Indian you must first make him know that he is dependent upon his own exertions for a support; teach him how to work, and then to love it. After this is accomplished he is ready and fit to receive an education—not before."

The border war was on. Governor Woodson had declared the territory in a state of insurrection and rebellion; proslavery troops still intimidated the free-state settlers; Osawatomie had been sacked, and John Brown's son Frederick had been killed. Lawrence was the headquarters of the free-state forces, who organized for self-protection, and later indulged in some wholesome revenge. Individual free-state men gave shelter and aid to runaway slaves who succeeded in reaching Lawrence. To counteract this, a small body of proslavery troops, who had become too disreputable to be recognized by their former leader, Capt. H. Clay Pate, had a rendezvous a little bit to one side of the route from Missouri to Lawrence, near the edge of the Sauk and Fox reservation, some six miles from the agency, on government land, where they might intercept any negroes on their way to Lawrence, and take them into slave territory and sell them, retaining the money. Not only did they steal from the free-state settlers, but foraged upon proslavery men, and there was no crime in the category of crimes uncommitted by them. To put an end to these marauders, in the fall of 1856, a free-state company of thirty men, under Chas. W. Leonhardt, began their march from Lawrence at midnight. Upon reaching the neighborhood of the camp they divided into two companies, and slowly approached the ravine in which these men, the Shannon Guards, were lying about their camp fire. Each man of one platoon crept cautiously, advancing to within range, and knelt until they heard the approach across the ravine of the other platoon. The entrapped men sprang up, and in the stillness of the night the captain's order rang out deep and ominous, "Attention, company." The dazed men who had huddled around the camp fire attempted to seize their guns and form in line. But the free-state men had the drop on them. "Take aim!" Instantly every free-state man covered a border ruffian. "Fire!" Thirty rifles were instantaneously discharged, the roar of which was followed by awful, unearthly shrieks, reverberating through the ravine. Every one of the twenty-two men were dead, and they were immediately buried. Before daylight the free-state men had galloped to their respective homes, had

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NOTE 44.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1856, p. 677.



slipped into bed, their absence unnoticed, and an act of retribution, awful, severe and just (?) had been performed.<sup>45</sup>

For the year 1857, the agent reports:<sup>46</sup>

"At the spring payment there were 1367 Indians—381 less than in 1853. They did not cultivate all told more than 300 acres of land"; and adds, "nor will they do so as long as they receive so large an annuity. They live, with but three or four exceptions, in bark houses, shave their heads, dress with blankets and leggings, and universally paint. They go in the spring and fall to hunt buffalo, and are frequently short of provisions, and often steal hogs from the Ottawas."

*Agency Under Francis Tymony, 1858-'59.*

In 1858 a small body of the Sauks and Foxes of the Missouri were adopted<sup>47</sup> into the Sauk and Fox division of the Mississippi, the united tribes amounting to about 1330 members, a decrease of 37, plus the number of Missouri Indians, which Mr. Tymony does not state. He gives as a reason for this decline—

"Exposure and sickness brought on by their proximity to a dissolute and unprincipled white population which surrounds this reservation, who sell them liquor of the most poisonous kind, and receive their blankets and robes, leaving them exposed to the weather on the prairies, to take cold or fever."

There were two significant occurrences this year relating to the bone of contention in Kansas: President Buchanan said, "Slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the constitution of the United States. Kansas is therefore, at this moment, as much a slave state as South Carolina or Georgia."<sup>48</sup> The Kansas legislature having passed a law abolishing slavery, the governor appointed by the national Executive vetoed it.<sup>49</sup>

Agent Tymony called a council August 25, 1858. He too was a slaveholder and was getting anxious for the land he desired, and wanted new slave-holding neighbors.<sup>50</sup> Their principal men for the first time agreed that a mill and manual-labor school for their children would be a great benefit, but would not allow their funds used to procure them.

Mr. Tymony states that white settlers have farms within the northern borders of the reservation, and have cut much of the Indians' timber (this is hard on our Dragoon neighbors), and adds that the Indians suffer also

NOTE 45.—During Col. Richard J. Hinton's visit to Kansas in January, 1900, while in the rooms of the Historical Society, he called for James Redpath's "Roving Editor," and turning to page 346, he said he had given the author the information there recorded regarding the "Fate of the — Guards," that the leader of the free-state company was Gen. Chas. W. Leonhardt, and that it was himself who had fainted at the first volley. Colonel Hinton stated that before starting out on this expedition he had satisfied himself that the victims were worthy of death. They were men who had been discarded by the more reputable proslavery military parties. Colonel Leonhardt is said to have at one time contemplated publishing a volume embracing, among other early Kansas material, this story.

NOTE 46.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1857, p. 184.

NOTE 47.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, 1858, p. 118.

NOTE 48.—From message of President Buchanan, transmitting Leecompton constitution to Congress, February 2, 1858.

NOTE 49.—Kansas territorial legislature, Council Journal, 1858, p. 263.

NOTE 50.—Mrs. Fanny Goodell Nadeau, in writing of slavery at the agency, says all the agents from Handy to James kept slaves, all were Democrats (proslavery men), and the first free-state man was Perry Fuller. She also says that none of the Sauks and Foxes ever owned slaves; and she was happy to say there were no mixed bloods, save one, and that was occasioned by a marriage with one of the refugee Indians who came up from the South, in whom was some negro blood, although it was not known at the time.

from horse thieves, and recommends that a small company of dragoons should be stationed in or near the reservation to protect the Indians. A state of war still existed between the Comanches and Sauks and Foxes, but the agent prevented his charges from going on a war expedition that summer.

In the latter part of October, 1858, agent Tymony, aided by United States soldiers under Lieut. O. H. Fish, present at the agency to keep peace at the payment, resisted the United States marshal in the arrest of persons charged with the murder, the previous August, of — Johnson and Roswell Shaw, who had been accused of horse stealing. The murderers, among whom were two Randol, (or Randall) the same surname as the agency trader Harker S. Randol, had taken refuge at the agency, and escaped through Tymony's action, greatly exasperating the people of Franklin county. Tymony was arrested by order of the United States district court for resisting process, but secured bail. Seven letters, October 17–29, 1858, have been found in the archives relative to this affair, written by Tymony, acting governor H. S. Walsh, Joel K. Goodin, and Associate Justice Rush Elmore.

*The Agency Under Perry Fuller, 1859–'60.*

As early as 1858 certain speculators coveted the Sauk and Fox lands. This tribe had been besought for the past six years to sell their surplus lands, to be opened up for the extension of "the institution," but so far the wary Indians had refused. Consequently the Sauk and Fox lands in Osage county were never cursed with slavery other than through the agent's family, though Fry P. McGee held slaves at the 110 crossing. Mr. Fuller<sup>51</sup> took charge of the agency for these speculators in May, 1859. He reports the number of Sauks and Foxes as 1237, a decrease of 93 the past year; the per capita payment as \$28; the valuation of property, \$69,422.

Evidently in his management Mr. Fuller was smooth. He states that on the 21st of June the chiefs had unitedly, with most of the braves, called upon him to attend a council, the object being to make a treaty. Their anxiety caused him to examine into the matter, which satisfied him there was a growing conviction of years' duration among them, that their interest would be better subserved by a concentration of their people on a small reservation, with influences provoking to industry. He thinks they could

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NOTE 51.—The parents of Perry Fuller died of cholera in 1832 or 1833, leaving four children. Dr. Charles Chandler, of Chandlerville, Cass county, Ill., found homes for the two older children and took the two youngest to raise himself. Perry he bound to him and gave him a good education. When he was married to Miss Sarah Keethley, in 1852, Doctor Chandler gave him a start in life. The next year Perry Fuller emigrated to Sonora, Atchison county, Mo., and leaving his wife there with her brother-in-law, George W. Logan, went to Westport landing. Here he soon found employment with Northrup & Chick, in their warehouse, receiving \$5.00 a day checking goods from the steamboats, and soon sent for his wife. He was a bright and handsome young man, and seems to have gained the good will of his employers. When Kansas was opened for settlement Fuller took a claim at Centropo's, Franklin county. Colonel Chick said to him, "You will have to stay on your claim until you prove up. The Sauk and Fox agency is near. You build a store and we will let you have goods on credit to trade with them." He sold, it is said, \$40,000 worth of goods the first year. Perry Fuller was interested in the Minneola capital scheme, building a store at that place, which was opened by Thomas McCage, who had married his eldest sister. He supported Thomas Carney for Governor. Fuller was appointed agent of the Sauks and Foxes by President Buchanan, serving through 1859 and 1860. He was appointed collector of imports at New Orleans by Andrew Johnson, but was removed by General Grant. He died suddenly in Washington about 1873, a comparatively poor man. Mr. Fuller was a staunch supporter of Senator Ross in the troubles growing out of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. Doctor Chandler was long an intimate friend of Lincoln, and Fuller used to say that he could not remember the day he did not know Lincoln. It is probably this early acquaintance that gave him some prestige in Lincoln's time. He had great political influence in Kansas during the period of the war.





MOSES KEOKUK.  
Second successor to Keokuk.

JOHN GOODELL.  
Interpreter.

SHAW-PAW-KAW-KAH.  
Black Hawk Band.

spare 290,133 of the 435,200 acres of land they then possessed on the Osage, or Marais des Cygnes, river.

James Buchanan was President. The Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Thompson, sent A. B. Greenwood<sup>52</sup> to the Sauk and Fox agency to negotiate the treaty. At the council of October 1, 1859, when this treaty was presented for the signature of the chiefs and head men, Shaw-paw-kaw-kah made a speech before the commissioner and the agent, Perry Fuller, which was interpreted by John Goodell. This speech was reported to me by Geo.

NOTE 52.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1859, pp. 520, 381.



W. Logan, who heard it delivered. It was not only a just arraignment, but a prophecy that was later fulfilled.

SHAW-PAW-KAW-KAH'S SPEECH.

"I submit to the commissioners and the Great Father that this whole arrangement, from the commencement to the end, is to consume our treasury, and to give into the hands of the speculators our money and our lands, to make us poor and dependent, and to degrade us; and finally to take our lands from us that we own here. We will eventually have to surrender this diminished reservation. We will have to give up the graves of our fathers and mothers, and their bones will be dug up, and the sacred emblems that are buried with them will be made a show of by the same men that call us heathen, and are trying to teach us a new religion. Even now we have to hide our dead ones. Their graves have been polluted. We find their bones on the roadside and in the windows of offices in our midst.

"You will waste \$5000 a year on the mixed-blood children, whose fathers are the very worst of the white race and the refuse of the earth. They brought to the agency whisky and tobacco, and taught the Indians to swear, and their children have proved universally bad.

"Of course, I will be compelled to sign these papers, but I sign them under protest, knowing in my own heart that there is no good in it for the Indians."

The Indians ceded<sup>53</sup> in trust to the government a strip six and one-half miles wide from the eastern side of the reserve, embracing all of their lands in Franklin county, and on the west all their lands west of the east line of range 16, Osage county, comprising in all 300,000 acres, reserving for themselves 153,600 acres within the original tract, twelve miles wide by twenty miles north and south. The diminished reserve was to be apportioned as follows: To every full-blood Indian, 80 acres of land; for the agency, 160 acres, and a quarter section for the establishment and support of a school<sup>54</sup> Each Indian was to be given a certificate of title to his land, subject to the control and under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. Of the trust lands, the treaty gave every half-breed 320 acres, and to every squaw that had married a white man the same. The allotment of Thos. Connelly, a half-breed, was to include "Randal's" dwelling and trading house. The remainder was to be sold under sealed bids for the benefit of the Indians, and especially for the payment of their debts. The agency in Franklin county was to be abandoned, and a new agency built. Each man's farm was to be fenced and a house built for him.

The treaty was signed by all the chiefs save Maw-me-wah-ne-kah, who was bitterly opposed to the whole plan. He was a minor chief, however, and the treaty was sent to Washington, where it was ratified by Congress June 27, 1860, hence it is called the treaty of 1860. Mr. James, upon leaving the agency for Missouri, freed the family of slaves which he had brought with him in 1853. Hon. H. F. Sheldon, of Ottawa, informs me in a recent letter that the father of this family was named Garrison James, the mother was Frances, and they had seven children, named America, Marion, Minnie, Maria, Edith and William; name of the other not known. In 1867 Garrison James bought eighty acres of land about five miles southwest of Ottawa, living there until 1890, when he sold and went to Oklahoma. None of the

NOTE 53.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 796.

NOTE 54.—Mrs. Fuller suggested the designation of land for school purposes, it is said. She was a most noble woman.

family remain in Franklin county, but William is said to be living at Lawrence.

In 1860 occurred the great drought,<sup>55</sup> and the people suffered but did not lose heart or faith. Politics ran high and food was scarce. The Indians were obliged to depend largely upon themselves, and were hunting most of the time. Mr. Fuller gives the enumeration as 1280 individuals; property, \$70,622; annual payment, \$35,500; and remarks that "All the members of the nation with whom I have conversed express themselves as well pleased with the late treaty, and want its provisions carried out at once." There were 160 children of school age, and "the reflecting portion of the tribe are anxious to have schools established. The nation has been much annoyed and injured by unprincipled whites who have stolen their ponies and horses, and committed other depredations upon their property," yet they did not at any time manifest a disposition to retaliate upon the offenders, but trusted to the government to make it right with them. The site for the new agency was chosen, and the first load of lumber was hauled for the new building by George W. Logan, whose wife was a sister of Perry Fuller's wife, and who has since lived continuously in Quenemo, then the agency site, and to whom we are largely indebted for information. While the building of the new agency is going on let us get acquainted with a few prominent individuals of the nation.

We have already been introduced to Moses Keokuk; then there was Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, the orator. Although not speaking nor understanding English, his gestures were perfect, his expression and intonation commanding, until it was an inspiration to listen to him, though not understanding what he said. He had but one wife, Wau-pes-se-taw, two daughters and a son.

The agency interpreter was John Goodell, a white man, who had been adopted into the tribe. He was a Christian, a Methodist, and had an influence for good, for civilization and a higher life. He lived with the tribe continuously as one of them, loved and respected by all, until his death at the Quenemo agency. He had married an Indian woman, Mrs. Julia Mitchell, July 4, 1840, in Iowa, and together they shared the fortunes and misfortunes of the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi. Mrs. Julia Mitchell Goodell, whose picture is here given, was the most remarkable woman of the tribe. During the Black Hawk War, when the Sauks and Foxes were hard pressed, the squaws packed hastily, and moved to safer ground. Mrs. Mitchell placed her few belongings on her pony, and swung her child upon her back. In the course of her flight it became necessary to swim the Wisconsin river near where it empties into the Mississippi, and where it is deep and swift and wide. Driving her pony before her, with her baby on her back, she plunged fearlessly into the stream. The pony drowned, but Mrs. Mitchell and little Mary gained the opposite shore in safety, a feat but few braves themselves could have accomplished. Two years later, while at the mission school one Sunday afternoon, Mrs. Mitchell took a walk along the river, and strolled upon a sand bar in the stream. Thinking of her little hair-covered trunk, she saw the corner of something sticking out of the sand, and with her foot pushed the sand away. She could hardly believe it could be her trunk, but kept digging, and when she got it out, it was her

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NOTE 55.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1860, p. 110.



MRS. JULIA GOODELL.  
Who swam the river with child on her back.

own trunk. Like the old-time custom, her bunch of keys was on a brass chain hanging to her belt. She took the key and unlocked the water-soaked trunk and saw her things, but as she took hold of them they went to pieces, excepting the silver brooches that were on her clothes, and silver coins. Her pocketbook that had been given her, and which was filled with bills taken from someone, she never knew who, was soaked, and the bills as she touched them fell to pieces.

The baby, little Mary Mitchell, was adopted by Lieut. Wm. Hill. He died soon, however, and her next guardian was a Mr. Moore, a sutler at Fort Crawford, near Prairie Du Chien, Wis. She was educated at a Quaker school in Philadelphia, and when very young married a young white man by the name of Thomas Means. She had a serious and hard trial by his desertion of her for a young white woman.

Although she did not remember of

ever having seen her mother, in her trouble she joined her and John Goodell at the Sauk and Fox agency in Kansas, in 1848. At this time she was known as Mrs. Mary Means.

Mrs. Goodell thought much of her people, always attending their feasts, etc. She said she did not want to lose her influence. The Goodells were always doing for others, and their home was an asylum for the orphans, the sick and the afflicted. They adopted twin children, whom they named Fanny and Isaac Goodell, and upon whom they bestowed the same care and attention, and gave the same privileges, or even better, than they did their own. This was probably due to the fact that their only son, John Goodell, and their only daughter, Sarah, were older than these twins, and the educational advantages were better later. Yet they had been taught at home, and were able to speak and write English and knew the use of figures. Mrs. Julia Goodell died at the Sauk and Fox agency, Oklahoma, January 8, 1880.

Among the more advanced people of the reserve were Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, the orator of the nation, the first man among them who favored education; Longhorn and his son and grandson, Jack Miles, Willie Harris, and the Whistler family. Mr. McCoonse, who communed with the Great Spirit and was chief of the neighboring Chippewas, and Mr. William Hurr, an Ottawa, were with them and exerted their influence for good. There were also Henry C. Jones, Moses Keokuk's young son Charley, his two little sisters, Walter Battice, Chief Chick-o-skuk and his son Joe, every one of them with long Indian names, all living the simple life, just on the dawn of a better one.



It was during Mr. Fuller's time that Rev. R. P. Duvall<sup>56</sup> and wife were sent by the Kansas Methodist Conference as missionaries to the Sauks and Foxes. Both were devoted, and saw a virgin field of usefulness, and their coming was opportune. Mr. Duvall gathered about him those who would hear, and talked to them, while Mr. Goodell interpreted. Among the things Mrs. Duvall brought with her to the far West was a little, old-fashioned, sweet-toned melodeon, which she used in their church worship, and the Indians flocked to see her play it, and to hear the singing; and as Mr. Goodell interpreted the words, they got a good many lessons of divine truth. That melodeon, the singing, and the real, genuine love and affection that this devoted couple had for the Indians won their hearts and consent for a school to learn the white man's books. Mr. and Mrs. Richard Duvall lived at the mission for two years.

*The Agency Under Clinton C. Hutchinson, 1861-'62.*

It was during Mr. Hutchinson's term as agent here, having also under his care the Chippewas, Munsees and Ottawas, that the Ottawas provided by their treaty of 1862 for a tribal school. Mr. Hutchinson was a member of the Kansas Baptist Convention of 1860, and was a member of the committee<sup>57</sup> on an educational institution. He was still a member of that committee when the convention of 1864, at Ottawa,<sup>58</sup> adopted a report favoring the establishment of the Ottawa University, which succeeded to the endowment, in some measure, of the tribal school.

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NOTE 56.—Rev. RICHARD P. DUVALL was born in Zanesville, Ohio, April 7, 1829, and was licensed to preach in 1853, having finished his education at Ohio Wesleyan University. In 1854 he was appointed as a supply on a circuit in Northern Ohio Conference, and in 1855 was appointed to the Adrian work. He came to Kansas in 1856; was present at the organization of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference, held at Lawrence, October, 1856. He was the first man to receive orders from the Methodist Conference on Kansas soil. In the latter part of 1856 he married Miss Sarah C. Black, of Kalida, Ohio.

Mr. Duvall took an active part on the missionary and other committees from 1856 to 1871, when he was placed on the supernumerary list, and, with the consent of Conference, attended Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. During his service in Kansas he had the following appointments: Oskaloosa, in 1856; circuit of Quindaro, Wyandot and Delaware, in 1857; Spring Hill, 1858-'59; Sauk and Fox agency, Greenwood, 1860-'61; chaplain of Sixth Kansas Volunteers, 1862-'63, address, Fort Scott; Sauk and Fox agency, Osage county, 1863-'65; Centropolis, 1866; Manhattan, 1867-'68; Holton, 1869-'70.

He was secretary of the Missionary Society of Conference in 1859, when \$700 was appropriated for Indian missions, as against \$600 in 1857. He began his work in 1860 with the Sauks and Foxes at Greenwood, at their agency, from which place he reported 20 members, 2 Sunday schools with 10 officers and teachers, 65 pupils, 2 Bible classes, expense \$35, library of 300 volumes. The persons enrolled undoubtedly included the white people connected with the agency. In 1862 the call of war was stronger than that of missions, for Mr. Duvall was mustered into the Sixth Kansas Volunteers on March 7, serving until June 18, 1863, date of resignation.

He resumed work with the Sauks and Foxes on their new reservation in Osage county, with agency on the present site of Quenemo. In the conference of 1865 he proposed a plan to erect an orphanage for Indian children at Baldwin City. He received the approval of Conference to visit the East with a delegation of Indians to raise funds for this purpose, but no appropriation was made to assist in this matter, and as the funds furnished by the government and Indians were insufficient, he decided to resign his hopeless task as missionary. He was given a station at Centropolis in 1866. His services were greatly missed at the agency, for Agent Martin, Keokuk and other chiefs, with an interpreter, attended the conference of 1866, Keokuk making a personal appeal for a missionary. They commended the work of Mr. Duvall, and proposed to make provision for this work in a treaty then pending. Mr. Duvall also urged the appointment of a missionary to the Indians in the Indian Territory to take the field where the Methodist Episcopal Church South had worked prior to the Civil War.

His last station in Kansas was at Holton, in 1870. After a season at the Garrett Institute, he returned to Ohio and preached in the Toledo district. He was in failing health three years before his death, which occurred at Ottawa, Ohio, February 7, 1874, aged 45 years.

NOTE 57.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1860, p. 831; Kansas Baptist Convention Minutes, 1862, p. 8.

NOTE 58.—Kansas Baptist Convention Minutes, 1864, pp. 7, 8.

Mr. Hutchinson's report<sup>59</sup> runs as follows:

"August 8 [1861] I paid this tribe one-half of their semiannual payment, \$17,500. The roll used shows 392 men, 484 women and 465 children. This payment was deferred by the department, and all the numerous deaths since the previous payment in October, 1860, caused no reduction in the number, as the persons dying were allowed to be reckoned by their friends. All the Indians suffered materially from last year's drought. In their makeshifts for life their little personal property was considerably reduced. This I estimate at \$67,050."

More than half the tribe was by this time located on their individual property.

"Under the late administration a contract was made for the erection of 350 houses, together with mission buildings, and ploughed and fenced fields. One hundred and five houses<sup>60</sup> were completed last winter. By efforts of the department this contract was recently modified for the benefit of the Indians. Most of the tribe are pleased with the idea of sheltering themselves from the inclemency of the season in comfortable houses, and all are extremely anxious to have the fields fenced and ploughed."

The individual ownership of a few tools and some stock he hoped would prove an inducement toward the arts of civilized life. Many of the leading men were anxious for schools.

The agency farm had a council house and agent's residence. A mansion was built for Moses Keokuk, the hall and stairway being finished in solid, polished walnut, which is to this day most beautiful. In all, six houses were built for chiefs, etc., including a large house for Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, which he occupied only in stormy or severe weather, and a house for Chick-o-skuk, who was the Fox chief. There were at least 164 frame and stone houses built for other members of the tribe in the valley of the Marais des Cygnes, varying in size from 16x18 to 18x30 feet, having two rooms and a large porch each. The bottoms of the windows were placed six and one-half feet from the floor, so no one could see out or in. The government spent at least \$139,915.55 on the buildings, but the report does not show the cost of the fencing and breaking. These improvements were not the wish of the Indians, but the idea of white men that it was the correct plan to pursue to civilize them. A rich harvest was reaped by Robert S. Stevens, who certainly must have had some hold on the administration. Price's report, mentioned elsewhere, says:

"In July [1865] Agent Hutchinson notified this office that the houses were not finished according to contract—they lacked underpinning, were sinking into the ground, and would prove worthless for dwellings; also, that the ploughing was imperfectly done, leaving the ground in a worse condition for farming purposes than if it had not been touched."

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NOTE 59.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1861, p. 61.

NOTE 60.—The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865, pp. 549-551, contains report of F. Price, showing disposition of Sauk and Fox trust-land receipts, including money paid Robert S. Stevens for the erection of houses. Edwards Bros.' Atlas of Osage county, 1879, p. 7, describes houses and disposition made of them by the Indians. Commissioner William P. Dole, in 1861, says: "My predecessor, Mr. Greenwood, negotiated a treaty with this tribe in 1859, providing for a distribution in severalty of eighty acres of land to each of its members, and the sale of their surplus lands to provide means to establish them in agricultural pursuits under favorable circumstances, and subsequently contracted for the building of houses for the various families upon their allotments. One hundred and five of these dwellings were built before I entered upon the discharge of the duties of commissioner. Believing it to be bad policy to build houses for Indians, instead of assisting and encouraging them to build for themselves, and that the prices stipulated were exorbitant, I ordered the work to be suspended. This order created so much dissatisfaction on the part of those Indians whose houses had not been built that I was induced to compromise with the contractor, and continue the work under other specifications and at greatly reduced prices." Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1861, p. 12.

The Indians abandoned their houses, carried off the doors and windows, and traded them for whisky or sold them to the surrounding settlers, taking whatever they could get, and used the frames as stables for their horses. Many of these houses were subsequently burned in prairie fires. Stevens worked the same scheme with the Kaw Indians. Not one of the smaller houses remains.

#### THE REFUGEE INDIANS.

During the early part of the Civil War the South made an attempt to enlist the tribes of the Indian Territory against the government. In many cases this divided the members of the tribe against themselves; and finally those loyal to the United States were obliged to leave their reservations and take refuge in Kansas. Among those stationed at the new Sauk and Fox agency were Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, Eucheas, Choctaws and Kickapoos. The intensely loyal old Creek chief, O-poth-le-go-ho-la, died there. The government sent the missionary of the Cherokees, who had lived among them for many years and who at the opening of hostilities had been obliged to flee north, to meet them in Kansas. Mr. Logan took him in his spring wagon to see his charges one beautiful spring morning in 1862. When they recognized their missionary, whom they had known and loved for many years, and whom they were not expecting, their joy was unbounded and such a reception as they gave him, as he stood in the back of that wagon, with shouts and tears, and words of welcome in Cherokee, that none but themselves and their missionary could understand!<sup>61</sup>

Major Hutchinson was anxious for all the Sauks and Foxes to occupy their farms, but Maw-me-wah-ne-kah, the Fox chief, refused to enroll for the allotment, and used his influence to prevent others from doing so. For this reason Agent Hutchinson removed him from his chieftainship, and with eleven families he returned to Tama, Iowa, where the Mesquite band had remained when the Sauks and Foxes left Iowa in 1845. Although the Kansas Sauks and Foxes have always been willing that the Iowa band should return, a few individuals only have done so, and are now living with the tribe in Oklahoma. They are all on good terms, however, and there is much visiting back and forth among them.<sup>62</sup>

At the new agency at this time the Goodell family kept a hotel, where the weary traveler found a genuine welcome, and where the great mother heart of Mrs. Goodell found opportunities for charity. There were also at the agency Henry Hudson Wiggins, the blacksmith, and family; William Whistler, the trader, who married Sarah Goodell, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John Goodell, and who was a member of the Kansas legislature of 1871; George Logan and family; Perry Fuller, who had a big store; S. M. Black, the United States marshal, and family, and a few others.

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NOTE 61.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1862, p. 170; 1863, pp. 184, 189, 176, 179, 198.

NOTE 62.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1866, p. 271: "This Maw-me-wau-ne-kah was at that time considered the Fox chief, and rather than be compelled to live in civilized houses and send their children to school, in 1861 he, with eleven families, went to Tama City, Iowa. None ever returned to stay—only returned from time to time for payment. Chick-o-skuk was then appointed Fox chief, and he was always in favor of schools. Ever since then the Foxes have tried to establish themselves in Iowa and the Sauk Indians down here, but not altogether, because Chick-o-skuk's band remained down here—for I am a Fox Indian, and many others. We claim this branch of the Sauk and Fox Indians in Oklahoma is the main branch of the Mississippi Sauk and Fox Indians, in that all treaties made with the government are made and entered into by this branch, and most of them being Sauks, it would naturally follow that the Sauks were the best, and furthermore, this branch has always favored education."—Walter Battice, June 1, 1910.



As Mr. Hutchinson has much to say for 1862,<sup>63</sup> we will quote:

"In the season for drying corn and pumpkins the Sauks and Foxes leave their houses, so long have they led a nomadic life, and pitch their tents in the midst of the ripened crops. In shelling and drying the corn and cutting the golden pumpkins, with which poles suspended in crotched sticks and trees soon become festooned, all the females, young and old, gleefully unite. I do not find the Indian the taciturn stoic I had been led to expect. . . . By themselves these Indians are as talkative and pleasant as whites, and I venture there sits in the world no council of state wherein more jokes are cracked, and retorts indulged in, always in the best of humor, than pass between the chiefs and braves of the Sauk and Fox council. These Indians have worn more shoes, hats and other garments of civilization this season than ever before. They have got two or three wagons, owned by Missouri Sauks who have moved among them, and in these have broken several pairs of ponies. . . . I have tried the potency of the law upon liquor sellers, but they are too wary to come upon the reservation, but are numerous around it in every direction. They can afford to pay a heavy fine every year if they can have an unmolested trade. The whisky cost in Leavenworth, being the cheapest and most poisonous kind, about twenty cents a gallon, and they sell it for from one to five dollars a gallon, and well watered. If Indians could not obtain it otherwise they would ride fifty miles for it, and if necessary pawn their last saddle and ride home bareback; or if in warm weather, sell their last blanket and go home naked. The roll at the last payment gave 1180 in all.

"One of the bands while out on the hunt this summer was surrounded by a party of Comanches, two of their women were taken prisoners, and all of their ponies stolen. Some of their tribe have procured a few hens, hogs and cattle. Most of the houses are occupied. Mission buildings have been erected, and most of the tribe are anxious for a school. One hundred acres of the mission farm and forty acres of the agency farm were fenced and broken this summer, and the whole put into sod corn. Refugee Cherokees did this work, but the drouth reduced it to fodder.

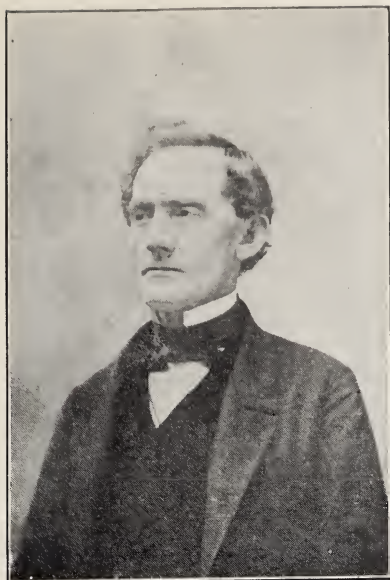
"I am sorry to report that a small party of these Indians recently visited the Kaw Indians and killed one of their most industrious men in an unprovoked assault. The Sauks and Foxes repudiate the act and desire the leaders punished. They also sent a messenger to the Kaws and offered to pay the relations of the deceased in ponies and goods. This arrangement was satisfactory to the Kaws. Without the gifts they would be entitled to take the life of a Sauk or Fox in revenge. As a characteristic of the Indian, I may mention that previous to sending the murderers prisoners to Fort Leavenworth, I obtained a promise from them, made in the presence of their chief Keokuk and other witnesses, that they would not attempt to escape if I left them unchained. They well knew they were going into confinement for some great offense, and as the leader of the party had previously killed two squaws of his own nation, whence he had derived the cognomen of Squaw killer, yet this batch of criminals kept their promise, and quietly went away seventy miles to prison, under the guidance of two unarmed men."

*The Agency Under Maj. H. W. Martin,*<sup>64</sup> 1862-'67.

Maj. H. W. Martin was in the Indian Territory when he received notice of his appointment to the Sauk and Fox agency from Commissioner W. P. Dole, in October, 1862, and began his service December 22. His assistants were: Interpreter, John Goodell; blacksmith, Henry Hudson Wiggins; gun-

NOTE 63.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1862, p. 106.

NOTE 64.—Maj. HENRY WOODSON MARTIN was born in Prestonburg, Ky., March 7, 1817, and died at his home on West Broadway, Mount Vernon, Ill., January 15, 1901. He resided in Kentucky until he was twenty-one years of age, when he moved to Illinois and settled at Paris, where for eighteen years he was engaged in the mercantile business under the firm name of Booth & Martin. In 1856 he emigrated to Kansas and settled at Tecumseh, near Topeka, where for many years he was prominent in the mercantile business. Here, in 1858, he became a charter member of the Kansas Odd Fellows, and first grand treasurer. He served in the Kansas state



HENRY W. MARTIN,  
Indian Agent.

and house of William Whistler and his wife, Sarah Goodell. Doctor Wiley had a house, and then there was the tavern of Mr. Goodell. There were two mission buildings on the hill about a mile from the agency. I can remember Keokuk's house."

The Indians by this time were divided among themselves as to whether they wished to be educated or not. Many did not object so much to education as to the white man's religion. They had much honor, as we have already seen, and their word was sacred. They judged a white man's religion by his life, and that is a just judgment. The great majority of the white men associated with them were tricky and dishonest, teaching the young men vices instead of virtues. Geo. W. Logan<sup>65</sup> is my authority for the following bit of Sauk and Fox theology:

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legislature of 1862. In moving to Kansas in 1856 he came just in time to pass through many thrilling scenes in the border warfare which preceded the rebellion. June 23, 1862, he was appointed special Indian agent to go with the military expedition which was then advancing upon the Indian Territory. His mission was to secure the loyalty of the Indians to the federal government, and their enlistment in the Union army. He served several months each with both the First and Second Indian regiments, where he ranked as major. He was appointed agent in October, 1862, of the Sauk and Fox Indians, beginning his service on the 23d of December. This position he held for five years. During this time, in company with several Indian chiefs, he visited Washington. In 1880 he moved to Eureka Springs, Ark., and after a residence there of twelve years, moved to Mount Vernon, where he resided with his daughter, Mrs. Bettie Cunningham. April 26, 1843, at Paris, Ill., he was united in marriage to Miss Catherine, daughter of Rev. John W. McReynolds, a prominent pioneer Methodist preacher. His wife, three sons and two daughters survive him. He was converted and joined the Methodist Episcopal church in Paris sixty years ago [1841], and until enfeebled by age was active in church life, holding many positions of trust in the church, of which he was a continuous member until he was translated to the church triumphant above. He was a true friend of the Indian, and always had their best interest at heart, and as long as he was agent kept them from being cheated. He was greatly beloved by them and called their "honest agent."

NOTE 65.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1863, p. 25<sup>o</sup>.

NOTE No. 66.—GEORGE W. LOGAN was born in Belmont county, Ohio, in 1830, and moved

smith, George Anderson; doctor, Albert A. Wiley; marshal, S. M. Black, and a deputy; trader, Thomas C. Stevens, who lived in Leavenworth; his storekeeper and the postmaster, Mr. William Whistler; missionary, Rev. R. P. Duvall, and matron, Mrs. Duvall. Major Martin and Mr. Duvall were both in the war when the former received his appointment, and learning of Mr. Duvall's having already lived with the Sauks and Foxes for two years, and his partial knowledge of their language, Major Martin urged him to accept the position as missionary, and to open the school, which these good people did April 1, 1863.<sup>65</sup>

Of the buildings at the new agency Bettie Cunningham says:

"We lived in the agent's house, a two-story frame. The office was in the corner of the yard, and the council house just outside the gate. The blacksmith, gunsmith and carpenter all had houses. There was the store

"Good Indians held communion with the Great Spirit, and had revelations from him. Their religion was of a spiritual nature, and you might as well differ with one of our good Methodist mothers who has felt the pardoning power of grace as with them. Shaw-paw-kaw-kah and McCoonse were among the number who held direct communication with the Great Spirit. McCoonse, a neighborly Chippewa, used to get very much excited and walk the floor, back and forth, like other zealots do, and say: 'Take white man seven years to learn theology; Indian learn him in one hour. Great gulf between the world and far hunting ground. Good Indian make him a straight pole (straight pole meaning a good life and perfect character); comes to the deep gulf (river of death) lays it over, shuts his eyes (in death), walks straight over into the happy hunting grounds.

"Bad Indian makes him crookety pole (bad life and character), comes to the gulf, lay pole over, shuts his eyes, crookety pole turns over, bad Indian falls into deep gulf, water carries him away. Bad Indian lost."

We submit this to be sound doctrine. It's a man's life and character that counts. The true possessor of grace will lead an honorable, honest, pure life, in word, deed and thought. A professed Christian who gambles, swears, drinks, overreaches his neighbor, or cheats in trade, will find when he reaches the "great gulf, lays down his pole, shuts his eyes," that he has a "crookety pole, and is lost." After all, we are all one in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Agent Martin's family consisted of himself, wife and two daughters, Bettie and Kate. Bettie taught a school for the white children in the council house, just outside the yard of the agent's residence. She was a great friend of Mrs. Duvall's and rode her pony Fonta out to the mission, a mile distant, and back, every day. When Mrs. Duvall had gathered together seven children from the wigwams, she opened her school. We quote from her letter:

"We had the children of three chiefs. Shaw-paw-kaw-kah's two daughters, Pioke, who was named Jane Goodell, and whom John Goodell adopted;

with his parents to Beardstown, Cass county, Illinois, in 1835, in the neighborhood of the Sauk and Fox Indians. Beardstown was the rendezvous of the state militia in the Black Hawk war.

Here he learned Indian words, and as a child became deeply interested in the Indian. He was well acquainted with Sylvia and Amanda Hall, who were captured by the Indians during the Black Hawk war, also with Henry E. Dumner and Rev. Redrick Horn, a Methodist minister, who made the treaty with the Indians and purchased the girls. Mr. Logan first came in 1852 to the Sauks and Foxes of the Missouri, who still live on the state line between Kansas and Nebraska. Previous to this, in about 1847, he had joined "the army of the invasion," organized by Owen Lovejoy and other abolitionists for the purpose of destroying slavery. As a member of the order, he was finally assigned to duty on the border, and went to Civil Bend, Iowa, from which place he examined the country on both sides of the river to Lamar, Mo. Civil Bend, Mr. Logan says, has since been washed into the Missouri, but the Iowa Historical Society has not been able to locate the town. The country on the west side of the river was uninhabited save by Indians and their agents, and at that time any white man was looked upon with suspicion unless he had a specific mission, with paper to show that fact; besides, there were no settlements. He was forced to operate, with eleven others assigned to that territory, in working on an underground railway from Lamar to Civil Bend. When this route was laid out upon the east side of the river, he returned to Illinois, and was married the 30th of December, 1852, at Sand Prairie, Cass county, Illinois, at the home of Perry Fuller, to Miss Ann Eliza Keethley, and returned west with his wife to Atchison county, Missouri, where they went to housekeeping in an abandoned house built by the fur traders on the bank of the Missouri, living there one year. He lived on the border in the work of the underground from 1852 to 1857, when he removed to the Sauk and Fox reservation at the old agency in what is now Greenwood township Franklin county, Kansas, living the first winter in one of the houses in the negro quarters where James and his predecessors kept their house slaves.

Mr. Logan was a freighter, and hauled lumber and provisions for the agency from Lawrence and Westport. Being a brother-in-law of Perry Fuller, he was employed in the removal from the old agency to the new agency quarters at Quenemo. He continued freighting and had steady employment. He has resided continuously in Quenemo ever since the time of the establishment of the agency. Here ten children were born to them, only four remaining: Albert Logan, Carleton Logan, Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Arnold. Mrs. Logan died some years ago. Mr. Logan makes his home with his son Albert W. Logan, in Quenemo, a very prosperous business man, who owns the old mill built for the Indians and afterward owned and operated by Edward Fuller, son of Perry Fuller. Of course this mill has been refitted and practically rebuilt until it is entirely modern, turning out some of the finest products in this state. Mr. Logan has been quite prominent in Osage county politics in the past. The mantle, however, has now fallen upon his son.



and Emma, who was subsequently renamed Elizabeth Dole, Joe, the son of the Fox chief Chick-o-skuk, and a handsome, commanding appearing little fellow we called Colonel Battice. I will never forget Longhorn, a brave, an old man with a grandson. As we started away with the little three-year-old boy, the grandfather placed a little red blanket on his arm and looking up into my face, said, "Make him big man. He go to Washington." Keokuk's son Charley was our interpreter."

During the absence of the Duvall's, John Goodell had sent his son John and foster children, Isaac, Fanny and Jane, to school at Baldwin. Some way this did not please Mrs. Goodell, and she sent Fanny to Leavenworth, in company with Virginia James, daughter of B. A. James, to the convent of the Sisters of Charity, and on their return home from school Bettie and Kate Martin and Fannie and Jane Goodell were much together, and were much in the saddle.

Agent Martin reported<sup>67</sup> the enrollment in 1863 as men, 287; women, 397; children, 309; total, 975; personal property, \$60 each.

"By the necessary encouragement all the fields and patches were planted to corn, beans and pumpkins, and they have raised plenty to supply their wants. They commence harvesting the crop as soon as it gets to be roasting ears, by putting the corn into water and heating it boiling hot, when they take it out and cut it from the cob and spread it on hides and blankets in the sun until thoroughly dried, when it is packed away in rawhide sacks, trunks, etc. When they are about to leave for their winter hunts they take what will supply their wants during the winter, and the balance of the corn they bury some three or four feet in the ground, where it remains until their return in the spring."

While the Sauks and Foxes were absent during the winter we allowed the refugee Indians to occupy all the vacant houses on the reserve.

"In order to preserve the mission houses from abuse, I procured a missionary to take possession of them and open a school for the Sauk and Fox children. All the chiefs of the tribe are taking a great interest in the school, except one (Mo-ko-ho-ko), who opposes every step in civilization, refuses to live in the house built for him, and pitched his wickiup right under the eaves of his house."

R. P. Duvall reported<sup>68</sup> that fifteen children had been clothed and subsisted by himself and wife at the mission, and had been taught orthography and mental arithmetic. In connection with this work he had cultivated 100 acres. In a recent letter Mrs. Duvall says of the school:

"We taught the girls to sew and do housework, but the boys were not so easily managed. We tried to teach them to do right in all things. It was our custom to take Charley home every Friday evening. On one occasion I had him behind me on my pony, and as we passed through the agency Charley said, in his simple, honest boy heart, 'Mrs. Duvall, these white men tell us not to mind what you missionaries say; that there is no Jesus Christ.' This was the tide the missionaries had to work against. We had many embarrassments, but pressed on."

The school and mission were under the auspices of the Methodist church, but it was precious little help they received, for it was a struggle to keep the then infant, Baker University, alive. There was preaching every Sunday at the mission by Mr. Duvall, with Sabbath school for all who would come; and the little melodeon, with the softening, refining influence, was in

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NOTE 67.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1863, p. 255.

NOTE 68.—Ibid, 1863, p. 256.

evidence in telling of a better life. Bettie Martin taught a class of boys. In a recent letter she says:

"Mrs. Duvall took the children as they were brought to her in the blanket, and put boys' and girls' clothes on them. I never saw any children learn so fast as they did. Perhaps this change of apparel and the giving of English names was one reason why the great mass of Indians were opposed to the mission. They said that they did not want their children educated, as it would make rascals of them."

During the fall of 1863, under instructions from Congress, Commissioner Wm. P. Dole, with others, visited Kansas to confer with the Indians regarding their ultimate removal to the Indian Territory, and formulated a treaty<sup>69</sup> with the Sauks and Foxes, which, however, was never ratified. It appears to have been signed by the more liberal minded chiefs, though probably not satisfactory to them in every respect.

Shaw-paw-kaw-kah was stricken with the great white plague, and beginning to feel the sands of life slipping away, requested Mr. Martin to write his will, a copy of which was found by Mrs. Cunningham among her father's papers. She says of him: "He did not speak English, but it was interesting to hear him make a speech, his gestures were so perfect, and he was very dignified."

#### WILL OF SHAW-PAW-KAW-KAH.

"SAC & FOX AGENCY, KANSAS,  
October 30, 1863.

"I, Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, chief, and a member of the Sac & Fox tribe of Indians, in the fear of the Great Spirit, and being in tolerable health, and of sound mind, do make and constitute this, my last will and testament; and I hereby appoint H. W. Martin, U. S. Indian agent, and John Goodell, U. S. interpreter, executors for me, and in my name to execute my will, which is as follows:

"*First*.—I give and bequeath to my nephew, Pah-tah-quaw, my farm of one hundred and sixty acres of land where I now live, the title to which I acquired under the treaty of 1863, also my two-horse wagon and harness, and one bay pony horse.

"*Second*.—I give to my daughters, Jane Goodell, Kaw-wap-pe or Elizabeth Dole, and my grandchild, Waw-kaw-chaw or Bettie Martin, my pair of horses, harness and spring wagon. I give Kaw-wap-pe or Elizabeth Dole one gray pony horse.

"*Third*.—I give to my son, Kaw-wah-chaw, one bay horse pony, two years old past.

"*Fourth*.—I give to my wife, Wau-pes-se-taw, my trunk and its contents, all my crockery, dishes, bedsteads, and bedding and blankets.

"*Fifth*.—I will that my executors sell my cook stove and box stove for the benefit of my two children and grandchild.

"*Sixth*.—It is my will that my wife, Wau-pes-se-taw, remain in possession of my house and farm while the Indians remain on this reserve, and that she is not to mourn as is the custom of our tribe, but want her dressed in the same style that she now is, except that the clothing is to be entirely new.

"*Seventh*.—I also desire that my nephew, Pah-tah-quaw, shall take my place in the nation and act in my stead, and be government chief in my place.

"Given under my hand this 30th day of October, A. D. 1863.

"Witness: W. WHISTLER. SHAW-PAW-KAW-KAH, × his mark."

In August, 1863, occurred the Quantrill raid on Lawrence, and the people of the agency and mission were frightened, wondering what might be their fate. We have often speculated upon what the Indians thought of this war

among the whites. Probably they had the same opinion that the whites did of the Indians when they were on the warpath: "Let them kill each other off; they don't amount to anything very much anyhow."

SAUK AND FOX WEDDING AS TOLD BY GEO. W. LOGAN.

"One bright day in June, 1864, occurred a wedding betrothal. One of the most beautiful maidens of the tribe had two suitors, just as her white sisters often do. The tribe was getting ready to move camp, and down in the timber, in the flats near Quenemo, were packing their belongings and tepees, all busy making preparations. Already many of the young braves and maidens were mounted on their ponies, ready for the march.

"It was the custom among these people, if a maiden had two or more suitors, that if one of them could find the maiden alone, and but touch her hand, she was to be his. Consequently both these young braves were constantly on the watch, to get between the others and the girl, and to get her separated from her relatives. Finally, in the mixup, one of the braves succeeded in getting between her and her friends. The maiden saw it at a glance, and wheeling her pony started away. By this time the other brave saw what was going on, and started for the maiden too. This she also quickly saw, and giving her pony a dig cleared the timber out upon the prairie, quickly pursued by both suitors, each striving to get near enough to touch her wrist. But that was no easy matter. Possessed of a fleet pony she distanced the rivals, and when one came dangerously near, the pony dodged and the brave went on past. With shouts the tribe saw what was going on. Every one mounted and immediately gave chase, and as soon as the other ponies could be unpacked, the rest of the Indians followed by twos, threes, and droves, but all kept back from the three who were having the time of their lives, and watched the proceedings with shouts and laughter.

"The maiden, keenly alert, beautiful and radiant, enjoying her advantage, took delight in torturing these young braves, now letting one come dangerously near, only to dodge him. It was the same as chasing a dodging maverick. She could have been caught easily had a lasso been used, but lassos were not in the game. It was a quick-witted maiden, and a quick-witted and nimble pony, who enjoyed the fun as much as did his mistress. And the prize was to be won by the brave who touched her wrist first. Chasing, dodging and hard pressed by two determined lovers, and followed by several hundred shouting Indians, the entire cavalcade rushed across the prairie, swept over the hill, and on, out upon the broad and boundless prairies west.

"Along in the afternoon, when the ponies had become fatigued, out near where Lyndon stands, this arch maiden did what her white sister would have done—allowed the brave, the right one, whom she loved, to touch her wrist.

"When the sun was hanging over the big hill, the Indians returned, chatting about the race and laughing as they rode to camp. A half hour later the maiden and betrothed came riding leisurely along, side by side, he having her pony's bridle leading it, in token of her submission. They were both radiantly happy, and were talking as they rode. As twilight was beginning, down the hill rode the humbled, rejected, dejected suitor, all alone. The Indians set up their wickiups again, and stayed for a week longer, celebrating the wedding festivities with feast and song and dance."

There was a large mortality among the refugee Indians from exposure and insufficient and poor food, especially about the time of their coming. There is no means of knowing just how many died. At any rate the burial plot on the bottoms on Mr. Logan's farm contains at least two acres of dead Indians. One would not have to stretch his imagination very far to create a ghost dance in that locality on a stormy night. But from all we have heard the entire acreage has lain very still. A number of white families came from the South, with the refugee Indians. Among them was a Mrs.



West. Her children attended Bettie Martin's school. The second boy died, and his mother soon followed him. Her doctor, who had been sent for, said she died of a broken heart. She was buried at the mission, and a stone was placed at her grave. It is thought that she was a widow.

In the summer of 1863, during Commissioner Dole's visit at the mission, as a special request he asked that Shaw-paw-kaw-kah's daughter Emma be called after his own wife, Elizabeth Dole, and agent Martin asked that Shaw-paw-kaw-kah's little granddaughter be named for his daughter, Bettie Martin. Longhorn's grandson was named Robert Thrift, after Miss Jane Thrift's father. Miss Thrift had come out from Ohio as a missionary teacher among the Indians. She was distantly related to the Duvalls.

Mrs. Duvall also alludes to Mr. Dole:

"Visitors sent from Washington by the government said they were surprised to see our boys go to the blackboard and do examples, but we spent our time and best energies teaching, and in using our small means. I took my wardrobe to dress the girls. We were encouraged to go on, and promised in the end that all would be right."

Mr. Dole was entertained in various ways during his visit. The chiefs, head men and others called upon him at agent Martin's. Some fun-loving girls played a trick on him, aided and abetted by Bettie Martin. We will allow Mrs. Fanny Goodell-Nadeau to tell the story herself:

"My sister Sarah and a friend of ours, and the wild Indian girl, Mes-kooth, played a joke on our Indian commissioner from Washington, with the aid of our dear friend Bettie Martin. The three of us dressed in full Indian dress and called on the honorable Commissioner. We were met by Bettie and introduced, giving Indian names. We all sat around like Indians do. When Bettie asked us to play the piano, Mes-kooth could not understand. So sister Sarah urged me in Indian tongue to go on, and play. The music was not intended on my part when we dressed in Indian dress. I was very bashful, and thinking that they would never know differently went to the piano and played. But the next day, while at an Indian dance, although clad in my own clothing, I was recognized by the commissioner and the rest of the party. The joke was enjoyed and talked of by all, and the very same piano upon which I played, and which was afterwards owned by Professor Whitman, of Lyndon, was presented to me by Mr. Martin, our dear good agent of long ago."

The Sauk and Fox trust lands<sup>70</sup> were offered for sale late in 1864.<sup>71</sup> Those in Franklin county, some 76,800 acres, seem never to have been publicly offered, but were early turned over to speculators privately, among these being Judge Usher, who reserved for himself a fine farm near Pomona, and J. H. Whetstone, who purchased 15,000 acres. A good many bids were made by persons then living in Kansas, but they were overbid by parties at Washington, or awarded lands that were inferior, for which they had made no bid whatever.

Hugh McColloch, the comptroller of the currency, W. P. Dole, commissioner of Indian affairs, and John G. Nicolay, Lincoln's private secretary, were among the bidders on the lands in Osage county. Hugh McColloch re-

NOTE 70.—"In order to secure to the said Indians the greatest practical advantage to be derived from the proceeds of these surplus lands, commissioners were appointed to appraise them for the information of the department, which would thus be made aware of their actual or approximate value, and enabled to act independently of any representations of interested speculators. Notwithstanding this preparation it has been deemed advisable to postpone sales for the time being, and await the advent of a period when better prices may be obtained."—Rept. Comm'r Indian Affairs, 1861, p. 13.

NOTE 71.—*Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 8, p. 101.

served for himself a half section on the north side of Salt creek, and the south half of section 31, township 16, range 15, one of the finest pieces of land in Osage county. We know this is so, for we once owned that piece of land, and his name and his wife's name appear in the abstract. There was a family by the name of Dole that settled on the Marais des Cygnes near Melvern. We do not know if they are descendants or not of the commissioner, but the late Doctor Dole, of Lyndon, who was born there, was smart enough to have been his son. John G. Nicolay has several families of grandchildren and great-grandchildren in Osage county, all of them well educated. His son settled on a farm on the south side of the base line, the dividing line of the Sauk and Fox reservation on the north. The largest bidder was John McManus, of Reading, Pa., who sold the land awarded him to Slyfert, McManus & Co.,<sup>72</sup> the largest purchase ever made in Kansas on individual account.

But these men bought their lands. We find no account of the Bob Stevens land purchase. Scattered all over in the Sauk and Fox trust lands, the finest of the upland sections; all along the divide between the Marias des Cygnes and Salt Creek, Osage county, the abstracts read, "U. S. Government to Robert S. Stevens." These lands were held longer than any other, and were not offered for sale until after all surrounding lands had been sold.

The lands about the old agency were being sold and occupied. The township of Greenwood had been organized and named after Alfred B. Greenwood, the commissioner who made the treaty of 1859-'60. The first district school at Greenwood, the old agency, was taught the winter of 1868-'69 by no less a personage than F. D. Coburn, the present secretary of the State Board of Agriculture.

Shaw-paw-kaw-kah had been declining fast since the trip to Washington. His picture shows that even then death marked its victim. Besides, he was despondent over the prospects for the future of his people, and felt remorse for having signed the treaty of 1863, although it had not yet been ratified. His son had learned the bad white man's ways, and could not be trusted to take his place in the nation, and he had felt obliged to name his nephew, Pah-tah-quaw, in his stead in his will. He himself had entirely stopped drinking, as had Keokuk and very many of the Indians, through the good influence of agent Martin and Mr. Duvall. For some time the family of Shaw-paw-kaw-kah had been aware of his melancholy, but we will let Mrs. Bettie Martin Cunningham tell the story:

"Shaw-paw-kaw-kah had consumption. They say when Indians know they cannot get well they will destroy themselves rather than live and suffer. One morning he had his son get the team and wagon and go to town for groceries, telling him what to get and to come right back. After his son had gone he told his wife and children to go out and shut the door, as he wanted to rest. Lizzie Dole was the last one getting out. He told her to get his knife and revolver, he wanted to see if it wanted cleaning; he would

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NOTE 72.—McManus, Slyfert & Co. sold to John M. Wetherell, a wealthy Quaker of Philadelphia, Pa., a part of their purchase, embracing what is now Arvonla, Barclay, Grant and Superior townships, Osage county. On writing his wife what he had done, it is said she immediately replied, "John, come home. Thou art going crazy." However, Mr. Wetherell sold Superior and Grant townships to T. J. Peter, and brought out from Philadelphia a large colony of Quakers, settling Barclay township, and selling to good staid Welsh families the Arvonla lands. Mr. Wetherell died at Barclay in the early '70's. The family then returned to their Philadelphia home, the son, George Wetherell, coming out every year to attend to business. The last of the mortgages due the Wetherells were paid not long ago, and the Wetherell interest in the Osage County Bank was only transferred within the present year to Wesley Womer, the new president.

give it to his son when he came back. They had been keeping these away from him. Childlike she obeyed, but never thought to tell her mother.

"After a while, as the wife did not hear him call, she said she was going in. When she opened the door the room was full of smoke. He had put the revolver to his breast and fired. The flash of the powder had set fire to his shirt and the bed. He had shot himself through the heart. Although his wife put out the fire she could not restore the dead chief to life again, and her grief was intense.

"Shaw-paw-kaw-kah had told my father that he wanted to be buried as were the whites, and he did not want the Indians to have a thing to do with it. Accordingly he was laid out in new clothes and placed in his coffin. The funeral was set for the mission the next morning. But that night the Indians went in and painted him up and had a regular pow-wow over him. Only the men and my father saw him. The family would not allow the coffin opened at the mission. Mr. Duvall preached the sermon, and he was buried in the mission cemetery with the Methodist burial service."

Soon after her father's death Elizabeth Dole was badly burned; her clothing caught on fire at the mission. Her mother took her home and nursed her as tenderly as any white mother could possibly have done. Her sores developed scrofula, and she wasted away like one in consumption. It was then that Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, her aunt, went back to her blanket.

One day the Goodell family were astonished to see Jane descend from her chambers clad in skirt and waist, moccasins and blanket; not one article of civilization upon her. She had discarded her clothing and donned the blanket. She, upon whom so much care, teaching and expense had been bestowed! She, the pride and joy of her father, who had placed her under Mrs. Goodell's care, and surrounded her with the best of refining influences possible! She, who had been a diligent student at Baldwin! In a few short, laconic words she announced to her astonished friends, "I am going to my people. I am tired of the whole white race. When anyone comes to town, they want to see Jane 'Shop' and hear her play. I am tired of being made a show of, and I am going to my people." She gave Fanny Goodell all her clothing and white woman's jewelry, and to Kate Martin her Bible and music instructor, and wrapping her blanket about her went to her mother's wigwam.

This incident created a commotion, and has been told and retold as an illustration of the utter uselessness of attempting to educate the Indian. But let us see. Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah was human, and had deep affection for her own people. She would not have been the daughter of her noble father that she was had she not returned to her mother during the trying hours of her life, and after the death of her sister and subsequent death of her niece, Bettie Martin (who died suddenly at the mission with a convulsion), have been her mother's constant companion and solace. She need not have gone back to the blanket to have done this, but she did. We do not know the operation of her mind that caused her to decide thus, but from all the misfortunes of the Indians, the sad ending of her father, sister and niece, the humiliation of her brother not being qualified to inherit her father's place, and the reputed disappointment of her own life, we can see reasons enough for such logical conclusions, and in our opinion she did just right.

Agent Martin, in September, 1864,<sup>73</sup> reports:

"The Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi are all what is termed blanket Indians, having all the prejudices of that class of Indians against work. . . . They were slow to put in their crops in the spring, believing that the treaty made in September last would be ratified 'as made,' and that they would



spend most of the year looking out for a new home south of Kansas. . . . From a careful enrollment made the 29th of April last we have the following results, viz.: Men, 255; women, 317; children, 319; total, 891, . . . showing a decrease during the last year of 84, and this, too, when the tribe has been unusually healthy. I can account for a portion of this large decrease as follows: A number of Missouri Sacs and Foxes were in the habit of coming down here spring and fall, enrolling, getting pay, and returning home; these I cut off. A number are visiting the Iowa Sacs and Foxes, and may not return for a year or two. The personal property of the tribe amounts to \$57,996. The three bands living nearest the agency raised all the corn, cattle and hogs. The wealth of the upper or wild band [Mo-ko-ho-ko's] is confined to horses alone.

"The mission school, under the supervision of Rev. R. P. Duvall and lady, commenced in April, 1863, under very unfavorable and discouraging circumstances, there being no school funds or provision for supporting a school, is still in full operation, and is progressing to the entire satisfaction of the Indians (wild band excepted). The progress made by the children in learning surpasses all our expectations.

"I am truly gratified to be able to state that all the chiefs and council, twelve in number, are in favor of sustaining the school, while a large majority of them feel a deep interest in it. Fourteen boys and eleven girls are in attendance. The number of children could be increased to forty or fifty, provided we had the means to support them. There has been an average attendance of eighteen. Miss Jane E. Thrift, of Ohio, has taught during the last five months. Thirteen have gone through Willson's Family and School Primer, and will finish Willson's Primary Speller the present quarter. They read the Testament fluently, and the object system of teaching is used.

"In conclusion, I will add that the Sacs and Foxes are all well clothed, peaceable and quiet; and since the refugee Indians left last spring, I have not seen a half dozen drunken Indians in the nation; and during the payment just closed, not one."

In October, 1864, the rebel general, Sterling Price, threatened to invade Kansas. In view of his approach the loyal Indians in the state met in council at the Sauk and Fox agency to reaffirm their allegiance to the government at Washington.<sup>74</sup> Some such step had long been advised to offset the applications made by Confederate officers to enlist the sympathies of the northern Indians in the rebellion.

We have seen that the treaty of 1859 provided for the sale of the Sauk

NOTE 74.—

"SAC AND FOX AGENCY, KANSAS, October 8, 1864.

"Know all men, that we, the chiefs and councillors, head men and braves of the tribes and nations now assembled in grand council to confer together, to consider our relations to the government of the United States, in the present distracted condition of the country, owing to the wicked and unholy rebellion and bloody war now being waged by vicious men against the general government, and under which we have all lived and prospered so long, it is with pain and regret that we learn that a portion of our red brethren, under the influence of wicked and bad men, have joined with the rebels and are making efforts to induce all loyal red men to join them in their unjust war against the government, by sending emissaries and agents to both red and white men among us, calling on us to meet them in grand council down in the Creek country the last of October, with the avowed purpose of enlisting all the red men of Kansas and the border in this wicked war against our Great Father the President of the United States. That we, the delegates from all the tribes in Kansas, in grand council assembled, declare that we have been faithful to all our treaty stipulations, and truly loyal to the government of the United States; and we solemnly pledge ourselves, our tribes and nations, to our Great Father the President, that we will remain true to him as good, obedient and loyal children. We consider his enemies our enemies, and his friends our friends; and, although weak and feeble within ourselves, we pledge him our aid and assistance in putting down and crushing out all of his enemies, until every rebel in the land shall acknowledge the power of our Great Father; and we most solemnly and earnestly recommend to our red brethren everywhere to stand by our Great Father in this his hour of trouble, and to those who have taken sides with the rebels through wicked counsel of bad men we earnestly invite them to return to their allegiance to the only government to which we can look for protection in the future; and we earnestly recommend to our young men and braves, wherever they may be, to urge upon our red brethren to remain true friends of our Great Father; and that when out on the hunt on the great plains, if they should find wicked counsellors as emissaries from the rebels, urging our brethren to join in this wicked war, to arrest them or give notice to the nearest military authority of their presence, and when distant from such post to destroy them, that their wicked counsel may not poison the minds of our peo-

and Fox trust lands to white settlers, the proceeds to be applied in paying the debts of the Indians, and in improving their homes. Apparently the trust lands had been practically sold by 1865, when the following letter was written:<sup>75</sup>

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 25, 1865.

Hon. William P. Dole, Commissioner, Indian Affairs:

"SIR—Understanding that the proceeds of the lands of the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi already advertised and sold are insufficient to pay the existing and outstanding debts of said Indians under the provisions of the treaty of July 9, 1860, we would therefore recommend, in order to settle these debts and avoid the accumulation of interest thereon, the selling of a sufficient quantity of their lands (in addition to those already sold) to pay all claimants against said tribe now due.

Respectfully yours,

S. C. POMEROY, *U. S. Senator.*

J. H. LANE, *U. S. Senator.*

A. C. WILDER, *M. C.*

SIDNEY CLARKE, *M. C. elect.*"

This letter was referred by Mr. Dole to Judge Usher, with the recommendation that the lands in the diminished reserve remaining after the individual allotments should be sold, as provided by article 4 of the aforementioned treaty, which gave the Secretary of the Interior the power to

ple. And we would respectfully ask of our Great Father a faithful fulfillment of all our treaty stipulations, and that protection for ourselves, families and homes due to your loyal and confiding children.

Done in grand council at the council ground near the Sac and Fox Agency, Kansas, October 8, 1864.

Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi.

KEO-KUK,	his X mark.
CHE-KUS-KUCK,	his X mark.
PUH-TICK-QUAW,	his X mark.
QUAM-QUE-ESS,	his X mark.
WAN-POL-LAW,	his X mark.
MAN-AN-TO-AH,	his X mark.
QUACK-CUP-PIT,	his X mark.
I-AH-TUP-PIT,	his X mark.
QUAH-QUAH-LUP-PE-QUAH,	his X mark.
KE-KE-TAW-KAH,	his X mark.
MAH-SHE-WAE-LUCK-BAS-RULE,	his X mark.
QUE-WE-MO,	his X mark.
KEP-PAH-CHE,	his X mark.
BLACK HAWK,	his X mark.
POM-ME-KEN-E-POT,	his X mark.
QUAH,	his X mark.
QUAN-KO-HO-SE,	his X mark.
YOH-PAH-LET,	his X mark.
SHALL-LOPE,	his X mark.
PAU-ME-SE,	his X mark.
BATTEAU,	his X mark.
LITTLE ISLAND,	his X mark.
QUAU-SHE-MA,	his X mark.
PEN-ME-KEAH-TAH,	his X mark.
KE-ME-TO-E,	his X mark.
WAH-SE-NAH-SAH,	his X mark.
WAU-PE-KISH-KO,	his X mark.
KAH-KAH-QUAN,	his X mark.
PAH-PES-KO-SIT,	his X mark.
MOT-TAL-LAH-SAT-TAH,	his X mark.
TAH-HE-SKICK,	his X mark.

"Witness:

W. G. COFFIN, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.  
W. H. MARTIN, Agent Sacs and Foxes.  
W. A. HARLAN, Special Agent Cherokee Indians.  
P. P. ELDER, Agent Osages.  
G. C. SNOW, Agent Seminoles.  
JOHN GOODELL, Interpreter Sacs and Foxes.

This treaty was also signed by representatives of the Chickasaw, Osage, Pottawatomie, Shawnee and Seneca, Quapaw, Seminole, Creek, Kaskaskia, Peoria, Wea and Pinakeshaws, and Western Miami nations, and witnessed by their interpreters.—Rept. Comm'r of Ind. Aff., 1864, p. 362.

NOTE 75.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1865, p. 382.

make such order. According to the report of Wolcott and Barnett, commissioners to set off the eighty acres to individuals, there was a surplus of 140 sections of land remaining, and which could be opened to settlers. This recommendation was approved by Judge Usher, February 27, 1865.<sup>76</sup>

From Mrs. Duvall we quote:

"Many things occurred while we were at the Sauk and Fox mission to ever mark the place in our memory. One day we noticed the flag at the agency at half mast. My husband mounted Charley and Joe and told them to go quickly to the agency. They returned with the sad news that our Great Father, Abraham Lincoln, was dead."



CHARLES KEOKUK,  
Grandson of Keokuk.

The summer vacation of the mission Mrs. Duvall spent in her Ohio home at Delaware. Miss Jane Thrift<sup>77</sup> returned there with her to remain. She also took Charley Keokuk. Of Charley Mrs. Duvall writes:

"We were here three months. He furnished amusement for the boys. He would sit on the gate post and the boys would crowd around him. On one occasion he was missing, and I was very much frightened, for I knew how much his father thought of him. The soldiers were returning from the war and were on parade. I pushed my way through the crowd, and close up to the music I found Charley, perfectly lost to himself. At another time he was gone, and I found him on the engine of a train that was standing, and I was glad when I found him. Keokuk sent a carriage to Lawrence, Kan., to meet us. After Charley had made his visit home and had returned to school, he came in with a pair of beautiful moccasins. I said, 'Charley, why do you give these to me?' He replied, 'My mother sent them to you because you sent me home looking so

nice.' Let me say here, the Indian has gratitude in his heart if the white man would treat him white."

As to the white man overreaching the Indian, Mrs. Duvall says:

"I have seen the Indians pay \$18 for a great coarse blanket at the trading house. They were not blind, but how could they help themselves."

Bettie Martin Cunningham<sup>78</sup> writes:

"After my father came he would not allow the traders to overcharge the Indians, and would not allow any dishonest traders if he could help it.

NOTE 76.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1865, p. 383.

NOTE 77.—Miss Thrift married Rev. A. C. Barnes, a prominent Methodist minister of Ohio for many years. She taught two years at the mission—1864-'65.

NOTE 78.—Bettie Martin was married July 13, 1865, to Prof. B. R. Cunningham, at Baldwin, Kan., by Rev. R. P. Duvall, in the agent's house, now known as the "wigwam." Quenemo, and went to Leavenworth to live. Professor Cunningham was apparently the first teacher employed in Baker University, November, 1858. The following year he held the chair of mathematics, and resigned in September, 1861. He died September 24, 1891. His sons John and George reside in Abilene, Tex., where Mrs. Cunningham hopes soon to make her home.



They used to charge a dollar for a box of gun caps, and 40 cents a yard for calico. They cheated them out of their eyes. I remember I heard Perry Fuller say once that he did not deny he had stolen from them, but he did not want those that had stolen as much as he to say anything about it."

This explains why the Indians were continually in debt. They had unlimited credit at the trading house, and were forced to pay whatever was asked. When the annuity was due the traders brought in their bills, which the agent paid. If there was anything left for poor "Lo," he got it; if not, he got more credit. And so the debt accumulated into the thousands of dollars every year. Pressure was then brought to bear upon the chiefs and head men that these debts must be paid, and so perforce there was no other way to do than to sell some of their lands to meet their obligations. Surely there are a whole lot of white men who have "crookety poles."

The refugee Indians returned to their homes in the Territory early in 1864. It was thought just to compensate the Sauks and Foxes for the use of their lands and houses. The following treaty was not mentioned in the commissioner's reports, nor included in the outline of treaties<sup>79</sup> received from Washington through the favor of Senator Charles Curtis, but was forwarded to me by Mrs. Cunningham in the original copy from among the official papers of her father, H. W. Martin. The handwriting is that of Wm. Whistler:

TREATY BETWEEN THE SAC AND FOX INDIANS AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT RELATIVE TO THE REFUGEE INDIANS [April 17, 1865].

"At a council of the undersigned chiefs and head men of the Sac and Fox Indians of the Mississippi, held on their reservation in Kansas on the 17th day of April, A. D. 1865, it having been known to us that William G. Coffin, superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern superintendency, has been directed by the commissioner of Indian affairs, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, to pay to our agent, for the use of our people, and by him to be paid to our people, after the manner of annuity payments, the sum of \$14,688, as a compensation for the use and occupation of their reservation from the 15th day of November, 1862, until the 14th day of May, 1864, by the Refugee Indians of the southern superintendency, on condition that our people accept the same in full satisfaction of all claims against said refugees of the government of the United States, growing out of said occupation, and for all damages done to their houses, timber, fences and other property,

Now, therefore, be it known, that we, the undersigned chiefs and head men of the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians of the Mississippi, acting for and on behalf of said Indians, have agreed and do hereby agree to accept and receive the said sum of money upon the terms and conditions aforesaid, and we hereby, for and on behalf of said Indians, do relinquish and forever surrender any and all demands of every nature and description whatever against the Refugee Indians aforesaid or the government of the United States, arising or growing out of the use and occupation of our said reservation during the period aforesaid.

NOTE 79.—"It is generally understood that the treaty of April 17, 1865, has been complied with to the satisfaction of the government. The names [attached to it] are all spelled correctly excepting Quah-quah-lup-pe-quah. It should be Quah-quah-nah-pe-quah."—W. BATTICE.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this the day and year first herein written.

KE-O-KUK,	his X mark.	Seal.
CHI-KO-SKUK,	his X mark.	Seal.
PAH-TECK-QUAW, <sup>80</sup>	his X mark.	Seal.
QUAW-QUE-ES,	his X mark.	Seal.
WAW-POL-LAW,	his X mark.	Seal.
MAN-E-TO-WAH,	his X mark.	Seal.
QUAH-CUP-PIT,	his X mark.	Seal.
QAH-TUP-PIT,	his X mark.	Seal.
QUAH-QUAH-LUP-[NAH]-PE-QUAH,	his X mark.	Seal.
KE-KE-TAW-KAH,	his X mark.	Seal.
QUE-NE-MO,	his X mark.	Seal.
MAH-SHE-WAL-LUCK-US-KUK,	his X mark.	Seal.

"Attest:—WILLIAM WHISTLER,  
E. C. STEVENS,  
JOHN GOODELL, *U. S. Interpreter.*"

[Indorsement on back of manuscript.]

"I certify on honor that the within relinquishment was fully explained to the chiefs and council of the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians, and signed in my presence this 17th day of April, 1865.

H. W. MARTIN, *U. S. Indian Agent.*"

The census of the tribe in 1865 showed a decrease of eighty-five individuals during the past year, though the health of the nation had been unusually good. Their personal property had increased to \$71,910. Out of twenty-five children enrolled in the mission school, an average of sixteen attended. No provision has been secured for the support of the school other than a small amount from the civilization fund of the Indian office and \$400 appropriated by the Indians from their annuities, a great concession on their part. This, together with the proceeds of the farm, was not sufficient to feed the children. Mr. Duvall remarks, in his report to Mr. Martin: "These children bid fair for domestic happiness, and, if properly cared for, will make good citizens. Our greatest drawback, as heretofore, is short rations. The child's annuity is spent in clothing it, which prevents others from sending their children." Agent Martin reports that he has tried to keep the school in operation until a treaty could be made to provide for the support of a school, but the Duvall's had exerted themselves to the utmost in behalf of the children, and had decided, if relief did not come in the interval, to ask the next session of Conference for another field of labor.<sup>81</sup>

The Duvalls withdrew at this time and took an appointment in regular ministerial work in the Conference at Centropolis. Rev. J. W. Rogers<sup>82</sup> and wife took their places as missionary and matron of the Indian mission, with Mattie Arbothnot, from Nebraska, as the teacher. After the school under the new management had been running for three months, Mr. and Mrs. Duvall paid the mission a visit:

"The school was carried on after we left, and we returned after having been away for three months. The children saw me coming from the school-room. They fled to me, and the teacher was left alone. As I left the steps on going away, I saw one of our little girls crying. I went to her and she said, 'Oh, Mrs. Duvall, we are so lonesome when you are gone away.'

NOTE 80.—Shaw-paw-kaw-kah's successor.

NOTE 81.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1865, pp. 379, 382.

NOTE 82.—Ibid., 1866, p. 267.

We drove off, supposing we had left all behind, but chanced to look under our buggy seat, and there was our little Colonel Battice. And so our hearts were endeared to these people, and we were convinced that they would love to serve the same God that we do if they had an opportunity."

This was the last of this devoted couple at the mission. They builded better than they knew, and the good seed they sowed has yielded to the Sauk and Fox Indians of the Mississippi a hundred fold.

The majority of the Indians wished to retain their honest agent. The set of schemers who desired to get rid of the Indians or to profit by their trade knew another agent must be had first. Again the old dispute arose as to precedence between the Keokuk and Mo-ko-ho-ko factions, instigated by those anxious for Mr. Martin's removal. Commissioner D. N. Cooley at Washington and Superintendent Thomas Murphy upheld Major Martin, who insisted "that the charges against him would be found to have originated with parties who are resolved that the tribe shall not be civilized, but left in a condition in which they can be easily plundered."<sup>83</sup>

Mo-ko-ho-ko made charges against the agent and took them to Washington in the spring of 1866, and hired an attorney, Colonel Chipman, of that city, to press them with the Indian department. W. R. Irwin, special agent, was sent on to Kansas to investigate. He called a council of all the Sauks and Foxes at their council house on October 6, 1866, and examined many witnesses on both sides. George Powers,<sup>84</sup> of Centropolis, and H. P. Welsh, of Ottawa, appeared for the dissatisfied Indians. The following extract is made from Mr. Irwin's report,<sup>85</sup> which exonerates Major Martin :

"At twelve o'clock the next day [7th] the Indians again assembled, and when I was about to proceed with the investigation I was informed by attorney Welsh and Mr. Powers that the Indians desired to hold a council; that they thought they could settle their difficulties among themselves. To this I consented, and after several hours' delay they came into the council room. The chiefs made speeches, and a paper setting forth the basis of their agreement was drawn up, interpreted to the chiefs and councillors, and signed by them."

#### COPY OF AGREEMENT.<sup>86</sup>

"At a general council of the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi, held on the 7th day of October, 1866, it was agreed that Mo-ko-ho-ko shall hereafter be considered by the Sac and Fox Indians as a chief by blood, and exercise power accordingly; that all other relations and affairs within the tribe shall remain as heretofore. Keokuk and Che-ko-skuk to remain and be recognized as government chiefs; that Mo-ko-ho-ko and all others of the tribe withdraw any and all charges that they have made against Maj. H. W. Martin, the agent of the tribe, and have no further cause of complaint against him; that they are fully satisfied by this arrangement, and will hereafter live in peace and on friendly relations. And it is agreed that the expenses which have been incurred by Mo-ko-ho-ko and his band in the prosecution of their complaints shall be paid from the annuities of the tribe, including attorney's fees, not to exceed \$500, to Colonel Chipman, of Washington, D. C., and \$100 to H. P. Welsh, of Ottawa, Kansas.

KEOKUK,	his X mark.
CHE-KO-SKUCK,	his X mark.
MO-KO-HO-KO,	his X mark.
PAH-TECK-QUAW,	his X mark.

NOTE 83.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1866, p. 52.

NOTE 84.—George Powers, a descendant of old Pontiac, succeeded John Goodell, who died at Quenemo, as interpreter.—C. R. Green, June 28, 1910.

NOTE 85.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1866, p. 269; pp. 52, 246.

NOTE 86.—Ibid, 1866, p. 270.



Major Martin had also visited Washington in the spring, and his protest<sup>87</sup> against paying annuities to Maw-me-wa-ne-kah's band, which had seceded after the treaty of 1859 and returned to Iowa, appears in the Indian Office report for 1866. Major Martin's annual report<sup>88</sup> contains the usual information. The united tribes in Kansas numbered 766; total value of their property, \$69,700; their crops had given the average return. The mission school had met with gratifying success, and had been liberally assisted by the department; "but the chief encouragement in regard to its future prosperity arises from the growing interest of the Indians themselves. . . . I will conclude by saying that the Sacs and Foxes are beginning to see clearly that it will be impossible to maintain their present reservation very long against the influx of emigration and demands of the country, and are desirous of moving to the lands newly acquired by the government from the Indians south, and to this end are desirous of concluding a treaty for the disposal of their present reservation."<sup>89</sup>

*Agency Under Dr. Albert Wiley,<sup>90</sup> 1867-'69.*

The appointment of Doctor Wiley, probably a concession to the Mo-ko-ho-ko band, does not appear to have healed the breach, for the chief did not sign the treaty which was at last formulated to the satisfaction of the majority of the Sauks and Foxes, February 18, 1867, and ratified after amendment, July 25, 1868. The expected removal and the usual delays in the selection of lands, etc., kept the nation in a state of unrest; the plains Indians, too, then at war with the government, interfered with the buffalo hunting, depriving the Indians entirely of that means of subsistence, and eliciting an appeal to the government from their agent to supply the needed meat.

The school continued under Mr. Rogers until his resignation, in April, 1868, when Miss Ellen Lavery (the late Mrs. Neiheizer, of Melvern) succeeded him. The next year Miss Henrietta Woodmas took charge of the school and taught with great success, accompanying the pupils to the Territory in 1870. Mr. and Mrs. John Craig were employed as superintendent and matron of the mission home and farm the last year in Kansas. By August, 1869, the nation had decreased to 654 individuals—220 men, 237 women, and 197 children—while their farming operations were valued at \$23,535 only. Agent Wiley accompanied a delegation to the Indian Territory in 1869, to select their new home, with the result that the western portion of the Creek reserve was chosen. He certainly did well in this selection, and was a very good agent. Dr. E. B. Fenn was physician at the new agency from 1866 to 1869, and again in the '70's. His son George and daughter Estella were teachers after the removal to the Territory and did remarkably good work, progressing in methods of instruction with the general educational advancement.

The treaty of 1867,<sup>91</sup> besides providing a reservation of 750 square miles for the tribe in the Indian Territory, ceded the diminished reserve in Osage county, the government agreeing to pay therefor the sum of one dollar an

NOTE 87.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1866, pp. 52, 271.

NOTE 88.—Ibid, 1866, p. 266.

NOTE 89.—Ibid, 1866, p. 268.

NOTE 90.—Ibid, 1867, pp. 17, 293, 299; 1868, pp. 256, 265; 1869, pp. 32, 358, 362.

NOTE 91.—Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1904, vol. 2, p. 951.

acre, being 157,000 acres, less the land set aside for individuals; also to pay the outstanding debts of the tribe, amounting to \$26,574, and interest; and to pay for stock lost by the tribe, \$16,400. Besides the usual agency buildings, a manual-labor school was to be erected and supported, and the Sauks and Foxes of the Missouri were invited to share the new reserve.

The treaty also provided that a strip of land two and a quarter by four miles in extent, comprising the site of the agency and the agency farms, together with the farms of Keokuk and other chiefs, should be sold by the chiefs and agent at the best price obtainable, and empowering these officers to make warranty deeds for the same, at not less than two dollars an acre in addition to the value of the improvements.

The treaty of 1859 had provided for the allotment of lands to half-breeds and to Indian women who had married white men. These lands had been duly selected and allotted<sup>92</sup> by the agents, Perry Fuller and Clinton C. Hutchinson. A provision for patenting the same was made in article 17 of the new treaty.

In addition to the above allotments on the tribal lands in Kansas, others were made by the new treaty to the following people: John Goodell was to be given 320 acres in consideration of certain improvements upon the lands of the nation made by him, and for his services as interpreter. Sarah A. Whistler and Amelia Mitchel were to have one-half section each; Julia A. Goodell, 240 acres; Mary A. Means, Antoine Gokey (a Chippewa) and William Avery, each 160 acres; Leo Whistler and Gertrude Whistler, children of William Whistler and Sarah A. Goodell, each 320 acres; James Thorpe, Virginia Thorpe, Cassandra Thorpe, Thomas J. Miles, Hattie Miles, Emma Keokuk, Hannie Keokuk, Mo-co-p-quah, each 80 acres; Man-a-tah, Pah-me-che-kaw-paw, Henry Jones, Wilson McKinney, and Carrie C. Capper, 160 acres each, the parties named to pay the sum of one dollar per acre. George Powers, the present government interpreter, for services rendered should have patented to him in fee simple 320 acres. Samuel Black, in consideration of his services as United States marshal, in protecting their houses and timber from trespass and depredation, was to have the land upon which he lived patented to him. John K. Rankin, trader, was to be allowed to purchase not more than eight acres at \$2.50 per acre, including his buildings.

This last treaty of the Sauks and Foxes in Kansas was signed by the following persons:

Lewis V. Bogy (Seal), Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

W. H. Watson (Seal), Special Commissioner.

Thomas Murphy (Seal), Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Henry W. Martin (Seal), United States Indian Agent.

Keokuk, his X mark (Seal).

Chick-o-skuk, his X mark (Seal).

Uc-quaw-ho-ko, his X mark (Seal).

Mut-tut-tah, his X mark (Seal).

Man-ah-to-wah, his X mark (Seal).

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NOTE 92.—Hon. F. D. Coburn relates the following circumstances growing out of this allotment: In 1869, he then being ambitious to become a landowner in Franklin county, found by an examination of the plats in the United States land office that the east half of the east half of section 35, township 16, range 17 east, had been originally allotted to Cordelia Connolly, a name given, for allotment purposes, to an unborn child; that when born the child was dead. As this land had not been filed upon, and had in some way also escaped the attention of the original land speculators, he filed upon and made application for it. After some delay he received from the land office the information that the Secretary of the Interior had ruled that the land reverted to the mother of the child as its heir, she then living in the Indian Territory.

Uc-quaw-ho-ko was elected successor of Pah-teck-quah in the succession of Shaw-paw-kaw-kah.

This treaty was not proclaimed until October 14, 1868. In the *Burlingame Chronicle* of November 18, 1868, M. M. Murdock, editor, we find the following:

"The Indian treaty, whereby the Sac and Fox lands of Osage county were ceded to the government, has been proclaimed by President Andrew Johnson as taking effect. What the treaty is we do not know, except that our congressman [Sidney Clarke] says that it went to settlers in lots of 160 acres, at not less than \$1.50 per acre."

Mr. Murdock evidently thinks that there might be something crooked, for he adds:

"We hope everything is right, but there have been so many swindles perpetrated in Washington with reference to Indian land that we are almost afraid to credit anything until we see the treaty itself. If everything is straight, within another year Osage county will be among the wealthy and prosperous counties of Kansas."

Shortly before this treaty was proclaimed the chiefs were called into council, and a deed conveying the agency site was placed before them for their signatures. Through misrepresentation and persuasion and when they were drunken their signatures were obtained to the instrument. When Keokuk awakened from his stupor some one was on the way to Washington to have those deeds recorded.<sup>93</sup> Keokuk was furious, and there was something doing. He charged fraud and deceit, and began to talk of going to Washington himself to see the Great Father. Agent Wiley<sup>94</sup> reported this to Washington. In reply, an order from Chas. E. Mix, dated October 16, 1868, was received by the agent and read to Keokuk and the other chiefs. The following is a copy of this order:

*"Thomas Murphy, Indian Superintendent for Kansas:*

"SIR—I have to advise you that, as Congress failed to make certain appropriations from which the expenses of delegations of Indians visiting this city have heretofore been paid, no delegation from any of the tribes in your superintendency will be allowed to visit this place during the present fiscal year, unless especially directed to do so by this office, for the reason that there are no funds at the disposal of the department that can be used to defray their necessary expenses.

"You will inform the different agents under you of the foregoing, and take such other steps to prevent any Indians coming here, as may be necessary to accomplish the object.

CHARLES E. MIX,

*Acting U. S. Comm'r of Indian Affairs.*

This was followed by an order from Thomas Murphy for Wiley to take any step necessary to prevent any of the Indians from visiting Washington. This paper was duly read to the chiefs and other Indians. But this did not swerve Keokuk from his purpose, nor deter him long. He replied that he had money enough of his own to defray this expense. In vain Agent Wiley forbade him to leave the reservation, for on the morning of November 22 Keokuk, with five others, left the Sauk and Fox agency for Lawrence, Kan. On the following day Wiley, who followed, made an affidavit for the arrest of Keokuk and the other chiefs in Lawrence. A warrant was secured and placed in the hands of Thomas Dorwin, deputy United States marshal, who

NOTE 93.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 101, note.

NOTE 94.—Kansas Supreme Court Repts., vol. 6, pp. 94-112.



arrested the Indians. The case was brought before United States Commissioner W. P. Montgomery, and one of the jury, Walter Willis, was challenged by Keokuk for cause. The plaintiff, Albert Wiley, employed Riggs, Nevison & Foote. The case was set for the next term of the United States district court. Keokuk would not pay bail, a *mittimus* was issued and the party remanded to jail, where they remained for two days and one night, until liberated by a writ of habeas corpus. However, this did not stop the Indians from going to Washington.

"WASHINGTON, DEC. 12.—To-day a delegation of the Sac and Fox Indians of the Mississippi, in charge of Keokuk, their head chief, accompanied the Hon. Sidney Clarke of Kansas, to see the President and make known their grievances. The Indians were attired in their highest style. Wan-com-mo wore a coat loaded with ten or twelve pounds of beads and wampum, and fringed with buckskin strings a foot long. Two of the chiefs wore necklaces of nails of grizzly bear's claws, strung on an otter skin. These nails are about five inches in length, and the necklaces cost hundreds of dollars each. The President kindly received the painted warriors, and assured them his protection. They have come to Washington without the sanction of the Indian Office, to effect, if possible, the removal of swindling officers on their reserve. Notice has hitherto appeared of their arrest and imprisonment by their agent, and of their suing Commissioner Mix for false imprisonment. Their arrest, though sanctioned by the Interior Department, the President disapproves. The following is the paper which they submitted to Mr. Johnson:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 12, 1868.

"To his Excellency the President:

"The undersigned, chiefs from the Sac and Fox tribes of the Mississippi, respectfully represent to your excellency that their agent, Albert Wiley, having been guilty of misconduct in office, should be removed for the following reasons:

"1. For giving the exclusive right to trade with their tribe to one William Whistler, who charged them exorbitant prices for the necessities of life, amounting to twice or three times as much as the same articles cost outside the reservation.

"2. That besides refusing any person license to trade with the tribe, the agent removes, or threatens to remove, the chiefs, for not advising their people to trade with this licensed monopoly, and that the agent represents to their people that the government wishes them to pay such exorbitant prices.

"3. That when they desired to come to Washington to obtain redress for their grievances, the agent declared that he would deprive Keokuk of his position, which he has held for over twenty years, and would arrest the whole party.

"4. That agent Wiley followed them to Lawrence, Kan., and procured their arrest and imprisonment, not for any crime, but because they desired to represent their wrongs to the department.

"5. For misrepresenting to us that our last treaty was ratified [proclaimed?], and requesting and influencing us to sign a deed for a strip of land two and a quarter miles wide and four miles long, during the absence of the United States interpreter, thereby taking us unprepared, and forcing us to convey valuable property to the detriment of the tribes.

"For these gross outrages of the agent, and for his collusion with the trader, we, the chiefs of the Sac and Fox tribes of the Mississippi, respectfully ask you to remove both agent Albert Wiley and the trader William Whistler, and appoint an agent with instructions to license at least two traders for the tribe. We come to your excellency claiming protection against the rapacity of those who desire to swindle us out of the little we have. We have full faith that the government desires to do us justice, and we beg you will grant our prayer and see justice done us.

(Signed)

"KEOKUK,	his X mark.
"WAN-COM-MO,	his X mark.
"MAN-A-TO-WAH,	his X mark.
"QUAH-QUAH-LUP-PE-QUAH,	his X mark.
"CHARLES KEOKUK, son of Keokuk, and Interpreter.	
"GEORGE POWERS, Interpreter."	

"A special dispatch from Lawrence, Kan., says that Captain Christian, the attorney for Keokuk, Mequahquog, Suffaquah, Manatowah and Wan-com-mo, is about to bring suit against Mr. Charles Mix, acting commissioner of Indian Affairs; Col. Charles Murphy, superintendent of the central superintendency; Major Wiley, agent of the Sacs and Foxes, and Thomas Dorwin, deputy United States marshal, for false imprisonment; Keokuk and his friends claiming damages in \$10,000."<sup>95</sup>

But this appeal to the President did not result in favor of the Indians,

for Doctor Wiley was retained as agent, and the trader was exonerated from overcharging. Keokuk was determined, however, to have some sort of redress, and through his attorney, James Christian, brought suit in the district court of Douglas county, Kansas, against Albert Wiley, Charles E. Mix, Thomas Murphy, Thomas Dorwin and Wm. P. Montgomery. All of these cases were subsequently dismissed except Wiley's, and this suit was decided in favor of Keokuk, granting him \$1000 damages. Man-a-to-wah also brought suit, in which he was given damages to the amount of \$500. These suits were carried to the Kansas supreme court and the papers reviewed by Chief Justice S. A. Kingman who sustained the decision of the district court, Judge Jacob Safford concurring in the ruling of Judge Kingman.

Settlers began to occupy lands on the diminished reserve before<sup>96</sup> the ratification of the treaty, July 25, 1868. Albert Wiley wrote the department apprising it of the fact and asked Governor Crawford<sup>97</sup> for troops to remove the settlers, as the treaty provided that the settlements should not be made before the removal of the Indians.

But the government and the governor were expending all their energies in an effort to conciliate and finally conquer the Indians of the plains, and were unable to protect agent Wiley and his charges from the encroachments of the settlers. In his final report the agent says: [White men] "have taken possession of this reservation and have held it against President, Secretary of Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, superintendents, agents, and the soldiers<sup>98</sup> who have been sent here," and asks, "Has the government carried out in good faith the last treaty made with Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi?"

When the agency was removed from Osage county to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) a new town was laid out on the agency site and given

NOTE 96.—

"WASHINGTON, D. C. July 21 [1868].  
Governor Crawford: An order for the removal of settlers from the Sac and Fox reserve was sent to Gen'l Sheridan on the second (2d) of July, by order of the Secretary of War.

"ED. SCHIEVER, *Inspir. Genl.*"

[Book of Executive Telegrams, 1864-'68, p. 77. Archives Dept., Kan. Hist. Soc. See also same volume, p. 75.]

NOTE 97.—

"SAC AND FOX AGENCY, KANSAS, August 7, 1868.  
"To his Excellency, the Governor of Kansas:

"SIR—In the discharge of my duties as agent for the Sac and Fox Indians, I am having much trouble with the squatters in their illegal attempt to take possession of this reservation.

"The fourth article stipulates that this reserve shall remain as though this treaty had never been made, until the Indians are removed therefrom. No man or set of men have a right to violate the stipulations of this treaty. It is the law governing the case. The Indians complain to me of these encroachments, men taking possession of their houses, stealing their corn, and turning their stock loose on the reserve to destroy their crops. They ask me for protection. I must report these transactions to the department. Government has promised them protection and they should have it.

"The squatters claim the governor is with them in this illegal attempt to possess this land. It has been stated here by one Scott Daniels and others (squatters), that the governor advised them to come onto the reserve, and in the event of any interference by the United States troops, he would furnish them arms to defend themselves with. This I cannot believe until I have it from good authority. The violation of the stipulations of this treaty is wrong, illegal, and I don't think will be permitted by the government.

"I have little doubt but that many false representations have been made to you by the squatters. They can have no legal right here now, and I cannot believe the executive of this state will stand by and advise such proceedings.

"Many threats of violence have been made against me. Should violence come, it shall be for doing my duty, not for a neglect of it.

"Would the governor please to inform me as to above statements?"

ALBERT A. WILEY, *U. S. Indian Agent.*"

NOTE 98.—Lieut.<sup>9</sup>Chauncey McKeever writes Governor Harvey, from Fort Leavenworth, April 13, 1869, informing him that no order has been given for the removal of the white settlers from the Sauk and Fox reservation, but that instructions have been given to send a detail of seven soldiers to preserve the peace.



QUENEMO.

the name of Quenemo. The Kansas Herd Book says Quenemo was named after the Indian wife of Mr. John Goodell. This is a mistake. It was the name of an Indian chieftain. Mr. Logan has never told me what member of the Sauk and Fox tribe was the authority for this version of the Quenemo legend, and Mrs. Nadeau insists that the definition of the term Quenemo is "I am lonely," or "I long for you."

THE LEGEND OF QUENEMO, AS RELATED BY GEO. W. LOGAN.

The name Quenemo is really composed of three distinct words, "Que-nemo." We have no word or words in our language to express its meaning accurately. It is an exclamation rather than a word, signifying a condition, and is a prayer to the Great Spirit: "Oh, my God!"

When an Indian commences to relate a tradition, the beginning of which is farther back than he can express, he always begins, "Before time—."

"Before time was we made a treaty with our enemies that we were not to kill our women prisoners. We had a battle with the northern Indians. They captured seven of our women and carried them north. When winter came and the campaign was abandoned, they turned our women loose to find their way homeward as best they could. They were snowed under in the pine forests of the north. One by one they died, the living ones eating



the flesh of their dead sisters, until six had died. The seventh woman gave birth to this male child, and in her lost condition, in her terrible extremity, with her dead sisters' bones lying around her, in her anguish and trial, she exclaimed, 'Que-ne-mo! Que-ne-mo!' or, 'Oh, my God! Oh, my God!' She survived the winter with her child, and in the spring made her way home to the tribe. Upon her return the warriors held a great council of seven days, a day for each one of the dead, and one for the living and her child, and made him chieftain of his band, covenanting with his mother that as long as time should last the title should remain in her family, and that the oldest son of each generation should be called Que-ne-mo."

So there has never been but one Que-ne-mo at any one time since. There have been in all six Quenemos—two in Osage county. The one for whom the town is named died in the Indian Territory about 1873, and is buried in the Sauk and Fox burial ground at the agency in Oklahoma. He was of the fifth generation. When he died there was no Quenemo living, but since that time his eldest daughter has borne a son who is entitled to the name, and is the sixth in line of the succession. We hope there may always be a Quenemo as long as "time shall last."

But at all events the pretty little village that nestles at the foot of Agency hill is the only town in the world bearing the name, and will forever perpetuate the legend of Quenemo.

*Agency of Thomas Miller, 1869.*

"SAC AND FOX AGENCY, INDIAN TERRITORY, August 18, 1870.<sup>99</sup>

"In transmitting this, my first annual report of the condition of affairs within the Sac and Fox agency, I would say that on the 25th of 11th month last I commenced the removal of this tribe from their old reservation in Kansas to their new home west of the Creek nation, in the Indian Territory. One chief with his band, numbering some 240, declined to follow the main tribe. Although late in the season, we were favored with good weather and roads, and blessed with health, performing the journey in nineteen days. Our train consisted of seventeen wagons, and afforded comfortable conveyance for the aged, infirm, and children, while the larger portion of the more able had gone to the plains on their usual hunt, to join us on the new reserve on their return in the spring, thus saving the department the expense of their removal.

"Twenty-three additional wagons laden with Indian baggage, farm implements, provisions, etc., had preceded us, and were on the ground upon our arrival. It was now midwinter; we had no shelter except linen tents, yet owing to the mildness of the weather the Indians experienced no suffering.

"During the winter we were engaged in plowing, making rails and fencing lots for the Indians, they assisting us. In preparing for removal we had purchased nine yoke of oxen, wagons, plows, chains, etc. This enabled us to do the necessary farm work preparatory to planting in the spring. We plowed and planted 150 acres. Our corn made a good crop, and the Indians are now drying it for winter food.

"I think these Indians have done well under the circumstances, and they appear to be quite satisfied and contented in their new homes. I have visited the chief, who with the people refused to remove from the old reservation, several times, and the superintendent has visited him. We have urged that it would be far better for him to join his people in their new homes than to remain detached therefrom, exposed to annoyances from unfriendly white people, but our appeals have been unheeded. About forty of this chief's band, however, have in small companies left him and united with us, and

NOTE 99.—Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1870, p. 269: When General Grant became President he changed the personnel of the Indian agents, and appointed Quakers throughout, which gave general satisfaction, as the well-known policy of William Penn's people in their dealings with the Indians had been honest and just. Thomas Miller was appointed as the first quaker agent of the Sauks and Foxes.

we have reason to hope that ere long the remainder will follow, as they cannot receive their share of tribal annuities off the new reservation.

"On the 31st of last 5th month, Sac and Fox Indians upon the new reservation were enrolled for the purpose of receiving the semiannual payment, and the following is the result, viz.: Adult males, 147; adult females, 132; children, 108; total on new reservation, 387. The others not being here and refusing to be counted, their number cannot be given with any degree of certainty.

"The Sac and Fox are situated on Deep Fork, west of the Creeks, and north of the Seminoles, from which latter reservation the tract selected for the Sauks and Foxes extended northward to the Red Fork of the Arkansas, and comprises 750 square miles. I am very favorably impressed that their change of location from Kansas to the Indian country is a good one. A large portion of the bottom land and much of the upland is of a good quality, and all adapted to the growth of grasses, both in prairie and timber. The reserve is well supplied with building and fencing timber, and has an abundance of wood for fuel. There appears a desire with some of the tribe to build log houses, instead of rude bark lodges in which they have heretofore generally lived, and with their assistance and coöperation we have helped and encouraged them to make this desirable change. Situated as they are, near more civilized tribes, living in houses and wearing citizen's dress, I think they will be influenced and encouraged to adopt the better habits of civilization. Most of them, however, still wear the blanket and dress otherwise in accordance with their tribal customs.

"We had a small but very good school in operation from the date of last annual report up to the time of our removal South, with an attendance of eight or ten children, and as it was deemed not best to take the children from comfortable quarters to be exposed in tents through the winter season the school was continued at the mission building on the old reservation until spring, under the charge of John Craig, superintendent, and Henrietta Woodmas, teacher. Last spring I removed the children down here, but we have not been able yet to have a school put in operation, which, however, we hope soon to be able to do.

"The employees at this agency are an interpreter, physician, blacksmith, gunsmith, and five farmers, most of whom, I believe, are striving to do their duty.

THOMAS MILLER, *Agent.*"

By 1871 all of the Sauks and Foxes had emigrated willingly to the new reservation in the Indian Territory save Mo-ko-ho-ko's band, which steadfastly refused to be torn away from the home they loved so well, and where most of them had been born. In October, 1875, they were removed by government troops, but returned promptly to Kansas. Not until November, 1886, after the death of Mo-ko-ho-ko, which had occurred about 1880, or as early as 1878, were they finally removed. His people would never tell the date of his death or place of burial. It is supposed that he is buried on the Marais des Cygnes northwest of Melvern. His home for years was on or near the land of Cyrus Case. He left a son, Waw-pe-law-pe, who has a son, Arthur Davis. Captain Sam succeeded Mo-ko-ho-ko as chief. This determination to remain in Kansas civilized this "wild band," for they supported themselves by working for the farmers upon the Marais des Cygnes and Salt creek, and when they at last drove away in charge of officers they had their own teams and spring wagons, with provisions and money for the journey, which they had earned for themselves, without the aid of a dollar from the government. A very few, Quenemo among the number, attended the annual payments at the Oklahoma agency and received their annuity. For fifteen years they had demonstrated the fact that they could take care of themselves. These Indians had to be guarded

for a year after their last removal to keep them from returning,<sup>100</sup> so strong was their attachment for their old home and the graves of their fathers, noteworthy followers of the patriotic Black Hawk, who, like themselves, was only fighting to retain his home. Although remaining with the nation in Oklahoma, this band has kept to its old methods, for which we respect them, for the agent, Samuel L. Patrick, in his annual report for 1892, says :

"There are three bands now residing upon allotted land and at the same time evading, so far as possible, the true meaning and intent of the allotment law. One is the Mo-ko-ho-ko band of Sacs and Foxes, under Chief Paw-she-paw-ho, numbering over 100 persons, who have always held aloof from the main tribe and have never taken part in the councils or patronized the schools, and have always been considered stubborn and rebellious. This band have taken their allotments all contiguous, and fenced the entire tract, placing gates on section line roads. They live in groups, breaking and cultivating land without regard to individual ownership. Yet, I must say that this band is above the average for sobriety, honesty, industry, and thrift, notwithstanding their determination not to follow the ways of the white man."

It is not our province to follow up the political history of the tribe since its removal to the Territory, but to show how the good seed, sown broadcast in Osage county, under adverse circumstances, has yielded such an abundant harvest, it will be necessary to give the biographies of some of the families whom we have previously introduced.

#### THE CONVICTION AND CONVERSION OF MOSES KEOKUK.

It has been shown that the Keokuk family in Kansas had stood not only for honesty and advancement, but since the first days of Mr. and Mrs. Duvall's coming, for education and progress. In the interim between their advent at the old agency with the sweet-toned melodeon, when Mrs. Duvall first began to instruct a few Indian children in music and books in her own home, until their coming to organize the mission school at the new agency,<sup>101</sup> Keokuk had sent his son Charley, and Chick-o-skuk had sent his son Joe, with Fannie and Isaac Goodell and Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, to Baldwin to school. But Charley and Joe were altogether too young for it to do them much good, aside from the association and an opportunity to learn to speak English by being in the company of white people exclusively. These boys were among the original seven of the first established Indian mission school under the agency of H. W. Martin, and were there taken into the home life of the Duvall's. When Philip Phillips was touring in Kansas they gave one of their sacred concerts at Baldwin. Keokuk was at the time visiting his son and attended the concert. Those of us who have had the pleasure of attending those concerts remember that they were highly spiritual, and worked upon the emotions of the listeners. Although Keokuk did not understand a single word, the soul-inspiring music touched his savage heart, and he wept and said "There must be something in the white man's religion and in the white man's God."

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NOTE 100.—Mrs. Nadeau has this to add to the story of Mo-ko-ho-ko's band: "After the band had been brought down the last time the leading men were handcuffed for many days, and fasted until they looked weak and exhausted. They would not consent to take the money that had been saved for them or consent to stay, though their friends and relatives plead with them to give in." We judge Mrs. Nadeau means that the officers relented and liberated the braves, as she adds, "The members of the band were never sociable or neighborly until after their head men were dead and gone."

NOTE 101.—The names of Charles Keokuk and Joseph Chick-o-skuk appear on pages 7 and 6 of the first catalogue issued by Baker University, 1862-'63.



Something was said to him about his crying, to which he quickly replied: "No. No cry! Squaw cry!" But the spirit of unrest, of a lost condition, had taken possession of him. He returned to his home and sought the counsel of John Goodell and his estimable wife, who explained to him the way of salvation, clearly and logically. He then went to his friend, interpreter and counselor William Hurr,<sup>102</sup> who had been his one closest friend for years, whose advice and judgment he always sought in all matters of importance, who was himself an educated Indian. Hurr advised him to take his tent and go to an Indian missionary for religious teachings. This Keokuk did in 1875, and Mr. Hurr went along as interpreter. They stayed a number of weeks. At the end of that time he had been converted and baptised, and in 1876 was ordained as a minister of the Baptist church. The Indian minister who baptised him is still living, Rev. Isaac McCoy, of Stroud, Okla.

Returning to the territory, Keokuk, like all new converts, began to work for the salvation of those around him. He built a Baptist church at his own expense, in which there was preaching and Sabbath school every Sunday, and if for any cause there was no preacher Keokuk mounted the pulpit and preached. Mrs. Fanny Goodell Nadeau says: "It was inspiring to see and hear Keokuk preach. He made a beautiful prayer."

As to Keokuk's correct understanding of the Scripture we will allow the late Dr. E. B. Fenn, of Lyndon, Kan., to testify:

"When I was at the Sauk and Fox agency as physician for the nation I was the superintendent of the Sabbath school. One day in Bible class the question came up as to what constituted the unpardonable sin. When I turned to Mr. Hurr, also a Baptist minister and interpreter, he said, 'Ask Keokuk what constitutes the unpardonable sin.' Keokuk straightened up in his dignity, and replied, 'One word, 'neglect'; for the Bible says, 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him shall not perish, but have everlasting life' and how shall we hope to escape if we neglect so great salvation?'"

Some time after Keokuk's aged wife died he married Mrs. Mary Means, whose portrait we here present. She was the daughter of Lieut. David D. Mitchell<sup>103</sup> and his Indian wife Julia, and was the baby with whom Mrs. Julia Mitchell swam the river. Mrs. Mary Keokuk lived very happily with her illustrious husband, and testifies that he lived a truly Christian life for at least thirty years before his death, and died in the faith. Mrs. Duvall writes: "When I heard that Keokuk had been converted and had preached the Gospel, I exclaimed: 'Cast thy bread upon the waters; for thou shall find it after many days.'"

Mrs. Mary Keokuk is now living, and is very spry and remarkably well preserved intellectually for one who is eighty-four years of age. Of course she is educated and refined, as her picture shows. She was very beautiful, and was reared as a white girl in accordance with her father's request. But God had other plans for her, and through very much trouble and tribulation she was led back to her mother's people, where, through her influence,

NOTE 102.—WM. HURR (Naw-gua-ke-shick, or Noon-day) was a member of the Franklin county band of Ottawas, a disciple and pupil of the Rev. Jotham Meeker. He signed the Ottawa treaties of 1862 and 1867, the first as councilman and the second as interpreter. C. R. Green visited him in Oklahoma in 1903. He then said: "I have been interpreter here [Sauk and Fox agency], off and on, twenty years." In Kansas the Ottawa Indians and Sauks and Foxes were under the same agent.

NOTE 103.—In one of the record books of the Indian Office at St. Louis, in the Kansas Historical Society's collection, is the correspondence of David D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, from October 6, 1841, to January 2, 1844.



MRS. MARY KEOKUK.

Babe on her mother's back in swimming  
the stream.

by the blessing of God, she has helped to win civilization for them and a crown of glory for herself.

Mrs. Keokuk remembers that while she was at Prairie du Chien, or Fort Crawford, Wis., that Col. Zachary Taylor was in command there, and the circumstances of the elopement of his daughter, Sarah Knox Taylor, with Lieut. Jefferson Davis, also stationed at the fort. The young couple fled to Fort Winnebago, but, being a child then, Mrs. Keokuk does not remember whether they were overtaken there or not, but they were married later at the home of Mrs. Taylor's aunt at Louisville, Ky., in 1835. The honeymoon was short, for the young wife died within a few months and never knew the later illustrious history of her father and of her husband.

Moses Keokuk, whose Indian name was Waw-naw-ke-sah, was the son of Old Keokuk and his wife No-kaw-quala, and was born just below Rock

Island, Ill., in February, 1824, and died in Oklahoma, October 27, 1903, leaving one son, Charles Keokuk, who died the next year, June 6, 1904. Charles is survived by four children—three sons and one daughter—all of whom are well educated, and are the only living descendants of the Keokuk family. Charles was thrice married. The eldest son, Frank R. (Nale-pwe), is married, and lives in Stroud, Okla. John E. (Mes-qua-ke) and Robert (Pah-she-she-mo) are the second and third sons, while Miss Fannie Keokuk (Waw-ko-se-quala), a very beautiful girl, is a student at Carlisle, Pa. They have an inheritance of sterling character and worth. John E. Keokuk, of Stroud, Okla., is a writer of much literary merit. He, too, is married. We had hoped to have received from him a late photograph of his illustrious father and some additional Keokuk history.

Chick-o-skuk was the Fox chief, being appointed to that position after Maw-me-wah-ne-kah left Kansas for Iowa. He died in 1887, at about the age of eighty, and his wife, Kah-tah-ko-wah, in 1895. Their son Joe died in 1873, and his second son, Ah-naw-me, in 1903. They were of the Black Hawk band, and left no descendants.

Appanoose, a Sauk chief by inheritance, as his name implies, signed the treaty of 1842, by which the Sauks and Foxes exchanged their Iowa home for the reserve in Kansas. In 1837 he was one of the party that accompanied Major Street to the East. His public address at Boston was said to have been the most animated of the Indian speakers. From it he appears to have been a tall man. He evidently emigrated to Kansas with his band, and a northern branch of the Marais des Cygnes in Franklin county bears

his name. Thos. L. McKenney's "History of the Indian Tribes of North America" devotes a page to him.

A little stream south of Quenemo, a southern branch of the Marais des Cygnes, commemorates Tuquas, the chief noted for the sobriety of himself and band. His name is appended to the Sauk and Fox treaty of 1842, and is there spelled Tuk-quos, a Sauk. As his name is not attached to the treaty of 1859, it is probable that by that time he had passed on.

Pow-e-sheek, a principal chief of the Foxes, also died in Kansas, and is supposed to be buried near the mouth of One-hundred-and-ten creek. His name is attached to the treaties of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, the meaning given as "Roused bear" or "Shedding bear."

Black Hawk<sup>104</sup> had two sons in Kansas; the eldest, Nash-she-wah-skuk, has a son living in Oklahoma, whose name is Logan Kah-Kaque, one of the late Sauk and Fox counselors. He was named for John A. Logan by the committee who gave the Sauk and Fox Indians their English names in 1891, just before the allotment of lands. Walter Battice was a member of this committee. Logan had a brother Joseph, and one whose name I did not obtain, who died long ago. Black Hawk's youngest son's name was Aw-tha-me-saw. Kah-Kaque is a highly respected old man, and has a son Jesse and daughter Inez, and nine fine grandchildren. The son is well educated. May there never cease to be a direct descendant of Black Hawk.

Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah returned to her blanket, married a blanket Indian, and assumed her Indian name, Pioke. She was very happy with her Indian lover, Growing Horn (Saw-ke-we-naw-kaw-paw), and they lived together many years, raising a family of four children, two of whom, Fannie and Milford, are still living. Her husband died and she again married an Indian, whose English name is William Shaw (Peo-twy-tuck). They have a very beautiful daughter by the name of Edna Shaw, who is also a student at Carlisle. Mrs. Shaw has a son and two daughters living, and all married. While Mrs. Shaw dropped her citizen's dress and put on full Indian costume, and only spoke in Indian tongue, as her first husband did not know a word of English, she has been the means, consciously or unconsciously, of reaching a class of her people that the missionaries would have failed to influence, and has done more real good for the Sauk and Fox nation than any one missionary could have done. Still, it must be acknowledged that her good influence had its origin with the sweet-toned melodeon of Mrs. Duvall.

This story is told by Mr. Logan:

"One day there entered a settler's house in the Indian Territory several squaws. The girls had a new organ, and one of them could play a few chords and sing some. Finally, after sitting a while, one of the squaws nodded toward the organ and said to one of the girls in English, "Play." So the girl sang and played for a while, all she knew, probably, and then asked the squaw to play. To her surprise, the squaw laid aside her blanket and went to the organ. Sitting down, she ran her fingers lightly over the keyboard a few times, and then looking up, asked in good, pure English, "What will you have?" And then followed song after song in English, and instrumental pieces—a regular concert—and such singing and such playing those girls had never heard before. It is needless to say it was Jane Shaw-paw-kaw-kah, and never before was there such surprise or musical revelation known."

Of course Jane enjoyed not only the music for herself, but to see the

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NOTE 104.—In a book of accounts of the Sauk and Fox Indian agent at Rocky Island, 1822 to 1834, the names of "Kiokauk" and Black Hawk frequently appear.



surprise and bewilderment of these white girls, who could not understand how it happened. But Jane did not lose the instinct for culture acquired in her youth, for she went to the agency and borrowed the current magazines. These she read and enjoyed, keeping abreast of the times and interpreting her information to her family. Her children were taught to read. Instead of going back to savage ways of life she has progressed in civilization herself, lives in a fine home, and is a first-class housekeeper—better than many of her white neighbors. She has some bright grandchildren in school at the agency.

Pah-teck-quah, the nephew of Shaw-paw-kaw-kah who was elected chief in accordance with his will, has left a son by the name of William Pah-teck-quah, who has four daughters and several grandchildren, all educated.

Longhorn was a councilman in the tribe in the early days in Kansas, and died in Quenemo about 1864. His grandson, the one he brought to Mrs. Duvall with the words, "Make him a great man—he go to Washington," Robert Thrift Longhorn, died in Oklahoma in 1890, leaving two children, William and Edna Thrift. William died about 1893. Edna is still living and has four fine children; the two eldest, a boy and a girl, are attending the manual training school at the Sauk and Fox agency in Oklahoma.

The Whistlers were four brothers, William, John, Joseph and Leo, sons of Gen. John Whistler, of Kansas militia fame, who was born at Fort Dearborn (Chicago), of a mixed-blood Pottawatomie and Ottawa woman, and Col. William Whistler,<sup>105</sup> whose father, Maj. John Whistler, first of the name in America, erected Fort Dearborn in 1803. General John married a Kinzie (probably a sister of Robert A. Kinzie, of Burlington, born in Chicago in 1810 and emigrated to Kansas in 1847) soon after the Mexican war, in which he was a soldier. During the Kansas troubles in 1858 he was a general of the Seventh brigade, Kansas territorial militia. After the death of his wife he remarried, settling at Burlington, Kan., in 1857, where his son Garland still resides. From 1847 to 1857 he traded with the Pottawatomie, Sauk and Fox Indians, in what is now Franklin county.

William Whistler, son of General John, was educated at Independence, Mo. He married Sarah Goodell, December 28, 1859, and was a trader and kept the post office at the new agency, in Osage county. It is said that he represented Thomas C. Stevens, of the firm of Thomas Carney & Co., of Leavenworth. They had two children, Leo and Gertie, who are both educated and have fine families. William Whistler was a member of the Kansas legislature in 1871. He died October 31, 1872, and was buried at Burlington. Sarah married a second time, Mr. Henry Pennock, but they did not live long together. She is now known as Mrs. William Whistler, and lives with her daughter Gertie at Cushing, Okla. Her son Leo is a merchant, and has married a white wife. They have three interesting children, and reside at the Sauk and Fox agency, Oklahoma.

John Whistler, jr., married Mrs. Fannie Goodell Capper, the adopted daughter of John and Julia Goodell, who bears witness of her foster mother as being the only true Christian she ever knew. Mr. John Whistler, jr.,

NOTE 105.—Col. William Whistler had a brother, Lieut. George Washington, who graduated as a civil engineer from West Point in 1839. He assisted in the survey of the northwest boundary from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, of the Baltimore & Susquehanna and other railroads, and in 1842 went to Russia where he laid out railroads for that country, and where he died in 1849. Lieut. George W. Whistler had two sons, George William Whistler, who went to Russia and finished up the work his father had begun, and James Abbott McNeill Whistler, the artist.

died in 1890, at Arkansas City, Kan., leaving two children, Guy Kinzie Whistler (Pwy-mau-ske) and Pauline, both educated. He was an indulgent husband and a friend of the poor. Mrs. Guy Whistler was Margaret Phipps (Pwy-me-squette). Their baby is Mary Frances (Mum-me-seth). Mrs. John Whistler subsequently married Mr. Nadeau, who is still living. Mrs. Nadeau has a son, John Capper, living in Lyndon, who is a credit to his parents. He has a good education and is one of the foremost business men of his nation. Her daughter, John Capper's sister, was married, but is now a widow, living with Mrs. Nadeau. Mrs. Nadeau has three extraordinarily bright and beautiful grandchildren of whom she is justly proud. She is herself a lady of refinement and culture, and writes very entertaining letters.

Walter Battice was born at Rattlesnake Hill in 1857. His father was a French half-breed, Mah-tah-que-pah-ka-tah (Stricken Tree), and his mother a Sauk. He was about six years old when the death of both parents left him alone, and he was taken into Mrs. Duvall's fold. He was so fine looking and commanding in appearance, she says, that she gave him the name of Colonel. It was he who hid under the buggy seat when the Duvalls visited the agency school. His lonely little heart needed mothering; and he wanted to go away with her. After the removal to Oklahoma he lived with Doctor Wiley, at Quenemo, Kan., for five years. Henry Jones says of him: "He has done well for a poor orphan boy, all alone in the world." When he learned all that was to be learned at the agency school he hired out as a cowboy in order to raise money to go to Hampton, Va. We will allow the Hampton people to tell of his school life:



WALTER BATTICE.

"Walter Battice (Pah-me-wau-tha-skuk, or Sheet Lightning) seven-eighths Sauk and Fox, brought up among poor surroundings, yet with a strong desire for better things that led him, October 26, 1882, with his friend Miles, to break away from the old life of recklessness and come East for better training. He entered the Indian classes and was graduated from the normal department in 1887. He returned home soon after, and getting together a party of boys and girls returned with them to Hampton the next fall. He then entered the Bridgewater (Mass.) Normal School, graduating from a special course in 1889. The next fall he returned home to take a position in the Sauk and Fox school there, starting a Sunday school with Hampton students as teachers, and was made secretary of his nation by his people. It is largely due to his efforts that the Indians agreed to take allotments and sell the remainder to white people for settlement. Intending to come East again the following year to study law, he resigned his position in the school to his friend Thomas Miles, but ill health prevented, and

he went into business, still retaining his position as secretary of the nation. In January, 1891, he married Miss Rosa Makosato, the daughter of the head chief of the nation, sending out wedding cards and having a very pretty wedding at the home of a Hampton student, Mrs. Mary King Whistler. He was educated by Mrs. Mary Hemenway and Miss Alice M. Longfellow, daughter of the poet."

Mr. Kohlenberg, United States agent at the Sauk and Fox agency, says: "Mr. Battice was secretary of the Sauk and Fox nation at the time of the abolishment of the council in 1892, and is now employed as an additional farmer.

Harry B. Gilstrap, postmaster at Chandler, Okla., testifies:

"I have known Mr. Battice since I came to this country eighteen years ago. He is a man of fine physical appearance, always neat in person, and gentlemanly in demeanor. He is of more than ordinary intelligence, not merely for his race, but for a citizen without regard to race. He is well educated, graduating at Hampton. I can see how anyone who might be interested in Indians might be attracted by a person of such interesting personality as Walter Battice. He is one of the leading men of the tribe, and seems to possess their confidence to the fullest degree, notwithstanding his habits and tastes are those of a white man. He has made numerous trips to Washington in the interest of his people, and possesses a large acquaintance among senators and congressmen and others prominent in the public life of the national capitol. He is a good reader, and his grasp of current events, especially in relation to politics, is excellent. He takes a keen interest in public affairs, has been a delegate to many conventions, and has served as a member of the central committee of the Republican party. He has traveled a great deal, and has had a varied though successful career in business. He has been a member of the Sauk and Fox council."

Almost any white man would have given that about himself without ever batting an eye in modesty. True, you would have recorded it as given, or have added a superlative or two to the account, but you would have felt like taking it with arched eyebrows, discounting its worth. In reply to the question, "if he was the one Mrs. Duvall named Colonel," we will quote from his letter: "Yes, my name used to be Colonel Battice, but when I entered Hampton school, in 1882, I was requested by Captain Brown, who was drill master, to change my name, as he could not have any officer over him, as he was only a captain. So I said, 'You may call me Walter,' and that has been my name ever since." Mr. Battice has a daughter Cora, a lovely girl of eighteen, at Carlisle with Fannie Keokuk. However prodigal he may have been regarding information concerning himself, he has been of invaluable assistance in the compiling of this brief history, in which he has taken deep interest, furnishing information not obtainable elsewhere. It strikes us that he would make pretty good timber for a republican congressman from his district.

Right here we wish to explain that we have had much difficulty in compiling these biographical sketches, for the reasons that the parties to whom you write for information themselves are extremely modest and give you a string of references, to whom you address inquiries. The replies received often do not agree, are dateless as to occurrences, and sometimes relate later happenings first, until it is a question which is right. The parties themselves could have given it correctly, but all seem to feel as Mr. Battice wrote: "As to myself, it would be better to let some one else tell it, don't you think?" And we have had such a hard time running him down



to earth that we surely appreciate that gentleman's worth, and for the most part will allow our informants to talk.

"Thomas Miles (Much-u-ter-wi-shek), a quarter-blood Sauk and Fox, arrived at Hampton October 2, 1882, with Walter Battice. He entered the junior class, graduated in 1885, and returned home to take a position in the government school there. Deciding he could be of more use to his people as a physician, he returned East to prepare for his profession. He spent one year in preparation at Meriden, N. H., and the next year entered the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, where for two years he led his classes. But his health failed and he was obliged to return to the school at home, where he regained his health and replenished his purse, and paid his own way, with the government's aid of ninety-two dollars, and would have graduated, but his eyes and health gave out, and he was obliged once more to return home. As this meant two years before a diploma could be given, he married the girl of his choice (Miss White), to whom he had been engaged, and together they returned to teach at the Sauk and Fox school. He, besides his school work, acted as treasurer of the Sauk and Fox nation, a position in which he had an opportunity to influence wisely the older men of his tribe, who would be otherwise beyond his reach. In 1891 he returned to the university, and in 1892 graduated with honors. At present he is living at Shawnee, Okla."—(Hampton report.)

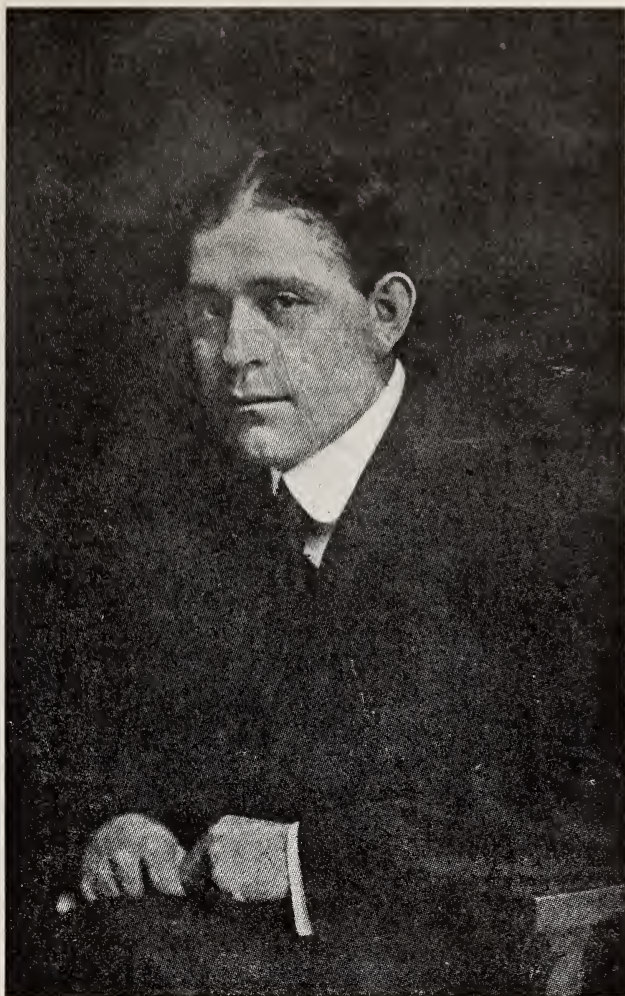
Dr. Thomas Miles has a fine practice and a drug store, and is making a reputation as a surgeon. He has chosen to serve his own people, which is very commendable, and is in contrast with John Whistler, another eminent scholar. His sister, Mrs. Hattie McDaniel, is an employee at the Sauk and Fox Indian school, Oklahoma. Their parents were Jack Miles and his first wife, a member of the Sauk and Fox nation. He died at the Soldiers' Home, Leavenworth.

"John Whistler (Wa-the-na), son of Joseph Whistler, was brought up by his uncle, John Whistler, and Fanny Goodell, at Stroud, Okla. He had been at school for several years, and entered the middle class here (Hampton). He was anxious for further education, and after a summer's work at his trade (printing) at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., he went to Meriden, N. H., where, through a scholarship (given by Justis S. Hotchkiss) and by his own labor, he prepared himself for higher studies later on.

"A notable demonstration of the Indian's capability for positions of trust has recently come to our notice. Ten years ago an Indian ward of the government was brought to Hampton from the Sauk and Fox agency in Oklahoma. In due time he was graduated, and went North for two more years of school. Here he met his ideal woman, and under her influence he decided to become a citizen of Massachusetts. He has a pleasant home and a prosperous business, and has held several positions of responsibility in the community. Just now we have before us the annual report of the town of Lanesboro, Mass., in which this young man's name appears as town treasurer, and is signed to a long report of receipts and expenditures. We do not place the responsibility, but notice that the town debt has decreased just ten per cent during this young man's term of office."—*Southern Workman*, May, 1900.

And this is none other than John Whistler, making good in staid old Massachusetts.

Henry Clay Jones was the son of Geo. W. Jones and a Fox woman, Katiqua. Henry educated himself—that is, to read and write, and in the use of numbers. Mr. Walter Battice writes of him that he is a remarkable man, who has made every effort to educate his children and has succeeded. Henry Jones married Miss Sarah E. Penny, a white woman at the Quenemo agency, just before the tribe was removed to Oklahoma. Mr. Jones has been the blacksmith and interpreter for the tribe. He has also engaged in farming



DR. WILLIAM JONES.

*(Courtesy of Sturnes' Oklahoma Magazine, Oklahoma City.)*

and stock raising, and has been generally successful. His children are all well educated and unusually bright. Mr. Jones is now in his sixty-seventh year, and in very poor health.

“William Jones, son of Henry Jones and Sarah E. Penny, was born March 28, 1871, on Salt creek, near Stroud, Lincoln county, Oklahoma. His mother died when he was but three years old, and he was brought up by his Indian grandmother, Eagle Girl. He was sent to school at the agency, and his early education was given by Miss Stella Fenn, teacher at the government school, now Mrs. Wadell, of Lyndon, Kan. He attended White's Institute at Wabash, Ind., for three years. He was admitted to Hampton October, 1889. In 1892 he entered Phillips Academy, Andover,

Mass., graduating and winning a scholarship in Harvard in 1896, and entered Harvard the same year. He was a member of the famous Hasty Pudding Club, and was one of the editors of *The Crimson*, a Harvard magazine. He supported himself by tutoring and writing short stories. He graduated from Harvard 1900, and was immediately offered a position as one of the editors of the *Youth's Companion*, in recognition of his literary ability. He preferred to continue his studies, and took graduate work in Columbia College, New York city, in anthropology and ethnology, receiving the degrees of A. M. and Ph. D., teaching classes in anthropology to defray his expenses. Doctor Jones was modest in the extreme and would allow no newspaper notices of himself. He was passionately fond of his own people, and his first work was among his own nation in preserving their language, in writing a grammar, and editing 'Fox Texts,' published in the native tongue, with accurate translation.

"After his field work among the Sauks and Foxes he was appointed research assistant with the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., to work among the central Algonquins in Canada, following up the language, rites and customs of the Sauk and Fox nation. In 1906 Doctor Jones was employed by the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago, to conduct field work in the Philippine Islands. Two years he spent in research in Luzon, which was crowned with marked success. He met his death at the hands of the natives among whom he was pursuing his investigations, March 28, 1903, his thirty-eighth birthday."

J. B. Thoburn, author of the school history of Oklahoma, has published in *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine* of January last an appreciative sketch of this scholarly hero. He attributes much of Doctor Jones's success to his nativity, which gave him a peculiar insight into the mental traits of the American Indian, to his great interest in his subject, and to his patient labor and thoroughness. He possessed, too, that "charm that made it possible for him to come into intimate association and fellowship with primitive peoples." The published works of Doctor Jones were meager in contrast to the material he had preserved in the form of notes. His "Fox Texts" consisted of myths, and were published by the American Ethnological Society. The Department of Education, Toronto, issued a general discussion by Doctor Jones on Ojibway Culture. His "Algonquin Manitou" appeared in the *Journal of American Folk Lore*.

The following list, furnished us from Hampton, represents many of those Sauks and Foxes who began the change from savage life to civilization at Quenemo: Walter Battice; David Badfish or Avery; Charley Conolly, deceased; John Coteau; Ruth Garrett (Mrs. Bearskins); Antoine Gokey, deceased; William Jones, deceased; Frank Keokuk; Nellie Keokuk, deceased; Addie King (Mrs. Charley W. Fear); Cassie McCoy (Mrs. Frank Williams); Hattie Miles (Mrs. McDaniel), teacher at the Sauk and Fox manual training school in Oklahoma; Thomas Miles; Lydia Monroe (Mrs. Hamblin); Alice Moore (Mrs. Studer); W. H. Moore; John Whistler, (4) X. From the reservation in Iowa: Harry and William Davenport.

The above have received higher education. There are many of a later generation at Carlisle, Haskell, Chillico and other schools, besides the manual training school at Stroud. Mr. Battice says he is proud to state that all through the reservation their children are attending the various district schools in their localities, and that very soon all Indians will be educated Indians. He says also that William and Alice Moore live at Prague, and that Mrs. Hamblin and Mrs. Meeks, of Shawnee, are well-to-do, live in fine houses, are educated, and looked up to as model citizens; none better any-



where. There are other educated Indians of this nation who attend college elsewhere, and who are not here recorded.

Old Settlers' day, August, 1909, was held in Quenemo. The town did itself proud by way of entertainment. Invitations were sent to the members of the Sauk and Fox tribe to make a visit to their old home, with an offer to pay the expenses for all who would come. Those who accepted the invitation are in this group, and were photographed by Mr. Mayden, an artist of Quenemo. There were other Indians present from other tribes, who came to meet some of their old-time friends.



Walter Battice made a fine speech, winning much praise from those who listened. We have heard so many versions as to who these were and their history, that we asked Mr. Battice to furnish the name and a sketch of each, and as it will be of local interest to Osage county, we here reproduce his sketch:

- "1. Standing on the left, Walter Battice.
- "2. Woman standing, Qua-tah-che.
- "3. Woman sitting, Shash-ka-sque.
- "4. Child of above woman. The last three are from Tama, Ia., having been to Oklahoma on visit, and were returning to Iowa.
- "5. The large Indian sitting is Kaw-to-pe or Samuel Peel, the father and grandfather of the above three. He was a great athlete in his younger days; even in later years he could walk many miles a day. He died about January 7, 1910.
- "6. Standing behind Kaw-to-pe is Mah-ta-tu-wen-nee or Isaac Struble. He is noted for making hand-made wooden spoons and bowls, such as are used by the Indians to-day. He was very kind to his wife, a blind woman.
- "7. One standing between two Indians is Mo-whah or Jerome Wolf, better known as Little Wolf. He has relations living here on the reserve. He is the general road worker for the villages, and cuts a great deal of wood, and sells it to anyone who may buy.

"8. The man sitting is Ne-kol-lo-so-hit or Benjamin Harrison. He has been a great hunter in his day. He even now goes out into the great expanse of timber and finds wild deer when others fail. A good hunter can always catch a squaw.

"9. Standing on the right, Pe-peque or Edward Mathews. He was one of our late councilmen, a fine orator, and one who knows a great deal of Indian legendary lore.

"10. The young man standing is Ma-sha-wah-tha or Eveline Givens. He is a great dancer, understands all the rulings of feasts, and also cooks for their feasts. In fact, the last two mentioned are members of the secret medicine lodge still indulged by some of the best Indians."

We have lived in Osage county continuously ever since the Indians were first removed to Oklahoma, Mo-ko-ho-ko's band remaining long after our coming. We were long connected with the school life of Osage county, and without fear of contradiction assert that the white children born and reared upon the same ground have not had so eminent a scholar as William Jones, nor a better public speaker than Walter Battice, nor a better physician and surgeon than Dr. Thomas Miles, nor a greater per cent of highly educated men and women, although Osage county has produced some exceptionally fine scholars, of whom we are exceedingly proud. But to think that the Sauk and Fox nation were the very last people to accept civilization, education, and religion, and that the above showing is in the same generation that left the blanket! We challenge the other tribes of the United States to produce a better showing in the same length of time, or the white people of a similar territory to produce a better exhibit of scholarship.

We think we have shown that the Sauk and Fox nation leads the other Indian tribes in bravery, honesty, native intelligence, adaptability to circumstances, love of home and native land, and, lastly, of loyalty to their Great Father, in spite of the dishonesty of the agents of the government.

Allow me to quote from a letter from Mr. Battice in answer to a query as to what he might say concerning any grievances he might have toward the usurpation of their territory, and which reply shows his just and accurate conception of the entire subject:

"As to any grievances, we, as educated Indians, have come to the conclusion that it is too late to ponder or serve any purpose by going into the matter of right and wrong concerning the early and recent relations between the aborigines of this country and the other races—the invaders of the Indian domain, etc. What we wish to do is to equip ourselves for what is coming; cease to be governmental wards, to balance up the great ledger and be called men and women. Then all will be buried in the ashes of the past, and our experiences, having constituted one of the inevitable steps in the evolution of the human race, must necessarily, as time goes on, grow dimmer and dimmer, and eventually become so obscure by the distance as to seem altogether insignificant in the point of human history, as have thousands of other sanguinary epochs in the world's movements."

That the Indians are soon to shift for themselves and become a part of the body politic of this nation is to be seen from the following quotation from one of Mr. Battice's letters:

"On July 17, 1909, the Secretary of the Interior abolished our council, which was composed of first and second chiefs and eight councilmen. This body was supposed to look after the affairs and attend to the business for the tribe."

This wipes out all tribal relations. Mr. Battice answers some inquiries concerning tribal officers, and as this is now and will be henceforth and for-

ever a relic of the past, we will again quote, that the plan of the Indian form of government may be herein recorded and preserved:

"In the early days the chieftain was hereditary. Our tribe used to be divided into different bands or villages, and each had their representatives, called braves, head men and councilors. Braves were so called because of some great deed done during warfare. A head man was called so because he was recognized as the spokesman or most influential man in his band. Before the treaty of 1867 we had only two principal chiefs, a Sauk and a Fox chief, but after this we had five, who were known as "five treaty chiefs." They were Keokuk, Chic-o-skuk, Uc-quaw-ho-ko, Pah-te-quah, and Cup-paw-be, each of them having a band of followers. Later, in the '80's, I think about 1886, the Sauks and Foxes adopted a constitution, electing a principal and second chief and other officers every two years. The head or principal chief was the one usually elected to approve and sign all bills and contracts. The second chief was chairman of the council. Our first principal chief was Keokuk; second, Chick-o-skuk; third, Uc-quaw-ho-ko; fourth, McKosito, (Mah-ko-sah-toe). After our last treaty, in 1891, we had no more elections. McKosito was chief until July 17, 1909."

There is something pathetic and sad in the annihilation of a nation, and our hearts go out in sympathy to these people. Nearly the whole race are gone. Those who are left are being taken into the white race, not in dishonor but in honor, preferring one another.

Theodore Roosevelt said, in his Oxford address,<sup>106</sup> June 7, 1910: "When we speak of the 'death' of a tribe, a nation, or a civilization, the term may be used for either one of two totally different processes; the analogy with what occurs in biological history being complete. Certain tribes of savages, the Tasmanians, for instance, and various little clans of American Indians, have within the last century or two completely died out; all of the individuals have perished, leaving no descendants, and the blood has disappeared. Certain other tribes of Indians have as tribes disappeared or are now disappearing; but their blood remains, being absorbed into the veins of the white intruders, or of the black men introduced by these white intruders; so that in reality they are merely being transformed into something absolutely different from what they were. In the United States, in the new state of Oklahoma, the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Delawares and other tribes are in process of absorption into the mass of the white population. When the state was admitted, a couple of years ago, one of the two senators and three of the five representatives in Congress were partly of Indian blood. In but a few years these Indian tribes will have disappeared as completely as those that have actually died out; but the disappearance will be by absorption and transformation into the mass of the American population."

With the tribal relations severed, and with the gift of franchise in his hand, the Indian ceases to be a ward of the government and is recognized as one in the higher order of creation, and thus the savage tribes are swept from the earth. "Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."

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NOTE 106.—*Outlook*, New York city, June 11, 1910, p. 303.





## MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

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### MASSACRE OF THE VILLAZUR EXPEDITION BY THE PAWNEES ON THE PLATTE, IN 1720.

Paper prepared for the Kansas State Historical Society by Prof. JOHN B. DUNBAR,<sup>1</sup> of  
Bloomfield, N. J.

IT is only with extreme hesitancy that I venture an attempt to elucidate the origin and exact purport of the ill-starred campaign inaugurated at Santa Fe, June 14, 1720, by Lieut. Col. Don Pedro de Villazur at the behest of the then governor, Don Antonio Valverde Cossio, with a view to visiting and conciliating or curbing the Kitkehaki clan of the Pawnee tribe that had one or two years earlier been delegated by the tribe to proceed westward to the vicinity of the confluence of the north and south forks of the Platte, establish there a permanent village at some suitable point, and thereafter act as a guard against any attempt upon the part of the Spaniards of New Mexico to explore, traverse or occupy any portion of the country watered by the tributaries of the Platte between their village and the mountains toward the west. The other clans of the Pawnees continued, of course, to occupy, as of yore, the country eastward, upon the lower Platte, but kept entirely aloof from the Indian confederacy that had perhaps so early as 1705 presumed to dominate the entire country or plains between the Platte river and the eastern and northeastern frontier of New Mexico.

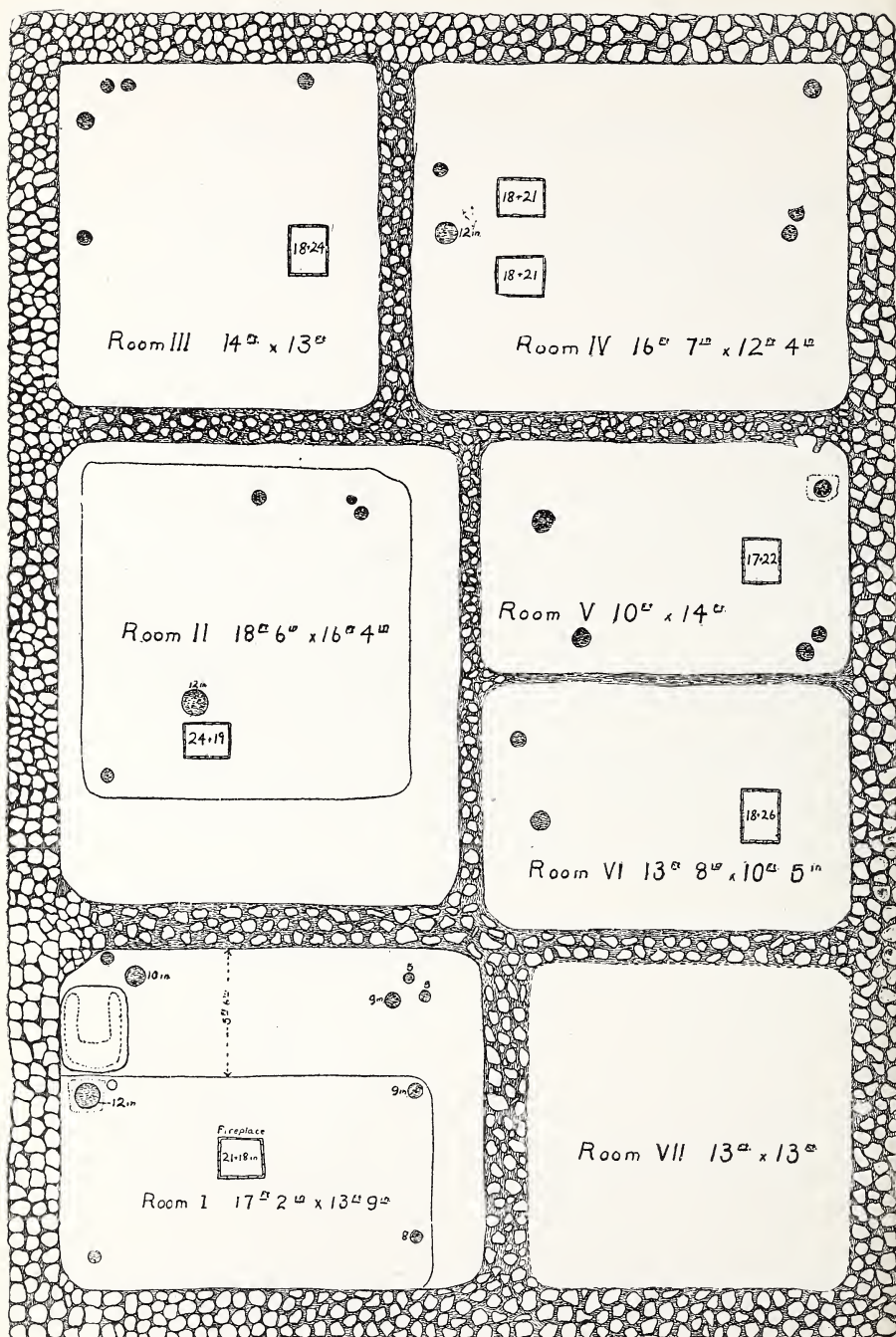
This confederacy<sup>2</sup> embraced at the time five tribes: The Apaches, together with their kinsmen, the Faraones, the Comanches, the Navajos (the smallest of the five tribes), and the Utes. The Apaches and the Faraones were situated<sup>3</sup> eastward from southeastern New Mexico; the Comanches were probably south and southeast from the Apaches; the Navajos were for the time northeast from New Mexico, while the Utes, an offshoot from the parent tribe among the mountains toward the northwest, were in southwest Kansas. The original controlling intention of the confederated tribes was, of course, to maintain persistent hostilities against the Spaniards of New Mexico till the authorities there were constrained to sue for peace, or were entirely broken. To secure this end, as opportunity offered maraud-

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NOTE 1.—A sketch of Professor Dunbar may be found in *Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 10, p. 99.

NOTE 2.—The original design of this confederacy, so far as I was able to ascertain, more than fifty years since, was of the nature of an attempt to preclude the Spaniards of New Mexico from venturing upon the eastern plains for the purpose of hunting buffalo, or of disturbing any of the Indian tribes that were not at the time actually engaged in hostilities. During the brief existence of the confederacy the several tribes nominally belonging to it were apparently free to change at will their topographical position. As a result of such laxity of control, migration from place to place was frequent and at times extremely vexatious. There need be, therefore, no cause for wonder that the continuance of the league soon ceased.

NOTE 3.—It is almost useless to regard the locality here assigned to any one of the five confederated tribes, so long as their occupancy was determinable at their own pleasure. Yet such was unfortunately the actual condition during the greater part of the brief existence of the league or confederacy, scarcely more than nominal at any period. As a result it need occasion no surprise that, even while it was in the process of organization, there were indications that it would soon crumble into nothing. Its brief existence was, therefore, for the time even prejudicial.



RUINS OF EL QUARTELEJO, SCOTT COUNTY, KANSAS, 1899.



ing incursions from the plains were made into the interior of the province, farmers were murdered, homes destroyed, horses driven away, farms devastated, and captured boys and girls were carried away to be scattered and sold as slaves to remote tribes.<sup>4</sup>

So early as the year 1700,<sup>5</sup> alert French hunters and trappers had been active upon the plains, in earnest expectancy that they might be able to control the fur trade of the Indians occupying the extensive area between the Platte and Missouri rivers and the eastern limits of New Mexico.

About two years later<sup>6</sup> the occupants of the pueblo of Picuries, in northern New Mexico, forsook their village and, resorting to the northeastern plain, established the post later known as El Cuartelejo,<sup>7</sup> distant northeast 350 miles from Santa Fe, in the present Scott county, Kansas. The explanation of this sudden movement was probably the result of some fanciful or mysterious impulse,<sup>8</sup> from which they were in due time readily dissuaded

NOTE 4.—Fortunately, however, in the midst of this ruthless activity upon the part of the several tribes, discontent began to develop; the common loyalty toward the confederacy began to wane. Their success thus far achieved, though only partial, entailed unexpected results. In proportion as the Spanish power relaxed, the more indifferent did the several tribes seem to become toward the already decadent confederacy; mutual obligations weakened, and further attempts to maintain cohesion soon ceased to influence—a befitting illustration of the inability of the American Indian to organize and maintain resolute, concerted effort.

NOTE 5.—During the early part of the year 1700 intelligence was received in Santa Fe that a force of Frenchmen had attacked and destroyed a village of the Jumanos upon the eastern plains. The probable motive for this summary action may have been that the Jumanos, as belonging originally upon territory controlled by the Spaniards, were naturally regarded by the French as intruders, as they really were in a certain sense, and, probably reluctant to abandon their new home, were finally attacked and destroyed or scattered. The Jumanos were in earlier days located in western Texas, but about 1716 a portion of the tribe appeared upon the eastern plains north of the Arkansas (I think it should be south). The attack of the French upon them was prompted very probably by the fact that they were unwelcome intruders, far from their native heath, *i. e.*, interlopers upon the domain of other tribes.

NOTE 6.—Bandelier, in his account of this expedition, "Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States," page 181, gives the date of the founding of El Cuartelejo as 1704.—*Editor.*

NOTE 7.—The ruins of this pueblo were first noticed in Scott county, Kansas, about 1884. Prof. S. W. Williston visited them in 1898, and read before the Kansas Historical Society a descriptive paper the following January, which may be found on page 124, volume 6, of the Historical Collections. Handel T. Martin, of the paleontological department of the State University, who carefully excavated and described the ruins for Professor Williston, has also published his results in a finely illustrated paper in the Kansas University Science Bulletin of October, 1909, volume 9, No. 2. He remarks that the ruin has already been robbed of much stone by the neighborhood. Would it not be well for the state to preserve at this late day our only known pueblo from further destruction?

The pueblo was 50 x 32 feet, the walls of the excavated ruin now standing about two and one-half feet high. The top of the accompanying plate represents the west end. The outer walls, two feet in thickness, were of heavy sandstone from the near-by hills, cemented together. The inner walls were probably of the same material, but thinner, while the wall between rooms V and VI was very thin, probably of woven willow. The pueblo appears to have been destroyed by fire, as quantities of charred wood from the roof and of corn were found in several rooms, besides the remains of posts to support the roof, and of ladders for ingress and egress. Rooms I and II had raised platforms against the walls; I, on the west and north sides, as indicated by the interior lines, while room III had a wide platform across the west end. The wide platforms were probably used for sleeping purposes, the narrow ones as benches. All of the rooms except VII had plastered floors and walls, and fireplaces, the latter indicated by quadrangular figures in each room. There were no indications of doors or windows in the walls, so that communication with the outside was had, as in the case of the New Mexican pueblos, through the roof. The remains of an ancient irrigation ditch was found in the neighborhood of the pueblo, and about twenty-five yards north from the main building were found indications of at least three separate circular lodges. The figure in the southwest corner of room I appears to be the remains of a kiln, possibly for the baking of pottery. A small fireplace with flue, a Spanish innovation, was situated in the wall near the northwest corner of room V. The grinding implements found were arranged in order near the grinding stones, and it is very probable that the pueblo was fired by accident or at least so that the inhabitants left in haste. The Historical Society is indebted to Prof. H. T. Martin and the Kansas University Science Bulletin for the loan of the illustrations accompanying this paper.

NOTE 8.—Abrupt developments of the nature here presented were not common; but once in actual existence they were at times difficult to control. Each tribe had, of course, a system of tribal government amply sufficient for all ordinary exigencies. If the original impulse in such case came from some notable brave already recognized as a man of acknowledged standing, the

by the governor of the province, Don Francisco Cuerbo y Valdes, and soon after resumed their forsaken home.<sup>9</sup> About the same date a band of Comanches,<sup>10</sup> known also as Padoucas, coming apparently from the south-east, attracted notice in New Mexico, under the guidance of the Utes, then at peace with the Spaniards.

Fortunately, upon the discovery of their malign purposes the confederated bands heretofore alluded to soon resorted to the eastern plains and for a time busied themselves in running away horses from the province, to aid them in their evil devices. The conditions upon the eastern plains thereby became so strained by 1719 that the then governor of the province, Don Antonio Valverde Cossio,<sup>11</sup> determined to undertake a retaliatory campaign.

In accordance with his heroic resolve, complacently ignoring the usage that the officer regularly in command, as a person of trained ability and experience, should by preference have charge of such an expedition, the brusque governor displaced Lieutenant Colonel Villazur and assumed entire charge of the enterprise, graciously permitting the subordinate to display himself meantime in the harmless attitude of lieutenant governor *ad interim*! In due season a force was organized and equipped, comprising 105 armed Spaniards, and 30 Apaches armed with bows and arrows to act as guides and outrunners. Later, while already upon the march, the governor was joined by Captain Carlarna, with an additional force (exact number not given) of armed Apaches.

The governor, mindful solely of himself, rather than of his advertised purpose to quell certain of the insurgent tribes upon the eastern plains and northward upon the Platte, in his progress day by day, was anxiously intent to avoid personal contact with any of the roaming braves. Though no mention has been found of the direction taken at the start from Santa Fe, the column would naturally proceed due north till the post known as Jicarilla was reached, 110 miles northward from Santa Fe. At that point a brief halt was probably allowed for a few days. Upon resuming the advance the direction taken toward the northeast was probably maintained till the post El Cuartelejo was gained, 240 miles beyond Jicarilla. Both of these posts were occupied by friendly Apaches. Here a longer surcease was undoubtedly permitted, preparatory, we would naturally suppose, to the more serious movement, almost directly north, to the Pawnee village upon the Platte river, then frequently designated as Rio de Jesus Maria.

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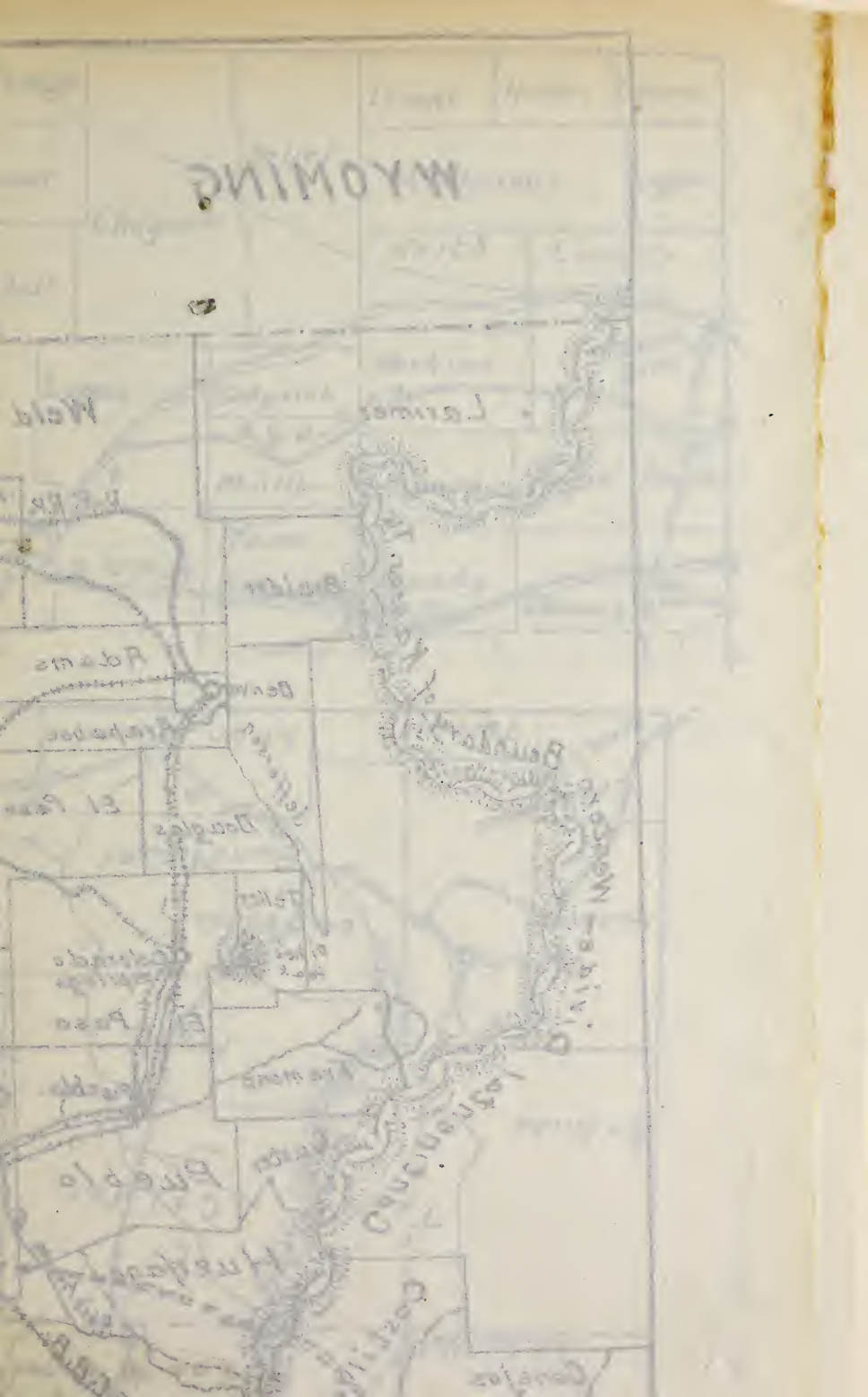
secession might become serious in drawing away a large number of the tribe. The case here mentioned was probably of this nature.

Once only did I ever attempt to secure from the Indians an explanation of their sudden withdrawal from their tribe, and with others attempt to establish a village elsewhere. The reply came abruptly, but it was complete: Atius tipukskiriwis, "My father, my head was turning around!" Fortunately the Indians east of the Mississippi were not so impulsive; if left to themselves, they chose rather to count the probable cost first, and usually their councils were determined solely by that important element—the cost.

NOTE 9.—"Captain Uribarri marched this year [1706] out into the Cibola plains; and at Jicarilla, 37 leagues northeast of Taos, was kindly received by the Apaches, who conducted him to Cuartelejo, of which he took possession, naming the province San Luis and the Indian rancheria Santo Domingo."—Bancroft's History of Arizona and New Mexico, pp. 228-229.

NOTE 10.—"In the summer of 1716 the Yutas and Comanches—perhaps the first definite appearance in history of the latter nation—attacked Taos, the Tehua towns, and even some of the Spanish settlements."—Bancroft's History of Arizona and New Mexico, p. 235.

NOTE 11.—At this point we meet the earliest mention of Governor Don Antonio Valverde Cossio. It is scarcely necessary to intimate that from this point throughout we shall have frequent occasion to meet this nondescript individual in ever-varying roles, scarce one of which does not present him in a pitifully disgraceful plight. He was a professional falsifier, a cheat, a military mountebank, and a murderer.



WYOMING

Weld

Laramie

Boiler

Adams

Denver

Jefferson

Douglas

Texas

Colorado

El Paso

Fort Worth

Pueblo

Huerfano

San Juan

Colorado River

Gulf of California

California



by the governor of the province, Don Francisco Cuerbo y Valdes, and soon after resumed their forsaken home.<sup>9</sup> About the same date a band of Comanches,<sup>10</sup> known also as Padoucas, coming apparently from the southeast, attracted notice in New Mexico, under the guidance of the Utes, then at peace with the Spaniards.

Fortunately, upon the discovery of their malign purposes the confederated bands heretofore alluded to soon resorted to the eastern plains and for a time busied themselves in running away horses from the province, to aid them in their evil devices. The conditions upon the eastern plains thereby became so strained by 1719 that the then governor of the province, Don Antonio Valverde Cossio,<sup>11</sup> determined to undertake a retaliatory campaign.

In accordance with his heroic resolve, complacently ignoring the usage that the officer regularly in command, as a person of trained ability and experience, should by preference have charge of such an expedition, the brusque governor displaced Lieutenant Colonel Villazur and assumed entire charge of the enterprise, graciously permitting the subordinate to display himself meantime in the harmless attitude of lieutenant governor *ad interim*! In due season a force was organized and equipped, comprising 105 armed Spaniards, and 30 Apaches armed with bows and arrows to act as guides and outrunners. Later, while already upon the march, the governor was joined by Captain Carlarna, with an additional force (exact number not given) of armed Apaches.

The governor, mindful solely of himself, rather than of his advertised purpose to quell certain of the insurgent tribes upon the eastern plains and northward upon the Platte, in his progress day by day, was anxiously intent to avoid personal contact with any of the roaming braves. Though no mention has been found of the direction taken at the start from Santa Fe, the column would naturally proceed due north till the post known as Jicarilla was reached, 110 miles northward from Santa Fe. At that point a brief halt was probably allowed for a few days. Upon resuming the advance the direction taken toward the northeast was probably maintained till the post El Cuartelejo was gained, 240 miles beyond Jicarilla. Both of these posts were occupied by friendly Apaches. Here a longer surcease was undoubtedly permitted, preparatory, we would naturally suppose, to the more serious movement, almost directly north, to the Pawnee village upon the Platte river, then frequently designated as Rio de Jesus Maria.

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secession might become serious in drawing away a large number of the tribe. The case here mentioned was probably of this nature.

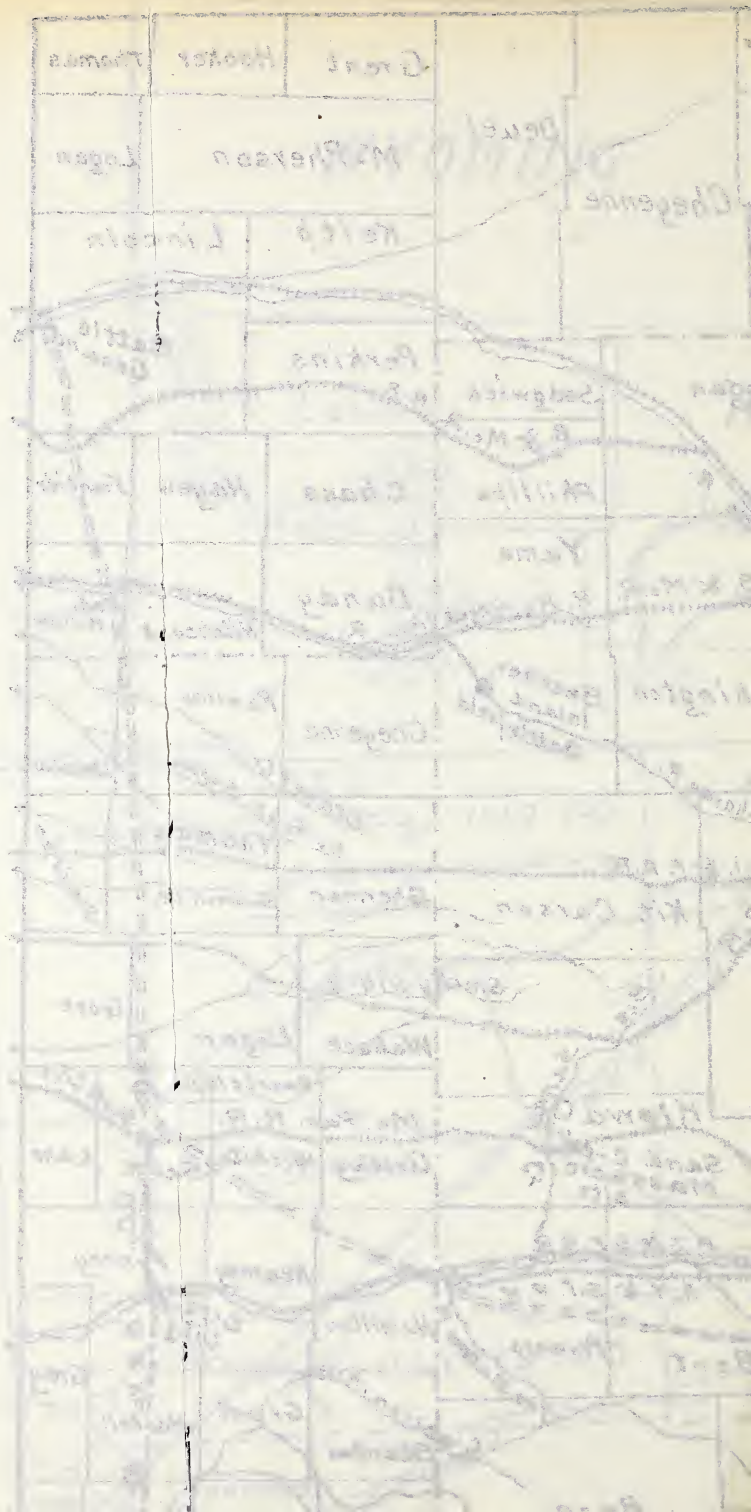
Once only did I ever attempt to secure from the Indians an explanation of their sudden withdrawal from their tribe, and with others attempt to establish a village elsewhere. The reply came abruptly, but it was complete: Atius tipukskiriwis, "My father, my head was turning around!" Fortunately the Indians east of the Mississippi were not so impulsive; if left to themselves, they chose rather to count the probable cost first, and usually their councils were determined solely by that important element—the cost.

NOTE 9.—"Captain Uribarri marched this year [1706] out into the Cibola plains; and at Jicarilla, 87 leagues northeast of Taos, was kindly received by the Apaches, who conducted him to Cuartalejo, of which he took possession, naming the province San Luis and the Indian rancheria Santo Domingo."—Bancroft's History of Arizona and New Mexico, pp. 228-229.

NOTE 10.—"In the summer of 1716 the Yutas and Comanches—perhaps the first definite appearance in history of the latter nation—attacked Taos, the Tehua towns, and even some of the Spanish settlements."—Bancroft's History of Arizona and New Mexico, p. 235.

NOTE 11.—At this point we meet the earliest mention of Governor Don Antonio Valverde Cossio. It is scarcely necessary to intimate that from this point throughout we shall have frequent occasion to meet this nondescript individual in ever-varying roles, scarce one of which does not present him in a pitifully disgraceful plight. He was a professional falsifier, a cheat, a military mountebank, and a murderer.







After his abrupt return to Santa Fe, bootless of any advantage gained, the governor seems to have announced that he had ventured some distance northward from El Cuartelejo toward the Pawnee village. That statement I am prone to disbelieve. Before starting upon his campaign he had announced that he should extend his progress into the northern and north-eastern plains. The truth is that he did not even attempt to do so. He was in no sense fond of armed hostile Indians. In moving from Santa Fe to Jicarilla and thence to El Cuartelejo, I am convinced that he kept himself scrupulously within the line connecting Santa Fe and Jicarilla, as well as within that connecting Jicarilla and El Cuartelejo. In the face of his statement, therefore, that he made an advance from El Cuartelejo toward the Pawnee rendezvous upon the Platte, I am much inclined to distrust his manifesto, for, unfortunately, the pronunciamientos of Governor Valverde should not always be accepted at face value.

So far as I was able to discover while in Santa Fe, Valverde's record was not in any true sense creditable. That he incidentally, while sojourning at El Cuartelejo, learned of the presence of a Pawnee village upon the Platte, and of the important fact that a number of armed Frenchmen were consorting with them as allies, was entirely natural. It was also equally natural, as a matter of simple duty, that he should have made some direct effort to verify the truth of the statement. Instead, Valverde-like, he preferred to strike his tent, and stand not upon the order of his going, provided that thereby he might safely ensconce himself once more permanently in Santa Fe.

That he was not infallible may be readily seen by the following incident: The viceroy, Marques de Valero, some two years before, had directed Valverde, then acting governor in Santa Fe, to accompany the recently displaced governor, Capt. Felix Martinez,<sup>12</sup> so far upon his way to the City of Mexico as El Paso del Norte. Upon receiving the message Valverde at once fell sick, and sought relief from his friend, Padre Juan de Tagle, in the convent of San Ildefonso. There he seems to have continued very sick indeed till informed that other arrangements were made. Thereupon Governor Valverde was at once himself again! His sense of dignity and truthfulness was obviously scant.

With all his preliminary vaunting concerning his recent campaign, Governor Valverde had returned to the capital of the province empty handed. Soon after, safely bestowed in his chair of state, he set himself to the task of despatching to the viceroy, Marques de Valero, in the City of Mexico, an ample narrative of the things seen and heard by him during his extended perilous tour of exploitation. He notified the viceroy of the presence of a Pawnee village upon the Platte occupied conjointly by Pawnees and armed French hunters and trappers.

I sought persistently some years since in Santa Fe for evidence that in his previous campaign of 1719 he had actually advanced any distance beyond El Cuartelejo toward the dreaded Pawnee village, but found not the slightest intimation of such a movement. Instead, there was indication that he scurried ingloriously toward Santa Fe.

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NOTE 12.—Capt. Felix Martinez had for a season been acting as governor of New Mexico, but upon being charged with peculation while in that position he was ordered to report to the authorities in the City of Mexico. Capt. Antonio Valverde Cossio being ordered to assume for the time the position of Governor *ad interim*. If the records relating to that period are still in existence, it is quite probable that both of these gentlemen might be formally charged with theft. The character of each is sufficiently stale.

The reply of the viceroy to Valverde's report was prompt and emphatic.<sup>13</sup> He seems to have instantly and correctly appreciated the character and ability of the writer. From the entire report he selected two topics only as worthy of direct attention: (1) Valverde was instructed to organize and equip at once a force, and, himself in command, proceed directly to the Pawnee village, and once there to take such measures as would be deemed most suitable to promote the best interest of each party concerned. No discussion of the mandate was permissible. (2) Would it be good policy to establish a military post at El Cuartelejo? As being debatable the topic was referred to a council of war. Nine men were designated to sit in the council, part of them to be men of military experience and the residue to be persons of character and experience in civil life. The council was convoked at Santa Fe June 2, 1720. The decision was to the effect that it would not be wise to construct a military post at such a distance, with a garrison of only twenty-five men. An attempt seems to have been made during the council to secure as a compromise the establishment of a proposed post at Jicarilla, since it was distant 110 miles only from Santa Fe, and in a well-watered region; while El Cuartelejo was distant 350 miles, and situated in an arid region that was comparatively destitute of timber and water, the essentials at the time.

By some craven means Valverde secured, it would appear, a revocation of the viceroy's mandate that he should in person himself assume charge of this expedition as first directed. Once thus freed from the dread duty, he seems to have turned upon Villazur, assigned him fifty<sup>14</sup> men as the entire complement of his force, with instructions that he immediately organize and equip his men, with a view of starting northward at the earliest available moment.

So far as my meager knowledge of Lieutenant Colonel Villazur extends, he was probably quite unlike many of the habitués of Santa Fe, civil or military, but entirely willing to requite his country with honorable service as a soldier upon call. As an official in Santa Fe he did not incline to associate freely with such—and their number the world over is legion—as devote their days to limitless leisure.<sup>15</sup> Upon the contrary, so thoroughgoing was he said to be in his chosen profession that he seemed to almost regard his official duty as his mistress. Honored with rank in the army, he was not unmindful that he should, so far as occasion required, render cheerful service in recognition of his personal indebtedness. The first knowledge that

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NOTE 13.—The viceroy at that date, as may be learned from his response to the nocuous Governor Valverde, was a man of character and initiative. His messages to subordinates were meant to be observed and followed. He ordered Valverde to conduct in person an expedition to the Pawnee village upon the Upper Platte, distant 540 miles from Santa Fe. Yet, at the distance between Santa Fe and the City of Mexico, the viceroy's purpose in this instance was defeated. Valverde, a robust man, fond of vaunting his physical powers eloquently, no doubt fell to pleading the baby act and so was finally excused, and the duty fell upon the military commander, Villazur.

NOTE 14.—The number, so it will be observed, occurs frequently in mentioning soldiers serving in the Mexican army at the time. In Santa Fe the stated garrison was nominally 100 men. The force of Villazur as given in the text is 50. As a matter of fact, however, Villazur had in his campaign only 40 enlisted men. The usage in Santa Fe, as also in the provinces of Mexico, allowed 10 of each 50 men to remain in the city as a *quasi* home guard. Any one of such standing might at his option prefer to continue in the actual service. L'Archeveque and Rodriguez chose in this way to accompany the command, and in so doing each lost his life.

NOTE 15.—The characteristic trait in the average Spanish don in New Mexico, so far at least as careful scrutiny enabled me to discern (forty years since), was the perfect ease and unconcern that he evinced as to the lapse of time. The actual passing of minutes and hours he did not appear to regard as a matter of any concern; his thought fed rather in a half dreamy way upon the time to come—the never-failing *manana* will sooner or later even the score.

I had of him in Santa Fe was in the form of fragmentary statements discovered among the archives. The conclusion derived from this brief data intimated sufficiently that in character and in achievement he was in advance of the military men of the day. Be that as it may, it was his misfortune while in Santa Fe to have incurred the ill will of Valverde, a vulgar, conscienceless pretender and poltroon. The agitating factor in Santa Fe at this period was somewhat complex. Valverde's conduct, so far as it may be interpreted, could be understood as indicating that Villazur, by fair means or foul, was to be humiliated, or his further presence in Santa Fe abated.

The means made use of to this end were altogether characteristic. Valverde, as governor, of course controlled. The year preceding, in organizing his command for his great campaign, he had practically stripped the garrison of the city, though there had been no urgent indications of danger. Now that the tables had been turned, Villazur was to march against the threatening danger far toward the northeast, the ominous Pawnee village. Valverde had required a force of nearly 200 men to enable him to face the hostile Indians that seemed, as he imagined, to be lying in wait for his coming. Villazur was obliged to take the field with a force of 40 men only; yet he was expected to meet a hostile, embittered tribe that had been for more than a year assembling and training their eager braves for the dread trial of strength between the widely known Pawnees, 250 braves all told,<sup>16</sup> and the meager 40 Spanish soldiers with Villazur.

Just what had been the feelings of Lieutenant Colonel Villazur upon finding himself thrust aside by Governor Valverde in the first expedition, for the time ignored by an insincere malapert who hesitated not to infringe or violate the cardinal principles of military usage, it would be difficult, I surmise, even for Villazur himself, to define. Gentleman as he had thus far proven to be, he had neglected none of his assigned duties. What little there was still remaining of the stated garrison of the city he no doubt made daily the chief topic of personal interest and effort.

Now, upon learning the decision in the matter, but no doubt bitterly disappointed, Villazur quietly but effectively began his preparations. Arms and equipments were tested; clothing, so far as needed, and provisions, secured; pack horses and mules were received and trained. June 2 the organization of the force that was to accompany Villazur was declared to be completed and ready to move. For some reason, not stated, however, there intervened a delay of nearly two weeks, *i. e.*, till June 14, probably not a surprise to the slow-moving Spanish officials, fettered as they frequently are by the familiar, but not always convenient doctrine of *Mañana—to-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow*.

I digress here to review the life of one of the members of this expedition. During the year 1689 Alonzo de Leon, a resident of Coahuila, had

NOTE 16.—The exact number of Pawnee braves that took active part as bowmen during the brief struggle of August 16, 1720, near the Pawnee village, is of course not known. The Spanish soldiers in Villazur's command had no opportunity to ascertain; nor was the precise number of the French auxiliaries ever reported. The number here given is the only one that I ever heard quoted; but the very Frenchman that informed me of the correct number, 170, was at that very day nearly four generations distant from the date of the battle. As a matter of fact the number of braves in the village was probably less than 200; but the narrow space in which the contest began and ended did not admit of space for more than 100 archers to act freely and effectively. So nearly as I was ever able to learn, there may have been between 25 and 30, less rather than more, that took eager part in the brief but final struggle. The first estimate is, I am confident, the more nearly correct one.



made a tour into Texas so far as the Teyas Indians. There he found six survivors of the unfortunate expedition of Robert Cavellier de la Salle, one girl and five boys, held in slavery by the tribe. These unfortunates he at once ransomed, and took them to his home in the province. He treated them with great kindness, and finally sent two of the boys to the City of Mexico with the charge that they should rehearse to the viceroy, the Conde de Galve, the story of their experiences while living in captivity among the Indians. The names of the two envoys were Jaques Grollet, a native of La Rochelle, France, aged twenty-four, and Jean L'Archévêque, a native of Bayonne, aged nineteen. After sojourning for a time in the City of Mexico they both made their way to Vera Cruz, and thence by sea to Spain. In 1692 they both returned to Mexico, and finally at El Paso del Norte met a former friend, Meusnier, all the three being for the time idlers. Finally L'Archévêque and Meusnier enlisted as soldiers under the command of Don Diego de Vargas,<sup>17</sup> the heroic reconqueror of rebellious New Mexico. Grollet, after a period of apparent idleness, wandered into New Mexico, and later became a farmer. In 1697 L'Archévêque married and became a resident of Santa Fe. In 1702 he escorted Capt. Juan de Uribarri to Acoma, and later to Zuni, for the purpose of investigating the rumors of a conspiracy among the Indians occupying the two pueblos named. Four years later he was for a time engaged at El Quartejejo, distant 350 miles from Santa Fe. Now no longer employed in military service, he engaged in the business of an Indian trader. In this occupation he repeatedly traversed New Mexico, Sonora, and even extended his business so far south as the City of Mexico. As usual with the busy, pushing traders among the ignorant Indians, the natural result came true of the venturesome, thrifty Archévêque; the untutored Indian became poorer in proportion as the trader became richer. His wife dying in the meantime, some years later he married a young lady in Santa Fe, Doña Manuela, daughter of Ignacio de Roybal, the governor, Don Antonio Valverde Cossio, deigning to act as groomsman. At that date Capt. Juan de Archibeque<sup>18</sup> was usually recognized in New Mexico as a man of note and character.

The words "note and character" in the foregoing sentence are worthy of brief consideration. Jean L'Archévêque had early developed the fact that he was a youth of ability; but even earlier it had become known that he was also a degenerate. His conduct in early life was more prone to in-

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NOTE 17.—El General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon *nomen memorabile et praeclarum!* This notable Spanish officer was a soldier indeed, a bold but pleasant contrast to the two characters Valverde, the lifelong cheat, and L'Archeveque, the heartless criminal. In the year 1680 the Indians of New Mexico, almost to a man, revolted against further Spanish domination and were so far successful as to drive out or destroy all the Spanish settlers. Twelve years later, 1692, the viceroy entrusted to him the charge that he either conquer or annihilate the occupants of the province. The utmost force that Vargas could secure for this dread task of reducing the hostile occupants of the pueblos numbered scarcely 300 armed men. With this meager detachment he moved at once upon the insurgent Indians, wherever they might be found, though he was well aware that they were numbered by thousands. Vargas soon taught them, to their surprise, that mere numbers did not necessarily achieve victories. Wherever he marched the evidence of his deadly work was to be seen. But in the end he had wrought out a result such as this continent had never before seen. The journal written by himself of his long campaign is one of the most interesting documents that New Mexico has.

NOTE 18.—The assumption of this name, Captain Juan de Archibeque, in place of the plebeian form Jean L'Archeveque, was ventured with the expectation that the person heretofore mentioned as Jean L'Archeveque might hereafter become known as of aristocratic lineage, showing himself thus willing to gain his desired ambition by an act of flagrant deception. The scheme soon failed, and properly so; for scarcely had he devised the new name ere he had passed finally beyond the need of either. For years he had been scheming to secure the good will and confidence of his fellow citizens, with unequal success. It was entirely natural, therefore, that he should consort freely with the governor, as kindred birds of prey fondly flock together.

cline to the worse than to the better. This trait seems to have survived to the day of his death. Toward his generous friend Robert Cavelier de la Salle he was more frequently opposed than in sympathy with his desires.

Retiring from further trading, Archibeque purchased a home in Santa Fe and was thereafter known as a citizen of wealth and ample leisure. In his vacant hours he was much inclined to volunteer advice, as also to spend much time in rambling conversation. One sincere friend Archibeque had in Santa Fe, Don Antonio Valverde Cossio. The governor, while Villazur was preparing his force for the march toward the Platte river, had compiled a series of memoranda for the use of Villazur. Instead, however, of handing the document direct to the commander, he arranged that Archibeque should have control of it, and as he saw fit invite Villazur's attention to the consideration of one or more of the choice maxims of military science that had been kindly formulated by Governor Valverde for the commander's special use. We may readily appreciate what might be the feelings of a trained soldier like Villazur under such treatment. Archibeque may have carried out the ignoble advice of the blatant Valverde till the final goal, the Pawnee village upon the Platte, was actually reached; and in so doing he fulfilled the malign desire of Valverde. Lieutenant Colonel Villazur, as is well known, did not return to Santa Fe. But far heavier must have been the penalty meted out to Archibeque; he reached the goal of the long, weary march to fall unwept, unshriven, unburied. Favors bestowed upon him by La Salle had been requited by the murder of La Salle, in which Archibeque, the ingrate, bore a prominent part, thirty-three years earlier. "The mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small." "*Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.*"

So long as the confederacy of the five tribes upon the plains endured, the Pawnees were much hampered in their annual buffalo hunts, as well as in their forays toward the distant Southwest.<sup>19</sup> As an alternative, therefore, to relieve the adverse condition of affairs, the establishment of one of their villages upon the Upper Platte in some degree bettered the existing stress by enabling the braves in their raiding to reach New Mexico more safely and expeditiously by ascending the Platte to the village near the juncture of the two forks, and thence at their leisure make their way into the Spanish province by moving south along the eastern margin of the mountains. With all such parties there were, of course, a considerable number of French trappers and traders, whose original intention was naturally to prosecute their calling among the fur-bearing fauna of the adjacent mountains toward the west. When not so engaged, however, they were usually quite ready to take part in any enterprise that seemed likely to prove remunerative.

Such opportunities as the Pawnees had already had afforded them occasion to become familiar with existing conditions in the South, usually to their essential advantage, though thereby they had roused the bitter resentment of the inhabitants of New Mexico, not a few of whom had suffered helplessly while their horses or mules were being stampeded and property destroyed. When once safely beyond the limits of the province with their caballada, their course was soon directed northward till their village was

NOTE 19.—The Quivirans (Pawnees) did not always come out best in their New Mexican forays, as instanced by the slaves Isopete and Xabe, found by Coronado in the southern pueblos, and returned by him to Quivira, and who served as guides from the Arkansas to the villages near Junction City.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 10, p. 95.

reached. The persistency of these raids, conjointly with those of the nearer confederacy, finally resulted in the inglorious expedition before explained of our evasive friend, Governor Valverde. The Pawnees of this one village<sup>20</sup> were already become taboo to the dwellers in New Mexico; but the greater dread of the Frenchmen,<sup>21</sup> now well provided with firearms and consorting familiarly with the Pawnees, proved to be a contingency that the ordinary Spaniard was extremely reluctant to face.

As the day of departure came, there were naturally some surprises, but not more than were to be expected. The cavalcade of mules for the transportation of manifold supplies was naturally greater than was expected. Captain Juan de Archibeque, now an obsequious confidant of Valverde, probably held a conspicuous place, adding as he did to the pack train ten well-laden horses and six pack mules in like condition. At the sight of the long train the report<sup>22</sup> soon went forth that the burdens upon these animals were a voluntary contribution from Archibeque himself to be distributed freely at the proper time to the members of the expedition.<sup>23</sup> *Credat Judaeus Appella!* Any one who has seen actual service in campaigning may readily surmise that there was, therefore, more or less chafing upon the march, as also in camp. Villazur early incurred criticism because of his using a few articles of silverware at his meals. It was the lot of the writer, half a century since, to become acquainted with certain soldiers of rank and honorable service, who made a modest use of some such ware, and yet the use failed to derogate in any wise from their character as men or from their useful services as soldiers. No more, then, did Villazur need vindication because of using tableware of like material. Possibly his knowledge of existing conditions in Santa Fe had inclined him to keep his silverware near by, rather than stored in the Holy City, at least as long as Valverde was present. But such half-playful, half-meant indulgences soon ceased, and the march then became a mere monotonous movement. The first regular halt for a few days, that the force might have opportunity to

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NOTE 20.—The village upon the Upper Platte was established by the Pawnees as a resort for hunting buffalo that seemed to herd in that region, apparently because the grass was more palatable, during the warm season. The Spaniards had also become wont to gather there, and of course occasional hostilities developed, while the Pawnees almost invariably held their own. The village therefore soon came to be regarded as permanent. It was originally established upon the North Fork of the Platte, about one and a half miles above the junction of the two forks. In the year 1835 one of the chiefs informed a gentleman then traveling with the Pawnees that the earliest hunting of the tribe in that region was pukutu, a long time ago. To vindicate their indisputable right as against the intruding of the Spaniards, they established a smaller village several miles west of the first village. The smaller village existed for perhaps fifteen years.

NOTE 21.—The Frenchmen associated with the Pawnees in the village upon the Platte, twenty to twenty-seven in number, were undoubtedly traders or trappers that, because of hatred toward the Spaniards, had volunteered to assist the Pawnees by use of firearms in destroying their foemen. There is no reason to doubt that some of these Frenchmen had beforetime served against Spanish troops during the European wars. At least their facile use of firearms upon the fateful morning of August 16, 1720, might indicate that very probably they had lost none of their former cunning in the use of such weapons.

NOTE 22.—The report here mentioned undoubtedly originated with Archibeque himself. His early training as a poor boy, and later as a trader among various Indian tribes, had accustomed him to the manifold usages even then known and familiarly used by his fellow clansmen. The valued maxim of giving little and getting more in those early days was busily plied. The Indian well understood that he was not receiving an equivalent; but he knew not just how to retrieve his constant losses. Archibeque was reputed to be an artist in such dealing, as his display of wealth in Santa Fe readily indicates.

NOTE 23.—The fact may in this instance be readily understood. Archibeque, undoubtedly with the connivance of Valverde, had provided these horses, mules and burdens as a private speculation. The goods were to be disposed of to the Indians met by the way; but unhappily no opportunity presented for barter, wherein illicit trade might be safely ventured. The appropriate result was, therefore, that the goods were carried to the Platte, and early the next morning passed quietly into the hands of the Pawnees!



recuperate, was to be had at the post known as Jicarilla, 110 miles almost exactly north from Santa Fe, on the southern border of Colorado. The march thither was in every respect easier and more attractive than either of the two later ones. The soil was firmer, the scenery more attractive, the tree growths along the route afforded variety, the frequent streams presented a welcome change as well as diversion. Had the narrative of the march to the Platte survived, very probably the description of certain scenes would readily enable the reader to recognize them still, even at the distance of nearly 200 years.

The post Jicarilla was situated near the southern margin of Colorado, as before indicated, in the eastern part of the present Conejos county. Its occupants were Apaches, at that date friendly to the Spaniards. The purpose of the halt was twofold: the hope that a considerable force of the Apaches might be obtained to accompany the march as outrunners, and bowmen to serve as skirmishers during the further progress toward El Quartejejo. As before stated, the halt at this place was brief. The march thus far had been comparatively easy. The hot weather was not yet present in full force. At this point also began the longest march of 240 miles. The route also from here bore to the northeast; the soil was inferior, the plant growths were fewer and less attractive; trees were rare, except upon the margin of the larger streams. Wild animals, other than buffalo, were fewer and in poorer condition. The noteworthy streams crossed were the Rio Grande, Cucharas, Apishpa, Purgatoire, and Two Buttes. Reaching finally the Arkansas at the village of Sargeant,<sup>24</sup> at or near the common boundary of Kansas and Colorado, the post El Quartejejo was soon after gained. The post itself has long since disappeared, but remains have recently been discovered in Scott county, Kansas, that seem to identify the site sufficiently.

As is commonly understood, the military usage of Spanish officials at that date demanded of each officer conducting a campaign, exploration or extended march, that a suitable person should be detailed to prepare each day a careful record of the progress made, of important incidents by the way, the nature of the country, the special productions, the obstacles encountered, etc. Upon the close of the undertaking the itinerary completed was to be promptly delivered to the proper official, whose duty it was to note the receipt of the document, and at once file it away for stated use, as occasion might in after time require. That Villazur had made provision for the keeping of the prescribed record there can be no question. That it is no longer in existence may be readily explained. Without doubt this essential document perished amid the fatal debauch that took place upon the Platte river, August 16, 1720. Most unfortunately also it was not alone this record that perished. With its disappearance Villazur's entire command, save six or seven forlorn fugitives that reached Santa Fe early in September, perished. Had that notable document, the record of the march, been saved, what a flood of reminiscent information might it suggest to an intelligent traveler to-day as he retraced the weary route that nearly two centuries ago guided the unwitting Villazur and his command to a tragic death upon the far-away Platte river! I know of no document that would prove more interesting and instructive—two terms not often associated—to

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NOTE 24.—Sargeant, Hamilton county, Kansas, now Coolidge, may be found on the map accompanying the "Homestead Guide," published by Franklin G. Adams in 1873.

the present inhabitants of Kansas or Nebraska than would be the long lost manuscript of the Villazur expedition.

Returning now to our proper subject, the expeditionary force, now halting for a time at El Cuartelejo, once there the matter most pressing first invites attention. This post was at the time a common resort for numerous roaming Apaches friendly to the Spaniards. So far the stated garrison had regularly consisted of twenty-five trained soldiers. Though usually engaged in hunting, small bands of them (Apaches) at intervals were prone to roam at considerable distance; while hunting or scouting detachments of them at times came inadvertently within the limits claimed by the Pawnees, at that date occupying a village upon the Platte river distant 190 miles. Instances had also become known in which both Apaches and Pawnees had been seriously injured or even killed in such rencontres. At the date of Villazur's arrival at the post an unusual number of Apaches were there assembled, a few of them partially disabled by wounds, thus relieving them for the time from taking any active part in the final advance. It may also be mentioned in this connection that the region of El Cuartelejo was probably the most trying part of the entire progress between Santa Fe and the Pawnee village. The scant supply of water and the almost entire absence of tree growths toward the north, other than willows and stunted cottonwoods, gave the land roundabout a deserted aspect that fails almost absolutely to attract favorable consideration.

The command was here to a man impressed by the fact that the progress thence to the Platte was evidently to be in every sense a serious and trying task. The summer heat was at its best, the streams few, the water scanty or stale, and especially the grazing for the horses and mules was far from being in its best estate. Aside from all this, however, there was reason to apprehend that the thus far alert Pawnees<sup>25</sup> might at some advantageous point venture to meet them, while upon the way, with an unwelcome surprise. The daily march was therefore, it is safe to say, probably continued at a slower rate. To their wonder, however, the force continued to advance day by day unmolested. The yielding soil and the great heat were now the chief sources of embarrassment. The versatile Pawnee had thus far failed to present himself either singly or in force. Slowly the days wore away, till at last evidence of the increasing nearness of the Pawnee village became only too distinct in the form of frequent hoof prints in the soil, and soon a distant Indian mounted was seen now and then far to the front or upon the flank of the command. The continued advance was now evidently nearing its goal, and August 15, early in the forenoon, Villazur, at last in full view of the long anticipated Pawnee village, reined up suddenly upon a hill perhaps a mile south from the South Fork of the Platte. Almost immediately a cavalcade of gaily caparisoned braves were seen riding across the level plain between the Platte and the hill upon which the dismounted Spaniards and their horses were grouped. Upon discovering the movement the force mounted, and slowly descending the hill rode quietly toward the approaching Pawnees. When perhaps a quarter of a mile distant from the Spaniards, the cavalcade suddenly broke into a gallop, parted into two groups,

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NOTE 25.—The Pawnees, upon learning of the approach of Villazur's force, arranged that scouts should be upon the lookout for his appearance even so far south as El Cuartelejo. Such a life of partial freedom was a fond boon much to their taste. They had no desire to be restricted in their movements. Yet under exactly such conditions they failed not to win the plaudit of success in the brief battle that followed.



FIG. 1.—View looking southwest from ruins, showing heavy ledges of Loup Fork rock in background, from which the pueblo was built. In the foreground two of the Kansas University party are shown excavating one of the circular pits which occur about twenty yards north of the main building.



FIG. 2.—Ground plan of ruins, showing remains of the division walls, looking west. Remains of the mealing trough shown in the extreme corner of room I, to the left of the observer. To the right, in room V, the small fireplace built into the wall can be seen.



and continued to encircle the command as it advanced in opposite directions till the South Fork was reached, a short distance above its junction with the North Platte. The Indians then retired toward the village, situated perhaps two and a half miles beyond the South Fork. Thereupon Villazur dismounted and ordered that the horses be relieved of their burdens and allowed to graze.

I have often queried what might have been the thoughts of Villazur as he sat that eventful morning upon his horse and gazed for the first time across the intervening valley to the long since famous Pawnee village beyond the Platte. From the little knowledge that I have been able to gather from various sources concerning the man, I am inclined to surmise that he was not of an emotional nature—but rather a fair-minded, self-contained officer of good ability. That he was to any special degree versatile or inventive I question; nor does it appear that he was disposed to be imaginative. He was instead a plain, conscientious soldier of good record. That he was thus a patient, useful officer may also be conceded. He wronged no one, but himself endured insult, and no doubt shameless misrepresentation,<sup>26</sup> without evincing resentment. That he was also frequently snubbed and mistreated is undeniable.

At the date of his arrival upon the Platte he had evidently tried to form an estimate of the foeman that he was probably soon to face. As he halted that morning, August 15, 1720, upon the range of hills south of the Platte, and while his command was gathering about him, gazed upon the Pawnee village north of the river and beyond to the remote line of hills that shut out any further view, what may have been his thoughts? He had reached the limit of his march. The Pawnee village, a short distance beyond, the river lying between, was his goal. The duty laid upon him when starting from the Holy City was to be discharged here. As we find him later in the day, in the camp beside the Platte, the same trust, not yet performed, is weighing yet more heavily upon him.

The Spaniards remained in their first camp until early in the afternoon; and then, at the call of the bugle, the horses were again loaded, and the entire force moved eastward along the margin of the Platte, Villazur leading, to a point a mile and a half or more east from the junction of the two forks. Here, after a brief inspection, a halt was called, and the animals were relieved of their burdens and were allowed under a guard to graze.

Meantime the men were supplied with small cutlasses, or long knives, and ordered to cut away the tall, dense grass from an area of perhaps one and a half acres. This task completed, the cut grass was carefully gathered and carried well outside of the margins of the camp into the standing grass beyond. Thus the open space was left entirely clear of all obstacles. Even while the task of forming a camp was just begun the Indians, by twos and threes, were freely coming and going, thoroughly alive to know what this busy stir meant; such at least was the conclusion of the Spaniards who were clearing away the tall, dense grass and arranging for the distribution of the tents, the horses and mules, as well as the baggage and other impediments. The impression made upon the small parties of visiting Pawnees, as indicated by their excited feelings and self-confident bearing, must have

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NOTE 26.—I found such a statement in a document among the archives in Santa Fe in 1870. The agents in these characteristic demonstrations were of course Valverde and L'Archibque. Their conduct seems to have been gross as well as malicious.

influenced some members of the command as a foretokening of impending disaster. Coming events seemed to be thus casting their shadows before. The north side of the camp, it should be known, abutted immediately upon the southern brink of the Platte. In this cleared space were now gathered all the tents, baggage, saddles, arms, etc., of the force. Toward nightfall the horses and mules also were all brought in and firmly picketed upon the edge of the open area, close to the tall, dense, uncut grass that quite environed the three sides of the camp, upon the east, south and west.

At some earlier period of the day it appears that a small group of Pawnees had come into camp, apparently to secure an interview with the commander; but no one in the command could be found who was sufficiently conversant with the Pawnee tongue to be able to act as an interpreter. Becoming aware of the perplexing dilemma, the Pawnees of course withdrew. Meantime, for some unexplained reason, Villazur became so distrustful as to their purposes in coming into camp that he determined to break camp, and quietly retire a day's march southward from the Platte. Ere the movement could be undertaken, however, the remnant of the day quickly sped.

Heretofore throughout the long progress the burden of guarding the camp during the night had been entrusted solely to Spanish soldiers. They, forty in number, it would seem, had thus far cheerfully accepted the duty. Startling strange, therefore, must have been the thoughts of those veteran soldiers upon being informed that, for the present night, the charge of guarding the camp had been entrusted to the Apache auxiliaries—the only night thus far upon the entire route that had been in a special way associated with the thought of threatening danger. During all the afternoon the Pawnees from their near-by village had been quietly, by ones, twos or threes, with bows and arrows carefully concealed, leisurely coming from the village to the north bank of the river opposite the camp. Thence they quietly swam the north channel of the river to a low, sandy island amid stream, covered by a dense growth of low willows. Once reaching the side island they crept slowly through the thick growth of willows to the south side of the island, and there lay quietly awaiting the coming of the darkness. When the proper moment arrived they one by one swam the south channel and silently crept through the heavy dense grass till they came to the very edge of the open, silent camp. Some of them came so near to the picketed horses—such at least was afterward the report—that from their hiding place they could by simply extending their hands easily touch the tired animals without alarming them. A few only of the horses became restive,<sup>27</sup> but no one gave any heed to the matter. As before stated, the Apaches were directed to guard the camp during the night; instead, they seem to have slept quietly till early dawn. The result of the change in guards, therefore, wrought irretrievable disaster to the whole command.

The two most prominent members of the expedition, Don Pedro de Villazur and Juan de Archibeque, were among the first to waken the following morning, August 16, 1720. Each of them, ere the earliest tints of the

NOTE 27.—It is a familiar fact that an Indian horse, if approached by an Indian of another tribe, becomes restive and resents any attempt to come near or to become familiar, by attempting to bite, kick, or other violent conduct. Some of the Pawnees claimed that, while lying hidden in the heavy grass that closely surrounded the camp, they were so near to some of the sleeping horses that they were able to touch them, without alarming them, by simply extending the hand toward them. I have seen the attempt made repeatedly and never knew an instance of a strange horse submitting to it without resentment.

coming dawn were yet reddening the eastern horizon, was apparently busily occupied in completing his equipment in armor and arms. Villazur's servant, Melchor Rodriguez, had just brought up his master's horse, equipped for immediate use. Preparatory to mounting his horse he called for his carbine, as though dissatisfied with the present camp and determined to abandon it and seek at once another position that would afford more advantageous conditions. In so doing he seemed to have relied solely upon his own experience and judgment, Archibeque having no part in the matter.

Thus far no overt demonstration had been ventured by the near-by enemy concealed in the adjacent grass. In the open area of the camp the Spanish soldiers were intently engaged in arming themselves and harnessing their horses, while the Indians, with their French auxiliaries, lurking motionless and silent in the heavy grass at the very edge of the open camp, were breathlessly awaiting the moment for the anticipated carnage to begin. All in the camp were eagerly bustling, preparatory, it would appear, to moving their camp elsewhere. Villazur called for his carbine, and was in the act of mounting, when a salvo of musketry from the armed Frenchmen swept throughout the camp, accompanied by a continuous flight of arrows. Archibeque also had scarcely mounted the horse brought to him by his servant, Santiago Giravalle, before he also fell dead.

Two-thirds or more of the Spaniards fell in the first volley. The pickets that acted as guard during the night hurried to the assistance of the survivors, as they alone were fully armed. The few Spaniards uninjured and the pickets formed in a body and thrice drove back the thronging Pawnees and persistent French musketeers. But realizing instantly that the balance of numbers told heavily against them, the camp being already under the control of their deadly foemen, they speedily yielded the struggle and sought safety in flight. The two contingents of Apaches secured at Jicarilla and at El Cuartelejo to serve as outrunners and bowmen escaped early, almost before the firing began, and as a result nearly all of them returned in safety to their stated resorts.<sup>28</sup>

The entire contest probably did not continue more than fifteen or twenty minutes. Within the brief period named the command was so nearly annihilated that only six or seven persons survived to escape unscathed to Santa Fe, the first fugitive arriving there twenty-two days after the fatal battle. Half of the garrison of Santa Fe had perished, and the citizens were alternating between abandoning the city or being helplessly massacred by the tireless and vengeful Pawnee and French victors.

Happily neither alternative came to pass. The Pawnees and Frenchmen had achieved a victory that secured to each party sufficient cause for self-felicitation and glory. Frenchmen had thereby imposed upon the stately Spaniards a sufficient barrier to any further assumption that the domination of the plains east of the mountains and north of the Red river was longer to be claimed as a specific part of their suzerainty. That proud privilege, as was entirely proper, had already passed unquestioned to the French victors upon the Upper Platte, and from them and their kindred be-

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NOTE 28.—I am much inclined to the opinion that when the battle began the Apaches had already arranged with the Pawnees to permit them to betake themselves immediately to the grass and make their way as early as possible to El Cuartelejo or Jicarilla undisturbed. It was known during the early evening of the day of their arrival that conferences between the leaders of the two tribes had been held. The fact that many of the Apaches were tardy in reaching their destination (Jicarilla and El Cuartelejo) would seem to favor such a conclusion.



yond the eastern sea, in due season by purchase, it became an integral part of our national domain.

The impression made on the Pawnees by this brief contest was to themselves a wonderful and most welcome surprise. They engaged in the early morning struggle, not expecting to conquer or escape without heavy loss, yet confident, as they ever after claimed, that they should ultimately acquit themselves as acknowledged victors. Most of the Pawnees were supplied with bows and arrows, and in the brief struggle for victory they came out, almost to a man, without an arrow remaining before the struggle was half done. Others at once took their places and continued the contest to the end. The moment the battle ceased, the Pawnees set about gathering the impedimenta throughout the camp: horses, mules, muskets, ammunition, pistols, food supplies, clothing, knives, etc. Satisfied that glory sufficient for the day had been achieved, no attempt was made to pursue the few escaping Spaniards or the more numerous fugitive Apaches.

Before the day of the massacre closed, a brief council was convened; and that the entire tribe might rejoice with them, mounted heralds were immediately started toward the villages upon the Lower Platte, near the site of the present town of Columbus, to make known the joyous intelligence of the great victory. Skirting the northern margin of the Platte in their eager endeavor to reach the distant home villages, they must have traveled more than 200 miles, and yet the claim was made that the entire distance was covered in considerably less than two days. The annunciation of the victory gave rise to long-continued jubilation.

As was natural, several days were spent in celebrating the great and complete triumph so easily won. That the remembrance might not perish, for more than two generations the achievement of that great day was year by year observed by the victorious clan as a period of rejoicing and mutual congratulation. Almost an hundred years later occasional relics of varying character were still found in or near Villazur's old camp ground, upon which his force and himself were met and massacred. One gratifying feature is connected with his disastrous conflict: there were no captives taken, nor was there any instance of the infliction of torture. It may be not unlikely that the presence of the Frenchmen averted any such attempt. The wounded, if any such cases were found, were probably relieved at once from further suffering.

The frequent strictures of Villazur's conduct in connection with the battle seem to indicate an attempt or desire to accumulate upon him the burden of each error or failure during the campaign. Though I do not regard him as blameless, there certainly were conditions that presented for which he was not personally responsible. The carping censures upon his conduct of the campaign, as well as during the brief battle, are at least not wholly chargeable to his sole account. During his residence in Santa Fe, and earlier, while in the service in Mexico as an officer in the regular army, his efficient activity, so far as I was able to ascertain, was accepted without comment as satisfactory. Unfortunately, however, before his first year of service in Santa Fe closed, intimations were occasionally circulated to his discredit. The source from which all such malign attempts issued was probably well known at the time, and thereby Villazur was largely or wholly exonerated from such unworthy imputations.

Even before Villazur was designated to proceed to the remote Pawnee village upon the Platte, it was known that the Pawnees there were bitterly hostile to the Spaniards in New Mexico. If Valverde already knew the intense hatred then cherished by the Pawnees against the Spaniards it was his duty as the chief magistrate of the province to have provided for Villazur a sufficient force of trained soldiers, with ample means to reach and control the haughty Pawnees at their village. Upon the governor, therefore, rested the claim that Villazur be so supplied and equipped that he might meet without hesitancy or fear the wild foemen and secure from them amicable terms and treatment; failing in this, the response from Villazur would be, of course, the denouncing of war. Instead, the arrogant governor, as if determined to ruin the command and commander, had allotted him an insufficient force of Spaniards, fifty men all told, and left him to increase the tale to its limit by engaging friendly Apaches, so far as they might be needed, at Jicarilla and El Quartejejo, while himself upon his way to the Platte.

Judging the two individuals mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, it is by no means a recondite task to ascertain what was the dominant trait in each. No great discernment was needed to discover that Governor Valverde had been from his earliest appearance in New Mexico a curious combination of the bully and the poltroon. Even when engaged in affairs of state his usual attitude, if we may judge by characteristic displays that he made of himself, was that of a braggart, tempered with display of the merest puerility. The difference of the two traits he seemed never to have discovered. For a time after Villazur's arrival in the province, as commander of the garrison in Santa Fe, Valverde had seemed to be desirous of securing his acquaintance; at least the governor had graciously appointed him to act as lieutenant governor during his own absence, while conducting his nondescript campaign against the rebellious tribes towards the northeast and north; but curiously his fondly conceived regard for the subordinate soon paled, as also had his military ardor.

To the heavy growth of luxuriant grass closely investing the camp upon three sides is due chiefly the dread massacre upon the Upper Platte, August 16, 1720. The north side of the camp, as before indicated, abutted directly upon the south bank of the river. The heavy growth of tall grass really formed a wall or barrier on the east, south and west sides of the camp. Upon the north side the grass had been carefully cleared away, in order to afford easy access for the horses to secure drink, and also for the members of the command to obtain water for drinking, cooking and washing.

In the selection of this spot as a camp ground Villazur unintentionally placed himself and his command in the power of the Pawnees and their associates, the Frenchmen, to be dealt with as they saw fit. Scarcely was the chosen camp ready for occupancy before the Pawnees, singly or by twos and threes, were discovered moving leisurely from the village toward the north bank of the Platte immediately opposite the camp, each one bearing beneath his clothing a bow, together with a supply of arrows. Fastening their bows and arrows upon their heads, that they might not be spoiled for use by being wet, in groups they quietly swam to a low, sandy island, nearly a mile long, overgrown by low, dense willows, and occupying the middle of the river. Upon reaching the island they quietly crawled through the wil-

lows to the south side of the island, and there unseen watched the movements of the Spaniards while awaiting the coming darkness. The discoveries made as they thus lay in hiding convinced them that no serious impediment was present to hinder the easy achievement of a complete conquest. Like reports were made by Pawnees that had boldly visited the command while engaged in opening an area for the camp by cutting away and removing the heavy grass. As darkness at last closed the scene the Indians, in hiding upon the midstream island, quietly swam the south channel, landing above or below the side of the camp that rested upon the south bank of the Platte; and once landed they quietly made their way through the tall, difficult grass to the very edge of the camp, and stolidly awaited the early dawn of the coming day.

In the midst of all this intense, alert activity upon the part of the Pawnees and Frenchmen, the Spaniards to a man seem, even at this remote date, to have been absolutely inert to the possible existence of any real danger. While engaged in preparing an area for the camp their minds were occupied with matters other than Indians; but during the latter part of the afternoon, while Indians, singly or in groups, were scanning the various developments in the camp, all of which gave no token that the visitors were not already unfriendly and intensely so, why should not the Spaniards have discovered the fact and set about preparing for the impending exigency? If Villazur was desirous of securing a camp that would afford shelter, so far as possible, to himself and his men, his choice was strangely unfortunate. Viewed from any direction the advantages were all entirely favorable to the Pawnees. In fact, so satisfied with existing conditions were the Pawnees that many of them, an hour or more before the sunset, had selected the positions that they intended to occupy during the night till the moment arrived for beginning the contest; some of them even chose positions that were upon the very margin of the camp, and so secured an unobstructed view of every movement made prior to or during the battle. And all this time, when most needed, the redoubtable L'Archévêque, who so well understood Indian life and character, stolidly refrained from any conference or intercourse with the now overworn commander.

It was afterwards the common assertion that the Apaches that night upon guard in the camp were to have waked the Spanish soldiers before dawn, and thus enable the entire force to be in readiness if the Pawnees attempted an attack. If so, the charge was neglected, for the first firing of the Frenchmen found a large portion of the command still sleeping. Among the archives in Santa Fe I found mention of the fact that Villazur was out of his tent early and partially armed before the firing began. Yet before his horse and carbine could be brought a salvo of musketry and an almost continuous flight of arrows swept the entire camp, Villazur himself being thus numbered among the first that fell. After two years of almost uninterrupted annoyance and petty maltreatment he was now finally passed beyond the reach of further cavil or petty vexation. Some of the Spanish soldiers seem to have reported that they heard repeated plashing of water during the night from the direction of the Platte, upon the north margin of the camp. The number of Pawnees who thus reached and closely environed the camp must have been 250 or even more. Had they been more alert, it would seem that they might have succeeded in preventing the escape of a single person.



I know of no achievement upon the part of the Pawnees that should be entitled to more willing recognition than this one victory upon the Upper Platte. To be sure, the presence of certain Frenchmen with their ready firearms was an encouraging essential advantage toward securing a complete victory. The full details for the momentous struggle ending August 16, 1720, had been carefully matured by the Pawnees, undoubtedly assisted by their French auxiliaries, and the execution of the scheme was without an essential flaw. To be sure, six or seven of the Spaniards did escape uninjured; but such facile fugitives would have been of little worth in the actual struggle. The Spaniards, other than those just mentioned, to a man died bravely fighting. With a conquest thus secured it was quite natural that long after the victorious clan of the tribe should, for many years ensuing, have made it a part of their annual summer buffalo hunt to assemble upon the camp ground, so carefully prepared unwittingly by Villazur, and vividly recount to each other the startling developments of the brief but heroic struggle therein enacted.

For several days prior to August 15, 1720, the Pawnees had been impatiently awaiting the slow approach of the command; slow because of the worn condition of the horses and pack animals. Meanwhile, however, the vedettes had given faithful notice of each day's advance. Early this morning there was an unusual activity in the Pawnee village; word had come that the approaching Spaniards were finally drawing near. The Pawnee braves were carefully examining their weapons; while the women and children were quietly seated upon the earthen roofs of their winter lodges, each one eager to catch the first glimpse of the approaching strangers, when suddenly, to the surprise of all, Villazur and his command of forty Spanish soldiers rode slowly into view.

The two passages relative to Villazur's selection of a camping place may serve to indicate the real condition of the commander at the time. The march from El Cuartelejo had proven to be more difficult and tedious than either of the two other movements, *i. e.*, from Santa Fe to Jicarilla, and thence to El Cuartelejo. The fact that the details of each day's progress was keenly watched by numerous alert but unseen foemen, and by runners conveyed to the Pawnee village, Villazur realizing all the while that he was entirely unable to intervene and break up their well-arranged system of conveying intelligence, must have been daily mortifying to the utmost extreme. Had he only been able to organize an efficient force of mounted flankers the well-arranged scheme of the Indians might have been rendered nugatory. But unfortunately his horses were already weakened, and his men travel-worn. The hopelessness of the existing adverse conditions simply wore Villazur out. Upon reaching the Platte, it is safely within reasonable limits to say that the commander was simply broken down. Every mention made concerning him, or effort put forth by him during the day, August 15, or the night following, indicated that he was no longer the active, ready self of the earlier days of the march; and further than that, he was undoubtedly aware that the tale of forty soldiers under his charge was as nothing in comparison to the foemen that were already quietly anticipating the diversion of eliminating permanently the command from further usefulness. Villazur well understood this, and probably chose to perish with his meager force rather than return empty-handed and useless to Santa Fe.

As already known, the Pawnees upon the Upper Platte were not there to enjoy a buffalo hunt, nor a holiday. They had been delegated to proceed thither for a specific purpose—to secure to themselves for all time the region occupied by the Upper Platte and its confluents. The lower valley of the Platte they had already occupied, undisputed, for several generations in actual possession. The western portion of the valley was already being reduced to the control of the Pawnees. The special charge delegated now was to the effect that no Spanish footsteps should thereafter be permitted to encroach upon their domain.

The real issue of the fatal debouch upon the Upper Platte August 16, 1720, was not the meager fact that thirty-three or thirty-four Spanish soldiers were there massacred, or that the populace of Santa Fe were in mourning for half the garrison, nevermore to return. That was, to be sure, all manifest. Even the Pawnees and their allies with them for weeks failed to appreciate the momentous importance of that brief, grim contest. It was only after months of delay that the first true sense of the magnitude and scope of the victory even began to be properly estimated. From the fragmentary reminiscences of the march from Santa Fe, it almost seems that those forty Spanish soldiers, and even their commander with them, were scarcely conscious of the existing state of affairs upon the Upper Platte. The two years of watching and warding, remote from their wonted home, had not tended to nurture kindly regard upon the part of the Pawnee braves toward their southern foemen. The Spaniards had probably not accomplished half of their northward march before the unseen Pawnee out-runners were reporting daily to their eager confreres upon the Platte the plight of Villazur's men, who had probably remained entirely ignorant of the hostile preparations that were meanwhile making for their reception. The immediate disastrous result of Villazur's arrival with his worn column of heavily laden soldiers was the massacre of the entire force—save six or seven—ere the sun arose. The Pawnees and Frenchmen lost almost none. No Spanish report of the march or of the fight ever appeared. Imagination was therefore left free to construct such an outlook as would enable the reader or hearer to escape the woeful reality of the actual conflict.

In connection with the history of the Villazur expedition there was one potent figure that achieved renown not often to be equalled even in New Mexico. He appeared almost at the very beginning of our narrative, and loomed portentous to the end. Whatsoever was noteworthy in matters of state policy or social diversion, this malign, conscienceless creature became at once a prominent figure in it. Sense of propriety he had none. His own word he used mainly or solely to hoodwink the honorable and ridicule or humiliate the truthful. During his sojourn in Santa Fe he was almost daily engaged in planning methods by which he might secure unworthy advantage over those whom he hoped to mortify or injure. The honest, useful man he knew not, save when opportunity afforded to expose him to insult or injury. Of one or more of his frequent attempts to deceive or degrade, brief mention has already been made. One choice trait the governor did have—he gloried in an ample official title: "Don General Antonio Valverde Cossio, captain during life of the royal fortress of El Paso del Norte, governor and captain general *ad interim* of this kingdom and province of New Mexico."

Gov. Don Antonio Valverde Cossio, was, during his entire *régime* in New

Mexico, a bombastic, untruthful, thoroughly degenerate character. His first and last attempt to win for himself an honorable position as a wise official, a useful citizen and an able soldier, resulted in a stale, flat and unprofitable display of weakness and cowardice that should for all time have blasted his political and military aspirations.

His ambition, such as it was, involved him almost constantly in enterprises that, as arranged, were fragmentary, nondescript and resultless, save to disclose fully his general uselessness. Scarcely was he seated as governor in Santa Fe before he conceived the idea of becoming a great explorer of the domain toward the north and northeast of Santa Fe. A force of Spaniards and friendly Indians, 175 in number, was assembled, and amid promises of great results set forth. He claimed that he was pursuing a fleeing host of raiding Indians, but his pursuit was entirely bootless. He saw no hostiles. Startling results did, however, ensue: His force, officers and men, were attacked by so-called poison oak and the larger part were, for a time, disabled. After the invalids recovered, the versatile governor set himself to discovering rivers, minor streams and arroyos, with the startling result that he succeeded in naming as many as twenty of them. While thus pleasantly engaged with attractive waterways, the mention of near-by hostile Indians inclined him suddenly to hike, as best he could, toward Santa Fe.

Once more seated in his chair of state, that he might ever be found engaged in useful service, he conceived the thought that he might, with great advantage to the Pueblo Indians and honor to himself, visit each pueblo of the province. This royal progress soon began, but before he had scarcely more than entered upon this generous enterprise, he received a notification from the viceroy suggesting very distinctly that a display of milder manners would by no means prove unacceptable to the humble occupants of the pueblos. Conditions did not, however, seem to improve, with the final result that in 1722 Valverde was removed by order of the viceroy and Don Juan Domingo de Bustamante became governor in Valverde's stead, a man of different but welcome character, as his long tenure of office well indicated. Valverde was meantime scurrying from place to place in the province to secure vouchers as to his fitness and unblemished record as governor. Soon after he was placed upon trial for his ignoble conduct in the matter of the so-called Villazur expedition; too cowardly to conduct it, though ordered to do so by the viceroy, he forced it upon Villazur. The shocking result of his so doing should have driven him instantly from his office as governor, but, baby-like, he clung to his official seat till ordered back to his former high charge at El Paso del Norte, a pitiable requital for a man so great! He alone was responsible for the shocking disaster upon the Platte. His obvious duty was that he should conduct the march in person as the viceroy ordered. His management in organizing and equipping of the expeditionary force was simply shameful. In dismissing the case a fine of 200 pesos (dollars) was assessed upon the dishonored governor. In one respect the abrupt change was no doubt much to his relief. His swollen official title was reduced by half, and his minute bailiwick of El Paso del Norte relieved him entirely from further visitations to the pueblos. Henceforth he might at ease admire and magnify himself. Other audience he apparently had none.

Standing upon Villazur's Hill, if I may unblamed so designate it, August



15, 1870, the view toward the north offered, in the early forenoon, one of the most attractive panoramic scenes that it was ever my lot to behold in an open country. Upon the narrow plain beneath, between the southern line of guardian hills and the quiet flow of the South Fork, extends an almost undisturbed growth of tall grass, waving gently and quietly to and fro, ever responsive to the mild, scarcely moving breeze. The few trees appearing at intervals here and there among the denser growth of willows that mark the courses of the South and North Forks, and even the Platte itself below their confluence, far away toward the distant East, seem to stand forsaken and lone, with scarcely an indication of life, as they modestly greet each other as if doubtful of the propriety of even that effort. The plain intervening between the two forks gradually widens into a vast area that is lost from view far away toward the Rocky Mountains. Directing the eye now beyond the intervening streams toward the gently rising hills far to the north, they also soon disappear amid the remote, hazy, ever-changing clouds that are already enveloping the entire scene. Thence the eye instinctively turns toward the direction of the Platte (Kitskatus, the shallow water), the stream that for two centuries, has remained essentially unchanging and changeless. Almost in entire quiet it pursues its course amid the broad valley eastward, between the rustling fringes of pliant willows upon either bank far to the east, only to be finally swallowed by the rushing, tortuous, destructive flood of the swollen Missouri that much of the way overflows the lower grounds that abut upon its channel, making it all in all the most remarkable stream within our domain east of the Rocky Mountains.

But all this is concerning lighter matters. The name met at almost the first word should suggest other, weightier thoughts—thoughts that touch and stir the nobler, more enduring qualities of life. Villazur, as an earnest man and soldier, was not here 190 years ago simply to view the scenery; nor did he come of his own volition. As a soldier he was not, in this instance, to move or act as he chose. An onerous charge had been ignobly imposed upon him. Certain impending exigencies had arisen far to the north that called for immediate, heroic action. Obedient to an unjust command, he had made ready to set out June 14, 1720, upon a wearing march of 540 miles. August 15, at mid-forenoon, he had halted his meager force of forty men, all told, upon the brow of this hill, that I have ventured to designate as Villazur's Hill. While his scant force paused there viewing the varied landscape, within easy sight were probably 350 Pawnee warriors, fully equipped with bow and quiver, lance, and in a few instances proudly displaying a fusil or yager. The facile, deadly use of these rude weapons was startling indeed. And all these braves were assembling for the sturdy resolve of destroying this meager tale of forty Spanish soldiers. The first glance indicated that they were assembled for an unusual purpose—that not one of the wayworn soldiers should ever return in safety to behold Santa Fe. Villazur, later in the day, had scarcely selected a spot for his camp, perhaps a mile and a half below the junction of the North and South Forks, before the demure but canny Pawnees began to appear by twos, threes or fours within the limits of the camp, busily engaged in viewing the horses, mules, tents, arms, military garb of the soldiers, etc. Obviously they soon discovered that no one of the Spaniards understood their language. and that fact known, their conversation became at once continuous.

At this point, in closing the narrative, I venture a brief statement as to Villazur's conduct of his command upon the march. The total distance was reckoned as 540 miles. The total of days was 62. The halt of 5 days at Jicarilla, and later 8 days at El Cuartelejo, leave 49 marching days, each day's advance being 11 miles, with one mile to spare. The horses and mules, if in good condition, could readily make that distance daily without harm if given ample time morning and evening for grazing. The Indians at least asserted that the horses and mules captured after the battle were all in poor condition, and the Pawnees were good judges in the matter. Many minor articles captured, as mirrors, pocket knives, combs, buckles, buttons, pins, etc., were long after worn as cherished talismans. Some of these mementos I was permitted to see and handle, while yet a small boy, more than 100 years after the massacre.

But all this was as nothing when compared with a far more pervasive and valuable result! the Spaniards never after ventured a campaign upon the plains toward the north and northeast, if I am not mistaken, save in the instance of Lieut. Don Facundo Malgares, in the year 1806. From Santa Fe, with a force of 100 dragoons and 500 mounted militia, he advanced almost to the southern border of Nebraska, but learning of the near approach of Lieutenant Pike with a force of twenty men, Lieutenant Malgares retired at once, and hurriedly began his return to New Mexico. The Spanish withdrawal of 1720 left the tribes north and northeast from New Mexico entirely free from Spanish rule, French trappers and hunters immediately taking their places, greatly to the advantage of the Indians. Some years later the French began to trade with the people of Santa Fe. This mutual intercourse between the two races, the Spaniard and the Frenchman, in due time became a potent factor in securing to us the great Louisiana Purchase.

I have not thus far been able to satisfy myself entirely as to the case of Fray Juan Minquez, who seemed to have officiated as chaplain in the Villazur expedition. That he was designated for that purpose, and therefore withdrew from his church in order to obey the call, seems to be beyond all cavil. June 15, 1720, one day after the march began, he is recorded as having placed his church in the charge of Fray Juan del Pino. Thereafter I have no direct knowledge of him. There is no reason to doubt that he did join the command and accompany it to the Pawnee village. Bernard de la Harpe seems to imply that he alone escaped from the massacre: "excepté un religieux qui s'était sauvé sur son cheval." Padre Escalante, usually regarded as an adequate authority, says: "Que perecieron los mas, y entre ellos el padre fray Juan Minquez, misionero de esta custodia." We have here two distinct persons, each speaking as it were by authority. La Harpe declares that Fray Minquez did escape unharmed from the massacre upon the Platte, while Padre Escalante states positively that almost the entire force did perish, and among them Fray Juan Minquez.

Whatever else I have discovered that relates to this topic will appear in the following brief paragraphs:

Memories Historiques sur la Louisiane, Compose sur les Memoires de M. Batel-Dumont, vol. II, pp. 283-288.

The writer in this instance ignores entirely the march to the Pawnee village upon the Platte, and substitutes therefor a march from Santa Fe

toward the northeast, with a view of reaching the villages of the Missouris, a powerful tribe at that time, occupying a valuable domain in the central part of western Missouri. At that date, 1722, perhaps a mistake for 1720, this tribe was numerous and well known. The Spanish caravan was reported as numbering 1500 men, women and children. Their reason for this movement was that they might reach the Missouris and punish them for wrongs before-time inflicted upon the Spaniards. They intended to visit first the tribe of the Osages and engage them to assist the Spaniards in destroying the Missouris. The commander of the caravan by mistake came upon the Missouris, and supposing them to be Osages, made known at once his malign purpose. The Missouri chief dissembled his feelings and consented to aid in carrying out the plot. Soon after, early in the morning, the chief with his warriors attacked the slumbering Spaniards, one man only surviving, the chaplain. The women, girls and children were allowed to live, that they might serve as slaves. The caravan had brought many horses, and, as the Indians could not ride them, they forced the chaplain, whom they had spared, to ride before them for their amusement. This he was required to do every day. After several months, while one day displaying his skill, having already secured a supply of food, he suddenly spurred his steed, darted away at full speed toward the west, *i. e.*, toward Santa Fe, and was never again seen by his captors. In this instance the chaplain escaped openly and in safety. At the battle upon the Platte he simply disappeared unseen.

*Nouveau Voyage aux Indes Occidentales*, par M. Bossu, Capitaine dans les troupes de la Marine, vol. I, pp. 150-155.

Bossu here asserts that the Spaniards in New Mexico had determined that the Missouris, of whom thus far they could only have meager, if in fact any extended, knowledge, must be destroyed utterly. A caravan was therefore started, in 1720, comprising men, women and soldiers, with a Jacobin (Dominican) chaplain, and a goodly number of horses and cattle. The purpose was that they should form an alliance with the Osages against the Missouris. But mistaking their true route they arrived among the Missouris, and, supposing that they were really the Osages, they made known their scheme of destroying the Missouris and asked them (the supposed Osages) to aid them in this purpose. The Missouris consented to assist them. The Spaniards then contributed to them a goodly supply of muskets, pistols, sabers and hatchets, and early the next day while all were still sleeping, the Missouris massacred the whole caravan, save the Jacobin priest. Soon after a delegation of the Missouris visited M. de Boisbriant, the governor of Illinois, and presented to him the robes of the priestly office, as also the silver service used in the sacred ministrations at the altar. One Indian had hung the sacred chalice, as if it were a bell, about the neck of his horse, while the chief wore the paten as a shield upon his breast and the chasuble upon his naked person. All these articles the governor purchased and sent to M. de Bienville, in New Orleans. The Indians had also captured the horses of the caravan, and presented the best of them to the governor.

Extracts from letters of Bienville to the Council of the Regency from Fort Louis, of Louisiana, July 20, 1720, and April 25, 1721.

In the year 1721, 200 Spanish cavaliers, with a large force of Padoucas (Comanches) came from New Mexico, purposing to capture the French that occupied Illinois. Upon the way they met the Houatocotota (Otoes) and



Pawnees who attacked and gallantly defeated the Spaniards as well as the Comanches. M. de Boisbriant, in Illinois, tried to ransom a Spanish captive from the Indians so that he might send him to St. Louis. At that time the Spaniards in New Mexico were arranging to attack the Missouris and punish them for the defeat that had been inflicted upon them earlier in the year. At the same time they were to erect a fort upon the Cances river that discharges into the Missouri. M. de Boisbriant will be instructed to send twenty soldiers thither to serve as a garrison and to protect the Indians of that region from harm.

But wonders had not as yet, even in those primitive days, ceased to visit the bed of the slumbering Spaniard of New Mexico; nor did the recent eerie battle upon the Upper Platte tend in any essential degree to soothe the bitter feelings of the facile dreamer. In his restless moments he early became in an awkward way a maker of warlike dreams. To the astonishment and dismay of the plodding historians, he soon succeeded in organizing an ample caravan of wagons drawn by oxen, with their faces set day by day toward a remote tribe of Indians known as the Missouris, in central western Missouri, a short distance from the Missouri river. The great train of wagons were heavily laden with food supplies, firearms, clothing, etc., sufficient for them until farms could be opened for their use. At some previous day the Missouris had defeated a Spanish force that had come eastward to conquer them and take possession of their lands. That defeat was now to be atoned for by a greater defeat of the Missouris; but ere that victory was secured the Spanish warriors were utterly destroyed, excepting one man, the chaplain of the expedition. The women and children were all held by the Missouris as slaves. All the horses and oxen were also seized by the Indians. As they were themselves afraid to attempt to ride the horses, they compelled the chaplain to ride two or three hours each day for their divertimento. This service the chaplain faithfully performed for several months; but all the while he was planning an escape. So one day, mounting the best horse, he entertained the Indians for an hour or more, and then suddenly turned toward the west and galloped quickly beyond their view. The author of this narrative was evidently a romancer. He at least had forgotten entirely the prudential maxim: It is better not to know so many things than to know so many things that are not so.

The chaplain mentioned in these narratives is evidently intended to be understood as Fray Juan Minquez. As stated, Padre Escalante states distinctly that Fray Minquez perished among the slain upon the Platte river. The statement is of itself sufficient to discredit entirely the assertion upon the preceding page. That story once discredited, the statements following fall with it. Any tyro should know that such caravans, at that early day, were not known upon the plains northeast of New Mexico. There were at that date too many Indians of the Missouri type upon the plains between New Mexico and the Missouri to encourage such migrations. H. H. Bancroft, in his *History of New Mexico*, page 237, records upon the authority of Dr. J. F. Snyder, of Virginia, Cass county, Illinois, that the massacre of the Spaniards by the Missouris, mistaken for Pawnees by the victims, in 1720, is mentioned in all the early histories<sup>29</sup> of the region. He cites also

NOTE 29.—The early histories of this region here alluded to, and which give reports, garbled probably through the medium of the Indian narrators, of the march and purpose, destination and fate of the Villazur expedition, not including the three above mentioned, are as follows:

the narrative as given in Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, page 34, and also cites Charlevoix *Journal*, that author having obtained some Spanish relics in the North, said to have been obtained at a great massacre of the New Mexicans. Doctor Snyder also states that he has visited the spot in Saline county, Missouri, where the slaughter occurred. Bancroft also seems to be inclined to think that Villazur actually reached the Missouri, even though the disaster left apparently no definite indices of its occurrence there.

Returning now for a moment to the vexed question of Fray Juan Minquez: Fray Escalante asserts positively that Fray Minquez was with the command upon the Platte. The other claim is to the effect that he accompanied the caravan that reached the village of the Missouris. When the Missouris ended the slaughter, one man only survived—Fray Juan Minquez. His first care, naturally, was that he might preserve undefiled the consecrated altar service. During his detention among the Indians he seemed to have discovered that the various articles of the altar service had been distributed among the Indians. Upon learning this fact he quietly decided to abandon them and escape. In this endeavor he was fortunately successful; but he never succeeded in reaching New Mexico. He evidently perished by starvation, disease, or more probably at the hands of the wild roaming Indians.

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*Historie de la Louisiane, avec deux Voyages dans le Nord du Nouveau Mexique, par Le Page du Pratz, 1758, vol. 2, pp. 246-251.*

*Bernard de la Harpe, Journal Historique de la Etablissement des Francais a la Louisiane, 17, pp. 249-250.*

*P. de Charlevoix, Journal of a Voyage to America, 17, vol. 2, p. 64.*

*James Reynolds, The Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 34.*

*Joseph Wallace, History of Illinois, p. 268.*

*Maj. Amos Stoddard's Historical Sketches of Louisiana, pp. 45, 46.*

*Francoise-Xavier Martin's History of Louisiana, chapter 8, p. 128.*

*H. H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico, pp. 236, 237.*

*L. Bradford Prince, Historical Sketches of New Mexico, p. 225.*

The massacre of Villazur's command upon the Platte in 1720 had an ultimate result in the narrative of the massacre of a caravan from Santa Fe by the Missouris, as recorded by M. Batel Dumont; the same tribe two years earlier had enjoyed the privilege of massacring a caravan from New Mexico, as recorded by M. Bossu; Le Page du Pratz affords us a third account of a like slaughter; Bernard de la Harpe presents a brief account of the massacre of 75 men from a force of 300 who started from Santa Fe, the remainder having apparently become discouraged or frightened upon the way. This massacre was at the hands of the Pawnees. P. de Charlevoix records a similar slaughter of Spaniards upon the eastern plains by a tribe not named. James Reynolds, in the *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 34, repeats one of these massacres; as also does Joseph Wallace in his *History of Illinois*. Major Stoddard repeats Bossu's narrative in *Historical Sketches of Louisiana*. Francis Xavier Martin, in his *History of Louisiana*, again repeats the story.

## THE KANSAS SCHOOL SYSTEM—ITS HISTORY AND TENDENCIES.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by CLYDE LYNDON KING,\* of Boulder, Colo.

A HISTORY of the Kansas school system should be of value not only because of the events that it chronicles, but also because of the tendencies in legislation that it reveals. For fifty years Kansas legislators have been adopting the educational statutes of other states, with or without change, and then, in succeeding legislatures, revising or amending them; or, less frequently, they have been creating new educational machinery which succeeding legislatures have thought necessary to repair or remodel. In this way the present school system has been assembled. To review the principal enactments of this legislation, made too often without due consideration of past enactments and of the system as a unit, and to note the tendencies that such a review reveals, should not be without vital interest to all those who have to do with Kansas schools.

The first territorial legislature of Kansas, which met at Pawnee on July 2, 1855, proslavery as is well known, adopted the Missouri statutes,† as revised and enacted by the general assembly of that state during the years 1844 and 1845, as the statutes of Kansas territory. By this action the Missouri school laws were made the basis of the Kansas school system. But this legislature itself at once revised these laws in a statute, "An act providing for the organization, maintenance and support of common schools." The sparseness of settlement, the difficulty of earning a livelihood, and the general turmoil of the times made progress in educational affairs impossible, and hence practically nothing was done under these laws of the first legislature. The succeeding legislature, proslavery as was the first, was too busy with affairs political to pay any heed to school legislation.

But the first antislavery legislature, which met in regular session early in 1858, by which time the strife in the state was less tumultuous, was quite active in the field of school legislation. By its enactments, together with those of the legislature of the next year, the Missouri school laws were repealed or revised, and a school system was established more akin to Northern than to Southern school systems. The school laws were codified by a commission appointed by the legislature of 1859, together with all the laws of the state, and thus a complete school system was created. Following

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† Kansas Hist. Coll., vol. 7, p. 369.



legislatures, whether territorial or state, have but revised and extended the system inaugurated by these early antislavery legislatures.

While the statutes must ever remain the primary source of information as to the history of the Kansas school system, the constitutions, those proposed as well as the one adopted, must not be overlooked. The three proposed constitutions, completed respectively November 11, 1855, November 7, 1857, and April 3, 1858, which were rejected either at the polls or by Congress, reveal the educational spirit of the Kansas pioneer. The educational provisions of the present constitution, adopted at Wyandotte July 29, 1859, and ratified October 4 of the same year, form, of course, the fundamental law in the present school system.

Beginning with these earliest statutes and constitutions, this paper attempts to give a history of the legislation pertaining to each of the more-salient features of the Kansas school system, noting such tendencies as seem pronounced or significant. The development in elementary education will be discussed at the outset, then, successively, secondary education, higher education, and state administration.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

### I. THE DISTRICT SCHOOLS.

The legislative enactments of 1855<sup>1</sup> established the independent district system, and the rural school district has from that time been the basic unit in Kansas school administration. By this law the districts were to be formed upon petition, "by the county tribunal." The territorial legislature of 1858,<sup>2</sup> however, gave to the newly created office of county superintendent the power to create and alter school districts. But few were the districts that were organized during the earlier territorial days. In almost all, if in not quite all, of the communities, private or "select" schools existed for a considerable time before there was district organization under the laws, as the following table reveals:

COUNTY OR TOWN.	Date of first school.	Date of first organized district.
Leavenworth .....	1855 (May) .....	1858 (July 3).
Leavenworth county.....	1856 (May) .....	1858 (28 in this year).
Lawrence .....	1855 (January 16) .....	1858.
Douglas county* .....	.....	1858 (4 in this year).
Atchison* .....	.....	1858 (18 in this year).
Atchison county* .....	.....	.....
Shawnee county .....	1855 (several; first at Topeka, January 16) .....	1859 (14 in this year).
Wabaunsee county.....	1857 .....	1859 (October 4).
Junction City .....	1858 .....	1862.

\* House Journal, 1859, p. 102.

By the end of the year 1859 there were 222 organized school districts in the territory, in which 136 schools were taught<sup>3</sup>; by 1860 there were 480<sup>4</sup>; and by December 31, 1863, there were 705.<sup>5</sup> The number in 1908 was 8689.

NOTE 1.—Laws 1855, ch. 144.

NOTE 2.—Laws 1857-'58, ch. 8, sec. 15.

NOTE 3.—From Superintendent Greer's Second Annual Report, in House Journal, 1860, p. 35.

NOTE 4.—Columbian History of Education in Kansas, p. 6.

NOTE 5.—Third Annual Report of State Superintendent, p. 5.

Those early private schools were, indeed, "the first faint wash of waves where soon shall roll a human sea."

The statute of 1855 provided for four district officers—one inspector and three trustees. The legislature of 1858<sup>6</sup> abolished the office of inspector, gave the members of the district board their present titles of director, treasurer and clerk, and defined their duties much as they are defined today. These district officials were elected annually until 1874,<sup>7</sup> when their term was fixed at three years, one to be elected each year, a change urgently advocated by the State Teachers' Association of 1872. There has been a slight tendency toward giving the school board greater power at the expense of the powers of the annual district meeting. For instance, for several years dating from 1861<sup>8</sup> the annual meeting could determine whether the school "should be taught by a male or female teacher or both." Now this power rests wholly with the district board. But in general the powers and duties of the board are much the same now as they were in territorial days; that is, they must employ a "qualified" teacher, provide "the necessary appendages for the schoolhouse during the time a school shall be taught therein," see that all required district reports are duly made and filed, and exercise general supervision over the schools, school grounds and school buildings.

The statutes since 1858 have enumerated the subjects that must be taught in the common schools, giving to the board power to require others. The enactment of 1858 declared that "in every school district there shall be taught orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography and arithmetic, and such other branches as the board of education may determine." The session statutes of 1885<sup>9</sup> added to the list physiology and hygiene, requiring that they should be taught "with special reference to the effects of alcoholic stimulants and narcotics." The present law<sup>10</sup> adds the history of the United States and of the state of Kansas. There has, therefore, been an enrichment of the common-school curriculum, an enrichment that has been more marked than the statutes reveal because of the rapidly rising qualifications of the district teachers.

It is in the annual meeting of each of these districts that the important questions of local school policy are determined. The state legislators, in an attempt to fix upon a time when a larger number of the residents of the district would attend these meetings, have tried about every practical date. In 1861,<sup>11</sup> they fixed upon the last Saturday of September; in 1863, upon the last Thursday in June; in 1865, upon the last Saturday in July; in 1866, upon the last Thursday in March. This date was changed in 1874 to the second Thursday of August, only to be put back in 1887 to the last Thursday in June, while the very next legislative session ordered the meeting for the last Thursday in July. Still other changes have been made, the present law fixing upon the third Thursday of July. And now the Kansas Educational Commission, a commission appointed by Governor Hoch in 1908 to recommend needed school legislation, urges that some date in March be tried again. It seems that the disease is not one subject to legislative cure.

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NOTE 6.—Laws of 1857-'58, ch. 8.

NOTE 7.—Laws of 1874, ch. 118, sec. 1.

NOTE 8.—Laws of 1861, ch. 76, art. III, sec. 9.

NOTE 9.—Laws of 1885, ch. 169, sec. 1.

NOTE 10.—Laws of 1903, ch. 435, sec. 1.

NOTE 11.—See session statutes of the respective years.

The voters at these annual meetings were declared by the law of 1858 to be all the male residents of the district that were twenty-one years of age or upwards. In 1861<sup>12</sup> the suffrage was extended by allowing "white female" persons to vote provided they were residents of the district and possessed the constitutional qualifications required of male voters. In 1867<sup>13</sup> the word "white" was repealed, and in 1889<sup>14</sup> a residence of thirty days was required of all annual meeting voters.

This annual meeting legislates upon such subjects as the state legislature sees fit to place within its jurisdiction, by enumeration, and its powers are subject in these fields, even, to the limitations prescribed by the statutes or by the constitution. One of the subjects upon which the meeting has always been given power to act is the length of the school term, providing that the term decided upon is equal to or exceeds the minimum term prescribed by law. The statute of 1858 fixed upon three months as the minimum term. The constitution made a three-months school necessary before the district could receive its share of the state annual school fund. In 1881<sup>15</sup> the minimum term was increased to four months, and in 1903<sup>16</sup> to five months, providing there "is a good and sufficient school building" in the district. The tendency has thus been toward a longer required term. The Kansas Educational Commission would have the minimum term fixed at seven months. Nor has the tendency toward a longer term been a statutory tendency only. The following table, while revealing that Kansas is falling behind the average term in the United States, shows that the district meetings have usually far exceeded the statutory requirements:

AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS SCHOOLS WERE KEPT OPEN DURING THE YEAR.<sup>17</sup>

	1870-'71	1879-'80	1889-'90	1899-1900	1906-'07
United States .....	132 1	130.3	134.7	144.3	151.2
Kansas.....	116	120	135	126	145

Those who have had the forming of the Kansas common-school policy have ever declared that the schools should be a public charge and free to children between the ages of five and twenty-one. "Open and free" reads the law of 1855. "Where the children of the township shall be taught gratis," declared the constitution of 1857.<sup>18</sup> "Schools free," repeated the laws of 1858. "A uniform system of free schools," echoed the constitution of 1858.<sup>19</sup> This refrain was taken up by the state legislatures, and finally found expression in a supreme court decision<sup>20</sup> declaring that the schools must be free to all residents, without the payment of a tuition fee.

Although the schools have always been open to the whites, they have not always been open to the colored. The proslavery legislature of 1855 declared

NOTE 12.—Laws 1861, ch. 76, art. III, sec. 2.

NOTE 13.—Laws 1867, ch. 123, sec. 6.

NOTE 14.—Laws 1889, ch. 223.

NOTE 15.—Laws 1881, ch. 150, sec. 1.

NOTE 16.—Laws 1903, ch. 431, sec. 1.

NOTE 17.—Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1907, p. 553.

NOTE 18.—Art. XIV, sec. 3, Lecompton Constitution.

NOTE 19.—Art. VII, sec. 1, Lecompton Constitution.

NOTE 20.—Board of Education of Lawrence *v.* Harry Dick *et al.*, 70 Kan. p. 434.



them open to whites only. In 1861<sup>21</sup> the voters at the annual district meeting were empowered "to make such order as they may deem proper for the separate education of white and colored children, securing to them equal educational advantages." This law was repealed in 1867,<sup>22</sup> though it was rendered practically void by another law<sup>23</sup> which denied to any district board power to refuse "the admission of any children" into their district school. In 1876<sup>24</sup> the common schools were declared "equally free and accessible" to all, and they so remain to date.

In the annual district meeting is vested the power to levy the tax needed for the support of the district school. But save the year 1858 only, when the meeting could vote such a levy as it might deem "proper" or "necessary,"<sup>25</sup> the maximum levy has been fixed by statute. The next year<sup>26</sup> the maximum tax that the meeting could levy upon the assessed valuation of the district was fixed at one-half of one per cent for renting or building a schoolhouse, one-half of one per cent for teachers' wages, and \$250 for incidental expenses, but power was still left with the meeting to vote all that was "necessary" for discharging any debts or liabilities. The first state legislature<sup>27</sup> unfortunately reduced the per cent for teachers' wages to one-fourth of one per cent, and repealed the clause giving freedom as to the amount that could be voted for discharging debts and other liabilities. Two years later the per cent allowable for teachers' wages was replaced at one-half of one per cent. State Superintendent Goodnow, in his report for 1863,<sup>28</sup> inveighed against this tax limit. "In three-fourths of the districts of the state," he averred, "the one-half per cent tax will not begin to build a respectable schoolhouse, and in one-half the districts the tax of one-half per cent will not pay the teacher. Why should not the people in each school district tax themselves as much as they please for the education of their own children?" His contention as to teachers' wages was certainly supported by his report,<sup>29</sup> which showed that the average salary of males for the year ending December 31, 1863, was 22½ dollars, while for females it was but 14½ dollars.

The next session of the legislature<sup>30</sup> gave a much needed relief to the situation by authorizing the annual meeting to vote a bond issue for the purpose of building a schoolhouse, the amount not to exceed \$2000. This enabled some but not all of the districts to build fairly comfortable schoolhouses. For example, by 1870 but six of the fifteen districts of Wyandotte county had school buildings. Numerous were the requests made by districts for a larger bond-issuing power, and many were the statutes passed by the legislatures granting the request of designated districts. The legislature of 1866 alone passed nine private bills extending the bond-issuing power of the district named in the bill.<sup>31</sup> This clamor for special relief induced the legis-

NOTE 21.—Laws 1861, ch. 76, Art. III, sec. 1.

NOTE 22.—Laws 1867, ch. 123, sec. 1.

NOTE 23.—Ibid., ch. 125.

NOTE 24.—Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. V, sec. 3.

NOTE 25.—However, it could vote but \$250 for incidental expenses.

NOTE 26.—Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 40.

NOTE 27.—Laws 1861, ch. 76, art. 3, sec. 1.

NOTE 28.—Third Annual Report of State Superintendent, p. 11.

NOTE 29.—Ibid, table No. 1.

NOTE 30.—Laws 1864, ch. 20.

NOTE 31.—The districts and the maximum amount allowed to each district by these bills were: District No. 1, in Atchison county, \$30,000; district No. 10, in Allen county (Iola), \$7,000;

lature to extend, by a general law,<sup>32</sup> the power of annual meetings over their own bond issues. The law based the maximum upon the number of pupils in the district schools and required, as does the present law, that the bond issue be approved by a vote of the district electorate. The basis and amount of the maximum was changed in 1883<sup>33</sup> to six per cent of the taxable property in the district. The law of 1909,<sup>34</sup> by fixing the per cent at one and a half instead of six, probably raised the maximum, since, by the recent tax law, the value of assessable property was more than quadrupled.

But the maximum tax levy still remained low and taxable property was scarce. State Superintendent Goodnow, in his report for 1866, pleaded once again for the repeal of the law limiting district taxes. The legislature of 1867<sup>35</sup> gave some amelioration by fixing the maximum at one per cent for school buildings, one per cent for teachers' wages, and one-fourth of one per cent for incidentals. There was a slight change in 1876, but it was not until 1881<sup>36</sup> that the present principle was introduced by which the annual meeting is given power to make such distribution of its tax as it deems best. Though the law really lowered the maximum by fixing it at two per cent, yet the freedom of distribution allowed the annual meeting to put a larger amount into any one fund, such as the wage fund. In 1907 the maximum was raised to two and one-half per cent; and in 1909 to three and a half mills, with freedom of a larger maximum when approved by the district electorate. To this maximum the district may add, under a law first passed in 1870, a tax of not exceeding one-half a mill<sup>37</sup> for the purpose of purchasing a school-district library,<sup>38</sup> and a tax of not exceeding one-eighth of a mill for the equipment or maintenance of industrial training schools or departments.

The statute of 1858 charged the district treasurer with the duty of collecting in person all district taxes, and a law of the first state legislature<sup>39</sup> ordered him "to personally demand such tax of the persons charged therewith." The county treasurer in 1857<sup>40</sup> was made the custodian of the county school fund, and the Laws of 1861<sup>41</sup> made him the custodian and distributor of the state school moneys as well. But it was not until 1863<sup>42</sup> that the district treasurer was relieved of his duties as tax collector and these duties given to the county treasurer. By this law the county treasurer was allowed three per cent commission on all district moneys collected by him. Two years later<sup>43</sup> the legislature denied him any compensation for disbursing or receiving either county or state school moneys. In 1872<sup>44</sup> his commission for collecting district taxes was decidedly reduced, and a short time afterward the

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district No. 16, in Allen county, \$3,000; district No. 13, in Doniphan county, \$5,000; district No. 1, in Wyandotte county, \$10,000; Oskaloosa township, \$5,000; district No. 4, in Marshall county, \$5,000; district No. 16, in Jefferson county, \$10,000; district No. 1, in Davis county, \$10,000.

NOTE 32.—Laws of 1866, ch. 19.

NOTE 33.—Laws of 1883, ch. 132, sec. 1.

NOTE 34.—Laws of 1909, ch. 62, sec. 4.

NOTE 35.—Laws of 1867, ch. 123, sec. 1.

NOTE 36.—Laws of 1881, ch. 181, sec. 1.

NOTE 37.—Laws 1909, ch. 245, sec. 25. This under the new tax law. Before 1909, two mills.

NOTE 38.—A law taken advantage of by 4932 of the 8689 districts in 1908.

NOTE 39.—Laws 1861, ch. 76.

NOTE 40.—Laws 1857, p. 86.

NOTE 41.—Laws 1861, ch. 76, art. VIII, secs. 1-9.

NOTE 42.—Laws 1863, ch. 56, sec. 1.

NOTE 43.—Laws 1865, ch. 72, sec. 4.

NOTE 44.—Laws 1872, ch. 184.

commission plan was abandoned altogether, the collection of district taxes being made one of the county treasurer's regular duties.

In addition to the amount raised by the district levy, each district gets its share of the county and of the state annual school fund. The state school fund will be described later. The county school fund, which is collected by the county treasurer and apportioned by the county superintendent, is at present made up, as it has been since later territorial days, of all moneys received from fines, forfeitures, proceeds from the sale of estrays, and of all moneys paid by persons as an equivalent for exemption from military duty. The amount received from this fund is now, and has always been, very small indeed. For a time, however, probably from 1857<sup>45</sup> to 1862, each county was permitted to levy a county tax for common-school purposes. A law of the latter year<sup>46</sup> authorized all counties that had "levied and collected a school tax for the year 1861 to retain the same in the county treasuries and expend the same for the support of common schools." But that appears to be the last year that the county levy was legalized. Two special acts of the years 1865 and 1866 are of interest, however, because of present-day state-wide prohibition. The first<sup>47</sup> set apart all moneys arising from "dramshop, tavern and grocery license" in Morris county as a "common-school fund of said county"; the latter<sup>48</sup> appropriated all "dramshop license money in the town of Humboldt to the use of the public school in the village of Humboldt."

Such are the main administrative features of the rural school system. However, the system has never been wholly acceptable to those interested in the educational welfare of the state. Many have been the objections and the objectors to the plan. Many state teachers' associations have passed resolutions condemning the scheme. The meeting of 1870, for instance, unanimously approved the township system in lieu of the district system. Many state superintendents, among whom should be mentioned H. D. McCarty, who urged the township system in his reports for 1871 and 1872, and E. T. Fairchild, who commends a larger unit than the district, have recommended changes. The Kansas Educational Commission has also put itself on record as opposed to the present *regime*.

However, the statutes make possible some amelioration of the district plan in their provisions for graded and for consolidated schools. The legislature of 1861<sup>49</sup> laid down the procedure by which "the inhabitants of two or more school districts" may "unite for the purpose of establishing a graded school, in which instruction shall be given in the higher branches of education." Such union or graded schools constitute one district, and their officers and the statutory provisions relating to them are the same as those already given for district schools. It is under this graded-school law that rural communities wishing graded schools and third-class cities wishing high schools have established them. The legislature of 1901<sup>50</sup> made possible a still better solution of the rural school problem by allowing the consolidation of districts, when approved by a referendum vote of the district electorate, and the transportation of pupils at the expense of the consolidated district, a scheme urged by Kansas educators certainly since 1863,

NOTE 45.—Laws 1857, p. 86.

NOTE 46.—Comp. Laws 1862, ch. 182.

NOTE 47.—Laws 1865, ch. 73.

NOTE 48.—Laws 1866, ch. 111.

NOTE 49.—Laws 1861, ch. 73, art. VII, secs. 1-9.

NOTE 50.—Laws 1901, ch. 305.



when the state superintendent championed the plan in his annual report. That the system has advantages that the smaller unit does not have is shown by the fact that there was but one consolidated district in 1898, whereas in 1908 there were sixty-two such schools in thirty-four counties, attended by 5362 pupils, taught by 166 teachers, and involving the discontinuance of 120 old-style districts.

The immediate supervisor of the district schools is the county superintendent. The office dates from 1858, the law creating it declaring that it should be filled by annual election. For some reason the territorial legislature of 1860 abolished the office,<sup>51</sup> but it was restored by the constitution. The first state legislature reenacted, in the main, the previous laws as to the county superintendent's duties, gave him "charge of the common-school interests of the county," and made the office subject to biennial instead of annual election.

The act of 1858 stated that the compensation of the county superintendent should be such sum per day as should be allowed "by the tribunal transacting county business." This tribunal usually allowed but three dollars per day and that for but a few days during each year. Such remuneration did not, of course, tempt qualified men to seek the office, and yet the custom of paying three dollars a day soon found expression in the statutes. State Superintendent Goodnow, especially, pleaded for a higher salary than this, "so that it would be something more than that officer's horse and buggy hire." The resolutions of the fourth State Teachers' Association, which met in Lawrence July 3-5, 1866, clearly reveals that this slight salary tempted only poorly qualified men and that the county superintendent was the black sheep of the times. The resolutions demanded that he visit the schools regularly, that he be fit by training for the work, and that all his time be given to the duties of his office.

The legislature of 1869<sup>52</sup> made possible the securing of more competent men by providing for higher salaries. The salaries fixed upon were \$1000, \$1200, and \$1500, respectively, depending upon whether the school population of the county was from 2000 to 3000, 3000 to 5000, or over 5000. However, if the school population of the county was less than 2000, the office remained on the old three-dollar-a-day basis. But the law gave to most of the county superintendents fairly good salaries. Among other results of the Granger movement was a demand, in 1875, that the office of county superintendent be abolished in order to save taxes. Friends of the office saved it from abolition, but the legislature of 1876<sup>53</sup> reduced the salaries to \$500 for counties whose school population was from 5000 to 10,000, and allowed \$1000 only in those counties whose school population was 20,000 or over. This meant that by far the greater majority of county superintendents would receive but \$500 or less. Nor was there at once any tendency to replace the salaries on the old scale. There was a slight increase in 1881<sup>54</sup> and again in 1886.<sup>55</sup> The present law, passed in 1905,<sup>56</sup> fixes the salary at three dollars per day for not over 180 days per year in all those counties whose school population is less than 1000, and allows \$600 salary if

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NOTE 51.—Columbian History of Education in Kansas, p. 6.

NOTE 52.—Laws 1869, ch. 84.

NOTE 53.—Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. II, secs. 7, 8.

NOTE 54.—Laws 1881, ch. 152, sec. 6.

NOTE 55.—Laws 1886, ch. 80, sec. 6.

NOTE 56.—Laws 1905, ch. 229, sec. 1.

the school population is between 1000 and 1200; \$700 if between 1200 and 1500; and, in counties whose school population is in excess of 1500, \$700, with an additional \$20 per annum for each additional 100 of school population; provided, that no county superintendent may receive a salary in excess of \$1000 unless there are over 100 district teachers in his county, when he may receive not over \$1200. Therefore, while there has been a tendency toward better remuneration since 1881, the salaries now are not nearly so large as those authorized by the law of 1869.

Strange to say, there were no statutory qualifications required of the incumbent of this office until thirty years after its creation. Of course, numerous demands were made that qualifications be required. The State Teachers' Association of 1875 asked that the county superintendent be required to hold a certificate from the State Board of Education. But nothing was done until 1889, when the legislature required that he must either hold a second- or first-grade or state certificate, or be a graduate of an accredited college or normal school, and that he must have had at least eighteen months' experience as a teacher. In 1907<sup>57</sup> the statutory qualifications were slightly raised by substituting a professional for a second-grade certificate.

The law establishing the office gave the county superintendent, with but few limitations, power to "create and alter school districts," and with him the power has since remained. However, since the year of statehood,<sup>58</sup> any person aggrieved by the action of the superintendent in this respect has had the privilege to appeal to the county commissioners, whose decision is final. The superintendent has long had authority to disorganize depopulated districts, and, since 1901,<sup>59</sup> he has power temporarily, or, with the consent of the voters of each interested district, permanently, to consolidate two or more districts. With this power over district boundaries is the duty of keeping on file in his office and certifying to the county clerk accurate descriptions of the boundaries of each district. The county superintendent, then, has complete powers over the creation and alteration of districts.

From 1855 to 1857 the clerk of the district board was required to make a report annually to the secretary of the territory. In 1857 this report was directed to be made to the clerk of the board of county commissioners; but the statute creating the county superintendency naturally made that officer the recipient of the clerk's reports. Not only did the law require the clerk to report to the superintendent, but it gave to the superintendent authority to require that those reports be made correctly and in due time. A step was taken in 1869 toward state uniformity in reports by empowering the state superintendent to distribute the blanks needed for district reports. In the next year<sup>60</sup> the county superintendent was authorized to purchase for any negligent district board the record books needed in securing accurate data for their reports, charging the cost of the books to the district's school fund. The county superintendent's control over the records, books and reports of district officers was rendered quite complete in 1876<sup>61</sup> when he was empowered to "examine the accounts of all district treasurers and see that they are kept in a businesslike manner." In 1869 two laws were passed giving to the county superintendent opportunity for a far-reaching advisory

NOTE 57.—Laws 1907, ch. 167, sec. 1.

NOTE 58.—Laws 1861, ch. 75, art. V, sec. 2.

NOTE 59.—Laws 1901, ch. 305, secs. 1-8.

NOTE 60.—Laws 1870, ch. 108.

NOTE 61.—Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. 2.

influence over the district boards in fields other than that of requiring proper reports and of advising them, and their teachers as well, on school affairs; the latter being a duty given to him in 1858. By one of these laws<sup>62</sup> it was made necessary for the district board to act in conjunction with the county superintendent in dismissing their teacher; the grounds for dismissal being limited to "incompetency, cruelty, negligence, or immorality." By the other law<sup>63</sup> a pupil suspended by the district board was given the right of appeal to the county superintendent, whose decision was final. By a law of 1903<sup>64</sup> the superintendent is given compulsory powers in one very vital affair. If the school-district officers or the annual meeting neglects or refuses to provide a five-months school, there being a good and sufficient school building in the district, the county superintendent levies, in conjunction with the county commissioners, the necessary tax, employs a teacher, and does a board's duty by the school. There has therefore been a decided tendency toward greater centralization in the hands of the county superintendent of both advisory and compulsory powers over district officers.

In 1903 a new compulsory power of great significance was given to the county superintendent; that of control, through the truancy law, over school attendance. From 1858, to be sure, he was not to apportion either county or state funds to any district not having over a three-months school, but over the daily attendance he had no control. Indeed, there was no compulsory school law until 1874,<sup>65</sup> and that law was ineffectual because it left a neighbor, the school director, to enforce it. Then, too, it was operative only upon children of between the ages of eight and fourteen, and sought to compel these to attend school but twelve weeks in a year, only six of which need be consecutive. But under the truancy law of 1903<sup>66</sup> all is very different. Every parent or guardian must send his children of between the ages of eight and fifteen years, inclusive, to a public school, or to a private, denominational or parochial school taught by a competent instructor, for such period as the public school is in session. If the children do not so attend, unless they fall within certain classes excused by the law, and attend regularly, fine or imprisonment, or both, await the delinquent parent or guardian. To enforce this law, the county superintendent divides his county, exclusive of first- and second-class cities, into not less than one nor more than five districts. Over each of these districts he places a truant officer. The compensation of these officers is two dollars per day, and their sole duty is to see that the provisions of the truancy law are complied with. That the law is effectively enforced is shown by the fact that, in 1906-'07, 4494 pupils were sent or returned to school, while in 1907-'08 this number reached 4728. The county superintendent alone has the supervision of the truant officers, and in him is vested the full responsibility of enforcing the law.<sup>67</sup> For his guidance the district officers and teachers, under severe penalties for neglect or repeal, must make, promptly and accurately, certain detailed reports.

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NOTE 62.—Laws 1869, ch. 181, sec. 7.

NOTE 63.—Laws 1869, ch. 86, sec. 12.

NOTE 64.—Laws 1903, ch. 423, sec. 5.

NOTE 65.—Laws 1874, ch. 123.

NOTE 66.—Laws 1903, ch. 423.

NOTE 67.—The duties of the truant officers are not wholly to normal-bodied and normal-minded children. They must see that every deaf and dumb child between the ages of seven and twenty-one years receives proper instruction in some suitable school at least five months in each school year. (Laws 1905, ch. 384, sec. 1.)



The law has greatly enhanced the supervisory efficiency of the county superintendent.

There has also been a steady growth in both the compulsory and advisory influence of the superintendent over the actual schoolroom work. The law of 1858 provided that he must visit all the common schools of his county, giving advice and direction to both the school board and the teacher as to school government and school courses. In 1869,<sup>68</sup> he was directed "to visit each of the schools within his jurisdiction at least once each term," while the present law, passed in 1881,<sup>69</sup> requires this visit to be "at least once each term of six months." During this visit he must correct "any deficiency that may exist in the government of the school, the classification of the pupils, or the methods of instruction in the several branches taught." With the conferring of greater powers upon the office, and, what is of more pertinent significance, with the ever-increasing qualifications of county superintendents, the advisory influence of the position over schoolroom work has grown apace, an influence that has been made still more potent through a multiplicity of required teachers' meetings and through the work of the teachers' institutes.

The tendency to centralize power in the county superintendency is clearly revealed in the history of certification of teachers. The first school laws of the territory<sup>70</sup> provided that the annual district meeting should elect, in addition to the three trustees, an inspector. It was made the duty of the inspector to "examine all applicants proposing to teach a common school in the county, who shall produce satisfactory evidence that they sustain a good moral character." Over the issuing and revoking of teachers' certificates he was given unlimited power. Teachers holding a certificate from any inspector could teach in any school in the county in which the certificate was issued. But when the office of county superintendent was created the office of inspector was done away with, and the powers of the inspector were conferred upon the county superintendent. Yet this officer was limited to one-year certificates, though over these he had full power of revocation. But now there was but one certificate-issuing power where before there were as many as there were districts. The law of 1861 repeated the provisions of the statute of 1858 and added no requirements as to time of examination, no requirements as to standards, and took no steps toward prohibiting abuses. So we are not surprised to read<sup>71</sup> that the examination of the young lady who taught the first school in Cloud county consisted of a few oral questions in arithmetic, grammar, and geography, the reading of a paragraph in a newspaper, and the signing of her own name.

In 1864<sup>72</sup> some progress toward correcting such abuses was made by requiring "the county superintendent to designate a particular time and place in the spring and autumn of each year for a general examination of teachers." But the law still permitted special examinations, requiring only that a fee of one dollar should be paid by the successful applicant at special examinations, whereas the regular examinations were free. This freedom

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NOTE 68.—Laws of 1869, ch. 86.

NOTE 69.—Laws of 1881, ch. 152, sec. 1.

NOTE 70.—Laws of 1855, ch. 144, art. I.

NOTE 71.—Columbian History of Education in Kansas, p. 107.

NOTE 72.—Laws 1864, ch. 100.

of private examinations was of course abused. It is related,<sup>73</sup> for instance, that in 1867 two advanced school girls stepped into the office of a certain county superintendent and asked for a certificate. The superintendent asked them some simple questions that a third-reader pupil could easily answer, and said: "Now girls, if you will make a real nice bow, and say 'Thank you,' I will give you each a certificate for twelve months." Private examinations were prohibited in the year<sup>74</sup> in which it is said this incident took place.

Two years later<sup>75</sup> a county board of examiners was created. This board was then constituted, as it now is, of the "county superintendent and two competent persons to be appointed by the county commissioners." However, the law at first stated no qualifications for the appointed members of the board, an omission that was soon corrected. Successive laws have raised the qualifications, the present law<sup>76</sup> requiring them to hold professional, first-grade, or state certificates, or be a graduate of one of the three state institutions. The duty of the board, as expressed by the law creating it, was to hold teachers' examinations "publicly at such times and places as they may deem best" on all the branches that the law required to be taught in the common schools, and on additional branches if the teacher wished to instruct in a graded school. This first law authorized one-year certificates only, but within less than a decade<sup>77</sup> three grades were authorized, good for six months, one year, and two years, respectively. Succeeding laws have re-defined the classes of certificates, each time raising the standard.

The next step in the evolution of certification was the securing of state uniformity and state control. Uniformity in the dates on which teachers' examinations could be held was secured within a few years after the creation of the county board by a statute specifying the dates of each year on which examinations could be given. This was followed, in 1885,<sup>78</sup> by an enactment that secured state scholastic standards, and state-wide uniformity in questions, by giving the State Board of Education the duty of preparing and distributing all questions used in such examinations. The examinations are now held at three stated times each year. The certificates,<sup>79</sup> which are of four grades—professional, first grade, second grade, and third grade, good for three years, three years, two years, and one year, respectively, and revokable for certain reasons—are valid in all the public schools of the county, save in the cities of the first and second class, an exception that dates from 1869.

In the matter of county normal institutes the development has been both interesting and phenomenal. The state was but a little over two years old when, upon the initiative of the Lyon county superintendent, the first teachers' institute was held at Emporia. "Recitations and drills during the day and lectures during the evening were the general order." Before the year had passed such institutes were held, "with encouraging results," at Leavenworth, Atchison, Paola, Manhattan and Marysville.<sup>80</sup> It was in

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NOTE 73.—Columbian History of Education in Kansas, p. 125.

NOTE 74.—Laws 1867, ch. 123, sec. 5.

NOTE 75.—Laws 1869, ch. 86, sec. 4.

NOTE 76.—Laws 1905, ch. 390.

NOTE 77.—Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. VI, sec. 6.

NOTE 78.—Laws 1885, ch. 180, secs. 1, 2.

NOTE 79.—Laws 1907, ch. 341, sec. 1.

NOTE 80.—Third Annual Report of State Superintendent, p. 26.

connection with the institute at Leavenworth, it should be recorded, that the first State Teachers' Association was organized, on September 29, 1863.<sup>81</sup> The very next meeting of the association, held at Lawrence, July 19-21, 1864, after resolving that "as philanthropists and Christians we deprecate war; but, finding ourselves involved therein through the madness and infatuation of slavery, we will fight it through," passed a resolution calling for teachers' institutes semiannually "in every locality where they can be conducted and sustained." The success of the private institutes, and perchance to some extent this resolution of the bellicose State Teachers' Association, evidently convinced the legislature of 1864 that the time was ripe for an act of wisdom. So the session statutes of that year<sup>82</sup> proclaimed that the "state superintendent of public instruction shall organize and hold a teachers' institute, each year, in each senatorial district in the state: provided, board shall be furnished free of charge to all the teachers and members of the institute, during its session, by the citizens of the place where the institute is held." The legislators must certainly have thought that the citizens of the towns were indeed the "philanthropists and Christians" that the teachers had so eloquently proclaimed themselves to be.

But institutes were held, whether with or without free board we cannot say. In 1865 there were institutes in ten counties, and in 1867 in twenty.<sup>83</sup> These institutes, to be sure, were but two- to five-day institutes, yet the state superintendent could scarcely be expected to hold even very short annual institutes in each of the forty senatorial districts of the state. Hence the legislature of 1869<sup>84</sup> decreed that he should hold these annual institutes, assisted by the county superintendents of the district, in each judicial district instead of in each senatorial district. This reduced the number of institutes to be held by the state superintendent about one-half. This same statute also required that "in addition to the normal district institute, the county superintendent of each county maintaining fifteen schools during the year shall hold a county institute of not less than two and not more than five days," all teachers that were in schoolroom work to attend and draw their pay. But alas, sad to relate, the free-board provision was omitted from the law. The ways of our legislative fathers are indeed far past finding out.

These institutes were all short-session institutes. As has been seen, the county institutes were to be in session but from two to five days. The judicial institutes were usually but four days in length. There came, in time, to be a demand for a longer session. The State Teachers' Associations of 1870, 1872 and 1873 passed resolutions urging a longer term. State Superintendent Fraser, who was deeply interested in institutes, and under whom the judicial institutes were especially valuable, recommended a uniform system of longer annual institutes. The opportune time came in 1877. The Granger legislature of 1876 had abolished the normal schools at Leavenworth and Concordia and had refused practically all appropriations for the Emporia Normal on the grounds<sup>85</sup> that normal schools were but local insti-

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NOTE 81.—First Biennial Report of State Superintendent, p. 40.

NOTE 82.—Laws 1864, ch. 101.

NOTE 83.—Columbian History of Education in Kansas, p. 8.

NOTE 84.—Laws 1869, ch. 86, secs. 19-21.

NOTE 85.—See First Biennial Report of the State Superintendent.



tutions and so should not be supported by state taxation. One of the Granger leaders said, at the State Teachers' Association of 1876, that county institutes offered a better distribution of normal education and a more equitable use of the public funds. State Superintendent Lemmon, supported by a resolution of the State Teachers' Association and by certain educators in the state, made the most of the suggestion, and pressed the legislature of 1877 to pass a law compelling county superintendents to hold annual institutes of not less than four weeks in length.

Such a law, based upon the then existing Iowa law, was passed,<sup>86</sup> and the plan of having short-term institutes, still popular in other states, came to an end. Kansas is now the only state in the Union that requires a four-weeks minimum term for its institutes. In eighteen states the law requires a week's institute, while in about half the states the institute is but one week or less in length.<sup>87</sup> But while the law obligated a four-weeks institute in each county it also provided for an annual county institute fund for its support. This fund was to be composed of a one-dollar examination fee, a one-dollar registration fee, \$50 from the state treasury, provided the enrollment reached fifty or over, and not to exceed \$100 from the county commissioners. The present law<sup>88</sup> calls for the same aid, save that the minimum enrollment for state aid is thirty-five instead of fifty. The act also provided for state control and uniformity of institutes by stating that no person should be paid from this institute fund as institute conductor or instructor unless he held a conductor's or instructor's certificate issued by the State Board of Education. The State Board has also been given power to prepare the institute course of study. The significance of the present-day institute is shown by the fact that in 1908 the total enrollment in the institutes of the state reached 11,255 and the total disbursement \$39,801.43. The institute is and has been a factor of greatest importance in the up-building of the Kansas rural school. Through the institute the county superintendent can make his rural schools largely what he will.

And finally, another medium for securing uniformity and better schools is the publicity made possible through the different required reports. The teachers must file reports with the district clerk on blanks prepared by the state superintendent and distributed by the county superintendent. These reports are the basis for certain phases of the district clerk's report, which must also be made annually to the county superintendent. Moreover, the county superintendent must keep on file accurate and detailed records of the work done in each school and institute and by each teacher. Then, too, the county superintendent must report annually to the state superintendent. These reports give added opportunity for efficient coöperation and supervision.

In summary, then, the tendency in local administration of district school affairs has been toward greater local freedom from legislative control on the one hand and toward centralization of administrative power and influence with the county superintendent on the other. In the realm of taxation, especially, the district authorities have been given greater freedom. Moreover, with the district board, with the annual meeting, and, as well, with the county superintendent, greater powers have been lodged. But the

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NOTE 86.—Laws 1877, ch. 136.

NOTE 87.—See Bulletin No. 5 of the Illinois Educational Commission.

NOTE 88.—Laws 1901, ch. 267.

striking tendency has been toward making of the county superintendency a more vital and potent power and influence. At first there were many certificate-issuing authorities; now there is but one. At first even a three-months school was optional with each district; now the county superintendent may maintain a five-months school in any district despite the negligence or refusal of the district authorities. In the place of a feeble, decentralized compulsory education law, there is now a stringent, highly centralized one. Through a multiplicity of required meetings and reports, and through the normal institute, the county superintendent's influence over the schools has grown apace. Instead of but a few compulsory administrative powers, the county superintendent has now so many that he does not have the time to make the most of all of them. In short, that officer has been made the most vital factor in the rural school system.

## II. IN CITY SCHOOLS.

Before 1862 there was no general law under which Kansas towns and cities could be incorporated. All such incorporation was done by special or private acts of the legislature. The legislature of 1858 alone passed private acts incorporating seventy-six different town companies. There was therefore no necessary uniformity in those provisions of the various charters that related to educational affairs. Leavenworth's charter of 1858 and Lawrence's charter of 1861 both provided, for instance, that the clerk of the school board should act as city superintendent, but whether or not this was the usual provision in city charters a study of all the charters only would reveal.

A clause in the constitution states that provision shall be made by general law for the organization of cities, towns and villages. Yet the legislature of 1861 passed no such general law, declaring only<sup>89</sup> that "the public schools of any city, town or village which may be regulated by special law set forth in the charter of such city, town or village shall be entitled to receive their proportion of the public school fund," a proviso still in force. The legislature of 1862, however, did pass a general law under which "cities of not less than 7000 inhabitants" could be incorporated. Of course, cities of this population were given the privilege of retaining their old charters, instead of seeking incorporation under the general law, if they so chose. Succeeding laws as to incorporation granted the same privilege. Lawrence continued under its charter of 1861 until 1867, and Leavenworth retained its charter of 1858 until 1870,<sup>90</sup> and in both, therefore, there was no salaried city superintendent until 1867 and 1870, respectively. The act of 1862 was amended in 1863, 1864, 1867 and 1868. This latter law classified Kansas cities as they are now classified—into cities of the first, second or third class, depending upon whether the population is, respectively, above 15,000, from 2000 to 15,000, or below 2000. This law, too, provided in detail for the school administration in cities of the first and second class. The school machinery and laws for cities of the third class are those already given for district schools.

The act of 1862<sup>91</sup> provided that there should be in each city, incorporated

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NOTE 89.—Laws 1861, ch. 76, art. VII.

NOTE 90.—Columbian History of Education in Kansas, pp. 131, 147.

NOTE 91.—Laws 1862, art. IV, sec. 2.

in accordance with its provisions, a "board of trustees of common schools," to be composed of two members from each of the four wards. This number was increased in 1863 to three members from each ward, one member to be elected annually. The statutes of 1867<sup>92</sup> declared that the board of education in cities of the second class should consist of two members from each ward. The statutes of 1868<sup>93</sup> gave to each ward in first-class cities three board members. At present, the board of education in cities of the first class is composed of three members from each ward, provided there are but four wards; but if there are over four wards, then there are two members from each ward.<sup>94</sup> The board of education in cities of the second class is at present made up of two members from each ward, one elected annually, except in cities having a population of over 10,000, when the board shall have six members only, two members to be elected annually. It would seem that a law securing uniformity in the size and organization of the boards in cities of the first and second class might well be worthy of consideration by some succeeding legislature.

However, save in the matter of taxation, both boards have to-day about the same powers. In each rests sole control over the schools and school property of their respective cities, and recent laws have particularly included control over kindergarten and normal-training departments. Each exercises the usual administrative and legislative powers over school affairs. Each elects its own city superintendent. Save that the truancy officer or officers of each city are appointed by the city board of education, instead of by the county superintendent, the truancy law is the same for first and second class cities as that already described for the district schools. Each of these boards, too, appoints its own examining committee, a power possessed since 1862. The certificates issued by these committees are valid in the city of issue only. Each city is thus a unit in itself for the administration of elementary education.

The history of the taxing power of cities for school purposes reveals the same tendency toward greater local freedom and less legislative control that was noted in the tax-levying power of school districts. The maximum fixed upon in 1862 was one mill on the dollar, and the tax was levied by the city council. A statute of 1864<sup>95</sup> gave to the city boards power to submit to the council such a tax levy, not in excess of one-fourth of one per cent per annum, as the board thought necessary, for the support of the schools, and this tax the council was required to levy and collect. In this year, too,<sup>96</sup> the boards were authorized to issue bonds to an amount not to exceed \$25,000. The limitation upon the bond issue was repealed two years later,<sup>97</sup> never to be reenacted. Hence, there is no limit to the bond-issuing power of such cities save that the bonds must be issued for school purposes solely. The aggregate school levy was raised for both first- and second-class cities to four-tenths of one per cent in 1868, and to seven mills in 1881.<sup>98</sup> Second-class cities were allowed ten mills in 1883,<sup>99</sup> an amount that first-class cities

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NOTE 92.—Laws 1867, ch. 69.

NOTE 93.—Laws 1868, ch. 18.

NOTE 94.—Laws 1891, ch. 196, sec. 1. A proviso is made giving Kansas City a board of six members, it being the only city having, in 1891, a population of 35,000.

NOTE 95.—Laws 1864, ch. 67.

NOTE 96.—*Ibid.*, ch. 20.

NOTE 97.—Laws 1866, ch. 9.

NOTE 98.—Laws of 1881, ch. 149, sec. 2.

NOTE 99.—Laws of 1883, ch. 133.



were not allowed until 1889,<sup>100</sup> and not then unless the total assessed valuation of the city was less than \$3,000,000; if above this the levy was still limited to seven mills. Greater taxing freedom was permitted by laws of 1891 and 1899. By the law of 1907 the greatest annual levy permissible in cities of the first class was twenty mills,<sup>101</sup> unless the population exceeded 38,000, when it was seventeen mills. At present it is six mills for cities whose population is 40,000 or under, with five mills for school purposes and one mill for building purposes if the population exceeds 40,000. The new assessment is used as the basis, so the decrease in maximum is only apparent. The maximum permissible to second-class cities was increased to twenty mills in 1905,<sup>102</sup> and is now six mills, a probable increase because of the new basis of assessment. For many years the city council has had no control over the amount levied by the city boards.

About the only tendency noticeable, then, in the legislation pertaining to elementary education in cities of the first and second class, has been toward granting greater freedom and power to the board of education, and that primarily in the field of taxation. There is no provision for state supervision of such elementary schools, save a slight power over the course of study, which vests in the State Board of Education, a power that will be discussed later. Hence there is no necessary uniformity in the city schools of the state. It would seem that sufficient advisory and compulsory power to secure state uniformity and state standards might well be vested in some state authority. The Educational Commission makes timely suggestions in its recommendations that a state inspector be provided in the state superintendent's office to inspect city schools, and that city superintendents be required to report annually to the state superintendent.

## SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The development in secondary education in Kansas has been nothing short of phenomenal. Forty years ago there was scarcely a public high school in the state; to-day there are considerably over 300 of them. In 1885 there was but one high school in the state that fully prepared students for entrance into Kansas University; by 1893, 42 high schools fully prepared for the University, a number that by 1908 had increased to 234. During the first decade of statehood by far the larger per cent of students receiving a secondary education obtained it at private schools; in 1906-'07, 89.8 per cent of all the students enrolled in all the high schools of the state were in public high schools.<sup>103</sup> The oldest public high school in the state, the Leavenworth high school, was not organized until 1866, and sent forth its first graduating class in 1871. In Lawrence, even, there was no organized public high school until 1870, and it did not graduate its first class until 1875.<sup>104</sup> What little demand there was for secondary education prior to 1870 was satisfied by the early colleges and universities, thirty of which were incorporated from

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NOTE 100.—Laws of 1889, ch. 222.

NOTE 101.—Laws of 1907, ch. 330, as amended in 1909 by ch. 245, sec. 22.

NOTE 102.—Laws of 1905, ch. 399.

NOTE 103.—Report of Commissioner of Education, 1907, II, p. 584.

NOTE 104.—Columbian History of Education in Kansas, pp. 132 and 148.

1855 to 1860,<sup>105</sup> and by the state educational institutions, all of which maintained preparatory departments until very late. Not until 1874 was the high school interest of the state of sufficient importance to demand a separate section in the meetings of the State Teachers' Association. The total enrollment in the high schools of the state was 14,137 in 1892, 15,268 in 1902, and 19,387 in 1908.

The legislature of 1861<sup>106</sup> enacted "that any single district shall possess power to establish graded schools." It is from this provision that cities of the third class have derived their power to establish high schools. In 1863<sup>107</sup> city boards of education were authorized to "establish a high school whenever, in their opinion, the public interests of the city demand the same." This power the boards in first- and second-class cities have since possessed. The statutes have repeatedly given to the board in first- and second-class cities the right to charge tuition of pupils, resident as well as nonresident. But the state supreme court, in a most interesting decision in 1904,<sup>108</sup> declared that the high school of a city system of schools was within the meaning of the common schools as used in section 2, article VI, of the constitution, and as such must be free. No high school, therefore, can now charge tuition of its resident students. Except in Kansas City, where a separate high school for colored children was established by a special law,<sup>109</sup> the high schools of the state must be open alike to all. The tax levy of the city board for high-school purposes must be included within the maximum levy already described. To lend encouragement to the establishment of industrial-training schools or industrial departments of high schools, however, the legislature of 1903 granted power to any annual meeting and to any board of education in cities of the first and second class to make, for this purpose, a special and additional levy of not to exceed one-half mill in first- and second-class cities, and one mill for third-class cities and school districts.

First- and second-class cities had, universally, organized public high schools by 1885, and most cities of the third class had made steps toward secondary education. But by this time the rural schools began to demand secondary educational facilities for their advanced pupils. To meet this demand, and to provide more efficient teachers for the rural schools, three general laws have been passed making possible the establishment of county high schools. These high schools are to be supported, in whole or in part, by county taxation, and are to be free to all pupils resident in the county. Under each of the laws the county-high-school proposition must be submitted to the electorate for approval.

The first of these laws was passed in 1886.<sup>110</sup> It provided that the proposal for the county high school could be put to vote in each county by the county commissioners themselves or by a petition of one-third of the county electors. Unlike the two laws later enacted, this law created a special administrative board, a board of six trustees elected for four-year terms. This board certifies to the county commissioners such tax as they deem

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NOTE 105.—But four of these survive—Baker University, Baldwin; Bluemont Central College (now the State Agricultural College); Highland University, and Lawrence University (now University of Kansas). Laws, 1855–1860.

NOTE 106.—Laws 1861, ch. 76, art. VII, sec. 9.

NOTE 107.—Laws 1863, ch. 67, sec. 4.

NOTE 108.—70 Kansas 434.

NOTE 109.—Laws 1905, ch. 414.

NOTE 110.—Laws 1886, ch. 147.

necessary for the support of the school, and this tax the county commissioners must levy. However, the board is limited to a six-mill levy, although if the levy is for teachers' wages and contingent expenses only, the maximum permissible is but three mills. The defect of the law is that it necessitates new buildings and duplication of the apparatus and administrative machinery already existing in the cities. It is therefore needlessly expensive, and hence very few counties have established high schools under it.

A better statute was passed in 1897.<sup>111</sup> It utilizes the buildings and administrative machinery of the city high schools, so is not needlessly expensive. It makes a county high school of the county-seat high school by giving to the county commissioners power to employ such additional teachers as the increased attendance, due to throwing the high school open to all the residents of the county, might require. Its defect is that it favors the county-seat high school only, though there may be, and often are, better high schools in the county than the county-seat high school. All the other high-school centers would naturally oppose the law. This opposition alone would have prevented its wide adoption. Then, too, near-by residents of these other high schools preferred to send their children to their "home" high school, and objected to being taxed for the support of a high school they did not care to patronize. That there was a real demand for a still better high-school law was clearly revealed by the fact that the legislature of 1903 alone passed twelve special county-high-school laws referring the adoption of improved propositions to the county electorate. Yet, despite this demand, by 1909 but twenty-two counties had established county high schools, showing the inadequacy of the law.

Relief came in 1905<sup>112</sup> with the passage of the so-called Barnes law. By this law a majority of the county electorate may authorize a tax levy for the purpose of creating a general county-high-school fund. This fund is apportioned, in accordance with the enrolment of the high school, among all the four-year high schools in the county, the graduates of which are admitted to the freshman class of the literary department of the Kansas University. The county commissioners must make such a tax levy, not exceeding three mills, as is necessary for the support of such schools. If they neglect or refuse to make such a levy, the county superintendent makes it. This law has none of the defects noted in the preceding laws, distributes the county fund proportionally over all the county, makes a larger taxing unit, and puts secondary education within the reach of a large percentage of the homes of Kansas. That it is finding popular favor is shown by the fact that during the years 1908 and 1909 about 150 high schools have come under the operation of the law. Of the pupils in these high schools, fifty per cent are from the country.

The separate examining boards authorized in first- and second-class cities have power to issue certificates valid in their respective high schools. In 1907 a board of examiners was created for each county high school. Then, too, with certain exceptions, graduates of the three state institutions, and holders of certificates from the State Board of Education, are authorized to instruct in the secondary schools of the state. Hence, there is no state uniformity in nor central supervision over the certification of high-school teachers, and therefore standards are decidedly variable. The Kansas

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NOTE 111.—Laws 1897, ch. 180.

NOTE 112.—Laws 1905, ch. 397.



Educational Commission recommends a law that will secure state standards in this class of certificates.

However, there has been a tendency toward state uniformity and state standardization of courses, though this has followed all too tardily upon the growth in facilities for secondary education. In 1885, when Kansas University abolished her preparatory department, there was but one high school in the state that met all her entrance requirements.<sup>113</sup> The first step toward securing some degree of state uniformity was taken in 1890 when, upon the initiative of Kansas University, a conference of high-school principals was held in Lawrence. The conference framed a course that was acceptable alike to the principals of the high schools and to the faculty of the University. This course the University made her standard entrance course. Her standards for entrance, however, she gradually enlarged and extended until, in time, only four-year high schools satisfied her requirements. The first county-high-school act provided for three courses of three years each, the collegiate course to admit to the University; but this three-year provision was repealed in 1905<sup>114</sup> and all county high schools were required to offer four-year courses. So there is now uniformity in the length of courses.

The county-high-school act of 1897 contained a clause that was highly suggestive of control by state authorities instead of control by a single educational institution. This clause provided that the course of study for such high schools should be made by the State Board of Education. The way was thus prepared for the opinion rendered by the attorney-general in 1907, to the effect that the law which makes it the duty of the State Board of Education to provide a "course of study for the public schools of the state" applies to all high schools as a part of the public-school system, and that it is therefore not only permissive but mandatory for the board to prepare the courses for the secondary schools. In keeping with this opinion, the board has taken steps toward the preparation of three high-school courses—a general, a normal, and a collegiate course. Through the State Board of Education, then, there is now central control, and hence state uniformity and higher standards in the course offered by the state's public high schools. There has been a tendency in many other states that is worthy of consideration in Kansas—a tendency to provide for a state inspector of high schools, whose duty it is to inspect impartially, and in a way satisfactory alike to state and denominational schools, all the public high schools of the state.

The tendency, then, in the administration of secondary schools has been toward liberal local support on the one hand, and toward central supervision on the other. At first secondary schools were few in number and were supported mainly by tuition; to-day they are numerous and are supported almost wholly, if not wholly, by taxation, with a rapidly growing tendency for the taxing unit to be the county rather than the district or city. For over three decades there was no uniformity in courses; now there is not only uniformity, but central control. There is still, however, the utmost diversity in the certification of high-school teachers. Yet that the present high-school system is largely the result of the growth of but two decades augurs well for the future.

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NOTE 113.—Blackmar, *Higher Education in Kansas*, p. 112.

NOTE 114.—Laws 1905, ch. 389.

## HIGHER EDUCATION.

Nothing more clearly reveals the abiding interest of the early Kansas settlers in higher education than the number of denominational colleges they established and the provisions relating to state institutions that they put into their proposed constitutions. "In the extreme spirit of hopefulness," writes Professor Blackmar,<sup>115</sup> "there were chartered in the period from 1855 to 1860 eighteen universities and ten colleges." What matters it if but three of these twenty-eight institutions survived? Others sprang up to take the place of those that failed, and the forty denominational colleges now existing are the vintage of that early spirit. But it is in the proposed constitutions that one reads the steadfast faith of the pioneer not only in higher education but in higher education supported by taxation and controlled by the state. In the constitution of 1855 one reads<sup>116</sup> that "The general assembly may take measures for the establishment of a university, with such branches as the public convenience may hereafter demand, for the promotion of literature, the arts, sciences, medical and agricultural instruction." And again, "Provision may be made by law for the support of normal schools, with suitable libraries and scientific apparatus." The constitution of 1857 asked<sup>117</sup> Congress to set aside seventy-two sections of land for "the use of a seminary of learning." The next proposed constitution,<sup>118</sup> however, requested that this land be granted for the "use and support of a state university, and sixty sections for the use and support of four district colleges, to be located in the four equal divisions of the state." But another clause of the same constitution asserts<sup>119</sup> that "As the means of the state will admit, educational institutions of a higher grade shall be established by law so as to form a complete system of public instruction, embracing the primary, normal, preparatory, collegiate and university departments."

This early spirit has found expression in three state institutions of higher learning: the University, the Agricultural College, and the Normal School.

The constitution declares that "Provisions shall be made by law for the establishment at some eligible and central point of a State University." The legislature of 1863,<sup>120</sup> after a strenuous fight between Emporia and Lawrence, fixed upon Lawrence as this "central and eligible point." The act provided, however, that the University should be located at Emporia instead of at Lawrence unless, within six months, there should be deposited with the state treasurer "an endowment of said University, by or through the citizens of Lawrence, or some one of them, of the sum of \$15,000." This fund was raised just in time to keep the institution from being located at Emporia. And then, strange to relate, the very next legislature<sup>121</sup> enacted that \$5167 of this fund should be returned to the citizens of Lawrence, thus leaving in the fund only little, if any, over the sum given by Amos A. Lawrence at an earlier time for the endowment of a Free State College, which sum was the basis of the Lawrence endowment.

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NOTE 115.—Blackmar, *Higher Education in Kansas*, p. 21.

NOTE 116.—Art. VII, sec. 3.

NOTE 117.—Ordinance, sec. 4, Leecompton constitution.

NOTE 118.—Const. of 1858, ordinance, sec. 2, Leavenworth constitution.

NOTE 119.—Art. VII, sec. 7, Leavenworth constitution.

NOTE 120.—Laws 1863, ch. 67.

NOTE 121.—Laws 1864, ch. 104.

The University was organized by an act approved March 1, 1864.<sup>122</sup> The act created six departments of the University: (1) the department of science, literature and the arts; (2) of law; (3) of medicine; (4) of theory and practice of elementary instruction; (5) of agriculture, and (6) the normal department. But despite the provision in the constitution that "the legislature, in providing for the formation and regulation of schools, shall make no distinctions between the rights of males and females," a lively contest occurred in the legislature over coeducation, a contest that resulted in the insertion of this clause into the act: "There shall be two branches of the University, viz.: a male and a female branch. The female branch shall be taught exclusively by women, and buildings for that branch shall be entirely separated from the buildings of the male branch." But for various reasons, the chief of which, no doubt, was their lack of funds, the regents never carried this provision into effect. The University opened on September 12, 1866, with 35 students in attendance, 26 of whom were ladies, but there was no attempt at segregation. The enrollment the next year was 126, but two of whom were in the collegiate department. The enrollment for the year 1907-'08 was 2250.

The board of regents, as constituted by the organic act, consisted of fourteen members, twelve of whom were appointed by the governor for six-year terms, and two of whom, the president of the University and the state superintendent, were *ex officio*. The number of appointive members was reduced to six in 1883, their tenure fixed at three years, and the chancellor was left as an *ex officio* member, the state superintendent being omitted from the list. The board is so constituted at present, save that, since 1889, the term of the appointive members has been four years instead of three. The board must report biennially to the governor on stated subjects, and on such other subjects as the state superintendent may require. This slight power over reports is the state superintendent's only statutory medium of control over the University.

The sources of income for the University are threefold: student fees, appropriations by the state legislature, and the income from the endowment fund. Section 3 of the act under which Kansas was admitted to the Union provided that "Seventy-two sections of land shall be set apart and reserved for the use and support of a State University." The constitution set aside these lands, "and all other grants, donations, or bequests, either by the state or by individuals, for such purpose," as a "perpetual fund to be called the 'University fund,' the interest of which shall be appropriated to the support of the State University." The land did not find ready sale until after 1879, when, upon petition of the regents, the legislature passed an act making the terms of purchase more favorable and fixing lower minimum prices than previous acts had done. The land then sold rapidly, 29,597 acres being sold by April 1, 1880. In 1908 the endowment fund arising from the sale of these lands was \$151,000.

Each of the other state institutions likewise received land endowments. Until well along in the '70's it was expected that these endowments would, in time, amply sustain their respective institutions, and that no appropriation from the state treasury would be necessary. Said Governor Crawford, in his message to the legislature in 1868: "It is sincerely to be hoped that such of our state institutions as have been generously endowed from the

NOTE 122.—Laws 1864, ch. 105.



public domain will soon be able to dispense with the aid drawn from the treasury."<sup>123</sup> The appropriation to the University in 1869, and the appropriations to the Agricultural College from 1863 to 1869, amounting to \$36,400, were all made as loans "to be reimbursed to the state from the interest on the endowment fund, when the interest of said fund shall exceed the amount required to meet the annual payment of the professors in said college." But soon after 1870 it became evident that the endowment funds would never alone support the state institutions.

The years and the amounts of the earlier appropriations to the University were: 1866, the first, \$7000; 1867, \$13,094; 1868, \$7500; 1869, \$11,550. The total appropriation from 1870 to 1880-'90, inclusive, was \$610,585.54.<sup>124</sup> The total state aid from the foundation of the University up to the year ending June, 1907, was \$3,171,813.<sup>125</sup> The total appropriation for the years 1908 and 1909 was \$780,843, and for the years 1910 and 1911, \$982,259, making the total state aid to the University to date \$4,934,915.

On February 3, 1863, the legislature accepted the congressional land grant of 90,000 acres offered to the state for Agricultural College purposes, and on February 16 it located the State Agricultural College at Manhattan. The act of organization was approved on March 3.<sup>126</sup> This act created four departments—the departments of "agriculture, of mechanic arts, of military science and tactics, and of literature and science." The government of the institution was vested in a board of regents composed of nine appointive members, appointed by the governor for six-year terms, and four *ex officio* members—the governor, the secretary of state, the state superintendent, and the president of the college. By the law of 1873<sup>127</sup> the board consists of seven members only, but one of whom, the president, is *ex officio*, the others being appointed by the governor for four-year terms. From the first it has been the duty of this board to make two detailed reports, one to the Secretary of the Interior, dealing with such contributions of the college, experimental and otherwise, as may be of value to other agricultural colleges, and one, dealing with the administrative affairs of the college, to the state superintendent. The latter report is supplemented by the report of a board of visitors. This board consists of three members appointed by the governor for three-year terms. It is the duty of the board to make annually a personal examination into the condition of the college and report thereon, with suggestions, to the state superintendent. This publicity is the only provision for central supervision.

The college has grown rapidly. It was first opened on September 2, 1863, with 52 students in attendance. The enrollment in 1864-'65 was 113; in 1905-'06, 1690; in 1907-'08, 2192.

The 90,000-acre congressional land grant has already been noted. This was made a permanent endowment of the institution. As the tracts selected within the railroad limits counted double, the college actually received but 82,315.52 acres. An act<sup>128</sup> providing for the sale of these lands was ap-

NOTE 123.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 10, p. 264.

NOTE 124.—Blackmar, Federal and State Aid to Higher Education, p. 299.

NOTE 125.—Report of Commissioner of Education, 1907, p. 865.

NOTE 126.—Laws 1863, chs. 2, 3, and 4, respectively.

NOTE 127.—Laws 1873, ch. 135, as revised by Laws 1901, ch. 354.

NOTE 128.—Laws 1866, ch. 106.

proved February 22, 1866, and by 1873 42,000 acres had been sold for \$180,000, while the next decade saw the sale of 32,000 more acres for \$240,000. The total endowment arising from the sale of these lands was, in 1908, \$492,381. The annual income from this source has been, therefore, quite large. In 1901<sup>129</sup> the legislature accepted from Congress another smaller land grant, the abandoned Fort Hays military reservation, and, in accordance with the terms of the grant, established thereon an agricultural experiment station.

Aside from student fees, there are two sources of income for the college—one from the state and one from the national government. The state has been liberal in its appropriations. The earlier appropriations and their amounts were: 1863, \$1000; 1864, \$2700; 1867, \$12,700; 1869, \$8915. The total appropriations up to 1888 were \$312,020.13,<sup>130</sup> and to June, 1907, \$1,201,000.<sup>131</sup> The total appropriation by the legislature of 1907 was \$605,000, making the total state aid to the college up to 1909 \$1,806,000. In addition, the college has received, since April, 1888, under the Hatch bill, \$15,000 annually from the national treasury for experiment stations, and, since 1900, in accordance with the college aid bill of 1890, \$25,000 annually for general support, a total aid from the United States of \$40,000 annually.

On March 3, 1863, the Kansas State Normal was located at Emporia.<sup>132</sup> The law establishing the school declared its "exclusive purpose" to "be the instruction of persons, both male and female, in the art of teaching, and in all the various branches that pertain to a good common-school education, and in the mechanic arts, and in the arts of husbandry and agricultural chemistry, and in the fundamental laws of the United States, and in what regards the rights and duties of citizens." In consideration of the location, Emporia was to endow the institution with not less than twenty acres of land. The act organizing the school, passed in 1864,<sup>133</sup> placed the government of the institution in the hands of a board of nine directors, six of whom were to be appointed by the governor for three-year terms, and three of whom, the secretary of state, the state treasurer, and the state superintendent, were *ex officio*. In addition to governing the school, the act required the board to establish, in connection with the Normal, an "experimental school, in which the pupils shall have opportunity to practice the modes of instruction and discipline inculcated in the State Normal School." They were also empowered to have given at the institution "lectures on chemistry and comparative anatomy, physiology, astronomy, and on any other science, or any branch of literature." In 1873 the board of regents was reconstructed as given already for each of the other state schools, but in 1877<sup>134</sup> the number was reduced to six appointive members with four-year terms. The president was not made an *ex officio* member. The board must make biennial reports to the state superintendent. The act of organization also provided for a board of visitors, three in number, who were to be appointed annually by the state superintendent. The members of the board were annually to "examine thoroughly the affairs of the school and report

NOTE 129.—Laws 1901, ch. 421.

NOTE 130.—Blackmar, Federal and State Aid to Higher Education, p. 305.

NOTE 131.—Report of Commissioner of Education, 1907, vol. II, p. 865.

NOTE 132.—Laws 1863, ch. 57.

NOTE 133.—Laws 1864, ch. 99.

NOTE 134.—Laws 1877, ch. 179.

to the superintendent their views." The superintendent himself, moreover, was to visit the institution each year and report to the legislature as to its "doings," receipts, progress and usefulness. By later laws both of these avenues of control were closed to the state superintendent.

The institution opened its doors to students February 15, 1865, with 42 students in attendance and with L. B. Kellogg as principal and sole teacher. In 1876 the enrollment was 345; in 1882, 402; and in 1907-'08, 2196. Of the 3636 students pursuing teachers' training courses in Kansas in 1906-'07, 2414 were in the State Normal and its two branches.<sup>135</sup>

The act establishing the institution endowed it with 30,380 acres of salt lands. The board was first authorized to sell this land in 1866.<sup>136</sup> In 1872<sup>137</sup> the price was fixed at five dollars per acre, but five years later<sup>138</sup> it was reduced to three dollars per acre. Early in 1886 the legislature appropriated twelve additional sections of salt lands. This land has all been sold, the permanent endowment arising therefrom amounting to about \$270,000. The interest on this fund was, in 1892, \$16,500. In 1901 the legislature accepted from Congress, as a special endowment of the Western Branch Normal School, part of the Fort Hays military reservation.

The appropriations by the state legislature for the earlier years were as follows: 1864, the first, \$1000, to be used exclusively for salaries; 1866, \$10,000 for a building and \$3000 for salaries; 1867, \$14,000; 1868, \$5637; 1869, \$8930; 1871, \$8475; 1872, \$61,940, \$50,000 of which was for building purposes; 1873, \$17,829; 1874, \$11,292.96; 1875, \$12,840. But all was changed in 1876. The Granger legislature for that year, urged on by the local jealousies aroused by the establishment of the two normal schools next to be described, and impelled by the belief that normal schools satisfied local needs only, refused to make appropriations, save for incurred expenses, for any of the normal schools. The appropriations for the Emporia normal totaled for this year<sup>139</sup> \$4247.60. For seven years after this the state made no appropriations, save \$25,000 in the year 1878 for new buildings to replace those destroyed by fire, and this appropriation was made on the condition that Emporia and Lyon county give \$20,800, which was done. After this interim, however, state appropriations were resumed and have not since been denied. The appropriation for the year 1892, for instance, was \$5525, while for the biennial of 1908 and 1909, it was, for all the schools, \$558,785. The yearly income for 1896 was \$43,000; for 1908, \$122,150.

By an act approved March 3, 1870,<sup>140</sup> the legislature created a normal school to be located in northern Kansas. The commission appointed to locate the school located it at Leavenworth on May 4, 1870, and it was opened for students the 7th of the following September. Appropriations were made toward its support by the legislatures of 1871 to 1876, inclusive, amounting respectively to \$6966.70, \$9731.03, \$6000, \$6000, \$6600, and \$2297.50. Another state normal was located at Concordia, March 10, 1874, and the school began its work September 16 following. The appropriations for 1875 and 1876 were \$5312.50 and \$2297.50, respectively. The legislature of 1876, in the act appropriating the sum noted above for each of these

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NOTE 135.—Report of Commissioner of Education, 1907, vol. II, p. 1019.

NOTE 136.—Laws 1866, ch. 95.

NOTE 137.—Laws 1872, ch. 179.

NOTE 138.—Laws 1877, ch. 179.

NOTE 139.—Laws 1876, ch. 26.

NOTE 140.—Laws 1870, ch. 103.



institutions, decreed that both should cease to exist as state institutions. Although the legislature declared that in the future no appropriations should be made to the Emporia Normal, yet it was continued as a state school, chiefly, no doubt, because of its endowment fund, which the other normals did not have. Each of the abolished schools had its own board of regents and was governed separately. So the acts of 1876 resulted in good in this, that when, in the early part of this century, there came a local demand for normal schools, the legislature adopted the principle of centralized control, putting the newly created institutions under the one board of regents and under the same president, thus avoiding the multiplicity of independent normal schools such as most of the states are to-day burdened with. Under this conception auxiliaries to the State Normal at Emporia were established at Hays City in 1901, and at Pittsburg in 1903.<sup>141</sup> Both of these auxiliaries have had their own appropriations from each succeeding legislature.

The power of State Normal regents over courses and diplomas must be briefly noted here because the law makes of the board, in effect, an independent certificate-issuing body. Space forbids giving the development of the power. Suffice it to say that it is a power the board has had since the organization of the school. The present law<sup>142</sup> empowers the board to provide, for the main school, a regular collegiate course leading to the usual collegiate degrees, and, for the two branch schools, such courses as it may deem proper. The diploma from any normal course is now a life certificate to teach in any of the public schools of the state, when registered in the state superintendent's office, and diplomas from special courses, such as kindergarten and manual training, are valid in such public school departments.

There is, then, no central control of the three state institutions save the slight control in the hands of the state superintendent due to the fact that the several boards of regents must make biennial reports to him. However, the normal schools of the state are all under the government of one board. But farther than this there has been no tendency toward centralizing the government of the three state schools under one board. To be sure such proposals have been made, but they have met with no general favor. A proposition to unite all the state schools under one board was voted down by the people of the state in 1868.<sup>143</sup> So each board is now free to work out the policy of its own school.

### STATE ADMINISTRATION.

The two proslavery legislatures made no provision for central supervision of the schools of the territory save that the district clerks were to report to the territorial secretary. The first free-state legislature, however, created, by an act approved February 12, 1858, the office of territorial superintendent of schools. The act provided that the superintendent should be appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the council, for a term of two years, and fixed the salary at \$1500 per annum, in addition to which the territory was to provide the necessary postage and stationery.

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NOTE 141.—Laws of 1901 and 1903, chs. 220 and 34, respectively.

NOTE 142.—Laws of 1905, ch. 308.

NOTE 143.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 10, p. 264. This appears to be an error as regards the schools, and relates to the location of state institutions and not to their management.—ED.

The fifth territorial legislature<sup>144</sup> made the office an elective one, the election to occur annually. The constitution fixes the term at two years, makes the office an elective one, and gives to the incumbent "general supervision of the common-school funds and educational interests of the state." The first state legislature<sup>145</sup> lowered the salary to \$1200, and made appropriations,<sup>146</sup> in addition to the salary, as follows: "For office rent, \$100; for furnishing office, \$100; for record books, \$50; for stationery and postage, \$50; for traveling expenses, \$200." Something of the development in the office is revealed by contrasting with this the appropriation for 1907. The sums appropriated for that year were: For the salary of the state superintendent, \$2500; for the salary of the assistant state superintendent, an appointive office created in 1879, \$1600; for the total salary of the four office clerks, \$4000; for traveling expenses, \$1500; and for the contingent fund, \$1200.

The act creating the office, in keeping with the general tendency of the times, gave to the superintendent "general supervision over the common schools." This created a state educational system, since the courts have uniformly held that under such a *régime* the local schools are not simply local institutions, but are parts of a state system, and that the local school officers are agents of the state for the administration of a state system of education.

At first the powers of the state superintendent were almost wholly advisory. He was to visit each county in the territory at least once a year for the purpose of awakening interest in educational affairs. He was to prepare suitable forms for school records and reports, and publish these forms in a pamphlet, together with the school laws, the pamphlet being for general distribution. He was to apportion the territorial school funds to the various counties of the territory, in proportion to the school population of the county in those districts that held at least a three-months school. These duties he still has, save that the law of 1869 requires him to visit each county biennially instead of annually.<sup>147</sup> This act, too, gave him power to distribute to each district the blank forms needed for their reports, in lieu of the duty of simply recommending forms which the district officers might adopt at pleasure. State uniformity was thus secured in district reports, and, to a large degree, in district administration. County superintendents have always been required to report annually to the state superintendent. These reports have given to the state superintendent a leverage for an advisory influence over these officials, an influence that has been greatly enhanced since 1907 by the calling of annual conferences of county superintendents in the state superintendent's office. The state superintendent makes annual reports to each regular session of the legislature. This medium of publicity, strengthened by his bulletins and public addresses, gives added opportunity for supervisory influence.

The act creating the office followed the New York plan, and gave to the superintendent very large judicial powers. "He shall examine and determine all appeals," so read the act, "duly made to him from the decision of any school-district meeting, or from the decision of any county superintendent in forming or altering any school district, or concerning any other

NOTE 144.—Laws 1859, ch. 116.

NOTE 145.—Laws 1861, ch. 75, sec. 9.

NOTE 146.—*Ibid.*, ch. 1, p. 20.

NOTE 147.—Laws 1869, ch. 86, sec. 1.

matter under the common-school law of this territory, and his decision thereon shall be final." But in the reënactments of the first state legislature this power was omitted. A statute of a few years later required him, at the request of any county superintendent, "to give his opinion, upon a written statement of the facts, on all questions and controversies arising out of the interpretation and construction of the school laws," and to "keep a record of all such decisions." This duty gives him power to secure uniformity in the construction of the school laws, and also gives him a slight ordinance power. In 1879<sup>148</sup> he was given final jurisdiction over joint-district disputes. There has been no further development in his *quasi*-judicial powers, and they are therefore not so large now as they were in territorial days.

On the whole, then, the powers of the state superintendent are advisory rather than compulsory, though there has been a slight tendency to add to his compulsory powers. But his compulsory powers are not as yet sufficient to enable him, in any true sense of the word, to manage the educational affairs of the state.

Kansas legislation upon matters pertaining to state school administration follows the custom, rampant in the '50's and '60's, of creating many independent boards, and has not taken up the principle, widely adopted in the last three decades, of centralizing control under one administrative head. So it is as an *ex officio* member of certain state boards, independent of one another, and correlated in their action only in so far as the superintendent's influence is felt in all of them, that the superintendent extends his influence over affairs educational. The first of these boards to be noted is the one that controls the state permanent school fund, the Board of State School-fund Commissioners. Of this board, the state superintendent is secretary, the other two members being the secretary of state, who acts as president, and the attorney-general.<sup>149</sup> It is the duty of this board to invest, in specified kinds of bonds, the various school funds, including the endowment funds of the University, the Agricultural College and the Normal, and the permanent school fund. The state treasurer is custodian of all moneys, and of all bonds, notes, mortgages and other evidences of debt belonging to this commission.

The basis of the permanent school fund is the congressional land grant<sup>150</sup> of sections 16 and 36 in every township. The proceeds from the sale of this land, "and all estates of persons dying without heir or will, and such per cent as may be granted by Congress on the sale of lands in this state" (five per cent was granted), "shall be," the constitution declares, "a perpetual school fund, which shall not be diminished, but the interest of which, together with the rents of the lands . . . shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of the common schools." It may be of interest to note that all the proposed constitutions contained similar provisions. The ordinance of the constitution of 1857, indeed, asked Congress to donate sections 8 and 24 in addition to sections 16 and 36. The constitution provided that the school land should not be sold unless the sale was ordered by a vote of the electors at some general election. Such an order was adopted at the election of the first Monday in November, 1864. The law regulating

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NOTE 148.—Laws 1879, ch. 158, sec. 1.

NOTE 149.—Const., art. VI, sec. 9.

NOTE 150.—Act of admission, sec. 3.



the sale<sup>151</sup> placed the minimum price at three dollars per acre, and limited the sale to the land within organized townships when twenty per cent of the householders of such township petitioned for such sale. Other laws were passed on the same subject. All but 85,000 acres of the school lands were sold by June 30, 1905, the permanent fund arising therefrom being in that year \$7,553,330.<sup>152</sup> The total estimated value of the fund and of the unsold productive school lands was, in this same year, \$7,803,330. But seven other states in the Union have larger permanent funds.

The annual school fund consists of the income from this permanent school fund, the rents of the unsold school lands, and, since 1876,<sup>153</sup> a fifty-dollar annual fee from all insurance companies doing business within the state. This annual school fund the state superintendent apportions semiannually to the several schools in the state in proportion to their school population. However, only those schools in the state that have had at least three-months schools are entitled to a share of this fund. Herein there is an incentive to at least a three-months term. The annual income derived from the permanent school fund was \$420 in 1867; \$328,960 in 1885; \$615,775 in 1890; \$502,-940.24 in 1892; \$396,933.20 in 1901; \$421,649.13 in 1902; \$514,072.35 in 1907; and \$483,426.50 in 1908. For a time there was added to the annual school fund the proceeds from a one-mill state tax. Such a tax was levied by the first state legislature<sup>154</sup> and by later legislatures, among these being the legislatures of 1868 and 1876. The fund arising from the one-mill levy in 1863 was \$20,303.69, or seventy-seven cents per pupil.<sup>155</sup> But the law was not long kept upon the statute books, and its omission has caused Kansas to fall behind other states in the Union in its expenditures for public schools. In 1906-'07 all but seven states, including Kansas, and one territory, levied state taxes for school purposes. Kansas raised for school purposes, for each person in the state five to eighteen years of age, during the year 1904-'05, \$11.72. The average for the United States was \$14.28, and thirty-eight states raised more per capita than did Kansas, the best states being Colorado, Washington and Nevada, with \$37.61, \$33.83 and \$38.31, respectively.<sup>156</sup>

The board through which the state superintendent now wields his influence over the textbooks used in the state is the State Textbook Commission. The statutes of territorial days gave to the district boards power to determine what textbooks should be used in their schools. However, the laws of this period bestowed upon the county and state superintendents the duty of recommending suitable texts, the laws of 1859<sup>157</sup> urging the state superintendent "as far as practicable, to secure uniformity." These provisions the earlier state laws repeated. But no heed was paid to the recommendations of the superintendents. Not only was there no uniformity between districts, but there was no uniformity within the same school, the pupils generally using such books as their parents had chanced to bring with them from the East.

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NOTE 151.—Laws 1864, ch. 102.

NOTE 152.—Report of Commissioners of Education, 1907, vol. II, p. 566.

NOTE 153.—Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. 16. NOTE 154.—Laws 1861, ch. 76, art. VIII, sec. 5.

NOTE 155.—Third Annual Report of the State Superintendent, table No. II, p. 7. There is not at hand a detailed statement of the amounts raised under the one-mill state levy.

NOTE 156.—Report of Commissioner of Education, 1907, II, p. 558.

NOTE 157.—Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 5.

State Superintendent Goodnow, in his report for 1866, urged that the school districts be compelled by law to use the textbooks officially recommended. But no such law was passed. However, the legislature of 1869<sup>158</sup> made some progress by enacting that each district board should require a uniform series of textbooks to be used in each separate branch. Ten years later<sup>159</sup> a statute was passed stating that when a city or district board made such adoptions there could be no change for five years. Six years later<sup>160</sup> provision was made for optional county uniformity. The texts, for such counties as adopted the scheme by electoral vote, were chosen for a five-year term by a county textbook board. Such cities of the first and second class as might care to use the county textbooks were empowered to name delegates to this board. In 1897<sup>161</sup> this scheme for optional county uniformity gave way to state-wide compulsory uniformity and a State Textbook Commission was created. This commission, composed of the state superintendent and eight appointed members, selects and approves all maps, globes, charts and other apparatus, and adopts all textbooks used in the elementary and secondary schools of the state. Out of confusion has thus come state-wide uniformity and control.

But from every point of view by far the most important board in state administration is the State Board of Education. This board was created in 1873.<sup>162</sup> Its members, all *ex officio*, were the state superintendent of public instruction, the chancellor of the State University, the president of the State Agricultural College, and the principals of the State Normal Schools at Emporia and Leavenworth. Its mission was solely the state certification of such teachers as "may be found, upon critical examination, to possess the requisite scholarship," culture, moral character, and professional ability. A two-years teaching experience in the state was made a prerequisite for such certificates and the certificates were declared valid in all the public schools of the state. The board's powers of certification have been extended from time to time until at present it has more or less to do with all the teachers' certificates issued in the state, save those issued by the boards of education in cities of the first and second class, by the board of examiners in county high schools, and by the regents of the State Normal School. With the growth in its powers it was made more nearly representative of all the educational interests of the state in 1893<sup>163</sup> by the addition of three appointive members. The *ex officio* members are still the state superintendent and the heads of the three state institutions. The three members are appointed by the governor for a term of two years "from among those engaged in the school work of the state." The board is now allowed \$300 per annum for expenses. Under the first law it was to do its work at no expense to the state.

Its power to issue state certificates at once set a higher standard for the teachers. In 1885<sup>164</sup> its power was extended over county certificates by a statute requiring it to prepare the questions for each county teachers' examination. The power of the board, granted in 1877, to issue institute conductors' and instructors' certificates has already been noted. It was

NOTE 158.—Laws 1869, ch. 86, sec. 14.

NOTE 159.—Laws 1879, ch. 157.

NOTE 160.—Laws 1885, ch. 171, secs. 2-4.

NOTE 161.—Laws 1897, ch. 179.

NOTE 162.—Laws of 1873, ch. 133.

NOTE 163.—Laws of 1893, ch. 132, sec. 1.

NOTE 164.—Laws 1885, ch. 180.

later empowered to prescribe the course of study for normal institutes. In December, 1907, it inaugurated a splendid new field of influence by calling a conference of institute conductors and instructors, 350 of whom were in attendance. Activity in these three fields has given to the board increasing power and supervisory influence over the district schools. An act of 1903<sup>165</sup> extends its power and influence to the city schools by requiring it to set the standards for the teachers in industrial training departments. This influence was extended still farther in 1907<sup>166</sup> by a law empowering it to name the subjects, prepare the questions, and establish the standards for kindergarten diplomas.

Very recently the board has assumed activity in a field which is destined to give to it ever-increasing power and influence. The law has long declared that the board must prescribe "a course of study" "for the public schools of the state." Under this provision the board issued, during the biennium of 1907-'08, a "course of Study for Common Schools."<sup>167</sup> This course is being generally used in all the counties of the state, and is used in 100 per cent of the district schools in sixty-two of the counties. In the same year the board issued a "Course of Study for Cities of the Third Class," a course that is being quite generally adopted. Steps have been taken toward the formulation by the board of a course of study for the elementary grades in cities of the first and second class. The board has prepared and issued, moreover, three courses—a general, a college-preparatory, and a normal course—for use in all the public high schools in the state. It is thus acquiring decided supervisory influence over the elementary and secondary schools of the state.

But the supervisory influence of the board does not end with the elementary and secondary schools. Its power to issue state certificates has been noted. Since 1893 it has had power to grant such certificates, in whole or in part, upon graduation from, or upon the grades received in, such educational institutions of the state as, in its judgment, complied with certain requirements. This power to accredit higher institutions of learning is exercised under two laws. By the law of 1893<sup>168</sup> the four-years normal course at Emporia is made the standard. No less than fourteen Kansas colleges and fifty colleges without the state have been accredited under this law. By the law of 1899<sup>169</sup> the requirements of the board for a state certificate are made the basis. The board has accredited under this provision six Kansas colleges. A second section of this law makes the teachers' course in Kansas University the basis for another class of accredited schools. Under this section the board has accredited fourteen educational institutions of the state. These laws have given to the board a positive and aggressive supervisory power over the courses offered in the higher educational institutions of Kansas. It extended its advisory influence over such institutions, in October of 1908, by calling a conference of their presidents. The power and influence of the board, though all of comparatively recent origin, are steadily increasing, and the board is becoming the center of efficient supervision and control.

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NOTE 165.—Laws 1903, ch. 20, sec. 3.

NOTE 166.—Laws 1907, ch. 325, sec. 1.

NOTE 167.—This is by no means the first of such courses issued in the state. In 1872 State Superintendent McCarty prepared and issued a highly meritorious and widely copied course of study for district schools.

NOTE 168.—Laws 1893, ch. 132, secs. 1-13.

NOTE 169.—Laws 1899, ch. 179.



The tendency, then, in central administration of the educational affairs of the state has been toward larger and more efficient powers in the state authorities and toward more stringent state administrative control, toward higher standards, and toward thoroughgoing uniformity. It is perhaps to be regretted that these added powers have not been centered in the state superintendent's office rather than diffused among independent boards. The suggestion that inspectors be appointed to work under the direction of the state superintendent is more nearly in keeping with the line of development in other states.

A survey of the history of the Kansas school system reveals activity in certain phases of the system and stagnation in others. There has been a tendency toward giving greater freedom to the local school authorities, a tendency that has found fullest expression in the field of taxation. There has been a marked movement toward giving to the county superintendent greater administrative powers, both advisory and compulsory. The administration of rural school affairs is now sufficiently centralized to admit of efficient supervision. However, means of securing uniformity and state standards in the elementary grades of first- and second-class cities are entirely wanting, though there has been a tendency even here for the legislature to relinquish its minute control over the local boards. There has been a movement toward granting to the State Board of Education larger powers over the secondary as well as over the elementary schools. However, there is by no means uniformity in secondary education, particularly in the field of certification. The only central supervision of the three state institutions of higher learning is the medium of publicity through required reports to the state superintendent. State administration of school affairs is still diffused, though there has been a tendency toward increasing the powers of the state superintendent. Greater powers may yet well be lodged with him, as there is not as yet sufficient centralization in his office to make his work most effective.

On the whole, the tendency has been toward substituting administrative control for legislative or statutory control, a change that has led to most beneficial results. Yet the Kansas school system has been built up in a more or less haphazard manner, each legislature making its contributions to the general structure. The development has been within the general spirit of the times, to be sure, but it has wanted the unity and completeness that should characterize a thoroughly organized school system. It would seem that the time was ripe for a general codification of the school laws. However, the general result of a half century and more of school legislation is far from disappointing. With the impetus already attained, much can be expected of the next few decades.

## THE SANTA FE TRAIL IN JOHNSON COUNTY, KANSAS.

Proceedings at the dedication of the Santa Fe trail marker at Lone Elm, November 9, 1906.

## LONE ELM CAMP GROUND.

Poem written for the occasion by ED BLAIR, of Spring Hill.

Fifty years—'twas a prairie then,  
And the deer roamed wild and free;  
Fifty years—I see it again  
As it appeared to me.  
The old trail ran where the barn stands now;  
The trail was here long before the plow,  
And we drove ox teams, with sometimes a cow,  
In the day that used to be.

Fifty years—Yes, I lived here then,  
And a lively place 'twas, too;  
Wagons for miles with their fearless men  
Coming and passing from view.  
On the wagon covers, "Pike's Peak or Bust."  
Yes, the fever was high for the yellow dust,  
Just a lot of grit and their luck to trust,  
For those who won were few.

Fifty years—'twas a camping ground  
Where the trees now cast their shade,  
And the faithful oxen rambled 'round  
And rarely, if ever, strayed.  
And the camp fires burned each night in the year,  
In the pastures there and the corn fields here;  
Yet I slept each night with never a fear,  
And many the friend I made.

Yes, fifty years—What a striking change  
From the way we do things now!  
No less these farm from the boundless range,  
Or the way we sow and plow.  
The sickle is gone and the binder is here;  
But the sickle still to my heart is dear;  
But I look in vain for the roving deer  
And the prairie chickens now.

Fifty years—Ah, I love to know  
That the old trail shall remain;  
That the markers 'l tell in the years to go  
Where the ox teams crossed the plains.  
Of the men who traveled the toilsome way  
But few are left to tell it to-day,  
But their march was "Progress" on its way,  
And their glory shall never wane.

Friday afternoon, November 9, 1906, was a red-letter day at Lone Elm, one of the historic camping grounds on the original Santa Fe trail. Of the five markers for Johnson county provided by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the legislature of Kansas, the one unveiled at Lone Elm<sup>1</sup> on that day was the second to be placed in position in this county, and it might be said here that Newton Ainsworth, one of the original old settlers, and through whose farm the trail ran, together with George Black, were mainly instrumental in getting the marker located at Lone Elm. An appropriate program that had been arranged for, and was carried out, follows:

At two o'clock Mr. Ainsworth called the assemblage to order around the monument, which is erected at the northwest corner of section 23, township 14, range 23, and introduced David Hibbard as master of ceremonies. Then came the removing of the large American flag by a bouquet of American beauties composed of Ruth Ainsworth, Ola Rose Ainsworth, Madeline Millikan, Edith Bodley, Anna Wolfe, Della Crist, Ethel Ballard, Mildred Kelly, Verna Kelly, Mary Johnson, Edna Shields, Levina Lee, Katherine Kelly, Daisy Kelly, Jennie McKee, Edna Schlaegel, Lenora Jarboe and Willamena Kirkpatrick, under the superintendency of Mrs Susie Du Bois and Mrs. Lou Ainsworth, and the monument that is to perpetuate the hardy pioneers, those advance guards of our modern civilization, stood unveiled. Mr. Ainsworth was introduced and delivered the following address:

"We are here to-day to erect a monument in memory of that which more than anything else wiped out the great American desert.

"In the beginning the Santa Fe trail ran from old Franklin, Mo., across the plains to New Mexico. The merchandise was shipped from St. Louis by steamboat to Franklin, and from there was freighted west in ox and mule trains. Usually but one trip was made a year. After a time the outfitting point was moved from Franklin west to Independence, Mo., and later to Westport, the steamboat landing being called Kansas, the nucleus of the present Kansas City. This trail in those days was like the railroads of to-day: it made and unmade towns. The freighting business was immense. To give an idea of its magnitude, I will note the firm of Majors & Russell,<sup>2</sup> who owned and worked on the trail 1200 ox teams with six yoke of oxen to the team. This would make 14,400 head of cattle and 1200 wagons, 1200 drivers and 50 wagon bosses; and that was only a drop in the bucket compared with the grand total on the trail. In May, 1858, I saw wagon trains camped on this Lone Elm camping ground until they covered more than this entire quarter section. In their desire not to be detained, and to be on the road first in the morning, they commenced at twelve o'clock at night to hitch up and pull for the trail, and the last teams did not pass where we are now standing until four o'clock in the afternoon.

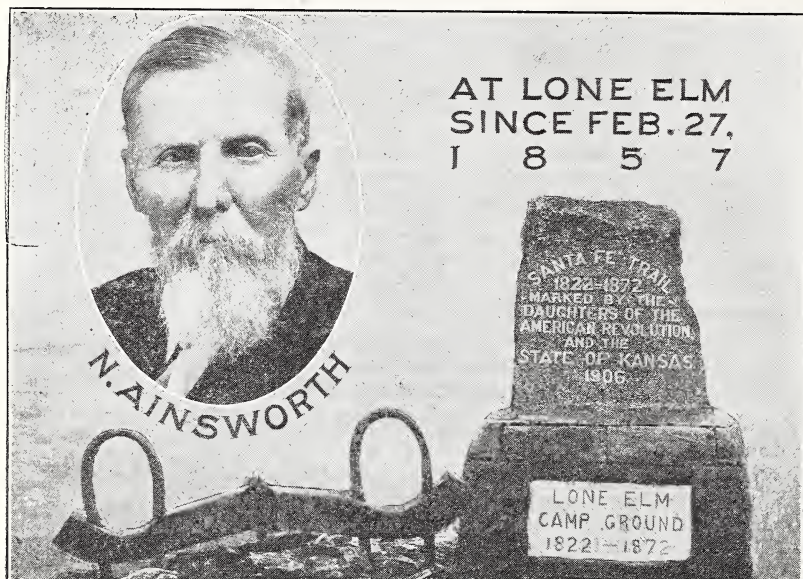
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NOTE 1.—The marker was placed on the northwest corner of the northwest quarter of section 23, township 14 south, range 23 east. "Round Grove, or Lone Elm Tree, 35 miles. A regular stopping place and also something of a rendezvous."—Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, p. 536. "Elm Grove, Round Grove, or Caravan Grove, as it was variously called, 33 miles [from Independence]; a good camping ground. Here stood a venerable elm tree that must have seen many ages (Wislizenus)."—*Ibid.*, 464.

NOTE 2.—Alexander Majors began freighting to Santa Fe August 10, 1848, with an outfit of six teams. He continued freighting on his own account until 1855, when he went into partnership with William H. Russell and William B. Waddell, of Lexington, Mo., the firm's name being Majors & Russell. In 1858, upon obtaining a contract for transporting government stores to Utah, the name was changed to Russell, Majors & Waddell. The firm then increased its wagons and teams from 400 to 3500, requiring more than 40,000 oxen and 1000 mules to draw the supplies, and gave employment to 4000 men.—(*Seventy Years on the Frontier*, by Alex Majors, 1893.) F. A. Root, in his *Overland Stage to California*, p. 308, says that this firm operated at one time 6250 wagons, with a drove of about 75,000 oxen. A report from the Secretary of War, April 16, 1858, includes a contract with this firm for beef cattle.—Senate Executive Document No. 46, 35th Cong., 1st sess.



At one time, for three days in succession, the last teams going out of camp had not passed here before hundreds were going into camp. The rush to the Pike's Peak gold fields in 1858 is what made the heavy emigration and the heavy loads of freight that year. All the roads north, east and south centered to the Lone Elm camp ground. The great Santa Fe trail was the main artery to the Southwest, and the other roads from north of the river joined it here, going east.



"In 1860 I have seen the dust here over six inches deep on account of the great drouth and heavy travel. The freight trains to New Mexico consisted of twenty-six wagons, with six yoke of oxen or ten span of mules to each wagon, twenty-six drivers and two wagon bosses. Lone Elm was the first camping ground after leaving Little Santa Fe on the Missouri line. This town is noted for the fact that more than 1600 votes were cast there at the territorial election of October 5-6, 1857, when not more than half a dozen families lived in the neighborhood.

"The Santa Fe trail follows a dividing line or ridge from here to New Mexico, from which the waters run both ways, north and south. The bulk of the freight going west consisted of merchandise, provisions, meats and breadstuffs, while the return loads consisted of gold and silver in nail kegs, buffalo robes and furs; and, strange to say, the gold and silver in the kegs did not leak any on the trip. During the height of this heavy freighting the plains from here to Mexico abounded in immense herds of buffalo, while antelope, deer and elk were plentiful, though now almost extinct. The old system of transportation, slow and laborious, has given way to the new system of swiftness, ease and luxury, but, we are sorry to say, with less honesty.

"Fifty years ago I was a boy living in Miami county, Ohio. My father owned a farm a few miles north of Piqua, and while living there we took a newspaper published in New York by Horace Greeley, called the *New York Tribune*. Mr. Greeley not only published glowing accounts of the great West, but kept a standing notice in his paper to the effect, "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country." After reading Mr. Greeley's grand editorials and his advice to young men for ten or twelve years, I

managed to get together a little mule team and wagon, and started from Piqua about the last days of September, 1856, fifty years ago. I drove through the states of Indiana and Illinois, crossed the Mississippi river at Rock Island, crossed the state of Iowa and northern Missouri, and there, crossing the Missouri river at Iowa Point, came south to Wyandotte county. I came to this Lone Elm camp ground on the Santa Fe trail in February, 1857, and located a claim, though the land was not open for settlement until May, 1858.

"In May and June, 1857, I broke seventy acres of the virgin Kansas soil on the Lone Elm camp ground. I also broke prairie sod from May until October all over this part of Johnson county for parties who were locating claims. On the 4th day of March, 1858, I unloaded the lumber to build a cabin. It was only 10x11 feet, with the ground for a floor, but we lived in it for two years, and it was the first cabin erected in this part of the county.

"When I first came to Kansas it was occupied and held by the Indians; the Wyandots were located in Wyandotte county, the Shawnees partly in Wyandotte and partly in Johnson county, and the Delawares in Leavenworth and Wyandotte counties; while the Pawnees, Sioux, Cheyennes and several other tribes occupied the lands farther north and west. I feel to-day that the advice of Horace Greeley was good, and that in taking it I have not lived my life in vain. I have lived to see Kansas the center of the United States; to see her pass from the Great American Desert to the most fruitful soil of the world; from savagery to the highest point of our present civilization; and I feel proud to think that I have assisted in her advancement."

After Mr. Ainsworth's address, the assemblage, or rather those who could find room, adjourned to Grange Hall, where the balance of the program was carried out as arranged. After a song by the school children, little Mildred Kelly delivered a recitation that was generously applauded. George Black then read a letter from William Brady, one of the first county commissioners of Johnson county, as follows:

"*Mr. Newt Ainsworth:*

"GEARY, OKLA., November 5, 1906.

"DEAR OLD FRIEND—I learn through my daughter, Mrs. Susie Du Bois, of Kansas City, that you are to have an unveiling of the old Santa Fe trail marker at Lone Elm, which was situated on your farm. The old tree stood at the branch, just south of your house. I camped there myself on the night of November (December<sup>3</sup>) 9, 1855. It rained all day on the 8th. I was coming from near Topeka, going back to Cass county, Missouri. It turned to snowing about night, when we came to Lone Elm camp ground, and there we struck camp.

"We had two ox wagons and some loose cattle. One of the wagons had bows and a sheet on it, and we took those off, stuck the bows in the ground, put the sheet on, made our bed under it, and had a nice place to sleep. Way in the night I heard the bell tinkling and thought it went north down the branch. I got up, put my boots and overcoat on, went out, but could not hear one thing. It was dark and spitting snow. I thought the bell was going north, as I supposed to the nearest timber. The grass was very tall and frozen, so that it was very difficult to travel. I kept near the branch as best I could, as it was the only guide I had. The grass was so tall, tangled, and frozen, I sometimes fell down, but I got up and tried it again, and came, as I thought, to a smart piece of ground; it looked dark like it had been burned off. I stepped off into water up to my boot tops. I scrambled out and went on my way.

"After going some distance I concluded I must be a mile and a half or two miles from camp. I stopped and listened, but heard nothing, and I concluded I had best return to camp or I might get lost. I went back quite a ways and came to another piece of ground that looked smooth and covered with a skiff of snow. I reasoned about it, and thought, 'When I stepped in

NOTE 3.—As will be seen in the fourth paragraph of this letter, Mr. Brady fixes the date of his camp as the day following the Wakarusa war treaty, which occurred on December 8, 1855, a month later.

water before, it was dark like burned prairie, but this is white,' and thinking it a skift of snow which had been falling, I stepped on it, and went into a pool of water to my waist. I scrambled out on the bank, and there I lost my way for the time and started due north again. I did not go far until I discovered that the wind was in my face again, and I knew that would not do, for I had left camp with the wind in my face, and as I was now going back to camp I must keep the wind to my back. I avoided all light or dark spots, and traveled in the grass. I found my way to camp all right, though the distance back seemed further than when going away. I concluded then the cattle might go until daylight, and crawled in under the bows and sheet where my friend and his little son lay. My outside clothes were frozen. I pulled off my boots, poured the water out of them and put them under my head, pulled my socks off and wrung the water out of them, put them on again and crawled into bed with all my wet clothes on, except my overcoat. I was soon warm and sweating. Before I went to sleep, I heard the bell tinkling close to camp. I had a good night's sleep the rest of the night.

"We got up next morning about daylight. The cattle were within a hundred yards of camp, among some gooseberry bushes. We got a little breakfast and started on our way for Missouri, feeling all right. It was quite cold that morning, just a little skift of snow. We had not gone a mile from camp before we were overtaken by a score or more of boys going home to Missouri. They had been up to the Wakarusa camp—the proslavery troops were encamped there. The free-state party was encamped at Lawrence, and were fortifying themselves, as we came through there on the 8th. Both parties were expecting to fight on the 9th, but they did not. The boys told us as they passed that they had compromised and there would be no fight, and that all the men from Missouri went home.

"I first saw Lone Elm camp ground in 1854 as I came back from looking at the country in Douglas county. The old tree was lying on the ground; the greater part of it had been burned up. I remember seeing a waybill for emigrants to California, starting from Independence, Mo. The first points were Barnes' Spring, Big Blue, State Line or New Santa Fe, which is north of Stanley now. Next point was Lone Elm, then Bull Creek. There the Santa Fe trail and the California trail forked;<sup>4</sup> the Santa Fe trail went on west to Black Jack, while the California trail went northwest by Spy Bucks, Wakarusa, and the Devil's Back Bone, on which the State University now stands, overlooking the city of Lawrence.

"Well, Newt, I wish I could be there and meet with some of the old friends who will be there, particularly Beatty Mahaffie and Colonel Burris, and probably many others. Give them my kindest regards. Yes, fifty-one years to the night before you have the unveiling of the marker, I had my experience at the Lone Elm camping ground. I am now in my seventieth year.

Yours respectfully,

"W. H. BRADY."

William Shinn, with his usual generosity, contributed to the pleasure of the afternoon's exercise by singing a song appropriate to the particular occasion.

Then followed short addresses by old settlers. Dan Ramsey, the first one introduced, had driven an ox team all the way from North Carolina and settled on the flower-bespangled plains of Kansas when the Santa Fe trail was the only artery of commerce between the East and the golden West. Mr. Ramsey had on exhibition an old ox bow that had come west with him from North Carolina, a curiosity to many of the younger generation.

NOTE 4.—"Oregon [and California] Trail Junction, 43 miles. Here in the naked prairie stood a sign post with the inscription 'Road to Oregon.'"—*Chittenden's American Fur Trade*, p. 536. "Junction of Oregon and Santa Fe Trails, 41 miles. The Santa Fe trail being the first established, a sign board was later set up to show where the Oregon trail branched off. It bore the simple legend, 'Road to Oregon,' and, as Wislizenus pertinently remarks, 'To Japan, China and the East Indies might have been added.' Surely so unostentatious a sign never before nor since announced so long a journey. This point was a little northwest of the present town of Gardner, Kansas, the route having already passed near the modern villages of Glenn and Olathe."—*Ibid*, p. 464.



Mr. Rutter, of Spring Hill, another pioneer who arrived in Leavenworth in 1855, and who came to Johnson county in 1857, was the next speaker. He told the assemblage of his trip to Pike's Peak in 1859, when Council Grove was the last settlement on the long journey.

V. R. Ellis responded by telling of some of his early experiences and reminiscences of the Santa Fe trail. Mr. Ellis has been a resident of this county for about fifty years, and has taken a great interest in the movement for marking the historic old highway.

Jonathan Millikan, who boasts of having built the first house in Olathe and of having married the first woman on that town site, was called upon. Mr. Millikan told of his experience when he landed in what is now Kansas City, about half a century ago, describing the great Mexican freight trains that passed over the Santa Fe trail in those days. These trains contained from twenty-five to fifty wagons, each wagon being drawn by six, eight, ten and sometimes twelve yoke of oxen, and on some occasions he had seen as many as twenty yoke of oxen drawing one wagon, and always huge swarms of flies following the meat that was being dried on the sides of the wagon beds.

Maj. J. B. Bruner, the next speaker, said he did not get here until 1865, but remembered the great trains on the Santa Fe trail, also the unbounded generosity and hospitality of Newton Ainsworth, who at that time had just completed the finest house in the territory, and had invited all the boys and girls of the neighborhood, which at that time included Olathe, Spring Hill, Gardner, etc., to come in and help initiate the house. "The girls of forty years ago," said the major, "were as sweet and as pretty then as are the girls of to-day." The major is authority on that question, for he married one of the girls of forty years ago, and she has never got away from him.

Senator Geo. H. Hodges, who assisted in putting the bill appropriating \$1000 towards the purchase of the markers through the senate, was called upon to say a few words. Mr. Hodges said he had immigrated to this county at a very early and tender age, and had brought his parents with him in wagons; that when they had stood upon the eastern hills and looked out across the undulating plains, they, too, like the Shawnee Indian, had given utterance to the adjective, "Beautiful." He thought that the star of empire that Horace Greeley had seen start for the West had stopped when it reached a point over Kansas, and had continued to hover over and shed its rays upon this state ever since.

Mrs. John P. St. John was next called upon for a few remarks. She said that in her opinion some praise should be given to the Daughters of the American Revolution, those women who had by their efforts made possible the occasion they then celebrated, by their untiring endeavors and final success in having the historic old trail marked.

Uncle Beatty Mahaffie, the senior of all old settlers present, was next called upon, and though very feeble, responded with a recollection of long ago.

David P. Hougland, who has lived on the trail for about half a century, was the next speaker. He related some of the sights he saw in Kansas City when he first came west; how he has seen twenty mules trying to pull one wagon up what is now called Main street. His description of the first pack mule he ever saw was humorous; as was also his story of his hunt for the man who had died of cholera, and had been buried with a thousand dol-

lars in gold secreted about his person. It was at Lone Elm that Mr. Hougland saw a great flock of blackbirds, and remembering the old nursery rhyme of four and twenty blackbirds baked in a pie for a king, took his shotgun and killed fourteen, which he cooked with some bacon. That was his first meal at Lone Elm camp grounds, and one that he would always remember. [Newton Ainsworth tells the *Register* that one reason why Hougland will always remember his blackbird dinner was, after he had cooked the birds to a beautiful and appetizing brown, he stuck his knife into one of them and it sizzled like a bottle of champagne. He had forgotten to clean them.—Ed.]

Senator J. W. Parker recited a few amusing incidents he had run across in looking up the history of the old Santa Fe trail; how Rutter, Hovey and two other young men at that time had advertised for wives in a Boston paper, and how they had received answers to their advertisements, the correspondence that followed, and the result. The senator then related briefly the history of the trail so far as he had been able to trace it, and from an old government survey, on record in the county surveyor's office, he marked the original trail from its entrance into Johnson county at New Santa Fe across what is now Oxford, Olathe, Spring Hill, Gardner and McCamish townships. No one really knew how far back the trail dated, but there was an old Indian tradition and other proofs which clearly established that along parts of its course, at least, there was a prehistoric, well-marked and used highway to and from the Southwest. The fitting-out point at one time was Franklin, Mo., later it was Independence, and still later Kansas City and Westport. Then the course of the trail was changed to come along the top of the divide through what is now Mission township, thence on through Olathe and Gardner, intersecting the original trail at Bull Creek crossing near the present site of Edgerton. The senator dedicated the monument to the care of the rising generation, admonishing them that the marker was placed in position not merely to mark the old trail, but to perpetuate the memory of those hardy old pioneers who braved the dangers of the Great American Desert in the early days, and who made possible the fertile farms and comfortable homes of to-day.

John T. Burris, the next speaker on the program, was in fine humor, and jollied the old boys who had advertised for wives when they were young, or who had married the prettiest and sweetest girl in Johnson county forty years ago. He said he did not come from Boston, nor North Carolina, nor Kentucky; but that he had come from Iowa, where he had captured one of the sweetest and dearest sixteen-year-old girls that ever lived. "Monuments," said the judge, "are erected to perpetuate important events. The custom is by no means of modern date, but tradition regards such a custom as antedating Biblical history." Judge Burris then spoke of some of the great epochs leading up to modern civilization and its constantly increasing superiority over the civilization of yesterday; of the great change in this country's progress at the close of the Mexican war, and how the Santa Fe trail was made the great avenue of commerce between the Missouri river and the great West; of the coming of the railroad and the gradual passing away of the freighters and obliteration of the trail, until to-day it is but a memory.

A. Rebsamen, an old settler who had last Wednesday returned from a month's trip to California, was an interested witness to the ceremonies.

The children of Lone Elm school and their teacher, Miss Rebecca Zimmerman, and the children of Clare school, with their teacher, Miss Nellie Zimmerman, took a prominent part in the exercises of the day, and with their songs raised the curtain of by-gone years, and gave the boys and girls of the Santa Fe trail time a glimpse of the past—carried them back in memory's chariot to the days when they, too, were care free and venturesome.

A description of the monument was given in the *Register* a few weeks ago. It is a rough boulder of Oklahoma red granite, one side chiseled smooth, and the inscription, "Santa Fe trail, marked by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the State of Kansas, 1906," cut thereon. The boulder is set upon a concrete foundation into which is sunk a marble slab bearing the words, "Lone Elm Camp Grounds, 1822—1872."

## THE STORY OF LECOMPTON.

An address by ELY MOORE, JR.,<sup>1</sup> at an old settlers' meeting in Lecompton, in 1907.

I FEEL honored that you have invited me to address you this evening, the opportunity being a fond anticipation on my part. In justice to myself, and to conform to your supposed wishes, I most emphatically affirm that there will not be a word of politics or prejudice in my remarks.

Doubtless some of you have read or have been taught to believe that all the executives who served in Kansas territory at an early day were wholly vile or weak. This is not true, for no territory of our country was ever organized by such a brainy set of men as had Kansas, and they were men who honestly sought peace and happiness for all her citizens. Let it be borne in mind that the then fast approaching and "irrepressible conflict" was making giant strides toward a happy or disastrous sequel, and no man could divert or thrust aside the inevitable. Truly it has been said, "Contentions, like small streams, are first begun; scarce seen they rise, but gather as they run."

I will submit for your consideration this evening a brief history of dear old Lecompton, her environments, her learned and peculiar characters, and her theatrical and tragical existence.

Before proceeding with my reminiscences of Lecompton, allow me a few minutes in which to recite what actuated my immigration to Kansas territory. Early in May, 1853, President Pierce appointed my father colonel in the army, and special agent of the Five Tribes of Indians—the Miamis, Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias and Piankeshaws.<sup>2</sup> Those tribes were at war

NOTE 1.—For sketch of Ely Moore, jr., see Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 7, p. 446. For sketch of his father, Hon. Ely Moore, see vol. 8, p. 4.

NOTE 2.—Of these five tribes, the first to locate in Kansas were the Weas and Piankeshaws, in the northeastern part of Miami county, in the year 1827—so says E. W. Robinson in his History of Miami County, accompanying Edward's Atlas, published in 1878. Mr. Robinson's information may have been obtained from members of the tribe then residents of the county. Soon afterwards the Peorias came, followed by the Kaskaskias about 1832, all of these tribes having emigrated from Illinois to the neighborhood of Ste. Genevieve, Mo., about 1818. They remained in Kansas until 1868, when the majority removed to the Indian Territory, though several families are represented among the best citizens of the county. Christmas Dagnette and Baptiste Peoria were prominent men of the nation, recognized for their sagacity and good will by their white neighbors as well as by their brethren. The latter was employed by our government in missions to the Indians of the territory during the Civil War, to insure their loyalty.

The Peorias emigrated to Kansas from Indiana in 1846 and 1847, locating on Sugar creek, about two miles southeast of Rockville, in the southeast corner of the county. Here great mortality prevailed, inducing the tribe to remove to the point now known as Miami Village, in 1848, on the east bank of the Marais des Cygnes, section 24, township 18, range 24. Their reserve of



with the Osages and Pottawatomies at that time, the former tribes protesting against the latter intermarrying with their young squaws. This resulted in many encounters and the spilling of much blood. The Five Tribes were also at war with the border Missourians, as the latter were poaching on their reservations.

In company with my father we called on the President, who stated that the trouble between the Indian tribes and Missourians should be settled by the time Kansas would be ready for organization, when he particularly desired him to accept the position of governor of that territory. With this understanding we left for Kansas, reaching Westport, Mo., May 27, 1853. Upon our arrival at Westport (there was no Kansas City at that time) we found great political strife existing, not between the proslavery and free-state men—the free-state men were not yet in evidence—but between the men of the South proper, and border slave states; many, even though slave owners themselves, advocating in the strongest language against the extension of slavery. Not one of the histories of Kansas mentions this fact, but still the advocacy of extension or non-extension of slavery into Kansas severed political and social fellowship between many old friends, thus showing that the South was not a unit in making Kansas a slave state.

After a brief stay at Westport we took up our quarters at Shawnee Mission, then presided over by that grand old man, Thomas Johnson.<sup>3</sup> In a day or two I was sent to "Baptiste Spring," now Paola, to see Baptiste Peoria, who was interpreter for the Five Confederate Tribes, as father desired to know the condition of affairs, and as to securing a house in which we might live. This was my first ride over the prairies of Kansas, fifty-six years ago.

During our stay at the Mission father wrote a long letter to President Pierce, stating in full the troubled condition of affairs on the border, and telling the President that as he was opposed to the extension of slavery he would not accept the appointment as governor of Kansas, but would carry out his instructions with the Indians. This letter he placed in my charge, ordering me to return to Washington at once and deliver the letter to the President in person. The sequel of this was the appointment of Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania as governor of the territory.

After performing the duty assigned me with the President, I returned to New York city, where I remained until the latter part of June, 1854, when I returned to Kansas, adopting it as my future home. From Westport I went direct to the Miami Indian mission, near the present Miami village, about ten miles southeast of Paola. The day after arriving there I was sent to Fort Leavenworth with an order for three companies of United States dragoons, the design of which was to drive out trespassers from the Indian reservation. Strange it is, but three of the officers in command of those dragoons became noted factors in the war of the Rebellion, namely, Maj. John Sedgwick (afterward brigadier general in the army of the Potomac, and one of Grant's most trusted officers. He was killed at the battle of Spottsylvania Court House, Va.); Capt. Delos B. Sacket (afterward inspector general of the United States army); Lieut. J. E. B. Stuart, who

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500,000 acres was diminished in 1854, and in 1871 most of the tribe emigrated to the territory. Additional information regarding these people may be found in the United States treaties, reports of the Indian Commissioner. *Annual Register* of Rev. Isaac McCoy, Mr. Robinson's history, before mentioned, Cutler's History of Kansas, Hodge's Handbook of American Indians, etc.

NOTE 3.—Sketch of Rev. Thos. Johnson, in *Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 9, p. 161; see, also, index of same volume.

became the great cavalry general of the Confederacy. All these officers were stationed at Lecompton for many months during our early troubles. I was well mounted for my Leavenworth trip, and furnished with an Indian as guide to Dry Ford, across the Kansas river. This ford was just west from where the bridge at Lawrence now spans the Kaw. But alas for hope, and its realization! Just before reaching Ottawa Jones's, near where the city of Ottawa now stands, we ran amuck of an Indian fire dance, where my guide fell hopelessly from grace and his promise, the firewater making a beast of the brave. However, after many weary hours I reached Blue Jacket's ferry across the Wakarusa, and just before dark came to the river near where Lawrence is now situated, but as the Kaw was bank full and its surface covered with drift, I was forced to remain on the south side of the stream, and being extremely fatigued sought the shelter of a few oak trees and good grass for my horse near where A. D. Weaver's store now stands. Then lariatting my horse and using my saddle as a pillow, threw myself on the sod, where I slept the sleep of the weary, if not the just. The next morning found me an early riser, and after imbibing the vesper songs of the many wild birds, I rode rapidly to the river, but found it angry beyond the evening before. I then sought the summit of Mount Oread. There on that superb July morning, the view was grand indeed. At my feet grew in luxurious abandon the mat pea, the phlox, the sensitive plant, the verbena and the columbine, all seemingly nodding a welcome to the wandering stranger. Surely, I thought, this is the flower garden of the West. After gathering a bouquet to present to some imaginary fairy who might dwell on these flower-laden and song-blessed hills, I rode to the California trail, and there, to my surprise and relief, I met with a long train of immigrants with their numerous white-covered wagons destined, if God saw wise, to the Golden Gate of California.

In looking for something to stay my hunger, I was directed to the camp fire of a dear old Kentucky lady, who appeared delighted to serve me. I was soon blessed with a tin of coffee, a few doughnuts, and some sliced pork rolled in flour and fried brown. Do not titter when I say I have loved that kind of breakfast ever since. Thus fortified, I soon reached the head of the train, where I found the captain of the expedition, who instructed me to follow the California road to a mound on my left (Coon Point), then take the trail directly north, which would lead me to the river and Bald Eagle, now Lecompton, where I would find a ferry. The appellation of "Bald Eagle" was given the prospective city from the fact that many bald eagles nested on several immense sycamore trees, some on the south and some on the north side of the river, and here they made their homes and raised their young until Lecompton assumed city airs, when some wanton creatures shot them. Upon reaching the river I closely scanned its banks both up and down the stream, but my eyes were unrewarded. Disappointed and chagrined I was about to give o'er my search, when my horse picked up his ears and riveted his attention to the brush a rod or less to the east from where I stood. Advancing a few steps my ear caught a monotonous drone or suffering lamentation, but I soon detected the intonation of that beautiful hymn "From Greenland's Icy Mountains to India's Coral Strand," as it was being strangled by some unseen being. Upon nearer approach I espied a man sitting astride a log. In his right hand he held a knife, in his left a

pair of pinchers, and was in the act of skinning what I supposed to be the half of a large calf, which was suspended from an overhanging limb.

Before I could address this butcher of the wilderness, he, without turning his head or apparently noticing my presence mumbled, "Stranger, light and look at your saddle," the universal salutation to a stranger in those days, which interpreted means, "Dismount and rest." Obeying his invitation and stepping close to his side I queried, "My friend, what is that from which you are removing the skin?" "Just a baby blue cat; just a baby—won't weigh over seventy-five pounds," he drawled. I remarked that I saw no resemblance to a cat in the object before him. He turned partly around on the log, and looking at me with a countenance replete with sympathy at my ignorance, asked: "Stranger, whar are you all from?" I told him I came from the East. "Wall," he ejaculated, as he resumed his work, "so did the cholera!" Not until this time did I realize it was a catfish from which he was removing the skin. I expressed my surprise at its size, when he repeated, "Only a baby. I had a fight with this young un's old dad t'other day." "Tell me about it," I ventured.

"Wall, in crossing the river, I spied the old fellow dozing in shallow water, so I just shoosed the old man onto the sand bar, then with my hatchet hit him between the eyes, till he quivered all over. Jumping astride him and putting both hands in his gills, I aimed to sure land him, but the sand gave way under my feet, he gave me a wag or two with his tail, and away we went down to the bottom in the mud among the rocks and limbs of trees, up again, down again, till we plumb split that thar river in two. And say, that thar came nigh being my everlasting bath. If you saw any fuss in the waters down Boston way last month, that were that old cat and me, sure!" I asked who got the best of it, when he answered by saying: "If he claims the honor, he's telling no lie. When I got my senses I were down thar on a sand bar plumb busted! He were a whale! Say, I believe that thar Jonah yarn."

I then told him I met a wagon boss down the trail who informed me that I would find a ferry at Bald Eagle. He interrupted me by exclaiming, "That were Seth Ward, the whitest man that ever had a mammie." (Seth Ward but recently died on his farm near Kansas City, Mo.) "But, stranger, you were a talking." I continued by saying, "I see no ferry or ferryman here." He pointed to a huge sycamore log some twenty feet long, five feet in diameter, with an excavation in the center five feet in length, three feet wide and two feet deep, with a 4x6-inch scantling for a keel, remarking, "Thar's the ferry and hyars the ferryman." As I looked my doubts about crossing on that log, he answered my looks by saying: "Don't feel skeery, mister, for she's as dry as a Missourian's throat and as safe as the American flag!"

After informing him I had an order for troops to keep trespassers off of Indian lands, and that I was anxious to reach Fort Leavenworth and report to the commander of that post, he was quick to launch his Fairy Queen, as he termed his sycamore log. Everything was soon in shipshape, and we were afloat on the angry, madly-rushing Kaw, with only a single paddle to guide and propel us. Strange to say we reached the other side all in good order. The only mishap sustained was to my horse. As he swam after our boat, a huge drifting log struck him on the shoulder, turning him completely



over. He soon recovered from the shock, and realizing "an emergency," as the politicians say, gallantly struck out for the shore. I would prefer rounding Cape Horn on a chip than to again submit my life to the Fairy Queen and her doughty captain under like conditions.

After reaching a dry spot on the north bank I asked the ferryman as to my indebtedness. "Wall," he said, as he reached for some ripe mulberries above his head, "about the smallest gold shiner in your weasel-skin, say two and a half." I gave him \$2.50 and was about to mount my horse, when he caught me by the arm, saying: "Stranger, bide with me a spell. I'm biling over for a talk; hain't had a word with no man for moons." For more than an hour, as I sat by his side, he rehearsed to me the events of his life. Much of it was pathetic, some jocular in the extreme. The recitation of his love affair with Miss Mandy Wilcox, of Indiana, should be dramatized. To refrain from an outburst of mirth when he reached the epoch of his dear Mandy's declination of his name and arms was a struggle indeed. "William," she lisped, "when I said Yes to you un's, I were plum in earnest: when I say No to you un's, I are plummer. William, I are anchored to another feller." When this climax was reached in his rehearsal he seemed to live over again the moment of his rejected love. His tears found avenues of escape through the wrinkles in his bronzed and battered cheeks, and articulation failed him for a moment; then, placing his hand in mine and removing his tattered tile from his head in deference to his dear Mandy, he exclaimed: "Mister, she was the honeiest peach that ever blossomed along the Wabash—she were."

This ferryman, this fisherman, was William R. Simmons, the first white man that settled on this dear old soil. He joined J. H. Lane's regiment in Indiana and fought or ran with him during the war with Mexico, receiving two honorable wounds in that struggle. In March, 1852, he left Independence, Mo., and, after having made a trip across the plains with Seth Ward, he wandered up the Kaw river into the territory until he met with the eagles. Here he camped and here took a squatter's claim.

I trust you will excuse this long dissertation on the founder of Leecompton, but in very many respects he was a remarkable man. Even in the babyhood days of this city, when water-and-milk was an expensive luxury, and whisky subject to call, he refrained from its use, and no man ever heard him use a profane word. Poor Bill may be dead, but if he is many a worse man is living.

I was detained at Fort Leavenworth over two weeks awaiting the return of the dragoons from the plains. On our return to the Miami mission we crossed the Kaw at the Delaware ferry, some miles east of the present town of De Soto, then southeast to strike the Santa Fe trail. When a few miles west of Shawneetown we met with the camp of the first party en route to Lawrence. I had quite a talk with Alonzo Fowler and others of that party. This was about August 12, 1854.

But to Leecompton, its selection as a town site,<sup>4</sup> its survey and upbuild-

NOTE 4.—The Kansas legislature of 1855 passed on at least four measures relating to Leecompton. The first, August 8, in joint session, and on third ballot, located there the permanent seat of government by a vote of Leecompton, 25; St. Bernard, 11; and Tecumseh, 2. On the first ballot the cities of Leavenworth, Lawrence, Whitehead, Kickapoo, Douglas and One Hundred and Ten received votes (House Journal, pp. 186-188; Council Journal, pp. 119-121). The house bill, "An act to incorporate the Leecompton Town Company," was amended in the council, and passed that body August 14 (Journal, p. 147). The house concurred in the amendment the same day (Journal, p. 219). The names of the incorporators given were: "Aristide Rodrique, Daniel

ing: On or about the 25th of July, 1854, four gentlemen, namely, Dr. Aris-tide Rodrique, of Hollidaysburg, Pa.; Col. A. G. Boone, grandson of Daniel Boone, the noted hunter of Kentucky; Samuel J. Jones, and, if my memory does not mislead me, Maj. Lyman Evans, until his death a resident of this city, formed themselves into a company, the purpose of which was the loca-tion of a town in Kansas, to be situated on the south side of the Kaw river. Here permit me to quote, after more than fifty years have come and faded away, Doctor Rodrique's description to me of his approach and first view of these beautiful hills and valleys: "From the time we left the lake, some five miles east of here," he remarked, "until we reached what is now known as Court House Hill, we rode through a delightful summer shower. When we arrived at this point the sun was some two hours high, the sky blue and cloudless, the tree foliage clean and sparkling, the flowers smiling, and the wild birds proclaiming to us glad tidings of great joy. To the right of us the Grasshopper creek and the Delaware and Kaw lands studded with mighty timber, to the north of us the blue bluffs on the Delaware reserva-tion, to the east and west the Kansas river in its hurried race to join its sister, the Missouri, and almost at our feet nature had molded with both art and skill a natural habitation for a multitude of God's children. Here where we stand will be our courthouse, and here and on yon western hill the resi-dent portion; there, on that elevated plateau, the capitol of our state, and in the center for miles south will be our business mart. Look," he said to his associates, "with what cunning fingers nature has shaped the drainage, which vouchsafes health, and with health, prosperity. Here we will rest, our mission ended. May God bless our endeavors."

As they were about ready for their evening meal they were aroused by the snapping and cracking of the brush to the west, resembling the stam-pede of a herd of cattle; but as they scanned the brush for an answer to their curiosity, a man with tattered garments, hatless, with hair awry and a face as red as the setting sun, jumped into their midst, exclaiming, "I saw your smoke and smelt a fuss. What are you un's a doing hyar? This air my land plumb sure, and nobody can jump it, and die with a whole skin! Do you un's hear my clatter?" This was settler Simmons guarding his claim against jumpers. However, after a parley and a pressing invitation to join them in a good supper, diplomacy won—Simmons to possess one-eighth of the city free of all expenses; and thus all was quiet on the Kaw, and the town site of Lecompton was practically established.

Soon after the selection of the town site the parties interested met at Shawnee Mission and formed their organization, Rodrique becoming presi-

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Woodson, J. C. Thompson, C. Donalson, William Thompson, their associates and successors" (Statutes, p. 815). August 15 the select committee of the council, to which was referred "An act to locate the seat of government," reported that they also "had before them and considered, a conveyance of land by the incorporators for the town of Lecompton to the territory of Kansas, for the location of the capitol and other public uses, dated August 15, 1855, and recommended its acceptance." The gift was accepted and the council bill became a law that day (Council Journal, pp. 155-156; Statutes, pp. 703-704). By resolution the council (pp. 155-156) ordered the conveyance and bond to be deposited with the secretary of the territory. This paper, together with a plat of the city of Lecompton, passed into the archives collection of the State Historical Society November 1, 1906, accession No. 118. August 22 the house (pp. 238-239) introduced and passed a bill to incorporate the city of Lecompton. It passed the council August 23 (Journal, p. 205; Statutes, p. 891).

The Cutler History of Kansas, page 351, says: "The Lecompton Town Company was organized at the Pottawatomie agency, and consisted of Samuel D. Lecompte, president; John A. Halderman, secretary; Daniel Woodson, treasurer; George W. Clark, Chauncey B. Donaldson and William R. Simmons. In the spring of 1855 the town company held its meetings in Westport, Mo., and on May 14, 1855, the officers reported to the company that D. H. Harting had surveyed the town site, consisting of 600 acres, and had laid out the principal streets and blocks."

dent, Boone vice president, and Jones secretary-treasurer. They adjourned without deciding upon any permanent name for the city until a meeting of the stockholders should be held.

During the winter of 1854-'55 Samuel D. Lecompte,<sup>5</sup> of Maryland, was appointed federal judge of the territory. His advent was awaited with much interest, as his goodness and greatness had been liberally heralded throughout the territory, and thus being on the top wave of popularity reaped the honor of having this city named Lecompton. Soon after this music of the ax, the saw and hammer lulled us to sleep, and the same glad sound was our alarm clock at the peep of dawn. Then came the steam sawmill, the brick yard, the limekilns, the excavations for the capitol building, the hotels, the land office, the governor's house, Representative Hall, Council Chamber, the federal, district and probate courts, churches, groceries, dwellings, etc., and as if by magic many of them were finished and occupied.

During this time Lawrence had been busy in her development. But alas! the seeds of jealousy and bitter hatred had been sown broadcast and readily germinated; the gauntlet, in spite of war and woe, had been sent and received by the rival towns. But, my friends, this is an unpleasant subject and could not be intelligently told in an evening's talk. Nor can you gather the facts from any so-called history of Kansas. I blush for the authors and condole with our people when they peruse those glaring violations of truth and honor called "histories" of Kansas. The Rev. L. W. Spring, a professor of Kansas University, essayed to publish a truthful history of our state, but was throttled for his courageous and manly attempt by political bosses and the partisan press, even unto ostracism, socially and politically. So when you read what is termed Kansas history do not fail to use unsparingly of Hutchinson's chief product, salt.

Now permit me in a hurried way to mention some of the prominent gentlemen who blossomed, bloomed and faded in Kansas, and were Lecomptonites for a time: Andrew H. Reeder, our first territorial governor, but looked upon us and vanished, lest his own shadow destroy him. His convening the first legislature at Pawnee, on the bald prairie of Geary county, and his flight as a deck hand down the Missouri river, were his only two really brilliant achievements. In commenting thus briefly on the merits or demerits of Andrew H. Reeder, I wish to salve any bruised spots that my good old friends here may charge me with inflicting, by saying that I knew A. H. Reeder more intimately—and our friendship was mutual—than any person in Kansas at the time he was our chief executive. I was a frequent visitor at his home in Easton, Pa., during 1851, '52, and '53, and he in turn often broke bread at our table. In 1852, during the campaign of that year for Pierce and King, he made our house his headquarters while addressing the citizens of Warren county, New Jersey, where our family resided at that time. Here let me say that his role in Kansas left no sore spots on me or mine, but doubtless some future historians will liberally illustrate his infidelity to those friends who so strenuously bolstered him to the honored position held in our territory.

Then came Wilson Shannon of Ohio, an ex-congressman, twice a governor, minister to a foreign court, a profound lawyer, a wit, and an honest

NOTE 5.—See "A Defense, by Samuel D. Lecompte," in *Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 8, pp. 389-405.



man. Lest your minds become warped by reading the cheap spleen in prejudiced papers, or listening to the idiotic ravings of third-rate stumpers, let me cite the fact that, had Shannon possessed the wisdom of Solomon and the courage of Cæsar, he could not have successfully administered the affairs of Kansas during his gubernatorial incumbency. Look for a moment at the entangled condition of our country at that period. The President and his cabinet, as well as Congress and the senate, were at sea as to which current would lead to a happy solution of the vexed question, the sequence of which we all now fully understand. Then look for a moment at the belligerent clans that beset the territory: Brown and Lane eager for battle, even though it led to a clash with the United States troops; Robinson, Deitzler and their adherents, more conservative, but equally determined to rule or ruin; the New England press, insulting in their denunciations, even to forgetting decency in their vituperations; then the Southern element, hammering away for a full and instant recognition of their pet institution or his inglorious resignation; a message from the governor of a conciliatory nature was hooted at by both factions as cowardly and but a trap to elevate one and destroy the other party. Thus impaled by contending hosts, lived there a man who could have successfully buffeted the oncoming and irrepressible conflict? Honesty and honor say No! Shannon was all that his after-life demonstrated—full of honorable and manly inspirations. As secretary of the territory with Shannon was Hon. Daniel Woodson, of Virginia, who, when Shannon resigned, was acting governor for a few months. Woodson was a gentleman of fine attainments and of kindly heart. His devoted wife and loving children dwelt here for years. They now reside in Leavenworth and Kansas City, Mo.

After Shannon came the highly indorsed John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, as chief executive of the territory. His somewhat sensational feats as mayor of San Francisco, Cal., gained for him a wide and enviable reputation. At first Geary did pour oil on the troubled waters of discontent and seething jealousies, but the ever-alert clansmen were merely "nursing their wrath to keep it warm," so when the fetters of executive moderation had apparently reached a happy solution of our trials and dire tribulations pandemonium took on new life, and the marriage bell of love and happiness that had prevailed soon bruised the heart with the sad toll of strife and death. The culminating act of Geary's administration was the murder of Wm. T. Sherrard<sup>6</sup> by his nephew, John A. W. Jones. Geary was a good man and popular with the people, but lost his nerve at the wrong time, and, like Reeder, "flew the coop" between dark and daylight. The governor resided in Lecompton for about six months, living in the long log house by the river, afterward destroyed by fire. I knew him well, and liked him much. After leaving Kansas Geary became a popular brigadier general in the army of the Potomac, and at the close of the war was appointed military governor of Savannah, Ga., and later was elected governor of the great state of Pennsylvania, but fell short in establishing peace in our boisterous territory, for the war was then in embryo. In all his other callings he was a success, but as governor of Kansas a dismal failure.

Hon. Hugh S. Walsh, a long-time resident of Lecompton, was acting governor *ad interim*. His career as such was too brief to brighten or blur

NOTE 6.—This episode of Sherrard occupies chapters 37 and 38 of John H. Gihon's "Governor Geary's Administration in Kansas."

his executive abilities. He was a staunch friend of Lecompton, hoping the coronation of success might bedeck her loved and lovely brow. It was not to be.

In April, 1857, Robert J. Walker was appointed governor and F. P. Stanton secretary of the territory. Walker was beyond question a man of very great ability, as fully shown by his successful administration of many important trusts under the government, which presaged for us a happy escape from all our troubles; the Moses of the century that would lead us out of the wilderness of woe, said we all. And besides, associated with him as secretary of the territory was that astute lawyer, able representative and finished scholar, F. P. Stanton. With two such noted men as guides and shields for the people, we felt that contending factions would yield in good faith. But no! the conflict was but postponed; the mighty struggle was still before us, and thus Walker melted away with no new badge of honor stamped upon his brow. When Walker resigned, Stanton became acting governor. Well and wisely did he perform his part, but the malcontents awoke from their seeming lethargy, fearing Stanton's able and beneficent policy might land him a senator when we became a state; so they again unsheathed their political swords as the only means to their own aggrandizement. Governor Stanton built the large stone house a mile or so east of us, known in those days as Mount *Æolia*, where he and his family lived many years. Stanton died in Maryland but a few years since.

At last hope was born anew in the hearts of those who courted peace and frowned on strife; the tangled web of discord would surely be unraveled when that great and good man, Gen. James W. Denver, the incoming executive, grasped the helm of affairs. But not so; the warring factions were silently aggressive; the undertow of pugnacity was abroad in our land; the seaboard of the Atlantic and Pacific were being bombarded with the mighty waves of unrest, permeating our country to its very center, and as the billows of contention from the Atlantic were drifting to the west those of the Pacific sped eastward, and here in dear old Kansas they met and bequeathed to us the poisonous malaria of war—slavery within the constitution, anti-slavery without the constitution—were the slogans. Denver soon saw the trend of events, and like a wise general retreated in good order. Denver made his home in Lecompton during his stay in Kansas, and was honored and loved by all who knew him. He died in Washington, D. C., during the last decade.

Then, to conciliate the East and West, Hon. Samuel Medary, of Ohio, was appointed governor, and later George M. Beebe, of New York, secretary of the territory. But like their predecessors in office, they failed to consolidate public opinion in unison with their own. After Medary's resignation, Beebe became acting governor.

I have thus hastily reviewed the executives of the territory and their retinue, leaving it for some new historian to more fully discuss and more elaborately to justify or condemn their acts.

Not by any means did the governors, secretaries and federal judges reflect all the wisdom of Lecompton. We had with us many gentlemen of learning and social brilliancy, such as Gen. Wm. P. Richardson; Gen. Frank Marshall, he who so liberally endowed that institution of learning, Marshall Hall, at Golden City, Colo., and was the progenitor of Marshall's Pass over the Rockies; Dixie Morrow, the man whose voice saved Washington city

from a riot in 1861.<sup>7</sup> Then came a long list of federal and territorial judges who had won their sheepskins with honor, also Gen. H. J. Strickler, the man of large affairs, strict integrity, and a social star; Gen. T. J. B. Cramer,<sup>8</sup> a man of polished demeanor and ready debate; Dr. Jno. P. Wood, who served his country as army surgeon during our war with Mexico, a man without fear, as was proven both in Mexico and Kansas. His life overlapped the centenarian mark by some years, but until a short period before his death he practiced his profession, and was conceded to be the oldest practicing physician in the United States, if not in the world. Doctors Rodrigue, Reynolds and Pelot were also high up on the professional ladder. Of young lawyers we had many: L. S. Boling, T. B. Sykes, A. P. Walker, R. H. Farnham, C. L. Cable, R. S. Stevens, D. T. Mitchell, C. Lacky, and others. But the most eloquent attorney we had with us, or for that matter

NOTE 7.—The letter given below, by Ely Moore, jr., was published in the *Lawrence Gazette*. The extract following is from an article on Thomas Nast by Albert Bigelow Paine, himself a Kansas man. It can be found in *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 11, p. 532, June, 1904.

"*Editor Gazette*: Permit me to relate how the 'unknown man,' as Nast puts it, was identified. Early in April, 1861, when leaving Lawrence for Lecompton, I was hailed by 'Dixie' Morrow, a resident of Lecompton, and one of the great singers of the country, asking for a ride home. On our way Mr. Morrow stated that he had just returned from Washington, and then told me of the doleful day and night of March 4, 1861—the day of Lincoln's inauguration. It would occupy too much space to relate minutely his full statement of the paralyzing fear that held Washington in its grasp, so will omit much of his story, only giving his description of events during the late hours of that night.

"In walking down the avenue to Willard's Hotel," he said, "I was awed by the silence and lack of people on that usually bustling and thronged thoroughfare. Before reaching Willard's I met our mutual friend Billy Wheeler, the best all around man in the district. On nearing Fourteenth street Billy exclaimed, 'Look here, Dixie'—pointing to an immense gathering of men. We walked by them, but not a word did they utter. We then sought the Ebbitt House Club, thinking that there we might find some congenial fellows, but they too were silent with fear. Upon reaching a window overlooking Fourteenth street we saw that some mass of men before observed. Then it was that Wheeler threw up the window sash, exclaiming, with tears in his eyes and arms about my neck: 'Dixie, for God's sake step on that platform and sing the Star Spangled Banner, for you can sing it with more feeling than any living man! Sing it, Dixie, it may touch their hearts.'"

#### EXTRACT FROM PEARSON'S MAGAZINE.

"In his later life Nast remembered much of his Washington experience with that feeling of shuddering horror with which we recall a disordered dream. The atmosphere was charged with foreboding. Even the busy days about the Willard Hotel were strewn with ominous incidents.

"The day of the inauguration was one of gloom, and the city drew a great breath of relief when it was over, and there had been no outbreak. The men who had sworn that Abraham Lincoln should never take his seat were not gone. Night came down, brooding danger.

"It seemed to me," said Nast, "that the shadow of death was everywhere. I had endless visions of black funeral parades, accompanied by mournful music. It was as if the whole city were mined, and I know now that this was figuratively true. A single yell of defiance would have inflamed the mob. A shot would have started a conflict. In my room at the Willard Hotel, I was trying to work. I picked up my pencils and laid them down as many as a dozen times. I got up at last and walked the floor. Presently in the rooms next to mine other men were walking. I could hear them in the silence. My head was beginning to throb, and I sat down and pressed my hands to my temples.

"Then, all at once, in the Ebbitt House, across the way, a window was flung up and a man stepped out on the balcony. The footsteps about me ceased. Everybody had heard the man and was waiting breathlessly to see what he would do. Suddenly, in a rich, powerful voice, he began to sing the 'Star Spangled Banner.'"

"The result was extraordinary. Windows were thrown up. Crowds gathered on the streets. A multitude of voices joined the song. When it was over the street rang with cheers. The men in the rooms next mine joined me in the corridor. The hotel came to life. Guests wept and flung their arms about one another. Dissension and threat were silenced. It seemed to me, and I believe to all of us, that Washington had been saved by the inspiration of an unknown man with a voice to sing that grand old song of songs."

Richard, or rather "Dixie" Morrow, as he was known here and in many parts of the country, was a native of New York. In the spring of 1857 Dixie and his family reached Lecompton, and became citizens at the zenith of her checkered career. In the fall of 1858 Dixie was nominated for representative in the Lecompton district, but was defeated by David T. Mitchell. After my father's death, in 1861, James S. Jones, of New York, was appointed register of the land office, Dixie Morrow acting as his chief clerk. Jones soon resigned, or was removed, when F. G. Adams was appointed register, and the office removed to Topeka. In 1861 Dixie was appointed inspector of cavalry horses for the government, which position he held during the Rebellion. About five years ago I met Billie Wheeler in Washington, who informed me of Dixie's death.

NOTE 8.—A letter from H. C. Conway, of Baltimore, Md., eulogizing Samuel Cramer, a brother of Gen. T. J. B. Cramer, at hand, but received too late for this volume.



west of the Mississippi, as pleader before a jury, was Samuel A. Young. I heard Evarts and Beach plead before the Tilton-Beecher jury, but they did not eclipse our Colonel Young during his most vigorous days. However, Beach's summing up as prosecutor in the Beecher trial was sublime. His perorations, his scathing words, were as firebrands hurled in the face of the defendant; so lurid and forcible were they that Mr. Beecher hung his head upon his breast and wept.<sup>9</sup> Beach then attracted the attention of the jury, and walking close to Mr. Beecher, and pointing his finger at him, exclaimed:

"Mark where he sits; from those great eyes the soul has fled;  
When truth is gone, when honor dies, the man is dead."

Our merchants of the early days were numerous but migratory. The first to throw open his doors to furnish sustenance to man and beast was a Mr. Shephard. His store was a log-cabin, standing on the ground now occupied by William Leamer's residence. In May, 1856, fifty-three long and weary years ago, Mr. and Mrs. Leamer,<sup>10</sup> with their dear little daughter Kate in arms, reached Lecompton, and in a few days purchased the store and property of Mr. Shephard, and from that day until recently he has been the leading merchant of this city. But for his beneficence during the blight of 1860, and later the grasshopper scourge, many now prosperous would have felt the sting of bitter adversity. There were other merchants—J. G. Bailey & Bros., Pattie & Owens, Doctor Wood, Norton & Co., and James S. Rucker.

We also had a banking institution here. J. G. Bailey and E. W. Wynkoop were the parents and pallbearers of the concern. The poor thing died a bornin'. To show you how the western people disliked paper money at that time, I will give you a dialogue between the captain of a Missouri steamboat and a woodyard man. The boat pulled up to the bank, the captain bellowing out, "Is your wood dry?" "Yep," was the answer. "What is your wood worth?" shouted the captain. "What kind of money der yer tote, Cap?" asked the wood merchant. "The best money on earth, the new Platte Valley Bank," replied the captain. "If that be so, Cap," was the rejoinder, "I'll trade cord for cord!"

From 1855 to 1859 Lecompton was a busy, thriving town. The influx of homeseekers, speculators, contractors, land-warrant agents and laborers swarmed upon us, for there was much building of homes, offices, the capitol building, land office, store buildings, and five hotels, namely: the Virginia, American, National, Alexander and Rowena. We had seven four-horse stage and express lines of daily service—two to Kansas City, one to Leavenworth, and the same to Atchison, St. Joe, Topeka and Fort Scott, which were always loaded with persons seeking novelty and wealth. Besides, the Minnie Bell<sup>11</sup> and Western Star made frequent trips up the Kaw as far as

NOTE 9.—In Henry Ward Beecher's Biography, by Wm. C. Beecher and Rev. Samuel Scoville, p. 533, the following statement occurs: "It is well known that after plaintiff had abandoned his case his leading counsel, Hon. Wm. A. Beach, frequently and publicly declared that the trial of the cause had convinced him of Mr. Beecher's innocence, and that he felt as though they had been a pack of hounds trying to pull down a noble lion. Five years later he expressed similar views to the writer."

NOTE 10.—See paper, "A Kansas Pioneer Merchant," Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, pp. 380-384. William Leamer died June 15, 1910.

NOTE 11.—See A. R. Greene's entertaining paper on the "Navigation of the Kansas River," in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 9, p. 317.

Lecompton, and even beyond, in those days. These little stern-wheel steamers carried great quantities of freight for our citizens and the government, and what was beyond their capacity the patient ox with the prairie schooners supplied. We also had two newspapers, the Lecompton *Union* and *National Democrat*. They were bright, well-printed sheets, but somewhat diseased with radicalism. The territorial printing was done here, as well as the laws and resolutions, and the treaties for the government, all of which required a large number of typos, and they were good ones, too.

During 1856, '57 and '58 we had from 300 to 500 United States cavalry and one battery stationed here, and from 400 to 700 territorial militia. The officers of the troops added much to our social enjoyments as well as enlarging the business of our merchants. Halderman street was then known as Wall street, and it was in reality the moneyed street of Kansas, for there was located the United States land office, which daily attracted hundreds of preëmtors, with their witnesses to prove up their land, to attend contested cases, etc.; there the legislative halls, the district and United States courts, the governor's office, the Hotel Rowena, the post office, express office, stage office, book and stationery store, drug store, Leamer's store, barber shops, printing office, lawyer's offices, real-estate and land-warrant dealers by the score, dwellings, and three saloons, so you may readily see that the interchange of money was very great, and that the Wall street of Kansas was not a misnomer.

Now allow me to mention the society of our city. Remember, we were among the extreme western outposts—the vedettes of civilization. Following are the names of many of the young ladies who constituted that society: Misses Lizzie and Rachel Brook, Helen Willie, Mary and Carrie Rodrique, Anna and Flora Calhoun, Mary and Anna Lewis, Rose and Mary McKinney, Abby Tyler, Becky McCormick (sister of my valued friend, Mrs. William Leamer), Bettie Staples, Emma and Sarah Bruner, Hattie and Laura Stanton, Flora Wood, the Misses Coulter (one of them now Mrs. W. R. McCarty), Amelia Hickok (now Mrs. Wm. Nace), Julia Johnson, Ellen Rittenhouse, Ruth Graham, Mary and Sue Shannon, Florence Nelson, Nettie Burton, Mary Willson, the Misses Hatten, the Misses Foster, Amanda and Rose Garrett, Hattie Alexander, Jennie Thompson, and others. These young ladies would grace any society in any state or place, and for wit, accomplishments and pure womanhood were beyond reproach. I knew them all, and am a better man for knowing them. Man's greatest safeguard is to follow first, the advice of a dear mother or wife; second, his association with true women. Let man govern his scandalous tongue in speaking of the better, purer sex, lest he himself be judged. An old but good maxim reads:

“Be it a falsehood or be it all true,  
Speak well of a woman whatever you do.”

And he who violates this injunction brands himself with just suspicion; let him always bear in mind that he, too, had a mother. In those good old days, before laws and lawyers had deftly intertwined convenient technicalities to acquit or convict contending litigants, the world was better, society safer. As with nations, so with individuals, for quibbles within the law gain the “open door” or close the same, as moneyed considerations or technicalities may demand. In proof of this I cite the blot upon our civilization—divorces.

To omit the mention of the young gents who formed this part of Lecompton's society would be an oversight, so will name the leaders as I recall them to mind: L. S. Boling, Benj. Newsom, T. B. Sykes, H. J. Strickler, Chas. A. Faris, John Bourne, William Medary, E. Noel Eccleston, Bellus Rodrique, A. J. Rodrique, David Bailey, J. C. Bailey, M. M. Chambers, T. B. Price, Geo. Fred Pentecost (now a noted evangelist of Brookfield, Mass., who was the chief leader in all our harmless escapades), E. W. Wynkoop, H. W. Petrikin, M. G. Farnham, Thos. R. Bayne, Will McCormick, J. C. Trask, Jno. A. Wallace, O. W. McAllister, Stephen G. Lightcap, William Morrow, W. J. McKinney, Abe McKinney, L. M. Clawson, Wm. M. Nace, L. O. McArthur, Gem Simpson, J. S. Batterson, Elisha Diefendorf, Benj. Hoyt, A. P. Walker, Theo. Brook, Wit Shannon, Osburn Shannon, J. C. Lewis, C. S. Cable, Richard Morrow, Ely Moore, and others; and, besides the above, a dozen or more young army officers. It is strange, but so far as I know but five of those whose names I have given are now alive, and two of them are here present, Colonel Nace and myself.

Our social-enjoyments were numerous and varied; but the most popular were our equestrian pleasures. To be in good standing, it was requisite that every young gent own a good mount. Many of the ladies had their own horses, but if not were readily supplied. We have frequently ridden out of town numbering twelve or fifteen couples.

In returning from some political powwow at Topeka one afternoon a storm overtook me, and I was driven to shelter at the little hamlet of Washington, a mile west of Big Springs. The house at which I stopped was kept by a Mrs. Allen, who furnished meals to travelers, so a sign read. I ordered dinner, and in twenty minutes I sat down to as well cooked and as good a meal as could be had in Kansas or elsewhere. Before leaving the old lady informed me that she had kept a tavern near Easton, Pa., for fifteen years, and that it became very popular for parties to drive out for supper, and that she was prepared to entertain at present, adding that if the young folks of Lecompton would send her word by the stage driver, giving number of persons, etc., she would be thankful and they would be pleased. At an impromptu dance that night I told the young folks of my great discovery of the day, whereupon they all exclaimed, "O, let's go!" In a few days we went, seven couples strong.

To make you a little envious, I will give the menu, in part: "Fried chicken of the yellow leg persuasion, cooked to an appetizing brown; that nectar of the age and ages past, golden coffee, with cream as was cream; waffles, with good butter and maple syrup—my! but they were good; mashed potatoes dressed with cream and oven heated, with chicken gravy; sliced tomatoes, bottled pickles, cheese, jellies, preserved peaches, cranberry tarts, and apple pie with cream. This was not by any means our last visit to Mrs. Allen's. When buckwheat cakes were ripe, with sweet butter and maple syrup, home-made sausage, scrapple and wurst, with that same delicious coffee, etc., she entertained the young folks many times and oft. Let me say that Mrs. Allen was as good a cook as ever scraped a tater pot or wore a gingham apron, excepting, always, my wife and mother.

It would scarcely be in keeping with this occasion to omit a few words in defense of Lecompton in her early trials, so with your indulgence will cite one of the many stabs at this dear old town:



From 1854 to the time Kansas was admitted into the Union, Lecompton was looked upon by all the people east of the Ohio river as the vilest place on earth; that every stranger who entered her confines holding other than Southern views was robbed, imprisoned or murdered. People of the present day cannot realize the deep hatred harbored against us, when, so far as I know, no stranger or citizen who behaved himself was ever molested. On the contrary, the glad hand was always extended to the stranger, no matter from whence he came.

Now permit me to give my experience in New York city during a visit there in the winter of 1858-'59, showing the hatred to us and the outrageous falsehoods told and believed about Lecompton. During December, 1858, I attended a party given by my aunt. She was noted as a person who entertained lavishly, so the guests were many and the affair a brilliant one. It was the custom for all gentlemen to place their cards in a receiver provided for that purpose, and also the custom for the ladies to scan the cards, and if they saw any name that took their fancy, to ask the hostess for an introduction. I had conformed to this required rule, my card reading, "Ely Moore, jr., Lecompton, K. T." I had noticed a young lady of rather ancient birth and constructed somewhat after the order of the beanpole, but withal very handsomely upholstered, closely inspecting the cards. Suddenly she made an exclamation that startled many in the room, and holding aloft a card between her bony fingers, started toward my aunt, with whom I was conversing at the time, saying, as she approached, "Do you know you have a desperado as a guest?" at the same time producing my card as convincing proof of her charge. My aunt read the card and smilingly took me by the hand, saying, "Miss Mott, allow me to introduce my nephew, Ely Moore, jr., of Lecompton, Kansas Territory, Mr. Moore, Miss Grace Mott, of Boston." I extended my hand in recognition of the introduction, but she failed to respond. Just then my aunt was informed that a Miss Graham and Lieutenant John Reuben Church had arrived, so she excused herself to welcome her looked for guests.

Miss Mott looked me over with a lynx-eyed inspection, exclaiming in a ringing, falsetto voice: "You are well disguised, but fail to deceive me. I know all about your vile town and its viler people. Lecompton is far worse than the slums of London or the black holes of Calcutta." Here I attempted to make reply, but she had the voice and the floor, and I concluded to give her rope for her own execution. She renewed the attack by the queries: "How long have you lived in Lecompton? Do you live there now? Do you intend to return there?" I replied by saying I had practically lived in Lecompton since its first location; that was now my home, and I hoped to return to the dear old town in a few weeks. "Now, my friends," she smilingly continued, "let me give you dear Dr. Charley Hall's experience whilst a prisoner there last year. Many of you know the dear fellow, and you know him as a man of honor and truth; he is my most devoted friend and escort. (I did not say so, but I could not admire "Dear Charley's" selection.) He told me his experience in Lecompton as soon as he reached Boston after his escape, and repeated it to a party of friends in my hearing just before he left for abroad.

"This is his story: 'I went West to see an old friend and classmate. Through an error my ticket took me by the way of Lecompton, Kan. Be-

fore reaching there the conductor of our train informed me we would have to lay over at Lecompton for the night, if not longer, as many of the railroad bridges had been washed out by a severe storm. I shuddered at the thought, but inquired for the best hotel and was told that the Mississippi House was the finest. Upon entering the office I was shocked and alarmed, for dozens of drunken border ruffians were there, with revolvers on each hip or in their hands. The profanity and threats against the East were frightful. As I was about to register my name a happy thought presented itself to me, and obeying it registered from St. Louis, Mo. I at once went to my room, but when supper was announced thought it wise to go down. Never did I think that so many desperadoes could be assembled at one place. They occupied almost every seat at the long table. Many had a revolver on either side of his plate; the whisky jug was passed and each person partook liberally of the vile stuff. Many declared they were going across the border into Missouri that night to kill a Yankee or two as they crossed the state line into Kansas, but that they would be back for breakfast, as some blood-spilling was to take place at Lecompton that morning. There were several females at the table, their attire being shockingly limited, and they, too, patronized the jug, which was the custom of all the women who lived in that God forsaken town!"

At this statement I became angry, and attempted to reply, but in her high-pitched voice she continued. "Poor dear Charley never slept a wink that night for the shooting of pistols and the profane yelling of men, and the mounting of their horses for Missouri was just under his window. He wrapped himself in his blanket but did not think of going to bed, as he expected death at any moment—poor dear. Intentionally he was late at breakfast, thinking to avoid the rabble of the previous evening, but just as he was seated those who had gone to Missouri the night before on their murderous mission returned. They boasted of having killed two Yankees and of burning some houses. He hurried through his meal and went to the office to pay his bill, determined to walk out of town—no matter where, but go he would. As he neared the clerk's counter he carelessly picked up a paper to read, and at the same time put his hand in his vest pocket and pulled out a ten dollar note, as he supposed, shoving it to the clerk to pay his bill. He heard the clerk laugh, and looking for the cause, saw he had given his railroad ticket instead of money. His ticket read: 'Boston to Kansas and Return.' The clerk remarked, 'I didn't think you lived it St. Louis.' 'I paid my bill and at once went to my room, but before I could gather up my belongings three men entered, saying, 'We are a committee of citizens; it would be well to come with us, and quietly, too.' They took me to a side hill with many holes in the ground, and well guarded. Into one of these I was shoved, accompanied by the remark, 'you know the fate of spies.' I remained in that hole for three weeks. During the meantime I had bribed the boy who served my meals to mail a letter for me, warning him that it must not be mailed in Lecompton. The letter was directed to John Brown. In a week or less the good saint, with only about a dozen men, swooped down on Lecompton to my rescue, the ruffians hiding in the brush when they found that John Brown had made his appearance.' This is almost word for word as dear Charles gave the story of his imprisonment and escape. Who dare deny it?"

"I dare," exclaimed a lady as she brushed by me. "I lived in Lecompton the year Doctor Hall states these outrages occurred. My father, Maj. Campbell Graham, of the United States army, was stationed there during that time, and as I was with him, know whereof I speak when I say that not in Boston or elsewhere, Miss Mott, can be found sweeter, purer ladies than Lecompton possesses, and the young gentlemen are gallant and brave. I have attended balls with them, joined them with their lady friends on many a moonlight ride on the prairies, and found them as I have stated—ladies and gentlemen; and anything to the contrary, Miss Mott, is a manufactured falsehood. But to whom have you addressed your remarks?" Miss Mott pointed at me. Turning, Miss Graham recognized me, and extending both hands exclaimed, "Why, Mr. Moore! my dear friend! I am so rejoiced to see you. Tell me, how are the dear girls and young gentlemen of Lecompton? How I should love to see them." (You will recall that Miss Graham's name appears in the list of the young ladies of Lecompton which I read to you.) Then turning to the assembled guests she said: "Lieutenant, will you step this way?" To my surprise and pleasure, Lieut. Harry Church approached. When he saw me he almost fell over himself with joy.

Whilst scouting the Missouri border, driving off trespassers from the Indian lands, we were together and had slept under the same blanket for months at a time. After that he was stationed at Lecompton for a year or more and proved the most popular of the young officers. He then addressed Miss Mott, saying; "Without any reflection on you, Miss Mott, I will state there is not a yard of railroad in Kansas—there is not an hotel in Lecompton known as the 'Mississippi House.' Men could not ride from Lecompton to Missouri and back, 120 miles, from supper to breakfast time; and when Doctor Hall states that *all* the women of Lecompton appear in public half nude and drink whisky from a jug he disgraces his manhood and gives voice to the vilest lie ever uttered. There are no holes in the ground in which prisoners were confined, and the military or United States marshal had all such in charge. John Brown never rescued any prisoners from Lecompton. In short, Miss Mott, Doctor Hall has either gone through the throes of a very bad dream, or is a stupid liar, for he never was in Lecompton. Say so to him, with my compliments!"

The happy intercession by Miss Graham and Lieutenant Church was for me very opportune, for at the close of Miss Mott's insulting remarks I was angry even to a white heat, and probably would have gone too far in my denunciation, and regretted it ever after. However, Miss Mott was squelched even to the hoisting of the white flag.

There was a little town just across the river from Lecompton called "Rising Sun," which was somewhat ragged in morals, boisterous in proclaiming her opinion, and exacting in law, providing, always, that the law met the exaction of public approval—if not, a speedy trial, a stout rope and a near-by oak settled all disputes. As I looked from my north door one bright summer morning I was a little startled to see the bodies of four men hanging from a limb of said oak, and in a few days afterward two more bodies hung from the same limb. This on its face would look shocking, indeed; but we know every picture has, as every circumstance, a reverse side, and so in this case, for in reversing the picture we see that these men had been



caught red-handed in stealing horses and cattle from that section of the country. They had no jails in which to imprison these thieves, and then as now the courts were too weighted with brains, too slothlike in prosecuting evil doers; so self-preservation dictated the law of Lynch, especially as one man had been killed while endeavoring to save his cattle.

In a few weeks after the unlawful execution of [those men I received a paper from the East, fully illustrated, with six men dangling from a tree, and in large type reading: "How they murder men in Lecompton, Kansas, who proclaim antislavery views."

Lecompton had no more to do with those unlawful acts than if to-day Oskaloosa or Perry had resorted to mob violence. Then why, you ask, was Lecompton held responsible? I answer, because the people of the East had been taught to believe that in crushing Lecompton you crushed slavery.

In this connection let me relate that which no man alive but myself is cognizant of, and will prove a surprise to many of the old settlers. One summer night in 1857 as A. P. Walker, M. M. Chambers, Charles A. Faris and myself sat around tables in the land office after a long evening's work, Walker and chambers became involved in a bitter discussion as to how the *bona fide* citizens of Lecompton stood on the question of extension or non-extension of slavery, Walker believing in a large proslavery majority, Chambers denying it. It resulted in a bet of fifty dollars a side, to be decided by three canvassers, namely: Walker, Faris and Chambers, two Southern and one free-state man, all having full faith in the integrity of each to make a truthful report. They were to return the result of their labors to me in sealed envelopes and were given a month to perfect their investigation. The city was divided into two districts, the third, outside of the city, falling to Mr. Chambers, and, if I mistake not, he bought a horse from our friend, Colonel Nace, to ride the circuit. Quietly, and without the suspicion of a single person, they adroitly interviewed all the voters in and around Lecompton who voted in the city.

No one understands better than the writer of this the hatred of many of our old settlers toward Lecompton, honestly believing that all her citizens were vile proslavery men. To arrest such a mistaken idea, I will read you the following facts:

At the time agreed upon they reported the returns made by each, as follows:

	For extension.	Against extension.
Walker, Southern man.....	60	45
Faris, Southern man.....	62	85
Chambers, free-state.....	25	55
	147	185

Majority against extension, 38; total vote, 332.

Five persons refused to commit themselves.

Walker, though surprised, was satisfied and paid his bet. This was proof sufficient that a majority of the *bona fide* voters of Lecompton put the stamp of disapproval on the extension of slavery into Kansas.

It is true that Lecompton in the days of her infancy had some adventurers, some partisans, and some who held life cheaply; and tell me, if you know, what community in our territory was free from such undesirable characters. Leavenworth was guilty of a score of overt acts to one that should have been charged to us. Fort Scott, Atchison and Kickapoo out-

numbered us in unlawful acts. Yet the Eastern press gathered and grossly exaggerated all the misdeeds enacted in the territory, and with malice aforethought unloaded all misdemeanors upon the blameless shoulders of Lecompton.

My friends, you have noticed the expression "Dear Old Lecompton" several times during my remarks, and why should I not thus endearingly speak of her? for here I lived in my vigorous young manhood; here I wooed and won the sweetest, purest wife that ever blessed a man; here were our first-born babes placed in my proud arms as a token of her love and loyalty; here I spent the happiest days of my life; here would I live, and here would I die.

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### IN REMEMBRANCE.

Address at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary, May 18, 1907, of the settlement of the Greene family in Kansas; at the old log cabin home, on Elk creek, Osage county, by ALBERT ROBINSON GREENE.

FIFTY years ago to-day, on this identical spot, my father and his family founded a home in the wilderness. It was a bright day, as is this; a day destined to become memorable in the lives of a company of six persons who then and here established themselves on the outposts of civilization.

Slowly the tired oxen had dragged the wagon which held our effects across the prairies from the Missouri river, while the family, save one who lay deathly sick on a pallet under the canvas cover, walked the weary miles by day and rested upon the grass in the open at night. The journey had consumed a week; the route lay along the Santa Fe trail, where we had fallen in company with a caravan of Chihuahua merchants returning with two score of wagons drawn by half a thousand oxen and guarded by a squadron of armed outriders, and, when leaving this thoroughfare, across the unmarked prairie, guided only by headlands which rose in the hazy distance against a shimmering horizon. If our progress had been necessarily tedious by reason of the cumbersome train of freight teams in whose wake we had trailed along, it was doubly so when we parted company with them and the broad highway, beaten smooth as a pavement by the vast traffic passing over it, and struck out for ourselves in a new way of our own choosing without a mark or sign on the unbroken sod to guide our course. Unforeseen obstacles were encountered, and each hour brought its own brood of perplexities which could not be anticipated nor easily overcome. Groves which gave promise of springs of cool water and favorable camping places disappeared like the mirage of the desert and proved to be vagaries of the eye, while smooth stretches of plain were found to be intersected by gullied streams which were only to be crossed after dint of much hard labor in digging down the banks to fording places. At the occasional cabins on the route we were told that wild land in large areas could be found a few miles further on, and so day after day we plodded hopefully along.

When we had ascended the slope that led from the margin of the creek along which we had been traveling for a few miles to the spot on which we now stand, we came to a deeply worn Indian trail crossing our course at right angles and stopped to examine the signs of its recent use. This was the only evidence of the presence of man to be found. We looked up and down this fair valley, and as far as the eye could reach there was not a cabin in sight nor the smoke of a human habitation. The fresh green grass

lay like a vast carpet on which no foot of man had trod, and the fringe of woods along the stream was unmarked by the desecrating ax, save where the scars of the tomahawk showed here and there rude effigies of man and beast wrought upon the trees. We had found the frontier!

Tradition says that when the Cherokees in fleeing from the encroachments of the white man on their lands in the "Old North State," to find new hunting grounds west of the Alleghenies, came to a great river flowing through a valley abounding in game, they with one accord shouted a name which afterward became the designation of a majestic state. So when our company came to the Indian trail and we stopped to survey the scene—the generous sweep of the bending hills encircling the natural meadows that inclined to the meandering stream that babbles at our feet—my father said, "Here we rest." We had found our Alabama!

We were glad. The spirit of discoverers was upon us, and, like Monte Cristo, the whole world seemed ours. The hush of the place was oppressive, and the sound of our own voices seemed almost an intrusion and a desecration. From that hour the stillness of the ages was broken forever; one cycle was complete and another was begun—we had commenced to make history.

Little we thought of it then, for more practical employments engaged our attention. This was our new home and this was the beginning. Even the faithful oxen, when the whip that had guided them was thrown to the ground, seemed to understand that the long journey was ended and bowed their heads to be unyoked.

My little sister was tenderly removed to a pallet under the shadow of a tree, the wagon was unloaded, and the tent was pitched for the last time.

This wagon had a history. It had brought a family of Wyandotte Indians all the way from the Western Reserve in Ohio to the mouth of the Kansas river, when the lands of the tribe on the shores of Lake Erie had been exchanged for a part of the Missouri territory. The oxen had been purchased of Milton McGee, of Westport, who sent one of his trusted slaves to select them from a herd in his big pasture, cautioning him jocosely to "Pick out black ones for your abolition friend," an injunction which the Negro disregarded by choosing those of a deep red color.

When the tent had been made ready for the bed of the sick child and its occupant placed inside, a fire was kindled near by, a meal was prepared, and the members of the family assembled for the first time around the rude table spread in the open air of the new home. The scene is indelibly fixed on the tablets of my memory, although half a century has passed since then. The old wagon with its dingy cover and the ox yoke resting against the tongue; the tent at its side, and through the opening my little sister smiling upon us from her bed of pain; the camp fire, in the middle of which stood the smoky coffee pot in a bed of coals; the improvised table near it with its oilcloth cover and tinware dishes; the cone of slapjacks in the center and the skillet of bacon with brown gravy. There were two splint-bottom chairs in the schedule of furniture, and when these were occupied by my father and mother and the rest of the little company had gathered around, ready to begin, the dear old man bowed his head and asked a blessing upon the food. How well I remember the gracious words of that blessing. The deeply reverential tone, the fervidly grateful language, abounding in ex-



pressions of childlike faith and unqualified consecration to the Master, can never be forgotten.

It is to pay a cordial tribute of remembrance to the good father and mother and the brothers and sister, long since gone to a better home, who builded this home and dedicated it to Freedom and to God, that I return to this spot to-day. They labored and wrought uncomplainingly through indescribable hardships, practicing self-denial utterly incomprehensible to the present generation, heroically faced savages and border ruffians, periled their lives in the crucible of war; steadfastly working, praying, trusting to the end.

Twenty years before the time of which I speak my father and mother had settled in Illinois, when Chicago was a village. They had crossed the Alleghenies on a tramway operated by a stationary engine at the summit, when the success of railroads was little better assured than is aerial navigation to-day. With the exception of a few miles of track laid with strap iron on which the cars were drawn by horses, there was not a mile of railroad west of Johnstown, Pa. This horse railroad was in southern Illinois, and was a by-word and laughing stock of the whole country. The nearest market for horses and cattle was Buffalo, N. Y., whither they were driven in herds guarded by horsemen supplied with flintlock firearms. John A. Murrell, with his banditti of the prairies, was a greater terror to the sparse settlements of central Illinois then than the James and Younger brothers were to the later settlements of the Missouri and Kansas borders. Without telegraphs or telephones, and with letter postage at twenty-five cents an ounce, communication was slow and expensive. Times were hard and money scarce and of constantly changing value. Skilled mechanics commanded but seventy-five cents and common laborers twenty-five cents a day. Wheat was seldom worth more than twenty-five cents and corn five to seven cents a bushel. This after being hauled ten to fifty miles to market over almost impassable roads. Women wrought at trades and worked in the fields the same as the men, and were glad of the opportunity to do so. My mother performed the household duties of a family consisting of herself, my father and three small children, carded, spun and wove the wool for the cloth to make the garments for these five persons, which garments she made with her own hands, and found time to teach the neighborhood school at her own house besides. My father split rails on shares and hauled his share six miles to fence a farm, which he paid for having plowed with money he earned by teaching school at ten dollars a month. Farmers who live in modern houses, ride in palace cars when they travel abroad, and come to such assemblages as the present in automobiles, cannot appreciate the conditions of which I speak.

One of the friends of those early days was Abraham Lincoln. He advised my parents to come to Kansas when this territory was opened to settlement, and at last they took that advice, and, having earned full honors in the hard school of pioneering in Illinois, took a postgraduate course in the great American desert.

For a few weeks we lived in the tent—that is, it was the shelter for the sick one and her mother, while the rest of the family and our goods and chattels found accommodations in the open air. The days were warm and dry and the nights balmy and without dew, so that this sort of life was without hardship, but was rather a romantic exhilaration. The first substantial

habitation was a cabin of small poles supplied with a roof of bark obtained from a large elm tree which was felled for the purpose, lumber and shingles being unobtainable except at the Missouri river, at prohibitive prices. For this reason there was no floor except natural earth. For the same reason the habitation was without windows, a modicum of light being admitted through the cracks between the logs, and on cloudy days by opening the door. The greater part of one end was occupied by a fireplace, and the chimney was split sticks daubed with mud. The dimensions of this cabin were, as I remember them, ten feet in width and sixteen feet in length. It joined the tent, and the tent had connection with the covered wagon. This cabin and its annex were our quarters for the greater part of our first year in the territory. We were about as well accommodated as the few neighbors who had straggled in from time to time and located above and below us along the creek. At least we were not ostracised by the few who had clapboard roofs and puncheon floors to their houses, and actually entertained (informally) a good deal that first winter. Many of our guests were Indians, who came unannounced, helped themselves to food, and left without a hint of remuneration. Ours was a sort of half-way house between the California and Santa Fe trails, and a convenient stopping place for travelers and prospective settlers who were going across the country.

A word here about the furniture and appointments of that house. The comfortable equipment for an ordinary home on the frontier, with which we had started from Illinois, had by some carelessness of steamboatmen on the Missouri gone astray, and our resources were still further diminished by misplaced confidence in a fellow passenger who appropriated what the river men had overlooked. Perhaps it was just as well, for much furniture would have been an embarrassment. For bedsteads we arranged a tier of bunks against one wall of the cabin, the upper one, occupied by my brother and myself, being so near the roof that we could pull off strings of bark and have a chew of slippery elm (a luxury to all boys) while we lay in bed. On the opposite side of the room we had a long, narrow table, hinged to the wall, so that it could be lowered when not in use, and for convenience in passing in and out. This was made of one side of the wagon box and was just the thing. The cleats kept it from splitting, and the red paint gave it a finished and jaunty look and obviated the necessity for a tablecloth. Piles of good, wholesome food were dispensed from that table, and all sorts of people on all sorts of errands were made welcome. No one was ever turned away hungry. On one occasion there was a dazzling mass of gold coin emptied from a buckskin pouch on that table. The man wore a faded suit of military clothing and said he was a discharged soldier from Johnston's army, returning to his home in the states. He insisted upon paying for his dinner, and to show his ability to do so without inconvenience poured out nearly a thousand dollars, from which, after much searching, he selected a five-dollar piece and handed it to my mother, saying that he must refuse any change, as he had paid that amount for many a meal not half so good, on his way in from Laramie. He repeated this ostentatious display of his wealth at other places in the settlement. Some time afterward the charred and decomposing remains of a man with a stone tied around the neck were fished out of the Wakarusa river a few miles from here, and in the vicinity fragments of blue cloth and a brass button or two were found in the ashes of a brush heap. The supposition was that this

soldier had displayed his money once too often. There were other violent deaths in the community, but that is another story.

In 1858 a set of house logs were obtained from an adjoining claim, and when they had been hewed ready for the structure we had a raising, the neighbors coming from far and near to lay up the walls, cob-house fashion, ready for the rafters. This kind of work was so common in those days that the qualifications of each settler for the various details were well known, and a sort of informal organization had been effected. Thus there were corner men, and skid men, scorers and hewers, each taking his part and as a matter of course. The man whose house was being raised had nothing to say about it except to indicate the location. The day's work wound up with a big dinner, or, more properly, supper, and then the crowd with many expressions of good will dispersed to their homes. In the same unselfish manner the voluntary labor of the settlers gathered the crops and prepared the winter's wood for their neighbors who from sickness or any other cause were unable to do it for themselves. As for any pay, beyond a good meal when the day's work was done, the suggestion of such a thing would have been resented as an insult.

By this time the sawmill had been established at Clinton, ten miles away, and to this we hauled logs with the old oxen, who had been our mainstay in farming operations, and procured a supply of lumber for rafters, and sheathing for the roof. This lumber was sawed on the shares—that is, it was divided, slabs and all, in halves, and the mill man and the owner of the log each took his share, and the bill was paid. It took two days to make the trip, for in addition to the leisurely gait of the oxen there was a wait usually of several hours at the mill to get up to the saw carriage, each patron taking his turn in patience. After the rafters were up and the sheathing nailed on (with nails which, by the way, cost  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents a pound), a shingle tree was cut, and shingles split and shaved ready for use. These shingles are on the roof to-day, and seem good for another fifty years of service. Then came considerations of a floor. Logs were prepared and put in place for sleepers, and the old oxen hauled other logs to the mill for the flooring. A part of the lumber was fashioned into batten doors, and a special trip was made to Lawrence, twenty miles distant, for sash, glass and putty for the two windows that it was decided, after much figuring, we could afford. One of the features that must not be overlooked was a fireplace, wide and deep and high, and the chimney of stone, laid up with real mortar, made out of lime burnt in a log pit and sand hauled from the Kansas river. This was the most ornate achievement in masonry of which the whole community could boast. In honor of its completion the date was carved at the top, with a cold chisel made of a worn-out file. The figures "1858" are as distinct and legible as when they were cut in the stone fifty years ago.

When the building was ready for occupancy, my father, in accordance with the custom of the country, gave a housewarming. Not exactly in accordance with custom, either, for there was no dancing and no little brown jug with contents as fine as silk. The circuit rider was invited, and the neighbors were called in, and there was a sermon and a good meal for everybody and much good-fellowship. This house has witnessed a good deal of history. Across its threshold a courier brought the news that a civil war had begun; from its household two of its members went to that war, and one of them was brought back bleeding and wounded nigh unto death.



From its door we saw the column of regulars, led by Sedgwick and Emory and Plummer, marching from the abandonment of the posts in New Mexico to Fort Leavenworth. To this door an aide dashed up to inquire if it were true that Colonel Ellsworth had been assassinated at Alexandria, as they had learned from the Santa Fe stage driver. This house furnished shelter for the Union soldiers en route to the front, and asylum for Missouri refugees fleeing from the wrath to come. Behind closed and guarded doors, secret meetings have been held in the darkness of the midnight hour to serve warnings upon rebel sympathizers in the community, and organize against invaders from over the border. Here rude implements of warfare, to be used in an emergency, have been fashioned in haste from scythes and hatchets, when word came that bushwhackers or Indians were coming. Here lint has been scraped to staunch the blood of wounded men; clothing has been made and delicacies prepared for the soldiers in the field. From this door have been read to the assembled wives and mothers of the soldiers bulletins of battles and lists of the killed and wounded. And here, at last, thank God, was brought the glad news that Lee had surrendered and the war was over. And, alas, on this door-latch was hung crape for the immortal Lincoln, assassinated in the midst of our rejoicing.

It was a good home, and is endeared to its two surviving founders by many and sacred associations. Under its roof marriage vows have been taken and funeral dirges have been heard. What vicissitudes of fortune it has witnessed, from the hardships and perils of the early days to these days of tranquility and comfort! What fluctuations in the prices of produce and the cost of domestic supplies! In 1859 we hauled corn in ox wagons to the Missouri river, a distance of seventy miles, and realized eight cents a bushel for our crop. In 1860 we paid two dollars a bushel for corn, because there was a famine in the territory. In 1861 we got corn for nothing, because in our distress everybody lived on charity and the contributions of friends in the East were necessary to sustain life—and elect a United States senator. In 1864 calico was fifty cents a yard, flour fifteen dollars a hundred, and pork the same. Okra and browned wheat and sweet potatoes were the basis of a concoction that was substituted for coffee, which was unobtainable. Between the first and last dates I have mentioned, whisky advanced from twenty-five cents to ten dollars a gallon. And such whisky! The quality deteriorated in exact ratio to the increased price. A pair of alleged calfskin shoes (with paper soles and sheepskin uppers) sold for seven dollars, and lasted two weeks. The pine weather-boarding with which the log walls of this house were finally covered, cost seventy-five dollars a thousand feet, and was purchased from the proceeds of wheat sold for two dollars and fifty cents a bushel.

Speaking of a preacher's housewarming reminds me that in the early days here a sort of religious epidemic swept over the community. It was the day of camp meetings and circuit riders, and many John the Baptists crying in the wilderness, except that the most of them were Methodists and United Brethren. People were literally driven into the church by a mania of singing and shouting and exhortation. It was a great time for zeal—and lungs. On a fair day a preacher of average ability could be heard a mile or more. It was said of one of these enthusiasts that when he was in good trim his secret prayers would reach that far—horizontally. Camp meetings during the summer were as much a feature of the year's experiences as shucking bees and spelling matches were of the winter season;

there were no circuses in those days. Everybody took a week off and attended. The crowds that assembled in what seemed to be a thinly settled country were astonishing for numbers; also for other things. An old-fashioned camp meeting would be impossible now in any part of the country. Too many would come in automobiles and too few on foot and in ox wagons to keep up the traditions. Instead of bonfires and smoking lamps for light there would be some sort of a patent contraption to make gas or electric light, and the novelty of the thing would divert the attention of the worshippers. There would be an absence of sunbonnets and turkey-tail fans and corncob pipes. The latitude given to refreshment stands and hucksters would be restricted, and as likely as not horse-racing, gambling and liquor selling would be prohibited. The "sacred desk" (a slab laid in the forks of two saplings), and the saddle-bags hanging from a snag conveniently near, would be looked for and longed for in vain. On every hand there would be evidences of the elimination of the characteristic and spectacular features, and the introduction of destructive innovations instead. And yet I have seen all these features attending a remarkable religious awakening—good, bad and indifferent—flourishing and intermingled, and everybody having a good time. In the roundup everybody joined the church, and a fair proportion stuck to it through thick and thin. Others backslid when the danger from thunderstorms had passed, and not being branded, could not be distinguished from ordinary worldlings for the ensuing year.

It was a day of small things but great beginnings. Politicians were struggling for the control of the territory. Elections were frequent, spasmodic and inconclusive. Men and boys voted. Rather as a habit than from necessity, everybody went armed—to elections, to church, to the fields. Everything was in a state of incipency. Opportunity was knocking at every door. There were schemes of all sorts, rational and chimerical. The laws of the early legislative sessions furnish abundant examples. If charters had been taxed, the revenue would have embarrassed the vaults of the treasury. It was a time of tremendous mental and business activity. Official sanction was given to operate ferries, toll bridges and stage lines in every direction. Highways were projected to imaginary cities in the undisturbed prairie grass, where flaming lithographs exploited the sale of town lots at fabulous prices before there were any inhabitants except grasshoppers and prairie dogs. Mail routes were established in advance of post offices or settlements, and contracts awarded and paid for by an indulgent government when there was no occasion for any service, and when in fact no service had been performed. The Kansas river and many of its insignificant tributaries were declared navigable streams, when in some of them the catfish actually suffered for water. There were prophets in those days. A network of railroads were chartered along lines almost identical with the routes of actual construction ten years later. And this when there was not a mile of railroad west of St. Louis save a link of the Missouri Pacific extending to Jefferson City. A stage line was put in operation from the Missouri river to San Francisco, substantially on the route of the Union Pacific railway, completed twenty years later. The fare was \$200 and the time thirty-five days! Compared with the trip around Cape Horn, this indeed seemed like bringing the Pacific coast to our very doors. Clinton and Willow Springs were rivals of Lawrence in wresting the county seat from Leocompton. Topeka was threatening Tecumseh. Wabaunsee was posing as the head of navigation on the Kansas river, and the natural starting point for

the Santa Fe trail. Burlingame, in Weller county, had a stone store, and a weekly newspaper the size of a window pane with Marsh Murdock as editor, taking cucumbers on subscription. Emporia, in Breckenridge county, was in the buffalo range, and Cofachique and Hampden, down the Neosho, were on the line of an unexplored Indian region. Quindaro was a rival of Kansas City, and Sumner of Atchison. Leavenworth was the acknowledged metropolis of the Missouri valley, and Wyandotte was a hamlet of half a dozen houses at the mouth of the Kansas river.

The Mountain Meadow massacre occurred a few months after our arrival here, and when Albert Sidney Johnston's army of 5000 men marched out of Leavenworth to annihilate the Mormons, as was fondly hoped, the progress of that march was heralded by couriers sent by the settlements along the route to the more remote localities. In this way we heard the news. In a similar way we were warned of the approach of hostile Indians, and a few years later messengers on horseback carried word of the firing on Sumter and the awful tidings of the war that followed. In this way we heard of the battle of Wilson Creek and the death of General Lyon. This was the most rapid means of communication our settlement had with the outer world.

During that war all the men of military age and ability, with two exceptions, in the settlement that extended from the source of this creek to its mouth, a distance of about six miles, enlisted in the Union army. It was a sparse settlement when the war broke out, and yet I recall eighteen men and boys who answered their country's call. Of the number two were killed in battle, several were wounded, and so far as I am informed but two survive to-day.

On that hill yonder, to the eastward, is a pile of stones loosely thrown together. It is a monument of the tragic days of war. From that height could be seen every cabin in this valley. By a code of signals displayed there, the messenger boy whose duty it was to bring the mail from the post office over on the Santa Fe trail daily waived the tidings, good or ill, from that commanding headland. This house was centrally located, and a favorite gathering place for the women and children who came to get the mail and hear the latest from the front. This was the place of rendezvous for the contingent of aged and infirm men and women and children when news came of the raids of Indians and bushwhackers.

A war party of Indians once descended upon this place, coming through the fields, trampling the crops and destroying the garden where my mother and sister were cultivating the vegetables. They were naked and painted devils and looked the part of hell's outcasts incarnate. There were seventy of them, and they carried their rifles (obtained through the stupidity or cupidity of Indian agents and traders) ready for action at the word. Suddenly the chief recognized my mother as one who had given him food and shelter when he was hungry and cold, as he made her understand by pantomime and a few words of broken English, and with a commanding wave of the hand bade his warriors go back. They went away as they had come, trampling the fields as before; but they committed no other offense. Surely the hospitality received at the rude table in the old cabin had brought a generous acknowledgment.

Under the shadow of an old oak tree on the bank of the creek my mother organized the first Sunday school in the county. One year ago, while riding on a train in a distant state, the conductor called me by name. I told him



that I did not recall him. He then sat down by my side and told me that he learned the alphabet from a Bible in the hands of my mother in that Sunday school, forty-nine years before. Further, that he had learned to love that book and its precepts, and that it had been a light and solace to him in all his after years and was his best guide and friend in his hazardous employment.

From this home my father made trips as far to the westward as Chapman creek in Dickinson county, traveling in an open buggy and many times sleeping in the open air, to carry Bibles to the settlers and organize Sunday schools. This house was one of three on the creek where religious services were held when the circuit rider came. The debating society and the neighborhood spelling school, which served to beguile the hours of winter nights, held periodical sessions under our humble roof, and beside the fireplace of this old cabin.

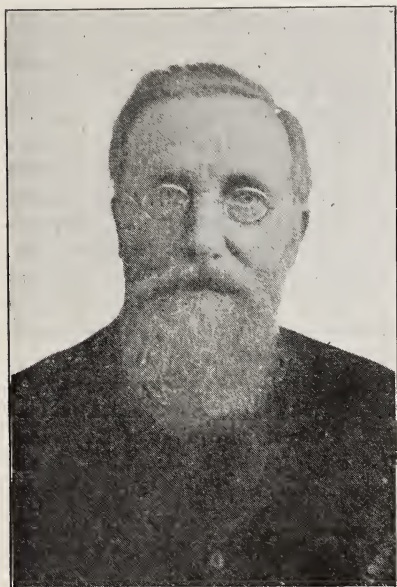
To the west there was not a tree nor bush in sight across the wide prairie. In the spring of 1866 we planted a quantity of walnuts in a part of the cornfield there. The forest of majestic trees that shut out the view in that direction grew from those walnuts. They are of a height and diameter to make them available for telephone poles, railroad ties and lumber. The landscape has been changed by this and similar improvements and by comfortable houses and barns, by orchards and windmills and webs of telephone wires bordering lanes dotted with rural mail boxes, and by broad pastures filled with white-faced cattle, until one who broke the first furrow in the prairie sod can hardly recognize the place. No more the Indian trail across the country; no more the faithful oxen bending their necks to the yoke; no more the wide vistas of waving prairie grass; no more the red deer in the woods, nor the timid antelope on the plains. No more the free, wild way of the wilderness; but instead the fruition of the brightest dreams that played upon our fancies in the days and nights of dreaming. It is well; it is in consonance with the sweep of events and the demands of the times. But standing in the presence of this old relic that binds me to the past and revives the scenes of other days, I see a monument to the sturdy virtues of the noble couple who reared it, and through the most troublous epoch of the republic maintained therein the attributes of a Christian home. I cannot forget it, and if I could it would be sacrilege to make the attempt. Its walls and roof and generous fireplace are much to me, but far more are the hallowed associations that cluster around them. We may prize the achievements for the amelioration of our estate, but let us not forget landmarks like this. They are no less educational than castles and palaces, and if I owned a palace I would give it in exchange for this. I would gladly end my days amid scenes so rich in interest and so appealing to my better nature. I love to look upon it, and would turn my gaze from the finest habitation in the land to fasten it here. Others may feel differently, and with any such I have no controversy—

But for me there comes a vista through the windows of the soul,  
As the mellow seasons thicken in a haze,  
And the deepest indentations on the roll of life's scroll  
Are the precious memories of those log cabin days.

GERMAN-RUSSIAN SETTLEMENTS IN ELLIS COUNTY,  
KANSAS.

Written by the Rev. FRANCIS S. LAING, O. M. Cap.,<sup>1</sup> for the Kansas State Historical Society.

CATHARINE II of Russia is known in history as an energetic ruler, who endeavored to improve her land and people. One means she employed with success for this purpose was to invite colonists to Russia. A summary invitation of this nature was issued December 4, 1762. The following year, July 22, 1763, a more detailed statement followed. Article 6, section 1, of



REV. ADOLPH WIBBERT,  
Oshkosh, Wis.  
The first priest in the Colonies.



PETER LEIKER, MUNJOR, KAN.  
Only survivor of the explorers of 1874.

this so-called "manifest," guaranteed to all such foreigners forming colonies in hitherto unsettled districts of Russia free exercise of religion, allowing them to build churches and bell towers, but no monasteries, to have priests, etc. These colonists should for thirty years be free from all taxes, levies and land service;<sup>2</sup> they were further exempted from military duty

NOTE 1.—Born February 6, 1880, in Cumberland, Md.; made classical studies in Herman, Pa.; entered the Capuchin Order July, 1897; studied philosophy and theology in Cumberland, Md., was ordained June, 1903; since January, 1904, has been teaching in monastery at Victoria, Kan.

NOTE 2.—Article 6, section 2; the manifest of Catharine II, was reprinted at Hays, Kan., in 1882, from a copy secured in Denver of an immigrant (J. Schlyer); from this print the details regarding the manifest are taken. The manifest is also printed in Bauer, *Geschichte der deutschen Ansiedler an der Wolga*, pp. 10-15.

for an indefinite period.<sup>3</sup> In the same year Capt. J. G. von Kotzer, as imperial commissary, assisted by Messrs. Florentin and Psanu, all Germans by birth, were sent to Frankfurt to invite Germans to settle in Russia. They succeeded in inducing some 8000 families (about 25,000 persons) from Hessa, Saxony, Alsatia, Baden, Wuerttemberg, Bavaria, Tyrol, Switzerland<sup>4</sup> and the Palatinate<sup>5</sup> to emigrate. As rendezvous Rosslau<sup>6</sup> near Dessau on the Elbe was designated. From this place the colonists proceeded to and embarked at Hamburg.<sup>7</sup> Landing in Kronstadt they proceeded to Oranienbaum, where they were met and welcomed by Catharine II. After a brief stay they continued their journey to Moskau and Petrowski, where they wintered. In the spring of 1764 they moved southward toward Saratow, settling on both sides of the Wolga, some as far south as the Black Sea.<sup>8</sup> Other colonists followed till 1768. One hundred and four colonies were founded, 59 on the so-called meadow (eastern) and 45 on the so-called mountain (western) side of the Wolga,<sup>9</sup> at a cost to the government of 5,899,813 rubles.<sup>10</sup>

The homes of the settlers in Ellis county were: Katharinenstadt (popularly called Baronsk, because founded in 1765 by Baron de Beauregard), Boregard (founded 1766), Obermonjour (founded 1766), Zug (Gattung, founded 1767), Luzern (Roemler, founded 1767), Schoenchen (Paninskoje, founded 1767), Solothurn (Wittmann, founded 1767), all lying on the east bank of the Wolga, north of Saratow; Rohleder (Raskaty, founded 1766), Graf (Krutogorowka, founded 1764), Herzog (Susly, founded 1764), Mariental (Pfannenstiel or Tonkoschuwka, founded 1766), Louis (Otrogowka, founded 1766), lying north and south of the great Karamann, which flows from the south into the Wolga west of Katharinenstadt; Liebethal (founded 1859 from the other colonies), south of the great Karamann; Neu-Obermonjour (founded 1859), 10 werst<sup>11</sup> south of Liebethal, Marienburg (founded 1860), 68 werst northeast of Liebethal. All these colonies were on the meadow side. On the mountain side lay Kamenka (founded 1764), 110 werst southwest of Saratow, Pfeifer (Gniluska, founded 1766), 7 werst southwest of Kamenka, Rothamel<sup>12</sup> (Pamnatnaja, founded 1767), about 25 werst northwest of Kamenka, Semenowka (founded 1766), 15 werst southwest of Pfeifer.

NOTE 3.—Article 6, section 7: The expression employed, "na vyak," had several meanings: an indefinite period, 100, 500 years, forever (B. Brungardt, J. Schaefer); tradition interprets it to mean 100 years.

NOTE 4.—Schaab in St. Joseph's Blatt, vol. XXI, n. 41.

NOTE 5.—Weiss, J. B., Weltgeschichte, vol. XII, 4th ed. (Graz, 1899), p. 460, 461.

NOTE 6.—Schaab, l. c. n. 35: The manifest (in 1766) mentions Rosslau as rendezvous. A. Schneider (Historisch-politische Blaetter, vol. CXV, p. 418) designates as such Regensburg.

NOTE 7.—Schaab, l. c. n. 41: This agrees with tradition as known to B. Brungardt; according to A. Schneider (l. c.) they embarked at Luebeck.

NOTE 8.—A. Schneider, l. c.; others wintered in Torschok, Twer, Kostroma and Kolomna (Bauer, p. 20).

NOTE 9.—Schaab, l. c. n. 41: These numbers differ slightly from those given in n. 35 and 48; A. Walter (10a), gives the number of colonies as 163.

NOTE 10.—Schaab, l. c. n. 48: In all, 100,000 Germans emigrated to Russia; others emigrated from France, Poland and Sweden (Weiss, Weltgeschichte, l. c.).

NOTE 11.—Werst = 3500 feet.

NOTE 12.—These details are taken for the most part from Deutscher Volkskalender, Odessa, 1909, and Volksfreundkalender, Saratow, 1910. A map of the colonies (printed at Saratow, 1910) was kindly lent by Jos. Linnenberger. The German names of the colonies are those of the first





NICHOLAS AND CATHARINE DREILING,  
First settlers of Herzog, 1875.

The immediate cause of the emigration was the military law of January 13, 1874,<sup>13</sup> which subjected all colonists to military service. Factors in its introduction had been jealousy of the Russian neighbors, owing particularly to the drain in the Crimean war, lack of caution on the part of the colonists, who had been led to sign a document inimical to their liberty.<sup>14</sup> The colonists were averse to military service, because, during the six years, it was almost impossible for Catholic soldiers to fulfill even their Easter duty of receiving the sacraments; only members of the Greek church could rise to an officer's rank; treatment left much to be desired.<sup>15</sup>

In June, 1871, an edict had limited the period of exemption from military service to ten years, with the provision that, as to furnishing recruits, the

Vorsteher (equivalent to mayor), as Rothamel, or of the Vorsteher of 1774, up to which time the name had changed with Vorsteher, the then prevailing names becoming fixed by usage of the comptoir officials (Schaab, l. c. n. 43); or of the first settler or of the village in Germany from which the settlers came (A Schneider, l. c.); the Russian names date from February, 12, 1768, when they were sanctioned by the Russian government at request of the Saratow comptoir (Schaab, l. c. n. 41).

NOTE 13. — This date is given in Brockhaus, *Konversations lexicon*, 13 ed., vol. XIV (1886), p. 29.

NOTE 14. — *e. g.*, in *Katharinenstadt*, June 4, 1871. (A. Walter, 11b).

NOTE 15. — A. Walter, 13a.

laws ruling colonists should continue in force only till the publication of a general law on military duty.<sup>16</sup> In this period of ten years colonists might emigrate to other countries without forfeiture of any property. This was not generally known. It was emphasized in a peculiar way during a term of court at Novousensk. Balthasar Brungardt, one of the jurors who had been schreiber (secretary) of Herzog for nine years, and whose attention had been called to the paragraph in the colonialostaw (law book) by a mirovoj (secretary), entered into a bet with a Mr. Kraft, who denied the liberty to emigrate, both leaving the decision to the procuror (state's attorney) on the morrow. In the presence of several hundred colonists the procuror affirmed the right of emigrating.

It was largely this occurrence which led to a meeting of about 3000 colonists at Herzog in the spring of 1874. Balthasar Brungardt was one of the speakers. His knowledge of the geographical subject he had drawn from a geography imported from Germany, and from Professor Stelling, who taught history and geography in the seminar (college) at Saratow during Brungardt's college days, 1860-'64, being at the same time official of the comptoir. Stelling was born on the Pacific (his father, a native of Courland, washed gold in California), and delighted to speak of America. In his discourse Mr. Brungardt spoke of Brazil and Nebraska as desirable places for new homes, giving preference to the latter place because colder.

A result of this meeting was the election of five delegates, who, at the expense of their respective communities, were to investigate Nebraska, with a view of settling there.<sup>17</sup> The delegates were B. Brungardt (Herzog), Peter Leiker (Obermonjour), Jacob Ritter (Luzern), Peter Stoecklein (Zug), Anton Wasinger (Schoenchen). Mr. Brungardt declining, his place was taken by Nicholas Schamne (Graf). They convened in Obermonjour and proceeded by way of Katharinenstadt, Saratow, Warschau and Berlin to Hamburg. Here they were assisted by Mr. Weinberg. Mr. Jos. Koelble, a so-called Vertrauensmann (man of trust), befriended them in Castle Garden. After remaining two days as guests of Mr. Schneider they continued their journey through Buffalo, Chicago (remaining one day), Omaha and Lincoln to Sutton, Clay county, Nebraska, where they remained one day on the farm of Mr. Grosshans,<sup>18</sup> examining the land. Messrs. Leiker, Stoecklein and Wasinger took about one pound of soil, some prairie grass and bluestem (?) grass, and some paper money to Russia, and each explorer some literature descriptive of the land.<sup>19</sup> The sojourn on American soil was ten days. Their report was favorable, and subsequently four of the five emigrated.<sup>20</sup>

Toward the end of December, 1874, two other explorers, Joseph Exner, of Obermonjour, and Jacob Bissing, of Katharinenstadt, were sent on a like mission. They came to Topeka and proceeded over the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad to Larned, in Pawnee county. They spent about a week in Kansas, and returning to their homes reported unfavorably, thus deterring quite a number from emigrating.<sup>21</sup>

NOTE 16.—Chamber's Encyclopedia, American Additions, vol. III (1882), p. 617.

NOTE 17.—B. Brungardt.

NOTE 18.—Perhaps not the real name.

NOTE 19.—The Walter family in Katharinenstadt received such a book of Anton Wasinger (A. Walter).

NOTE 20.—Peter Leiker, the only survivor of the five explorers.

NOTE 21.—Messrs. A. Walter, N. Leiker, A. Pfannenstiel.

With the five explorers mentioned above went Anton Kaerberlein, of Pfeifer, and others as far as New York. Their destination was Arkansas.<sup>22</sup> On his return, A. Kaerberlein reported that the land pleased him, but not the custom of living on farms instead of living in villages.<sup>23</sup> In the fall of 1874 Mr. Schwabauer, of Denhof, together with about four other families, emigrated to Arkansas. A letter in which he wrote favorably of his new home was repeatedly read in public, *e. g.*, by Jacob Lang at a meeting of the citizens of Kamenka and Pfeifer, at the latter place in September, 1875,<sup>24</sup> and consulted by all who thought of emigrating, being looked upon as oracular.<sup>25</sup>

The first draft of soldiers in the colonies precipitated matters. On November 24, 1874, four were drafted in Herzog;<sup>26</sup> on December 11 twenty-one were drafted in Katharinenstadt.<sup>27</sup> The formalities required of emigrants were a release from the town authorities on a two-thirds vote of the Gemeinde (made up of the heads of families), from the Kreisamt, and, finally, a pass from the governor.<sup>28</sup>

The first to undertake the long journey were Justus Bissing<sup>29</sup> (7), Frederic Karlin (4), his sons Peter Karlin (3) and Jacob Karlin (3), Frederic Koerner (10). On October 10/22, 1875, these left Katharinenstadt. In Saratow they were joined by Jacob Lang, Joseph Stremel, Michael Meder (2) and Mathias Urban of Kamenka and Christopher Stegmann of Pfeifer. Leaving Saratow, October 11/23 they arrived in Berlin on the fourth day.<sup>30</sup> They were followed on October 12/24 by a larger body of colonists: Andrew Billinger (3), Alois Dreiling (7), Anton Dreiling (8), Nicholas Dreiling (7, with two stepsons, Hammerschmidt, 9), Nicholas Dreiling (surnamed the small, 5), John Goetz (7), John Kreutzer (2), Michael Rome (2), John Sander (7), Michael Storm (6), John Van der Dunk (2), Ignatius Vonfeld (2), Ignatius Weigel (4), all of Herzog; Jacob Arnholt (5), of Boregard; Jos. Braun (5), Franz Weber (11), of Liebenthal; John Geist (5), John Jacob Geist (5), William Geist (4), of Obermonjour; Anton Herrmann (5), of Mariental; Peter Quint (7), of Louis;<sup>31</sup> Henry Bieker (6), John Bieker (7), John Jos. Bieker (7), Nicholas Bieker (9), William Bieker (6), Frank Waldschmidt (7), Philip Wolf (7), John Zimmermann (2), all of Neu-Obermonjour; Paul Dinges, of Marienburg; Jacob Beil (4), Peter Beil (3), Martin Goetz (2), Jacob Herrmann (8), John Herrmann (5), Peter Herrmann (3), Adam Kreutzer (6), John Kreutzer (2), John Lechleiter (5), Michael Lechleiter (3), John Schaefer (5), John Peter Schaefer (3), Peter Schaefer (3), Joseph Schoenberger (4), all of Liebenthal; and John Bollig (2) of Graf.<sup>32</sup> They had chosen as guide Nicholas Schamne,

NOTE 22.—J. Stremel.

NOTE 23.—J. Breit.

NOTE 24.—J. Lang.

NOTE 25.—J. Stremel.

NOTE 26.—Linnenberger, I, p. 132.

NOTE 27.—A. Walter, 126.

NOTE 28.—Linnenberger, I, pp. 134, 135.

NOTE 29.—Name lists are arranged alphabetically; the number in ( ) designates the number of members in the family; at times these numbers include several families, in which case they formed one household; absence of a number denotes that the persons were single. Some Christian names are Englished.

NOTE 30.—A. Walter; Ath. Karlin, pp. 3-4; in the winter of 1874-'75 the Karlin family had sold their horses, 15, at 30 to 70 rubles, wagon for 50 rubles, etc.

NOTE 31.—J. Linnenberger, II, pp. 1-5; J. Lang, Ath. Karlin and others.

NOTE 32.—The details regarding Schoenchen I owe to Frederic Graf, Karl Herrglotz, Jacob Monsch, John Werth, sr., John Peter Werth; those regarding Liebenthal to Henry Depperschmidt, Jacob Herrmann, jr., John E. Herrmann.





ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, HAYS, KAN.

one of the explorers of 1874, and arrived in Bremen by way of Tambow, Koslow, Grjasi, Orel, Smolensk, Witebsk, Wershbolow, Eydtkuhnen, and Berlin,<sup>33</sup> before the first party, who had been forced to wait four days on a ship, had left. They all took passage in the steamship Ohio of the North-German Lloyd, November 2, and after a rough voyage of twenty-one days landed in Baltimore November 23,<sup>34</sup> 1875.

At Baltimore Nicholas Schamne made an agreement with C. B. Schmidt, of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. In his company they went to Topeka,<sup>35</sup> arriving November 28.<sup>36</sup> For three days all remained in the vacant King bridge building (now a part of the Santa Fe railroad shops), meantime seeking a home. Most of the arrivals rented houses in North Topeka and devoted themselves to various occupations, on railroads, farms, etc. The first trip in search of land was made under direction of C. B. Schmidt as far west as Great Bend and Larned.<sup>37</sup> The price of land (five dollars per acre) and want of locations adapted to the establishment of colonies, because few homesteads could be had, deterred the settlers. On their return to Topeka A. Roedelheimer, of the Kansas Pacific, spoke of the advantageous land his company could offer, and later made three trips with the men as far west as Hays and Ellis. The first land shown was near Hog Back, but this pleased so little that the men determined to return to Russia. Thereupon they were shown land near Catharine and on the Smoky Hill river, and

NOTE 33.—This route was taken by all subsequent parties.

NOTE 34.—Ath. Karlin, supplemented by communication of C. F. Hanna, deputy collector at Baltimore, through kindness of W. Stanton.

NOTE 35.—Jos. Stremel is followed in the above; it is but one of many explanations of how the German-Russians came to Kansas.

NOTE 36.—Ath. Karlin, p. 6.

NOTE 37.—Nich. Schamne accompanied the men to Larned (J. Herrmann) and, considering his task as completed, returned to Russia, where he was questioned by many (J. Linnenberger, I, pp. 144-145).

finally that on which Herzog now stands. This land was cheap (\$2 to \$2.50 per acre) and adapted to forming colonies.<sup>38</sup>

On February 21, 1876, fourteen families of those named above (the last of the list excepting the Lechleiter and Peter Schaefer and John Peter Schaefer families and including the Waldschmidt family) came to Hays, and on the day following moved to the present site of Liebenthal,<sup>39</sup> section 21, township 16, range 18 west, in Rush county. On March 1, 1876, the families from Katharinenstadt (Bissing, Karlin, Koerner) arrived in Hays. They rented Krueger's store and remained there one month and seven days. Each morning they drove to their future home (where Catharine now stands), and worked at constructing their houses of lumber which they hauled from Hays. April 8 they moved to their new dwellings.<sup>40</sup> Four delegates representing the immigrants from Herzog had originally chosen land near Hog Back. This choice did not meet the approval of the men who later inspected it.<sup>41</sup> The final choice was section 1, township 14 south, range 17 west.

April 8, twenty-three families (mentioned first in the list above) came to Victoria and erected their first dwellings on the east bank of Victoria creek, a little west of the present town.<sup>42</sup>

June 11/23, 1876,<sup>43</sup> a large body from the southwestern colonies, occupying three cars, left Saratow. These were: Andrew Desch (4), George Etzel (2), Anton Holzmeister (6), Gottlieb Jacobs (11), Joseph Jacobs (3), Mathew Jacobs (2); Michael Jacobs (2), George Schmidt (6), John Schmidt (4), Joseph Schmidt (2), Jacob Schoenfeld (3), all of Pfeifer, Russia; John Meder (2), John Schlieter (5), Matthias Vogel (4), all of Kamenka; George Seitz (3), Casper Seitz, of Semenowka; John Breit, Valentine Schoenfeld (5), Peter Breit (3), and George Dome (7), all of Pfeifer. The following day, June 12/24, a party from Katherinenstadt followed in two cars: John Karlin (5), Karl Koerner (4), Frederic Meis (2), Mrs. Meis (widow, 8), Andrew Schmidt (2), Jacob Schmidt (5), John Schmidt (3), Peter Schmidt (4), Mrs. Schueler (widow, 3), Mrs. A. Schuetz (widow, 7), Henry Staab (5), Karl Staab (5), August Walter (5), Frederic Walter (8), Jacob Walter (4), Jacob Welz (3). On the 13/25th they overtook the first party and continued on together to Orel; here the latter party left in advance of the former, but were overtaken at Eydtkuhnen. George Schmidt and John Meder here attached themselves to those of Katharinenstadt and went with them by Hamburg,<sup>44</sup> arriving in Hays, Kan., July 26<sup>45</sup> and in Catharine the day following. The others took the Bremen route, arriving in Topeka July

NOTE 38.—J. Stremel and others. The manner of testing the land employed by the settlers was to spade up the ground and to masticate a little of the soil to discover whether it "tasted after grain" (J. Stremel).

NOTE 39.—The details regarding Liebenthal are added because organically woven with those of the colonies in Ellis county. Liebenthal is in Big Timber township, Rush county, three miles south of the south line of Ellis county.

NOTE 40.—A. Karlin, pp. 8-9.

NOTE 41.—J. Lang.

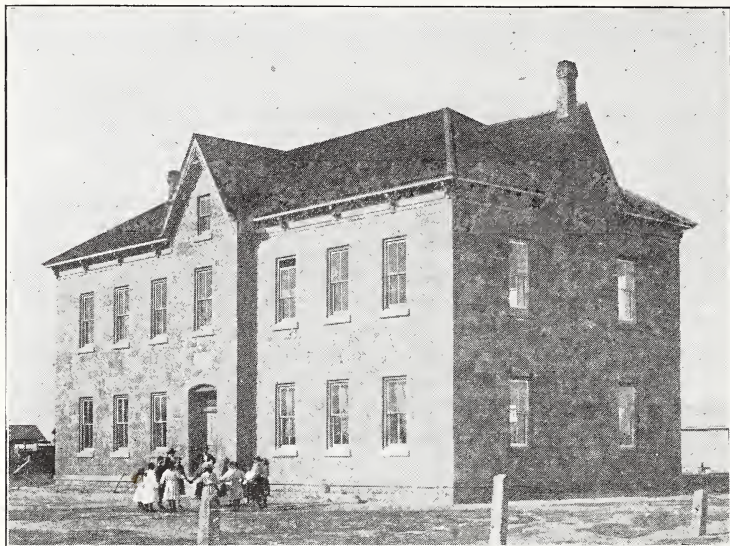
NOTE 42.—J. Linnenberger, II, 15, 16.

NOTE 43.—These dates are given by A. Walter; those given by men of Pfeifer differ by three days: June 14/26, etc.

NOTE 44.—They received many kindnesses at the hands of the representatives of the St. Raphaels Verein: Messrs. Theodore Meynberg and Alexander Schroeder in Hamburg, Jos. Koelble in New York (A. Walter).

NOTE 45.—Their advent is recorded in the Ellis County *Star*, vol. I, n. 17.

23. Some of the same party (not mentioned above), partly from the villages of Koehler and Hildmann, never left Topeka. Thirteen of the families, the first mentioned above, went to Hays August 20 (or 23), and the following day to the vicinity of Pfeifer, settling on section 25 in Freedom township. George Schmidt and John Meder joined them, while John Breit and V. Schoenfeld came in February, 1878, Peter Breit December, 1878, George Dome in 1879.



Parochial School House, Catharine, Ellis County.

The largest single expedition was that which set out shortly after Mr. B. Brungardt had undertaken to secure passes for 108 families at eighteen rubles; after some delays, and some gifts to the governor, all were secured but four; these latter were refused because the persons had drawn red ballots and were held for recruits. A petition to the war department and one to the minister of war were fruitless. As a last resort a telegram was sent to the czar and arrangements made to delay the answer so that it would reach the colony only after all had passed the Russian border. The whole party occupied seventeen coaches on leaving Saratow, June 26/July 8. At Duenaburg they were joined by a party of Mennonites, who occupied ten coaches.<sup>46</sup> The larger body separated at Eydtkuhnen. Some of the first arrivals had complained in letters of treatment on board the ship of the North-German Lloyd, and had advised their friends who contemplated emigration to take another route. Because of this Mr. Weinberg, as agent of the Hamburg-American line, prevailed on some to go by Hamburg; this route was taken by those who settled in Munjor, Schoenchen and Lieben-thal.<sup>47</sup> The others arranged for transportation to New York at thirty-eight rubles, with an agent of Johanning & Behmer of the North-German Lloyd,

NOTE 46.—B. Brungardt.

NOTE 47.—C. Herrglotz.



T. 15 S.

T. 14 S.

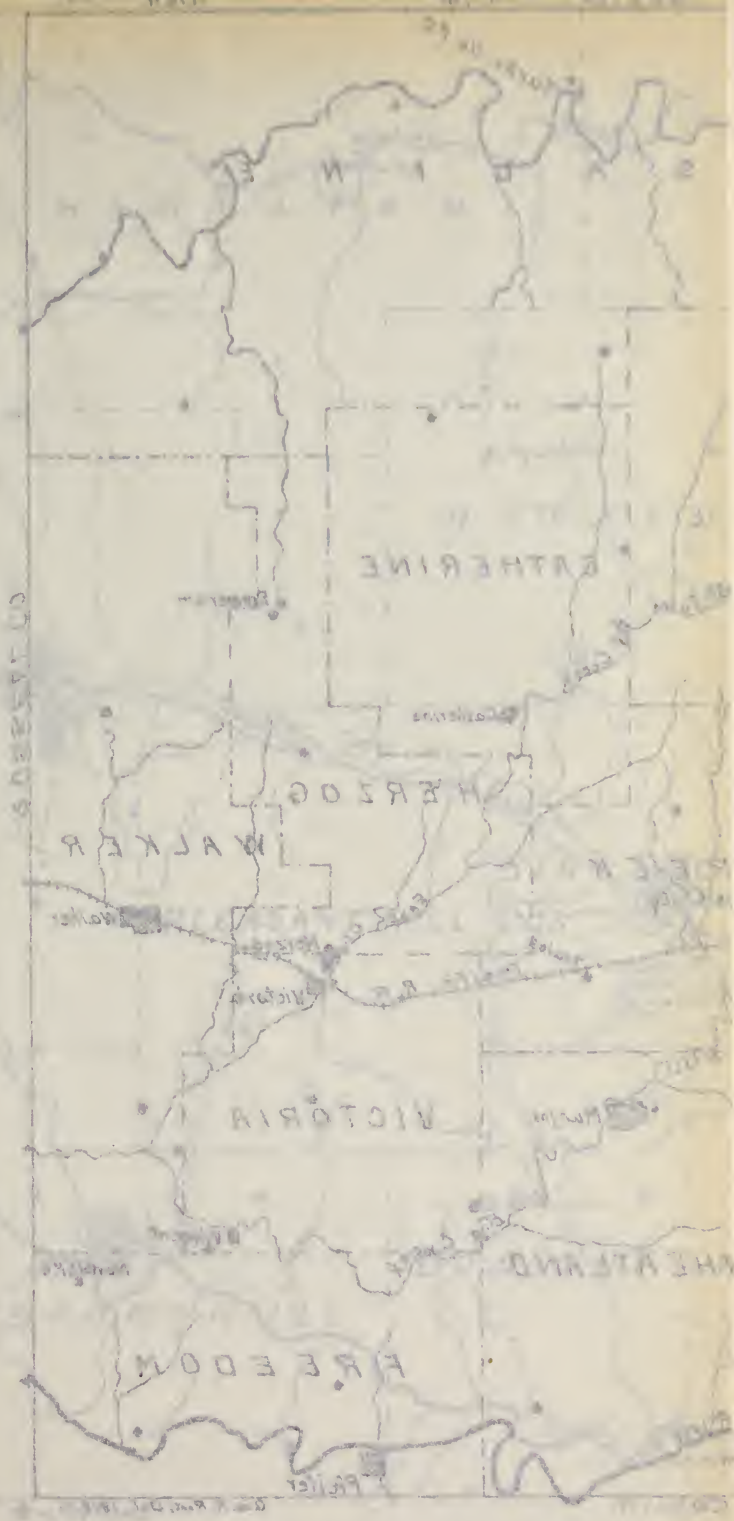
TREGO

T. 13 S.

CO.

T. 12 S.

T. 11 S.



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NOTE 46.—B. Brungardt.

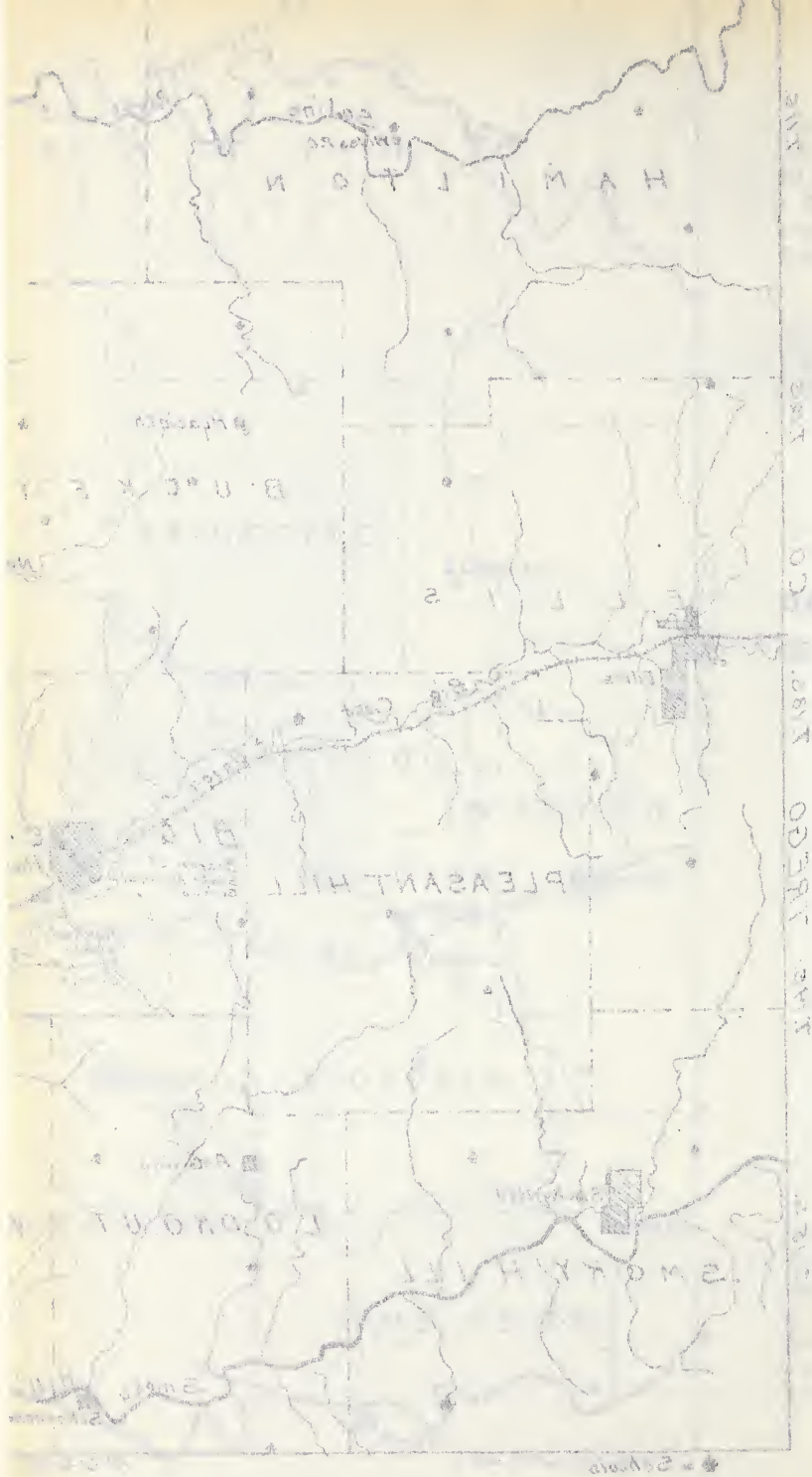
NOTE 47.—C. Herrglotz.



MAP OF ELLIS COUNTY, KANSAS, SHOWING GERMAN-RUSSIAN SETTLEMENTS.



MAP OF ELLIS COUNTY, KANSAS, SHOWING



and to the number of 1454 souls took passage on the "Mosel." In Castle Garden various offers of transportation were made ranging from \$18 to \$22. These were refused, and finally an agreement made for sixteen rubles (the ruble had then a rating of seventy-two cents) per passenger. The Menonites went to Nebraska.<sup>48</sup> The others were: Peter Braun, Peter Andrew Braun (3), Andrew Brungardt, sr. (8), Balthasar Brungardt (5), Franz Brungardt, sr. (8), Franz Brungardt (2), John Peter Brungardt, Peter Brungardt (6), Peter Brungardt (9), Alois Dening (8), Michael Dening (6), Andrew Dinkel, George Dinkel (4), John Peter Dinkel (5), Michael Dreiling, sr. (3), Anton M. Dreiling (5), Franz M. Dreiling (4), Michael M. Dreiling (4), Peter M. Dreiling (3), John Dreiling, Elizabeth Dreiling, Paulina Dreiling, John Frank, Joseph Kapp, Adam Knoll (5), Michael Kuhn, sr. (4), John Kuhn, sr. (3), Andrew Kuhn (4), John Kuhn (3), Michael Kuhn (10), Michael Kuhn, jr. (3), Anton Mermis (6), Michael Pfeifer, sr. (13), Adam Riedel (11), Martin Riedel (5), Michael Riedel (3), Peter Rome (3), Ignaz Sander (7), Frederic Schamber (5), Andrew Scheck, sr. (3), Andrew Scheck (8), Michael Schmidtberger, John Vonfeld (14), John Wasinger (7), John Windholz, Michael Weigel (10), John Wittmann (8), Peter Wittmann (3), Martin Yunker (8), Peter Yunker (4), all of Herzog, Russia; John Leiker (7), Anton Rupp (8), Caspar Rupp (6), Jacob Rupp (4), of Obermonjour, Russia; Joseph Graf, sr. (5), Martin Quint (8), Michael Quint (8), of Louis, Russia; Henry Gerber, of Graf, Russia.<sup>49</sup> All these, excepting Peter Yunker, who remained in Topeka till 1877, made their home in Herzog, arriving in Victoria August 3, 1876.<sup>50 51</sup>

By way of Hamburg-New York came meanwhile the founders of Munjor. These were Jacob Engel, John Berg (5), Franz Leiker (4), Henry Leiker (4), Jacob Leiker (4), Joseph Leiker (7), Joseph Leiker (3), Konrad Leiker (3), Michael Leiker (4), Nicholas Leiker (4), Peter Leiker (6), all of Obermonjour, Russia; John Dechant (4), John Herl (6), Henry Miller (2), Henry Ruder (7), Stanislaus Ruder (3), Joseph Schreibvogel, Anton Schumacher (5), George Schumacher (3), Henry Schumacher (4), Catharine Schumacher (widow, 5), all of Wittman, Russia; Nicholas Eberle (6), Peter Gross (5), Matthias Rohr (6), Peter Rohr (4), of Mariental; Anton Wasinger (8), Anton Wasinger, jr. (4), of Schoenchen; Anton Schneider (5), Peter Stoecklein (7), of Gattung; John Goetz (6), of Herzog.<sup>52</sup> For several days these families remained in Herzog, and then moved to a place on Big creek, north of the present site of Munjor. After two months' stay at this place they removed to section 25, in Wheatland township, where Munjor now stands.<sup>53</sup>

The accessions to Liebenthal at this time (they came with those of Munjor) were Henry Depperschmidt (6), Peter Depperschmidt (10), John Jacob Schoenthaler (3), Karl Herrglotz, Helen Herrglotz, Jacob Monsch, Joseph Monsch (3), Michael Schmidt (7), Simon Schoenthaler (7), Joseph Schuckmann (2), Frederic Werth (4), Jacob Werth (4), John Werth, sr. (3), John

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NOTE 48.—B. Brungardt.

NOTE 49.—Made from parish register with aid of B. Brungardt; supplemented by J. S. Dreiling and A. A. Dreiling.

NOTE 50.—B. Brungardt; see *Ellis County Star*, I (1876), n. 19.

NOTE 51.—August 2, 1876, Joseph Wasinger, of Schoenchen, and Peter Gross, of Mariental, were added to Catharine (A. Walter, 16a).

NOTE 52.—Rev. Julius Becker, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 53.—John K. Leiker.

Peter Werth (3), Karl Werth (8), Louis Werth, Jacob Zimmermann (8). All these were of Schoenchen, Russia, and arrived in Liebenthal on the eve of the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, August 15, which was signalized by the visit of Rev. M. Huhn to the colony. The following month, September, another party from Neu-Obermonjour arrived in Liebenthal, coming by Hamburg. The names are: Adam Bieker (5), Frank Dreher (6), John Dreher (4), Konrad Dreher (3), Philip Dreher (9), Frederic Graf (6), Joseph Rumbach, Joseph Zimmermann (4).

A small body of emigrants from Rothamel left Saratow July 12/24, 1876. The list is: John J. Basgall (4), his brother Joseph Basgall (4), Martin M. Appelhans, John J. Basgall (5), Elizabeth Basgall (widow, 5), her son Joseph Basgall (2), Martin Appelhans (7), John Basgall, son of John J. Basgall (3), Alois Hartmann. The three mentioned first made the trip without interruption. The others went to Ohio to visit Martin Basgall, who had gone there in October, 1875. The three mentioned last remained in Ohio till August, 1877, while the others, after a brief stay, continued their journey, coming to Pfeifer late in September, 1876.<sup>54</sup>

About the same time, September 26, Jacob Staab (2), J. Jacob Staab (7), John Staab (4), Peter Staab (5), Raymund Staab (2), Peter Ubert (6), of Katharinenstadt, arrived in Catharine.<sup>55</sup>

The last to arrive in 1876 were those who set out on September 18/30 from Saratow and journeying by Hamburg took passage in the "Gelleit" of the Hamburg-American line, landed in New York,<sup>56</sup> and arrived in Hays November 1. The names are: Karl Karlin (6), Leonard Mittelmeier (5), of Katharinenstadt; Jacob Meier (12), Henry Paul (4), Michael Peter (4), of Louis; John Giebler (3), of Obermonjour, whose destination was Catharine; Anton Befort (3), Konrad Befort (3), Michael Graf, Christian Hertl, John Klaus (3), John Krannawitter, Jacob John Leiker (4), Jacob Pfannenstiel, all of Obermonjour, Russia, who made Munjor their home.<sup>57</sup>

The year 1877 saw the founding of Schoenchen. As related above, those who had come from Schoenchen in Russia had settled in Liebenthal. The second party was made up entirely of families from Schoenchen, and with these those already in Liebenthal had agreed to remove the village to the east half of section 16, in Rush county. This site was more elevated, larger (the plat in section 21 contained but forty acres), and had good water. Some had built in the southeast quarter of section 16, when a difficulty arose. Section 16 being school land, and the settlers being unable to pay for it in full, could secure no patent, and for that reason could deed no land for the erection of a church. Meanwhile, unknown to the Schoenchen party, and in seeming violation of the agreement, John Schaefer of Liebenthal had donated four acres for a church in Liebenthal. Because of this the settlers in Liebenthal felt justified in remaining on section 21, while those who had erected dwellings on section 16, in anger moved these dwellings to the southwest quarter of section 28, township 15 south, range 18 west, the present site of Schoenchen, April-May, 1877. Thus was Schoenchen founded by those from Neu-Obermonjour of the first party (1875), all of the second party (August, 1876) excepting the three families

NOTE 54.—See Ellis County *Star*, vol. I (1876), n. 26.

NOTE 55.—A. Walter, 15b.

NOTE 56.—Andrew Meier.

NOTE 57.—Rev. Julius Becker, O. M. Cap., Messrs. Andrew Meier and A. Walter.



first mentioned in the list above, all of the third party (September, 1876) excepting the Philip Dreher family.

The original name of the village was San Antonio. The villagers being partly from Schoenchen, partly from Neu-Obermonjour, there had been some disagreement as to naming the new village. A compromise was effected by naming the village Schoenchen and naming the church St. Anthony, which saint had been church patron in Neu-Obermonjour, Russia.<sup>58</sup>



ST. ANTHONY'S CHURCH,  
Schoengen, Ellis County.

August 6, 1877, two families were added to Catharine: Joseph Giebler (3), of Obermonjour, and Frederic Weilert (2), of Katharinenstadt.<sup>59</sup> The only other arrivals of 1877 were John Kaerberlein (6), Jacob Kissner (4), Kaspar Kissner (2), Adam Stegmann (5), Matthew Stegmann (3), all of Pfeifer;

NOTE 58.—April 18, 1885; see platbook of Ellis county, p. 69.

NOTE 59.—A. Walter, 16a.

John Ingenthron (6), Anton Stremel (3), Anton Stremel, jr. (5), John Stremel (2), Michael Urban (6), Jacob Urban (3), Joseph Urban (5), Stephen Urban (6), George Urban (3), Mrs. Michael Urban (widow, 3), George Urban (6, and 2 stepsons, George and Jacob Burkart, 8), all of Kamenka. They left Saratow in October, and came to Pfeifer by Hamburg, November 14. John Kreutzer (7), of Liebenthal, Russia, and John Rohr (5), of Marienthal, Russia, arrived in Liebenthal, Kan., about January 1, 1877. The year 1878 marked the waning of immigration to Ellis county. June 20, from Kamenka, came Andrew Bahl (5), Jacob Lang, sr. (3), Peter Roth (4), Mrs. C. Schaefer (widow, 3), her son George Schaefer (4); all, excepting the Lang family who remained in Herzog, went to Pfeifer.

July 20, 1878, the following families arrived in Catharine: Peter Leikam (7), Jacob Mueller (2), Jacob Mueller, jr. (2), Michael Weilert (9); all these had lived in Katharinenstadt.<sup>60</sup> Late in July or early in August a small number from Obermonjour were added to Munjor: Gerard Befort (6), Anton Dechant (4), Carl Dechant (5), Jacob Engel (6), Peter Klaus (8), John Pfannenstiel (5), Konrad Rupp (9), John Stoecklein (7). Two weeks later Anton Gabel came alone to Munjor.<sup>61</sup>

The large emigration from Herzog in the summer of 1876, and the encouraging letters of the Kansas settlers, had aroused in those remaining a feeling of uncertainty as to whether they would emigrate, in consequence of which property depreciated so that those who sold their belongings in the fall of 1877 were forced to sell them at a sacrifice. March 10/22, 1878, Mr. Schwefel, a Vertrauensmann, went to Samara to secure the necessary passes, and returned to Herzog early in June, receiving twenty-five rubles for each pass.<sup>62</sup> Remaining till after harvest, the party set out from Herzog August 8/20.<sup>63</sup> In Saratow a gentleman called the attention of Mr. Jos. Linnenberger, who led the party, to the strict laws of Russia controlling emigration, in consequence of many who had gone to Brazil having become a burden to the government by returning penniless.<sup>64</sup> Mr. Linnenberger telegraphed from Saratow to Eydtkuhen for a Vertrauensmann, William Scheitweiler, who met the party at Witebsk.<sup>65</sup> On the German border each emigrant was required to have 150 rubles if over ten years of age, 75 if under ten years, 38 if less than one year old.<sup>66</sup> An investigation by the Vertrauensmann revealed the fact that the party had enough money for all but two; those who had more money than needed lent it to others.<sup>67</sup> As only the heads of families left the train to procure tickets, two were reported as having died before the departure from Saratow, and thus they with the others passed the border without difficulty.<sup>68</sup> The outgoing vessel "Rhein" being crowded, a representative of the North-German Lloyd prevailed on the party to wait three days in Bremen at the company's expense, for the next ship, the "Leipzig."<sup>69</sup> After twelve and one-half days they landed in Castle Garden, arriving in Victoria, by St. Louis, September 15.<sup>70</sup> Following are the names as given in the contract with the North-German

NOTE 60.—A. Walter, 16a.

NOTE 62.—J. Linnenberger, II, 24.

NOTE 64.—J. Linnenberger, I, 164.

NOTE 66.—J. Linnenberger, I, 197.

NOTE 68.—J. Linnenberger, I, 204.

NOTE 70.—J. Linnenberger, I, 245.

NOTE 61.—John K. Leiker.

NOTE 63.—J. Linnenberger, I, 166.

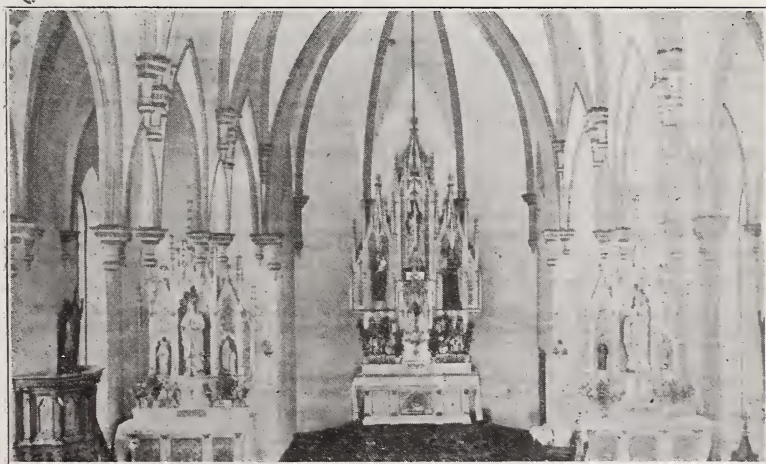
NOTE 65.—J. Linnenberger, I, 195.

NOTE 67.—J. Linnenberger, I, 200.

NOTE 69.—J. Linnenberger, I, 212.



Present church at Catharine. Dedicated in 1892.



Interior of church at Catharine, Ellis county.



Lloyd, which Mr. Linnenberger still preserves: John Billinger (2), Anton Denig (6), Andrew Goetz (4), Henry Hausen (2), Peter Kuhn (7), Joseph Linnenberger (10), John Pfeifer (11), Michael Vonfeld (2), Valentine Weigel (8), John Windholtz (12), all of Herzog; John Ernst (3), Laurence Herrmann (10), Adam Ernst (8), Joseph Gassmann (11), Andrew Korbe (11), Peter Pfannenstiel (11), all of Mariental. The four families mentioned last and the Anton Denig family settled in Munjor, the others in Herzog.

This was the last large body to immigrate to Ellis county. As stated above, military service was disliked, but not regarded as a violence to conscience, as in the case of Mennonites. With the lapse of years the colonists on the Wolga had come to look upon conscription as a matter of course, and letters relating the hardships in the New World had given military service the appearance of a lesser evil.

The following list of later arrivals in Catharine is given by A. Walter: November 25, 1878, Dorothea Beilmann, Jacob Dorzweiler (4), Anna Mittelmeier, Henry Wolf (6);<sup>71</sup> October 30, 1888, Henry Karlin (7), Jacob Leikam (4); 1892, Philip Meis, Karl A. Staab (3); Anton Kinderknecht, of Mariental; 1898, Peter Antony, of Boregard; all others were from Katharinenstadt. From 1876 till January, 1903, 222 persons (among them some from Austria and Germany) had settled in Catharine; of these 27 had gone to other places, 34 had died; the number of residents, 1903, was 551.<sup>72</sup> Munjor, in January, 1897, had 130 families, numbering 794 souls; in January, 1899, 150 families with 899 souls; January, 1900, 156 families with 931 souls.<sup>73</sup> Herzog is the largest of the villages in Ellis county; January, 1895, the congregation, which included some German families, numbered 1700 souls.<sup>74</sup> Pfeifer is fourth, Schoenchen fifth in size.<sup>75</sup>

Though by no means a friend of the Catholic religion,<sup>76</sup> Catharine II had not molested the Catholic colonists. The first priests in the colonies had been Germans sent by the government from St. Petersburg, Riga, Reval, and other cities of the Baltic provinces. They were followed by Polish priests who understood no German. In 1802 the government sent German Jesuits into the colonies.<sup>77</sup> These were ejected in 1820. Their successors were Dominicans, Carmelites, Trinitarians, Vincentians, Lazarists—all Polish.<sup>78</sup> These were gradually supplemented and supplanted by secular priests from various Polish dioceses.<sup>79</sup> Germans followed after the erection

NOTE 71.—In 1879 Jacob Weisner (10), of Kamenka, came to Pfeifer. No attempt was made to secure data of arrivals later than 1878.

NOTE 72.—A. Walter, 16a.

NOTE 73.—Munjor Chronicle, pp. 18, 29, 34.

NOTE 74.—Victoria Chronicle, p. 48.

NOTE 75.—The total number of immigrants to Ellis county given in the lists above is 1387; with some allowance for errors, late arrivals, etc., it may be estimated that these settlers form 15 per cent of all from Russia who have made Kansas their home.—Henry Gannet, *Gazetteer of Kansas*, Washington, 1898 (U. S. Geol. Surv., n. 154), p. 14, gives the total number of Russian-born inhabitants of Kansas as 10,740.

NOTE 76.—During her reign 5000 Catholic parishes in four dioceses were reduced to 1000, and more than 7,000,000 United Greeks had been forced into the Russian Church. (Katholische Missionen, 1886, pp. 101-102.)

NOTE 77.—July 21, 1773, Pope Clement XIV had suppressed the Jesuit order; in Prussia they continued till 1780; in Russia Catharine II hindered the suppression. The order was restored August 7, 1814, by Pius VIII.

NOTE 78.—Zottmann, pp. 100-104; Schneider, in *Historisch-politische Blaetter*, CXV, pp. 426-430.

NOTE 79.—Katholische Missionen, 1906, p. 99.

of the diocese of Tiraspol, 1847, especially under the energetic Bishop F. X. von Zottmann.<sup>80</sup>

When the colonists, who were all Catholics, arrived in Ellis county, there was no Catholic church on the Kansas Pacific west of Salina. In each of the colonies a large cross of wood was erected about which the people gathered for devotions on Sundays and holidays. In Herzog the cross stood in the southeast corner of section 1.<sup>81</sup> In Munjor it was in the northeast corner of section 25. Here the rosary and prayers for mass and litanies were prayed.<sup>82</sup> In Catharine the cross was planted about 200 yards from the first dwellings; a procession was formed, headed by a cross made by Justus Bissing and still preserved in the church; prayers were recited and songs sung on the way, a litany recited at the cross. This was continued on Sundays when no priest visited the colonies till 1879.<sup>83</sup> In Pfeifer the cross was in the south part of the village plat on section 25, in Liebenenthal, northeast of the present church. The cross in Schoenchen was not used for public devotions.<sup>84</sup>

The first priest to visit the colonies was Rev. Adolf Wibbert. In March of 1876, when at Fort Hays, he promised to come to the colonies on his next trip.<sup>85</sup> It seems his first visit was in April. At that time Rev. A. Wibbert was stationed at Salina. On the third Saturday of each month he had divine service in the public school at Ellis; on Sunday in one of the barracks of the fort at Hays; on Monday in Liebenenthal, to which place the people of Schoenchen and Munjor came; on Tuesday in Herzog; on Wednesday in Catharine.<sup>86</sup> This continued till the advent of Rev. V. Sommereisen. Rev. Martin Huhn, then rector of Epiphany church, Leavenworth, paid one visit to the colonies in August, 1876.<sup>87</sup> In October Rev. Valentine Sommereisen took up his residence in Hays with spiritual charge of the colonies, which he visited each month till May, 1878. He was the first priest to visit Pfeifer.<sup>88</sup>

NOTE 80.—Some instances of the piety of the emigrants have been recorded. To those who endeavored to dissuade the first arrivals (1875) from settling on the prairie the men replied: "God is everywhere." Those who left Katharinenstadt in June, 1876, sang the song: "Gott ist unsere Zuflucht und Staerke" on board the steamboat from their home to Saratow; throughout the trip they sang and prayed in common (Walter, 13b, 14a). Those who left Herzog in August, 1878, received the sacraments the day previous; on the morning of the departure Father Dobropolski delivered a sermon; the entire congregation conducted the emigrants in procession with song ("Grosser Gott wir loben Dich") and prayer to the first wayside cross, about a quarter of a mile from the village; here a litany was prayed and a last adieu taken (Linnenberger, I, pp. 166-170). In Bremen they again received the sacraments of Father Schlosser; seven children also received their first holy communion in Bremen (Linnenberger, I, p. 30; II, p. 213); on the ship they prayed the rosary in common (Linnenberger, I, p. 222), likewise on the train when nearing Victoria (Linnenberger, I, p. 241).

NOTE 81.—B. Brungardt.

NOTE 82.—J. Schlyer, John K. Leiker.

NOTE 83.—A. Walter, 14b, 15a.

NOTE 84.—Rev. C. Menig.

NOTE 85.—J. Herrmann.

NOTE 86.—Letter of Rev. A. Wibbert, January 19, 1910. The entries by Father Wibbert in the baptismal register at Salina are dated: Big Timber (Liebenenthal), June 26; Big Timber, July 23, Liebenenthal, August 28; Big Timber, September 25; Herzog, September 26. (Kindness of Rev. John Maher.) In addition to these missions, Father Wibbert had divine service in Wilson, Ellsworth, Lincoln Center, Terra Cotta and Brookfield, till 1879 (letter). Born October 27, 1844, in Stadlohn, Westfalen, Germany, in America since September 4, 1873, ordained April 16, 1875, now in Oshkosh, Wis.

NOTE 87.—In Liebenenthal he celebrated the feast of the Assumption August 15 (J. E. Herrmann; in Herzog he buried F. Brungardt, who died August 15 (F. Brungardt), and was also in Catharine (Ath. Carlin). Father Huhn is now in Independence, Washington county, Texas. Unhappily soon after his arrival there his library and many of his records were destroyed by fire (letter of March 17, 1910).

NOTE 88.—Born May 28, 1829, in Rufach, Alsatia; in America since 1854, ordained March 8, 1856, died on his estate northeast of Hays, January 25, 1897. The first baptism in the colonies by



Church at Munjor.

Rt. Rev. Louis M. Fink, O. S. B., of Leavenworth, in whose diocese the colonies then lay, and Rev. Hyacinth Epp, O. M. Cap., at the time commissary of the Capuchins, who had come to Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1873, because of the "Kulturkampf," then at its height in Germany, visited Herzog January 31, 1878. Bishop Fink had requested the Capuchins to take spiritual charge of the colonies, and after some hesitation—the number of Capuchins was small—Rev. Matthew Hau, O. M. Cap. (in America since 1873), and Rev. Anastasius Mueller, O. M. Cap. (in America since August, 1876, now in Wemding, Bavaria), came to Herzog May 11, 1878. The former died June 25, and was succeeded, July 15, by Rev. Jos. Cal. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap. (in America since May, 1874, now in Eichstaett, Bavaria). August 25, 1883, Bishop Fink entrusted to the Capuchin fathers the spiritual care of all Catholics in Ellis county north of the Smoky Hill river; this was ratified by

Father Sommereisen is dated October 22, 1876 (copy in Herzog register). Monthly visits are recorded for Munjor (chronicle, p. 3). Catharine was visited regularly only since August, 1877 (A. Walter). Compare table, pp. 505-507.



Yr.	Herzog.	Munjor.
1876	Rev. Adolf Wibbert. (Oct. *) Rev. Valentine Sommereisen.	
1877		Rev. Valentine Sommereisen.
1878	(May) Rev. Matthew Hau, O. M. Cap. (Jul.) Rev. Jos. Cal. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap.	Rev. Anastasius Mueller, O. M. Cap. <sup>b</sup>
1879	" " " "	" " " "
1880	" " " "	" " " "
1881	(Sep. *) Rev. Anthony Schuermann, O. M. Cap. <sup>a</sup>	Rev. James Muench, O. M. Cap.
1882	" " " "	(Mar.) Rev. Andrew Eisenhut, O. M. Cap.
1883	" " " "	(Apr.) Rev. James Muench, O. M. Cap.
1884	" " " "	(Oct.) Rev. Francis K. Strobel, O. M. Cap.
1885	(Aug.) Rev. James Muench, O. M. Cap.	(Jan.) Rev. Martin Muelders, O. M. Cap.
1886		(Aug.) Rev. Matthew Savelsberg, O. M. Cap.
1887	(Aug.) Rev. Anselm Bayerau, O. M. Cap.	" " " "
1888		" " " "
1889	(Aug.) Rev. Gabriel Spaeth, O. M. Cap.	(Jan.) Rev. Martin Muelders, O. M. Cap.
1890		(Jun.) Rev. Matthew Savelsberg, O. M. Cap.
1891	(Oct.) Rev. Matthew Savelsberg, O. M. Cap.	(Nov.) Rev. Albert Andlauer, O. M. Cap.
1892	" " " "	" " " "
1893	" " " "	" " " "
1894	(Aug.) Rev. Gabriel Spaeth, O. M. Cap.	(Sep.) Rev. Hilary Maier, O. M. Cap.
1895	" " " "	(Sep.) Rev. Nicholas Deinlein, O. M. Cap.
1896	" " " "	(Aug.) Rev. Leo Egger, O. M. Cap.
1897	" " " "	" " " "
1898	" " " "	" " " "
1899	(Aug.) Rev. Leo Egger, O. M. Cap.	(Aug.) Rev. Chilian Lutz, O. M. Cap.
1900	" " " "	" " " "
1901	(Jun.) Rev. Chilian Lutz, O. M. Cap.	(Jun.) Rev. Leo Egger, O. M. Cap.
1902	" " " "	" " " "
1903	" " " "	(Aug.) Rev. Raphael Schwarz, O. M. Cap.
1904	(Aug.) Rev. Jerome Mueller, O. M. Cap.	(Aug.) Rev. Emmeram Kausler, O. M. Cap.
1905	" " " "	" " " "
1906	" " " "	" " " "
1907	" " " "	(Aug.) Rev. Herman Jos. Peters, O. M. Cap.
1908	" " " "	
1909	" " " "	

The dates marked with a (\*) are taken from the baptismal records and are approximate.

<sup>a</sup> A biographical sketch of this excellent priest is given in Cutler's History of the State of Kansas, p. 1295. He died July 30, 1887, in Herman, Pa.

<sup>b</sup> It appears that Rev. Anastasius Mueller, O. M. Cap., at times visited Pfeifer, 1878-'80; no details could be learned; all entries in the baptismal records are by Rev. Jos. Cal. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap.

the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda October 21, 1883.<sup>89</sup> The table (pp. 505-507) gives the names of the priests who have labored in the colonies, with the time and duration of their activity.<sup>90</sup> This list does not give the names of all priests who have labored among the settlers. The larger parishes, Herzog and Munjor, have had an assistant priest for several years; the parishes of Hays (since 1878), Ellis (since 1893) and Walker (since 1904), which are now largely made up of Russian settlers, the parishes of Emmeram (since 1901), Antonio (since 1904), Hyacinth (since 1906) and Vincent (since 1907) have been in charge of the Capuchin fathers.

Divine services were first held in Herzog in the dwelling of A. Dreiling, but the floor proving unequal to the weight a frame church was built adjoining the house, the south wall of the dwelling serving as north wall of the church. This structure was about 40 x 24 feet, and could accommodate but part of the congregation.<sup>91</sup> Hon. Walter C. Maxwell, a Catholic Englishman

NOTE 89.—Seraphic Child, vol. VII (1908), p. 3.

NOTE 90.—As appears from the list, it was only after years that the different colonies had divine service each Sunday and holiday, Herzog since 1881, Munjor since 1891, Schoenchen and Liebenenthal since 1899, Catharine and Pfeifer since 1903.

NOTE 91.—B. Brungardt and others.

Yr.	Catharine.	Pfeifer.
1876	Rev. Adolf Wibbert.	
1877	(Aug.) Rev. Val. Sommereisen.....	(Spring) Rev. Val. Sommereisen.
1878	Rev. Matthew Hau. O. M. Cap.....	Rev. Jos. Cal. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap. b
	Rev. Jos. Cal. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap.	
1879	" " " " " " " " " " " "	Rev. Jos. Cal. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap.
1880	" " " " " " " " " " " "	
1881	Rev. Anthony Berger, O. M. Cap.....	(Nov.) Rev. Anthony Berger, O. M. Cap.
1882	Rev. James Muench, O. M. Cap.....	Rev. James Muench, O. M. Cap.
1883	(Jul.) Rev. Anastasius Mueller, O. M. Cap...	Rev. Andrew Eisenhut, O. M. Cap.
1884	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(Apr.) Rev. Jos. Harges.
1885	(Aug.) Rev. Martin Muelders, O. M. Cap....	(Jun.) Rev. Ph. Brockard.
	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(Nov.) Rev. W. Bitter.
1886	(Aug.) Rev. Matthew Savelsberg, O. M. Cap.	
1887	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(Jun.) Rev. Maurus Strobel, O. M. Cap.
	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(Aug.) Rev. K. T. Withopf.
1888	(Aug.) Rev. Matthew Savelsberg, O. M. Cap.	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1889	" " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1890	(Mar.) Rev. Martin Muelders, O. M. Cap.....	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1891	" " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1892	(Dec.) Rev. Chilian Lutz, O. M. Cap.....	(Nov.) Rev. Emmeram Kausler, O. M. Cap..
1893	(Aug.) Rev. Emmeram Kausler, O. M. Cap....	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1894	" " " " " " " " " " " "	Rev. Chrysostom Jacob, O. M. Cap.
1895	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(Jun.) Rev. Emmeram Kausler, O. M. Cap.
1896	(Aug.) Rev. Joseph Trageser, O. M. Cap.....	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1897	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(Aug.) Rev. Clement Pfeifer, O. M. Cap.
1898	" " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1899	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(Aug.) Rev. Jerome Mueller, O. M. Cap.
1900	(Aug.) Rev. Jerome Mueller, O. M. Cap.....	(Aug.) Rev. Joseph Trageser, O. M. Cap..
1901	" " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1902	" " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1903	" " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1904	" " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1905	" " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1906	(Aug.) Rev. Joseph Trageser, O. M. Cap....	(May) Rev. Peter Burkard.
1907	(Aug.) Rev. Alphons Hillenbrand, O. M. Cap.	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1908	(Aug.) Rev. James Steppe, O. M. Cap.....	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1909	(Aug.) Rev. Matthew Savelsberg, O. M. Cap.	" " " " " " " " " " " "

then living south of Victoria, undertook to build a stone church for the settlers on section 1, north of the present dwellings. In June, 1877, he had collected \$700, the total sum subscribed was \$1500, and the only condition attached was that the settlers haul the necessary stone. In August, 1877, plans and specifications had been completed by Henry Bergsland, who also received the contract.<sup>92</sup> This church, which measured 60x30x15 feet, soon proving to be too small, the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company, at the solicitation of Rev. Hyacinth Epp, O. M. Cap., donated ten acres in the northwest quarter of section 7 for a church and school, June 9, 1879.<sup>93</sup> Rev. A. Schuermann, O. M. Cap., altered the original design of Rev. Jos. C. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap., and superintended the building of the new church, which measured 168 x 46 x 35<sup>94</sup> and had a seating capacity of 600. The corner stone was laid June 1, 1880; consecration by Rt. Rev. L. M. Fink took place October 19, 1884. The cash cost of construction was about \$8000,<sup>95</sup> \$1875 of which

NOTE 92.—Ellis County *Star*, vol. II (1877), Nos. 12, 14, 19.

NOTE 93.—Victoria Chronicle, p. 7; Ellis Co. Deeds, vol. F, p. 294 (kindness of A. Schueler). Rev. Hyacinth Epp, O. M. Cap., in 1879 called on S. J. Gilmore, land commissioner of the Kansas Pacific Railroad in Salina. Being absent, Mr. Gilmore wrote to Rev. H. Epp, who had stopped at Leavenworth, promising to "give a grant of ten acres" (letter of Rev. H. Epp, February 20, 1888, in monastery at Victoria.)

NOTE 94.—These (length and breadth) are (inner) measurements by Jos. Marshall, architect. The measurements in Cutler's History of the State of Kansas, p. 1294, and Kinderfreund, vol. VII, p. 74, which latter is taken from the Victoria Chronicle, p. 9, differ slightly. The length includes the monastic choir. The building was dismantled 1909.

NOTE 95.—Diocesan Report for 1885. The Maxwell family contributed more than \$1000 (Victoria Chronicle, p. 9). In a record of letters still preserved there is one May 11, 1883, thanking Hon. B. Maxwell for \$100.

Yr.	Schoenchen.	Liebethal.
1876		Rev. Adof Wibbert.
		Rev. Val. Sommereisen.
1877	Rev. Val. Sommereisen.....	
1878	Rev. Anastasius Mueller, O. M. Cap.....	Rev. Anastasius Mueller, O. M. Cap.
1879	" " " ".....	" " " "
1880	" " " ".....	" " " "
1881	(Sep.) Rev. James Muench, O. M. Cap.....	Rev. James Muench, O. M. Cap.
1882		
1883	(Apr.) Rev. Andrew Eisenhut, O. M. Cap....	Rev. Andrew Eisenhut, O. M. Cap.
1884	(Apr.) Rev. Joseph Harges.....	Rev. Joseph Harges.
1885	Rev. Ph. Brockard.....	Rev. Ph. Brockard.
	(Nov.) Rev. W. Bitter.....	(Nov.) Rev. W. Bitter.
1886		
1887	(Aug.) Rev. K. T. Withopf.....	(Aug.) Rev. K. T. Withopf.
1888	(Dec.) Rev. Jos. B. Disselkamp.....	(Dec.*) Rev. Jos. B. Disselkamp.
1889	(Sep.) Rev. F. J. Hartmann.....	(Sep.*) Rev. F. J. Hartmann.
1890		
1891	(Dec.) Rev. John M. Sklenar.....	(Dec.*) Rev. John M. Sklenar.
1892		
1893	(Nov.) Rev. A. J. Abel.....	(Nov.) Rev. A. J. Abel.
1894		
1895	(Aug.) Rev. B. Schroeder.....	(Aug.) Rev. B. Schroeder.
1896	" " " ".....	" " " "
1897	" " " ".....	" " " "
1898	" " " ".....	" " " "
1899	(May*) Rev. Richard Dei, O. M. Cap.	
	(Sep.*) Rev. Emmeram Kausler, O. M. Cap..	(Aug.) Rev. Rudolf Stollenwerk.
	(Dec.*) Rev. Richard Dei, O. M. Cap.	
1900	(Feb.*) Rev. Emmeram Kausler, O. M. Cap..	Rev. Rudolf Stollenwerk.
1901	(Jul.) Rev. Michael Neff, O. M. Cap.....	" " " "
1902		" " " "
1903	(Aug.) Rev. Theodose Mullan, O. M. Cap....	" " " "
1904	(Aug.) Rev. Michael Neff, O. M. Cap.....	" " " "
1905		" " " "
1906	(May) Rev. Chas. Menig.....	" " " "
1907	" " " ".....	" " " "
1908	" " " ".....	" " " "
1909	" " " ".....	" " " "

Father Anthony Schuermann collected in England and Westphalia on occasion of a visit to Rome, 1884. The plans for the church now building were completed as early as December, 1905, by John T. Comes, of Pittsburg, Pa. In 1908 these were revised and modified by Jos. Marshall, of Topeka. Building operations began November, 1908, the corner stone was laid October 4, 1909, by Rt. Rev. J. F. Cunningham, and the structure should be completed December, 1910. The total length of the building is 220 feet, the breadth 73 feet, in the transept 107 feet. The towers will be 141 feet high.

The first frame church in Munjor was begun in the fall of 1877 and completed in February of the following year.<sup>96</sup> It measured 41x20 feet. In 1883, 16 feet were added by Rev. Andrew Eisenhut, O. M. Cap.<sup>97</sup> The corner stone of the present stone church was laid Passion Sunday, 1889, and dedicated Trinity Sunday, 1890, by V. Rev. Francis Wolf, O. M. Cap. The tower was completed in the spring of 1906. The building measures 105x49x60 feet.<sup>98</sup> In Catharine divine service was held in the school built in 1879, till the completion of the present church, which was begun May 19, 1890,<sup>99</sup> and dedicated October 6, 1892, by Rt. Rev. John J. Hennessy, of Wichita.<sup>100</sup> Rev. Jos. C. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap., erected a church measuring 28x26 feet in Pfeifer in 1879. This was supplanted by the present structure in 1889-'90. It measures 65x40 feet and cost \$2700.<sup>101</sup> A stone church was

NOTE 96.—Munjor Chronicle, p. 3.

NOTE 97.—Kinderfreund, vol. VII, p. 98.

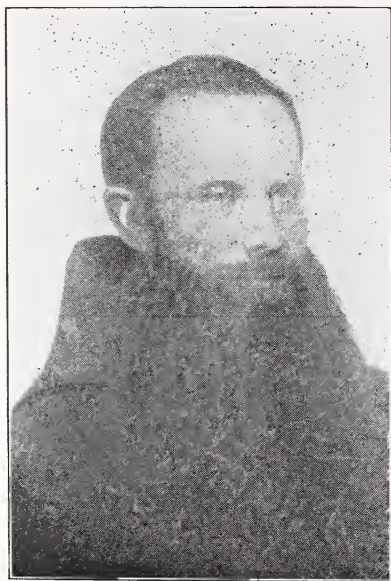
NOTE 98.—Munjor Chronicle, pp. 6, 7, 79.

NOTE 99.—J. Schmidt, p. 11.

NOTE 100.—A. Walter; Seraphic Child, vol. VII, p. 63.

NOTE 101.—Rev. P. Burkard.





REV. ANTHONY SCHUERMANN,  
O. M. Cap.

The best beloved of the pastors of Herzog.  
He excelled as priest, orator, physician.



REV. JEROME MUELLER,  
O. M. Cap.

Pastor of St. Fidelis church, at Herzog,  
Kansas.

begun in Schoenchen in 1879. It was designed to be 30x18x15 feet, and the walls were completed, when, in the spring of 1880, a heavy rain caused the wall to split. The structure was abandoned, and in its stead a frame building 30x18x9 feet was erected in the fall of 1881. In 1885 Rev. Jos. Harges had stone hauled and his successor built the foundation for another church to the water table. A heavy rain so weakened the wall of the cellar that the undertaking progressed no further. The present church was begun in the spring of 1900. The corner stone was laid April 18, the building dedicated June 13, 1901. The designer and builder was Rev. Emmeram Kausler, O. M. Cap., who had been a stonemason in his youth. Liebenenthal's first church, which still stands, and is used as a school, was begun April, 1877, and completed October, 1878. The corner stone of the present imposing structure was laid Thanksgiving day, 1902. Its dedication, by Rt. Rev. J. J. Hennessy, took place May 28, 1905. Rev. R. Stollenwerk directed the building operations. The architect was V. Klutho, of St. Louis.

The attendance at divine service on the part of the settlers may be said to be exemplary. In the early days those from Pfeifer and Catharine came to Herzog to attend mass. Many attend several or all masses on Sunday, and those who can the afternoon services, vespers and benediction. Candlemas day (February 2), St. Blasius (February 3), and Holy Week services are well attended. On St. Mark (April 25), Rogation days (the three days before the feast of the Ascension), and Corpus Christi, every man, woman and child takes part in the procession, which even now in favorable weather makes a circuit of more than a mile. In early days the procession from

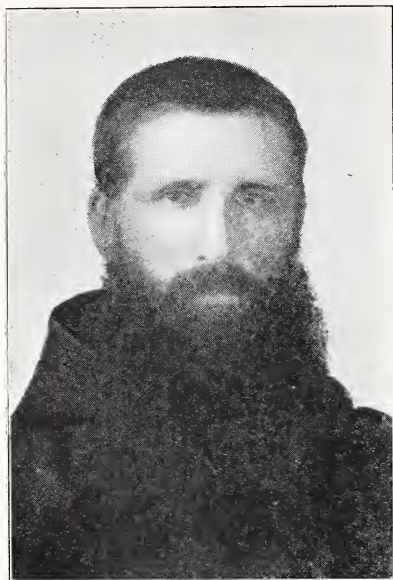


Now being erected at Herzog; will be completed 1911. Estimated cost, \$125,000. To succeed the church built in 1880, and dismantled in 1909.



Interior view of St. Fidelis church, Herzog; built 1880, dismantled 1909.





REV. MATHEW SAVELSBURG,  
O. M. Cap.

His name is a household word in the three large colonies in which he has labored.

free of charge, and in some instances by money. The first residence of the Capuchins in Herzog was the dwelling of A. Dreiling. In September, 1878, Rev. Jos. C. Mayershofer, O. M. Cap., built an annex to the church on section 1. It ran south at right angles to the church, and was completed in the spring of 1879.<sup>106</sup> In April, 1880, a building, 69x36 feet, two stories, was built on section 7, joining the east end of the church, running south, completed 1882. Towards this the "Ludwig Missionsverein" of Bavaria gave 4000 marks.<sup>107</sup> In the summer of 1892 an additional two-story building, 43x27 feet, was erected east of the old building, and still stands.<sup>108</sup> The structure of 1880 was removed to make room for the present monastery, for which stone was hauled by the settlers, beginning October 16, 1901. September 11, 1902, the walls were completed, and the edifice dedicated May 27, 1903.<sup>109</sup> The building is two stories, 145 feet long, with two wings, 90 and 100 feet, and is a study house (philosophy) for the younger members of the order.

Catharine terminated in Herzog (a distance of eight miles), as did that from Munjor (eight miles), and Pfeifer (10 miles). The Munjor procession went once (1881) to Pfeifer (nine miles),<sup>102</sup> May 26, 1892, to Catharine;<sup>103</sup> the Herzog procession went to Munjor.<sup>104</sup> To the present day one may see the people praying with outstretched arms in church and hear the greeting exchanged when one enters his pew: "Gelobt sei Jesus Christus." Children are brought to baptism for the most part on the day of birth. At wakes it is customary to pray the rosary each hour. In Catharine it is the custom when one dies to ring the church bell at evening, when all the villagers assemble in church to pray a rosary for the departed one. This is repeated each evening till the funeral.<sup>105</sup>

A word remains to be said anent the monasteries, towards the erection of which the settlers contributed by hauling building material

NOTE 102.—Rev. J. Becker, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 103.—Munjor Chronicle, p. 10.

NOTE 104.—Messrs. Dreiling, Rome.

NOTE 105.—October 7, 1894, the Herzog congregation vowed to keep the feast of St. Joseph (March 19) as holiday of obligation (Victoria Chronicle, p. 44) to implore a blessing on the crops. A like vow was made in Munjor and Catharine.

NOTE 106.—Kinderfreund, vol. VII, p. 73.

NOTE 107.—Victoria Chronicle, p. 9; an interesting letter of Rev. Hyacinth Epp, O. M. Cap. to the Most Rev. Archbishop of Muenchen-Freising, dated May 27, 1879, asking for aid of the society, is given in "Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens," vol. XLIX (Munich, 1881), p. 87-94; p. 424 of the same volume the disbursement is recorded: "To build Capuchin monastery in Herzog, 4000 M."

NOTE 108.—Victoria Chronicle, p. 37.

NOTE 109.—Victoria Chronicle, pp. 69, 77, 80.



From the monastery in Herzog as center all congregations were cared for till 1893, in which year a frame building was bought in Hays and arranged as hospice. A stone building superseded this in 1898,<sup>110</sup> from which point Schoenchen was cared for while in charge of the Capuchins, as also Munjor till August, 1902, when the hospice at Munjor was completed at a cost of over \$5000, which was borne by the congregation.<sup>111</sup> Catharine was attached to Hays in 1903-'08, since which year the pastor resides in the hospice there.

A parish house, 32x20 feet, was built in Pfeifer, 1886, at a cost of about \$1500; the present building, completed 1907, cost nearly \$6000.<sup>112</sup> The parochial residence in Schoenchen was built in 1905-'06. At present a large parish house is building in Liebenthal to replace the present frame structure, built in 1889.<sup>113</sup>

The successive dwellings of the Sisters of St. Agnes in Herzog are recorded below. In 1885 a two-story stone dwelling, 26 x 36 feet, was built for the Sisters in Munjor.<sup>114</sup> In 1907-'08 a two-story frame dwelling was erected in Catharine. Before that time the Sisters had occupied the annex built to the church. A convent was built in Pfeifer in 1905, and at Schoenchen the same year. In Liebenthal part of the old church has served as convent since 1905. The Sisters of St. Agnes have charge of the parish schools in Herzog, Munjor and Catharine; while the Sisters of St. Joseph, of Concordia, Kan., teach in Pfeifer and Schoenchen, and the Dominican Sisters of Great Bend in Liebenthal.

Educational progress in the colonies has kept pace with the general development. The beginnings were humble. In Herzog, *e g.*, school was first taught in the home of John Sander, and later, of Alois Dreiling,<sup>115</sup> by P. Linnenberger, who had studied in the seminar at Saratow. August 29, 1879, Sisters Agatha and Aurea<sup>116</sup> of the Congregation of St. Agnes, from Fond du Lac, Wis., came to Herzog.<sup>117</sup> The church built by Hon. W. C. Maxwell served the double purpose of church and school, a movable partition dividing off the sanctuary. The school-benches of the period are still preserved in the present school. These benches were removed each Friday and stacked up outside by the school-children (the church had neither pews nor benches); on Monday they were returned. The Sisters dwelt for a time in A. Dreiling's house; later they removed to the annex built to the church in 1878.<sup>118</sup> Rev. Anselm Bayerau, O. M. Cap., in 1888 built a school (at present the Sisters' convent), north of the new church on section 7. This, 66 x 30 x 23 feet, had four large rooms. A home for the Sisters was built northeast of the school on section 6, 36 x 26 x 18 feet.<sup>119</sup> The present commodious school, with eight large rooms, was built by Rev. Gabriel Spaeth, O. M. Cap., December 10, 1897-July 9, 1898.<sup>120</sup>

In Munjor the first church also served as school. The present parish school was designed by Justus Bissing. It is a stone structure, 74 x 36 x 37

NOTE 110.—Kinderfreund, vol. VII, pp. 87-88.

NOTE 112.—Rev. P. Burkard.

NOTE 114.—Munjor Chronicle, p. 5.

NOTE 116.—Kinderfreund, vol. VII, p. 73.

NOTE 118.—A. Dreiling.

NOTE 120.—Victoria Chronicle, p. 53-4.

NOTE 111.—Munjor Chronicle, pp. 40, 41.

NOTE 113.—J. E. Herrmann.

NOTE 115.—A. Dreiling.

NOTE 117.—Victoria Chronicle, p. 8.

NOTE 119.—Victoria Chronicle, p. 18.



JUSTUS BISSING AND WIFE.  
One of the three families that first settled at Catharine.

feet, with four large rooms. The first stones were hauled November 30, 1891; the building completed September 28, 1893, at a cost of \$3,516.76.<sup>121</sup> As mentioned before, a school was built in Catharine in 1879. This was superseded in 1902 by a stone building with four large rooms.<sup>122</sup> The large parochial school in Pfeifer (65 x 40, two stories) was built in 1897-'98, at a cost of \$2,000.<sup>123</sup> All these buildings are of native stone. In Herzog eight grades are taught, in Munjor and Pfeifer seven, in Catharine six.

In 1893 Rev. Laurence Becker, O. M. Cap., opened an advanced course for boys in Hays, but because of poor harvests the course was discontinued May 14, 1895.<sup>124</sup> In 1906 the project was revived, and in 1907-'08 the present Hays Catholic College was erected by the Capuchin Fathers.

Of recent years children of the colonies have attended various institutions: St. Mary's College, St. Marys; St. Benedict's College, Atchison; St. Francis Solanus' College, Quincy, Ill.; St. Fidelis' College, Herman, Pa.; Nazareth Academy, Concordia, etc. Quite a number have been professional school teachers.

NOTE 121.—Munjor Chronicle, p. 8, 9, 13.

NOTE 122.—Rev. J. Mueller, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 123.—Rev. P. Burkard.

NOTE 124.—Rev. E. Heyl, O. M. Cap.



FRED KARLIN AND MARIA KARLIN,  
One of the three families that first settled in Catharine, 1875.

Catharine II had allowed the colonies to choose their own form of government, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the Russian officials, requiring, however, submission to the prevailing civil law.<sup>125</sup> Each colony was ruled by a *vorsteher* (mayor) assisted by two or four *beisitzer* (councilmen), and a *schreiber* (secretary), the legislative body being made up of the heads of families. Since 1798 several colonies formed a *kreis* (circuit), the highest official of which was called *obervorsteher*.<sup>126</sup> These in turn were subject to the *comptoir* in Saratow, whose personnel were an *oberrichter* (supreme judge) and two *mitglieder* (members), a secretary a bookkeeper, a translator, two physicians and a surveyor. The *comptoir* was erected March 17, 1766, and subject to the *tutel-kanzlei* (protective chancery) in St. Petersburg, instituted in 1763.<sup>127</sup> The land of the colonies remained the property of the government, and was divided periodically (one to six or more years) by lot,

NOTE 125.—Manifest, art. 6, sec. 5.

NOTE 126.—Schaab. l. c. n. 43.

NOTE 127.—Schaab, l. c. n. 41. In 1782 the *comptoir* ceased to exist, but was revived June 30, 1797. (Keller, *Die Deutschen Kolonien in Sued-Russland*, p. 44.) Since 1827 the *Aufseher* (overseer) was intermediary between circuit and *comptoir* with certain specified jurisdiction over several colonies which formed a *Distanz* (district.) Since 1871 the *comptoir* was restricted, especially to affairs of school and church. 1876 the *comptoir* was dissolved (Bauer, pp. 83, 84, 137.)



each one receiving an area in keeping with the number of male members in his family. One result of this arrangement was that several families formed one household, children marrying at an early age, but without establishing a home. The latter step required, in addition to a permit of the father, a ratification of the *gemeinde* (legislative body).<sup>128</sup> One other effect was a limitation of activity, which allowed elder but still robust men to leave over all work to the younger members of the family.

These institutions have had to some extent their counterpart in America. From April till the fall of 1876 Herzog had its *vorsteher* and *gemeindeversammlung*; homesteads were sought with a view of distributing them by lot. The original village plat (section 1, township 14 south, range 17 west) was at request divided by the land commissioner in Salina into strips of forty acres, running east and west through the whole section; one or several individuals together purchased one or more such strips.<sup>129</sup>

The settlers in Munjor in 1876 bought section 25, and organized the Munjor Land Company. This having no legal status, the Munjor Land and Grazing Company was organized and incorporated October 11, 1882, at the suggestion of John Schlyer.<sup>130</sup> Part of the section was surveyed by G. R. Wolf for the town site, each holder of a lot being a member of the company. The remainder served as grazing land for the use of all members.<sup>131</sup> The charter (printed at Hays in 1882) requires that the company shall continue fifty years, that five directors be its officers (president, secretary and treasurer of their number), that the capitalization be \$10,000, divided into 200 shares of \$50 each, that no interest in the land holdings of the company be burdened, sold or transferred without consent of two-thirds of the members. The by-laws require quarterly meetings (art. 6) and annual election of directors (art. 2). August 15, 1888, the southern half of the section was sold.<sup>132</sup> In 1897 an effort to disrupt the company failed, the court, February 20, upholding the conservative party.<sup>133</sup> In January, 1899, deeds were given for the town lots only.<sup>134</sup> The company still exists, numbering at present 108 members. The last election took place in 1907.<sup>135</sup>

The section on which Catharine is built was school land. At three dollars per acre the northwest quarter was bought by Frederic Karlin, the southwest quarter by Frederic Walter, the northeast quarter by Frederic Koerner, the southeast quarter by Jacob Walter. Each head of a family (*Hauswirt*) contributed towards the purchase, and, in keeping with the amount contributed, received one or several shares, ranging from six to thirty-eight acres.<sup>136</sup> Five acres of the meadow entitled to one lot in

NOTE 128.—*Katholische Missionen*, vol. 34, p. 130.

NOTE 129.—B. Brungardt.

NOTE 130.—Because of his many kindnesses to the settlers Mr. Schlyer has been called "Russenvater."

NOTE 131.—J. Schlyer.

NOTE 132.—Minutes of the company, p. 66. These minutes were kindly lent by the officers. Cattle charge per month for tax was 10 cents in 1888; 15 cents in 1895; 10 cents in 1898. (Minutes, pp. 61, 73, 98.)

NOTE 133.—*Munjor Chronicle*, pp. 18-20.

NOTE 134.—Minutes, pp. 82, 83.

NOTE 135.—Rev. J. Becker, O. M. Cap. The northwest quarter of section 30, on which part of Munjor now stands, was preempted by A. Schneider and divided into shares of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  acres, each villager taking a share for garden purposes. Some built their homes thereon. Each received a deed of Mr. Schneider. (J. Schlyer, A. Befort.)

NOTE 136.—There was one share of 6 acres, four of 7, one of 8, eleven of 10, one of 11, four of 12, two of 14, eight of 15, two of 17, four of 20, one of 24, three of 25, one of 30, one of 38. These details are given in *Ellis County Deeds and Contracts*, E, pp. 246-248.

town. The four men transferred their holdings to the shareholders as a body, February 18, 1880. It is expressly stipulated in the contract that the land other than that on which the village stands should not be plowed, but used only for grazing purposes.<sup>137</sup> The township officers transacted all business of the company till 1893. The charter of the St. Catharine Town and Grazing Company is dated April 12, 1893. The company was to exist fifty years (art. 4); its officers were five directors (art. 5), who elected of their number president, secretary and treasurer (art. 8). Its capital stock was \$7040, divided into 128 shares of \$55 each (art. 6). Article 7 provided that no property could be purchased, sold or transferred except upon a two-thirds vote of the stockholders.<sup>138</sup> In 1897 the directors of the company gave deeds for the town lots. By-laws were drawn up and adopted February 13, 1897. Paragraph 3 to article 1 of charter limits the holdings of any individual to ten shares. Paragraph 3 to article 3 provides that tax dues for the land are to be covered by a charge for pasture.<sup>139</sup> Paragraph 4 to article 8 forbade chopping timber on the banks of the creek; dry wood was removed by the directors and sold to the highest bidder. An addition to article 2, adopted May 29, 1899, allowed any shareholder to sell or rent his share, but made dwelling in the village dependent upon a two-thirds vote of the shareholders. A proposal to divide the meadow was defeated by thirty-one against twenty-five votes.<sup>140</sup> In 1908 a petition to the directors, signed by two-thirds of the shareholders, and asking that the meadow be divided, resulted in apportioning the land by casting of lots, February 2.<sup>141</sup> The present division is shown in the Ellis county plat book, p. 48. It was recorded March 25, 1908.

The village of Pfeifer,<sup>142</sup> as noted above, was originally located on the part of section 25, township 15 south, range 17 west, south of the Smoky Hill river. The whole section, railroad land, was taken up in 1876 by the settlers, as a body represented by Gottlieb Jacobs, Jacob Schoenfeld, John Schlieter and Matthias Vogel, to be paid in eleven years, and divided into shares. Difficulties arose because some had not made their payments; others disliked the site, so that in 1884 the village was moved to the present location, the northwest quarter of section 36. This quarter had been taken by John Schlieter in 1879, as a homestead; in 1884 all villagers contributed money toward its purchase. Mr. Schlieter's patent is dated November 12, 1884; he in turn gave a deed to each shareholder, a single share being a strip of land forty-four feet wide running east and west through the quarter section.

Frank Waldschmidt had taken up the south half of the southwest quarter of section 28 as a homestead. On this the village of Schoenchen was built. The patent for the land was issued August 30, 1882, but not filed till May

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NOTE 137.—Deeds and Contracts, E, p. 248.

NOTE 138.—Charter was kindly lent by A. Karlin.

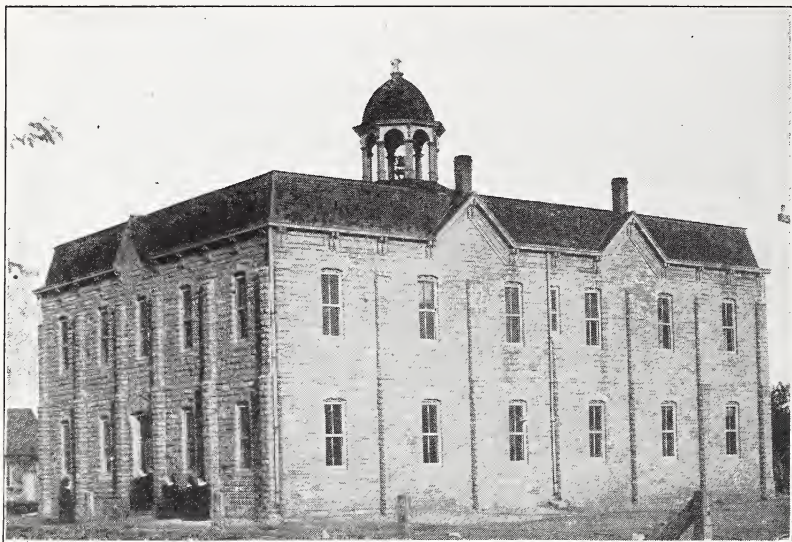
NOTE 139.—The charge in 1897 was 5½ cents, 1898 6 cents, 1900 6 cents for each head more than eight months old. (Minutes, pp. 159, 164, 171.)

NOTE 140.—Minutes, pp. 175, 176.

NOTE 141.—Minutes, p. 187. By-laws and minutes of the company were kindly lent by A. Karlin.

NOTE 142.—These and other data regarding Pfeifer were given by John J. Basgall, Peter Breit, George Jacobs, Kaspar Kissner, Jos. Stremel, George Urban. In the early years there was some litigation as to the name of the village, Pfeifer, Kamenka and Holy Cross being suggested (J. Breit).

11, 1885.<sup>143</sup> Meanwhile Mr. Waldschmidt had presented the land to the community. The plot of the village was recorded April 18, 1885, and five men, Konrad Dreher, Joseph Hardinger, Frederic Werth, John Peter Werth and August Wolf, appointed trustees of the town company, who still continue in office. This is but nominal, as the transfer deed was lost without being recorded, so that all deeds must be signed by the heir of Frank Waldschmidt.



Parochial School House at Herzog, Ellis County; 375 pupils.

In Liebenenthal the town site (twenty-seven acres in northwest quarter and thirteen acres in northeast quarter of section 21) was purchased by Jacob Herrmann, John Schaefer and Nicholas Bieker as representatives of the settlers, who received deeds for their individual property of Jacob Herrmann.

The different colonies in Ellis county were united by no legal bond, as the colonies in Russia had been. On the contrary, a degree of rivalry existed which the years have served to mollify. Allegiance to the home village continues, however, so that a map showing the land holdings with home and village allegiance of the settlers would suggest an extreme case of gerrymander. The communistic character of the villages has served to unite the inhabitants more closely in social life, so as to give it the appearance of family life on a large scale. At the same time local antipathies did and do exist. A result of the seclusion has been the slow, and for that reason more healthful, development which allows the settlers to retain the good they have inherited while adopting the advantages of their new country, thereby giving quality to their citizenship.<sup>144</sup> On the other hand, it

NOTE 143.—Ellis County Deeds, book I, p. 30.

NOTE 144.—Politically nearly all the settlers are Democrats, and for more than a decade have decided elections. The present incumbents of the office of county treasurer, (B. M. Dreiling), superintendent of public instruction (A. Kuhn), and of register of deeds (A. Schueler), are from



has retarded the development of public spirit, and to the present day the villages remain under township law, and can boast of neither paved streets nor water or lighting system, or public utility other than churches and schools.

These details portray but in part the activity of the settlers. Various interests, even in the early years, drew many from the settlements to other towns. The largest contingent is that at Hays, whose Catholic congregation has 230 Russian families.<sup>145</sup> The Ellis congregation has now some 80 Russian families,<sup>146</sup> Walker, 34.<sup>147</sup> Beyond the confines of Ellis county are now 42 families in Gorham,<sup>148</sup> and 15 in Park,<sup>149</sup> who lived originally in Ellis county. New settlements have not as yet arisen in the county, but a nucleus to such has been formed by the erection of churches: Emmeram, 41 families originally from Herzog;<sup>150</sup> Antonino, 54 families from Munjor;<sup>151</sup> Hyacinth 28; Yocomento, 6;<sup>152</sup> Vincent, 10.<sup>153</sup> Russian families. In Wichita county, about 26 families from Ellis county in 1892 founded Marienthal,<sup>154</sup> while in Graham county the founding of St. Peter (named Hoganville till 1898) was an enterprise undertaken by 11 families from Herzog in 1894. At present there are about 95 families there, 6 from Marienthal, Wichita county; 2 from Liebenthal, Rush county; 1 from Munjor; all others from Herzog.<sup>155</sup>

Even at the present day it is not unusual to find several married children remaining in the home of the parents, all forming one large family. This explains the many early marriages (at eighteen and sixteen respectively) of the first years and even of the present, as this step did not involve the care of a household and the many responsibilities attaching thereto. The land apportionment of Russia still operates in the way of excluding girls from inheritance. The land is divided among the boys, a present in the manner of a dowry at marriage being usually the only portion of girls. In a general way this system is equalizing, as nearly all marry. The status of woman is to all purposes that of a "Hausfrau," the home being the sphere of her activity. In the early days she took her place in the harvest field, but of late years this has grown rare. The large family is proverbial among the settlers, and from every standpoint the family life is pure, divorce and illegitimates being practically unknown. The withdrawal from work on the part of men yet robust, mentioned above, is practiced by some few even in the land of unlimited activity.<sup>156</sup>

The conservatism implied in the above is evidenced in the customs that

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the colonies Herzog and Catharine. May 2, 1903, President Roosevelt received an ovation at Victoria, the society and school children turning out in a body. The train stopped four minutes. (Victoria Chronicle, pp. 79, 80.)

NOTE 145.—Rev. E. Heyl, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 146.—Rev. M. Neff, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 147.—Rev. P. Dockler, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 148.—Rev. L. Wahlmeier.

NOTE 149.—Rev. P. Hoeller.

NOTE 150.—Rev. A. Herrman, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 151.—Rev. B. Heim, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 152.—Rev. E. Heyl, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 153.—Rev. E. Trischler, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 154.—Rev. Leo Egger, O. M. Cap.

NOTE 155.—Leonard N. Dreiling.

NOTE 156.—It is hardly necessary to state that the settlers have faults. As in every large body there are some who are intemperate; broils have happened, but with diminishing frequency. The villagers are distrustful of strangers, a result of their confidence having been abused, and in part a relic of Russian conditions. This distrust withdraws in some instances money from circulation. They are tenacious of opinion (what farmer is not?), untruthfulness is not infrequent, while on the other hand the promised word of the old settlers was good as gold even to the political candidate.



Holy Cross Church, Pfeifer, Kan.

still obtain after a lapse of thirty years. In part these attach to the ecclesiastical feasts. On the eve of Christmas a lady dressed in white with girdle of blue, and with face veiled, appears in each family as herald of the "Christ Kindlein" (Christ-child). The tinkling of a little bell without, a knock, and she enters with the greeting: "Gelobt sei Jesus Christus." She inquires for the youngest child, has it say a prayer as evidence of diligence in this regard, and then gives it Christmas presents. The older children are frequently chastised with a rod because of delinquencies which are recounted. Gifts follow; a quantity of nuts are thrown in the air, and as the children scramble for their possessions the apparition is gone. Each child (in Catharine) on Christmas and Easter calls on its sponsors (at baptism) to wish them a happy feast, and is rewarded by sweets, which it bears away in a white cloth. On New Year the little ones visit their relatives and friends, wishing them a Happy New Year ("Ich wuensche Euch ein glueckseliges Neujahr, langes Leben, Gesundheit, Friede und Einigkeit, nach dem Tode die ewige Glueckseligkeit").<sup>157</sup> In this instance they now receive coin, but originally sweets. The young men celebrate New Year by shooting ("Neujahr anschiesen") before the houses of their relatives and friends. This serves as an introduction for wishing a Happy New Year in the words recorded above. In return they receive refreshments, and the young ladies pin a ribbon to their coat. In Holy Week the church bells are silent from Thursday till Saturday. In this interim the boys who serve in church go about the village announcing with wooden clappers the time of the "Angelus" and of divine service. After mass on Holy Saturday they go from house to house collecting eggs as meed of their service. Easter morn ushers in the Oster-Haas (Easter rabbit). Each child prepares a nest on the porch or near the house. The little ones are aroused from sleep by the cry: "Der Haas hat schon gelegt" (the rabbit has laid).

In the early days, and to some degree still, a variety of marriage customs prevailed. Oral invitations, known as "Noethigen," were served by two men deputed by the fathers of the bridal couple. These men bore a cane to

NOTE 157.—"I wish you a happy New Year, long life, health, peace and unity, after death eternal happiness."

which a ribbon was attached. One form of invitation, in use in Schoenchen, is as follows :

“ Wir kommen nicht hergeritten,  
Wir kommen sicher geschritten;  
Braut und Braeutigam, sie lassen Euch bitten,  
Sie lassen Euch laden insgemein,  
Ihr sollt auch Hochzeitsgaeste sein.  
Zehn Gaens-die muessen dran,  
Neunzehn Huehner und der alte Hahn,  
Die sind gefuettert und so fett  
Wie ein altes Wagenbrett.  
Dann kommt auch gleich die Kathrin Woes,  
Und kocht auch gleich die dicken Kloess;  
Sie kocht sie nach Belieben  
Und kocht auch gleich die roten Rueben.  
Potz Blitz! Was faellt mir ein!  
Ich hab' ja vergessen den Branntwein.  
Wenn Ihr Uns unser Stoecklein ziert,  
So sagen wir auch wo Ihr hingehoert.”<sup>158</sup>

As implied in the invitation, the man was rewarded with refreshments or an additional ribbon was attached to his cane. In Catharine written invitations were used. The eve of the feast, known as *Polterabend* (racket-eve), was marked by the hilarity of the young folks with dancing and music. On the morning of the day itself, before going to church the bridal couple knelt on a cloth spread on the floor, facing each other and with hands joined, to receive the blessing of their parents<sup>159</sup> and relatives present. On the way to church the bride walked in advance of the groom; returning from church the order was reversed; both ways a veritable fusillade (at present with shotgun and blank shells) was kept up by young men of the party. Though seated at table the bridal couple did not partake of food with the others, but ate alone in another room after the meal. While at table (dinner: Herzog, Pfeifer, Liebenthal, or supper: Schoenchen) the bride was robbed of one shoe by the two cooks (the best in each relationship) or any one present (Pfeifer); this shoe, as indispensable for dancing, was redeemed for money by the best men (it being customary to have four witnesses), which money was given to the bride (Pfeifer) or to the cooks (Herzog). Dancing was begun after the festal meal by the bridal couple and witnesses, and during this dance presents were pinned to the bride's

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NOTE 158.—Rev. C. Menig. 'Tis not on horse with much ado,  
'Tis sta'd on foot we come to you,  
Of 'bride and groom to be' in lieu;  
They now invite you, one and all:  
Be wedding-guests, both great and small.  
Ten geese shall die, and not one hen,  
No, not one less than nine and ten,  
And too the ancient chanticleer,  
As plump and round as wheel or sphere.  
Aunt Kate the spoon and pan will wield  
The dumplings firm and fat to yield,  
To suit the most exacting taste;  
And beets as well she'll bake and baste.  
Dear me! Forgot I not the best,  
The brandy that awaits the guest?—  
Now round my rod a ribbon twine  
That I may tell you place and time.

NOTE 159.—A like blessing is given when married children leave their parents' home to establish a household.



dress, presents being of a corresponding nature, such as paper money, dry goods, etc. It was customary for the sponsors of the bridal pair (at baptism and confirmation) to give a present at marriage. "Kranzkuchen" are a peculiarity of Pfeifer. These are cakes, plaited and with a hole in the center; through this the left arm was introduced, the guests thus having the cake at hand while holding their glass with the right.

It is also customary for one offering best wishes on occasion of name-day to bind a ribbon around the right arm, above the elbow, of the man celebrating the feast.<sup>160</sup>

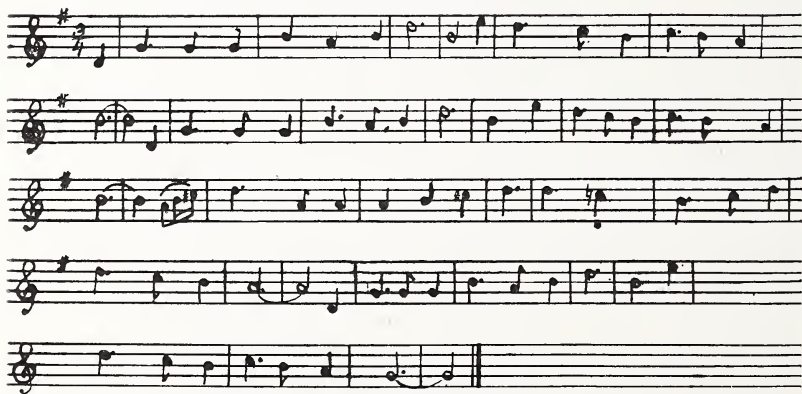
When the bishop visits the colonies inland it is still custom to have an escort meet him. These so-called vorreiter (advance riders) are young men on horseback, the bridle decked with ribbons, who gallop before the bishop's carriage, the number being four or more.<sup>161</sup>

Half a century ago A. Schneider wrote of the colonists in Russia that they loved to come together and play cards—Durack, Kopfbauer and Solo<sup>162</sup>—specific Russian games. The same is true of their descendants in Kansas, and if one remembers that many of the old men cannot read, one can better understand that they thus pass the long days and evenings. On occasion of a wedding a game of cards known as "Klopfen" is indulged in. In this instance a little money is staked.

Both old and young delight in song. The songs are for the most part sacred, and are contained in the "Geistliche Halszieder," a prayer- and song-book first published about 1846.<sup>163</sup>

The following is a popular profane song, with music, which has been transmitted by tradition, not by print:

#### RURAL SONG.



NOTE 160.—Various communications. The varieties of these customs are many and in no village are they absolutely uniform. They are gradually falling into disuse.

NOTE 161.—October 5, 1892, 150 riders of Herzog escorted Rt. Rev. J. J. Hennessy from Munjor to Herzog. (Victoria Chronicle, p. 36.)

NOTE 162.—Historisch-politische Blaetter, vol. CXV, p. 426.

NOTE 163.—I have seen copies of 1847 (2d ed., printed in Saratow), 1862, 1907 (printed in Budapest.)

## SONG.

## I.

Wie schoen ist das laendliche Leben!  
 Ein Haeuschen auf gruenender Flur  
 Mit schattigen Baeumen ungeben—  
 Wie gluecklich macht mich die Natur!  
 Im Schatten der gruenenden Baeume  
 Da sitz' ich so gerne allein,  
 Es wiegen goldene Traeume  
 Die schoene Vergangenheit ein.

## II.

Die Schwalbe sitzt oben an Dache,  
 Sie zwitschert ihr Morgenlied vor;  
 Ich hoere sobald ich erwache  
 Der Voegelein lustigen Chor.  
 Die Wachtel schlaegt in den Getreide,  
 Die Lerche singet in Hain,  
 Es stimmt auf gruenender Haide  
 Die Lerche so froehlich mit ein.

## III.

Zufrieden leb' ich auf dem Lande  
 Obgleich ich kein Edelmann bin;  
 Es schwinden im mittleren Stande  
 Die Tage so froehlich dahin.  
 Ein Strahl der erwachenden Sonne  
 Draengt sich in mein Stuebchen herein;  
 Ich fuehle unsaegliche Wonne,  
 Kein Koenig kann gluecklicher sein.

A peculiar interest attaches to the Schuetzengesellschaft (marksmen society) founded in Catharine at suggestion of Leonard Mittelmeier in 1877. Original members were twenty-four, till in 1889 ten were added, the loss meanwhile being three. The officers, in each instance the best marksmen of the year, were: King, captain, lieutenant, and color bearer. The king wore a broad green scarf, was privileged to fire the first three shots (later only the first shot), and received as prize \$1.75. The other officers wore green badges and received as prizes \$1.50, \$1.25, \$1. Annual feast was Pentecost Monday. The target was three and one-half feet in diameter, with five rings, the center five-eighths inches. Only muzzle-loading rifles and round bullets could be used; firing distance was 350 feet. Funds were raised by a charge of two cents for each shot, and fifty cents on entering the society. The number of shots recorded for 1884 is 862; 1885, 796; 1887, 884; 1888, 752; 1889, 669. In 1889 the society dissolved, owing to loss of its funds through dishonesty.<sup>164</sup>

The St. Francis Society, in Munjor, has existed since 1882;<sup>165</sup> the St.

NOTE 164.—A. Walter. A notice of the first feast, see in *Ellis County Star*, vol. II (1877), n. 6.

NOTE 165.—Rev. J. Becker, O. M. Cap.

Fidelis Society, in Herzog, since September 21, 1890.<sup>166</sup> Both are local benefit societies. Of recent years a number of other societies have been organized, but some settlers still retain an antipathy to all societies as a thing having no precedent in the colonies on the Wolga.

The first settlers were conspicuous because of the large coats lined with sheepskin which they wore in winter. The upper part to the waist was close-fitting; the lower part was attached at the waist in folds after the manner of a skirt, causing it to spread below. Winter caps were high and elliptic. Throughout the year the men wore boots with shafts into which the trousers were put; these shafts were sometimes decorated with flowers embroidered in silk. Women and girls wore neither hats nor bonnets, but small black shawls, which were often embroidered with flower designs in colored silk. Despite recent encroachments of the hat the shawl still holds sway. The men on their arrival wore long hair, *i. e.*, from the crown to the neck; many of the older men still adhere to this custom.

Owing to their seclusion the colonies in Russia retained their native tongue (German), but few acquiring a knowledge of the Russian language. The settlers of Ellis county still speak German, and there is to-day not a child of these settlements that cannot speak German as well, and frequently better, than English; this heritage is still fostered at home and in the parish school. The spoken German has much similarity to that spoken in the Palatinate and in Bavaria. Some varieties in the language of the different villages still obtain, such as the pronunciation of *e* as *ä*, *ā*, *ō*, *i*, in such words as *Weizen*, *stehen*, etc. One peculiarity is that words are employed in a sense that is obsolete, as "*bloede*" in the sense of timid; or in a sense otherwise humorous, as "*abscheulich*," as adverb to express a superlative; or in a sense wholly unusual, as "*frech*" (courageous), "*geistreich*" (proud), "*ruchlos*" (wild), "*schlau*" (crooked), "*unmuendig*" (bashful), "*scharf*" (fast). It has been remarked that the settlers are never embarrassed in speech, having a readiness of coining new words, or giving existing words a new meaning should circumstances demand it. This may in part explain the unusual application of words. Because of these peculiarities of speech even one familiar with German often fails to arrive at the thought it is meant to convey.

There are in use a number of Latin expressions, such as "*cito*," "*contra*," "*versuadieren*" (persuadere), "*stante pede*"; these undoubtedly were introduced by such as had studied Latin in the seminar. Various French words, such as "*boutel*, *charmant*, *courage*, *goulaien* (*goulu*), *malheur*, *palitot*, *parapluie*, *precis*, *rendezvous*, *reprimand*," are still in use. This has its explanation in the predilection for French words by Germans which had its rise towards the close of the sixteenth century, and still obtained at the time of the exodus of our colonists from Germany. It was in part due to an influx of French-speaking persons (as prisoners of war) into the colonies after the expedition of Napoleon I, and after the Crimean war. Such families of those who have settled in Ellis county are, *e. g.*, Storm and Vonfeld. Numerous Russian words have been incorporated into the language of the settlers. Such are "*ambar*" (granary), "*arbus*" (watermelon), "*galosch*" (overshoe), "*kaback*" (wages), "*kaftan*" (coat), "*kalatsch*" (white bread),

NOTE 166.—Victoria Chronicle, p. 24.



"kaluntsch" (swing), "kardus" (cap), "plotnik" (carpenter), "polschupka" (large overcoat), "prostoi" (common).<sup>167 168</sup>

Tradition states that most of those who settled on the Wolga were artisans (weavers, cobblers, tailors, etc.) and but few farmers.<sup>169</sup> The new home called for agriculture, and in addition to cereals the colonists on the Wolga cultivated tobacco and raised cattle. The emigrants to Kansas were practically all farmers. The table on page 524, compiled from the book of Ath. Karlin, may be regarded as typical of the efforts and rewards of the average settler.

Some few of the settlers brought with them seed wheat (*e. g.*, the Walter family in 1876 brought ten pounds of Turkish or spring wheat; some of the large body that arrived in August, 1876),<sup>170</sup> but this was inadequate to the demands.<sup>171</sup> Their early efforts with spring wheat were due to the fact that this had been cultivated with success in Russia. Experience has taught that winter wheat must be preferred.

In early days tobacco, seed of which had been brought by the first settlers, was cultivated extensively. There is record of one colony producing 10,000 pounds in 1877.<sup>172</sup> At the present day a few still raise tobacco, Herzog being in the van.<sup>173</sup> Watermelon seeds were brought over by the first arrivals and have thrived well. The cultivation of other vegetables, and cattle raising, have remained on a small scale.

Contemporary records laud the settlers as "industrious and economical."<sup>174</sup> Taking results as the best measure of efforts, the table on page 525, compiled with much labor by B. M. Dreiling from the tax list, and showing the real estate owned by the German-Russians in 1899 and 1909, will best evince their claim to this praise.<sup>175</sup>

When it is remembered that most of the arrivals were poor<sup>176</sup> it is plain

NOTE 167.—Most of the words in the above lists are due to Messrs. B. M. Dreiling, A. Kuhn and A. Meier.

NOTE 168.—The frequent recurrence of the same Christian name in the same family has given rise to a number of distinctive appellations in use: The large, small, long, fat, red, black, shorn, etc. It is frequently only thus that a person can be distinguished from others of the same name.

NOTE 169.—A. Schneider, l. c. p. 419; A. Walter, 10a, who refers to an old chronicle, Bauer p. 18.

NOTE 170.—A. Walter, H. Depperschmidt.

NOTE 171.—See *Ellis County Star*, vol. I, n. 2: colonists get wagon loads of seed from Hays.

NOTE 172.—*Ellis County Star*, vol. II, n. 18.

NOTE 173.—1909, John P. Braun raised 1000 pounds.

NOTE 174.—*Ellis County Star*, vol. I, n. 19, 23; vol. II, n. 5.

NOTE 175.—A comparison with 1876, the year of arrival of our settlers, is furnished by the map showing settled land in Ellis county, and the statement that then 1756½ acres were under cultivation. (Fifth Annual Report of State Board of Agriculture, Topeka, 1877, pp. 27, 145.) Without fear of exaggeration, it may be said that 75 per cent of the "cultivated" land in Ellis county is in the hands of the German-Russians.

NOTE 176.—Following details are of interest: While in Topeka, 1875-'76, the Karlin family had bought 1 brown gelding, \$80; another, \$60; 1 brown mare, \$65; 2 geldings, \$115; 2 oxen with yoke and chains, \$70; 3 cows, \$85; harness, \$24; 1 wagon, \$73; 2 plows, \$36; 5000 pounds flour @ \$2.50 per 100 (A. Karlin, pp. 8, 9). Jacob Schmidt had \$2095 on his arrival. The first year he invested \$1312.90 in horses and cattle (Schmidt, p. 8). B. Brungardt in 1876 bought a half section of an old soldier for \$1000 (B. Brungardt). Such cases are exceptions. J. Lang, on his arrival in Topeka, 1875, had \$300. He purchased 3 horses and 1 cow, which were stolen; he then with Jos. Stremel bought 2 horses, 1 wagon, 1 plow (J. Lang). I. Vonfeld on his arrival in Victoria had \$3 (I. Vonfeld). The three families Urban had together 1 pair oxen, 1 plow; the boys by working in Salina earned money to buy a second pair of oxen; later they bought one horse, and the next spring another. Of those who arrived in 1878, but two families were well-to-do. No homesteads could be had then near Herzog, and railroad land cost \$5 to \$8 (Linnenberger, II, pp. 35, 36).

Planted acreage.				Crop, bushels.			
Year.	Winter wheat.	Spring wheat.	Corn.	Winter wheat.	Price, cents.	Spring wheat.	Corn.
1876	.....	9	20	.....	.....	.....	.....
1876-'77	22	.....	24	390	80-90	.....	@ 15-20
1877-'78	36	14	16	@ 18	50	@25	@ 20
1878-'79	47	5	30	@ 11	60-65	@18	@ 20
1879-'80	65	.....	30	12 <sup>a</sup>	.....	.....	@ 10
1880-'81	70	Oats.	30	@ 18	1.05	Oats.	40 <sup>b</sup>
1881-'82	100	.....	25	@ 20	60-70	.....	@ 10
1883-'84 <sup>c</sup>	115	12	37	@ 17	.....	100	@ 8
1884-'85	120	12	40	@ 4 <sup>d</sup>	40	@30	@ 20
1885-'86	140	11	31	2,000	45-87	510	372
1886-'87	150	.....	34	2,000	60-80	.....	<sup>e</sup> .....
1887-'88	160	27	25	2,302	.....	100	<sup>f</sup> .....
1888-'89	182	30	.....	4,350	.....	684	.....
1889-'90	152	.....	12	585	.....	.....	<sup>g</sup> .....
1890-'91	111	7½	11¼	1,800	80-85	150	175
1891-'92	120	9	19	3,700 <sup>h</sup>	45-55	180	162
1892-'93	65	.....	53	<sup>i</sup> .....	.....	.....	265
1893-'94	145	.....	16	780 <sup>j</sup>	.....	.....	<sup>k</sup> .....
1894-'95	135	23	49	320 <sup>l</sup>	30-40	280	5-6 <sup>a</sup>
1895-'96	83	7	12	820 <sup>m</sup>	.....	.....	7-8 <sup>a</sup>
1896-'97	160	.....	.....	3,500	66-1 05	.....	.....
1897-'98	170	.....	.....	2,580 <sup>n</sup>	50-65	.....	.....

<sup>a</sup>. Crop total failure (Schmidt, p. 9). Men worked in Colorado. Seed wheat furnished by U. P. R. R. @ \$0.65 (A. Karlin, p. 13).

<sup>b</sup>. Chinch bug (A. Karlin, p. 14).

<sup>c</sup>. No record of 1882-'83.

<sup>d</sup>. Much rain, worms, chinch bug, Hessian fly, etc. (A. Karlin, p. 18).

<sup>e</sup>. Chinch bug (Karlin, 21).

<sup>f</sup>. Drought (Karlin, 22).

<sup>g</sup>. Drought (Karlin, 24).

<sup>h</sup>. Very good year (Schmidt, 11).

<sup>i</sup>. Total failure in wheat (Schmidt, 11). June 26, 1893, first good rain since August, 1892 (Victoria Chronicle, 41).

<sup>j</sup>. Total failure (Schmidt, 11). End of June, 1894, hail (Victoria Chronicle, 43); hail June 23, 1894 (Karlin, 30).

<sup>k</sup>. Drought (Victoria Chronicle, 43).

<sup>l</sup>. 6 bu. per acre (Schmidt, 11); end of April wind tore out grain (Victoria Chronicle, 45).

<sup>m</sup>. 7 bu. per acre (Schmidt, 11); end of May hail north of Victoria, June 6 south of Victoria (Victoria Chronicle, 49); grasshoppers devoured cabbage, cucumbers, watermelons, tomatoes (Karlin, 34).

<sup>n</sup>. 40 acres resown, because eaten by grasshoppers (Karlin, 37).

that their possessions were wrested for the most part from the stubborn glebe. The table on this page shows the personal property of the settlers in 1899 and 1909. This too was kindly compiled by B. M. Dreiling from the assessment rolls. Unhappily the records of 1889 were burned.

ACREAGE AND VALUATION of lands owned by the Ellis county Russian settlers, taken from the tax rolls for 1899 and 1909.\*

TOWNSHIP.	1899.		1909.	
	No. of acres.	Valuation.	No. of acres.	Valuation.
Big Creek.....	9,966	\$153,768 00	19,250	\$522,944 00
Buckeye.....	160	1,914 00	8,960	138,675 00
Catharine.....	12,640	157,551 00	24,920	459,933 00
Ellis.....			6,900	103,675 00
Freedom.....	5,840	69,408 00	12,480	200,492 00
Hamilton.....			1,120	15,915 00
Herzog.....	15,637	255,771 00	20,560	480,555 00
Lookout.....	6,520	72,225 00	26,560	508,820 00
Pleasant Hill.....	480	3,690 00	9,480	49,594 00
Saline.....	320	3,000 00	3,680	67,065 00
Smoky Hill.....			3,520	34,900 00
Victoria.....	11,940	143,520 00	14,480	412,830 00
Walker.....	8,340	98,100 00	16,000	402,480 00
Wheatland.....	10,160	136,617 00	28,640	554,460 00
Totals.....	82,003	\$1,095,564 00	146,550	\$4,052,338 00

\* This list does not include land rented or partly paid. It does not show the land-holdings of the Liebenenthal, most lands of the Pfeifer and much of the possessions of the Schoenchen settlers which are in Rush county.

PERSONAL PROPERTY assessed against the Russian settlers of Ellis county.

TOWNSHIP.	1899.	1909.
Big Creek.....	\$7,098 00	\$202,287 00
Buckeye.....		11,035 00
Catharine.....	7,307 00	123,793 00
Ellis.....		23,830 00
Freedom.....	2,580 00	74,550 00
Hamilton.....		3,685 00
Herzog.....	28,764 00	131,585 00
Lookout.....	6,297 00	130,938 00
Pleasant Hill.....	47 00	32,249 00
Saline.....	675 00	11,210 00
Smoky Hill.....		12,015 00
Victoria.....	10,764 00	140,360 00
Walker.....	3,336 00	84,530 00
Wheatland.....	7,881 00	126,495 00
Totals.....	\$74,743 00	\$1,108,562 00

The first who came to Victoria found as the only buildings the present depot and one other house. Near Munjor was one dwelling (of J. Schlyer); the sites of the other villages were as yet unsettled. The English colonists who had founded Victoria in 1873 gave employment to a number of the German-Russians, also an Englishman, some distance from Munjor. Most found employment on the railroad, and the money thus earned was invested in land and stock. A source of income, 1876-'78, was the sale of buffalo



bones, strewn far and wide over the prairie, which brought from five to seven dollars per ton. The earliest dwellings were board tents. As the season advanced sod houses or dugouts were built. Houses of stone (which required labor rather than money) and of lumber (which required money) succeeded as freedom from other occupation and wealth allowed. Many buildings of recent years are large and commodious. Some of the small houses in the villages have their explanation in this, that they are not designed to be a home (which is on the farm), but a temporary shelter on Sundays and holidays when attending divine service. The want of timber and the need of economy led to the use of "mist-holz" (compost of manure and straw) as fuel, which is still used. The spinning wheel was and is yet in use in some homes. Knitting too, is still a favorite occupation of some few.

Great was the poverty and suffering among the colonists in the years 1893-'97. Harvest there was practically none (compare table, page 524); the settlers were forced to pay exorbitant interest for loans; land depreciated so as to be almost valueless; even school children, for want of proper nourishment, became so listless that they remained on their benches rather than play during recess.<sup>177</sup> In spite of all, the stout-hearted men remained, till with the year 1897 a bountiful harvest rewarded their endurance.

A bright page this in the history of Kansas which relates the quiet and unassuming conquest of a one-time desert<sup>178</sup> with staid adherence to old customs, thus presenting the strange spectacle of "Gemuetlichkeit" in the land of the "strenuous life."

The above happenings are the outcome of a peculiar chain of circumstances that has few parallels in history. The horrors of the seven-year war (1756-1763) that had involved most of Europe had led men to regard a home where immunity from military service was guaranteed as a veritable 'Eldorado.' It was again the military spectre that a century later brought the descendants of these lovers of peace to the land of stars and stripes. To the early hardships that for many decades made literary pursuits impossible and to the poor estate of learning, which was suppressed by those by whom it should have been fostered,<sup>179</sup> is due that but few of the settlers in Ellis county can state the home of their ancestors in Germany.<sup>180</sup> Printed records, as those of Landau, Sulz, Karlsruhe, Speier, Rastadt and Muenchen, which were founded 1809-1811 in southern Russia, giving the names of the first settlers and their homes in Germany,<sup>181</sup> seem not to exist. Many whose

NOTE 177.—Various communications. The majority of settlers remained true to agricultural pursuits. Some are engaged in mercantile business, others practice a trade (stone mason, carpenter) alone or in addition to farming. The exploitation of gold on the banks of the Smoky Hill river (1900-'02—see Waldemar Lindgreen, *Tests for Gold and Silver in shales from Western Kansas*, Washington, 1902), and a similar attempt near Catharine (section 28, township 13 south, range 17 west), were failures.

NOTE 178.—Pike's Journal of 1805 (Prentiss, *History of Kansas*, p. 24). *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. IX, pp. 101-114.

NOTE 179.—See Bauer, book I, ch. 2-5; book II, ch. 5-6.

NOTE 180.—The Brungardt family have preserved the tradition that their maternal ancestors came from Ornbau, Bavaria (B. Brungardt); Jacob Schmidt (p. 3) states that his grandfather, Peter Schmidt, was born in Lindeheim in Isenburg-Buedingen (now Hessen-Darmstadt). Such details are rare.

NOTE 181.—Rev. Conrad Keller, in *Deutscher Volkskalender*, Odessa, 1909, pp. 104-129. Such records could probably be made from the parish registers in the colonies and the lists which the Russian government had of all immigrants who were required to repay to the government most of the sum of five million rubles expended for colonization. (See Bauer, pp. 12, 105-6). Mr. Jos. Linnenberger states that manuscripts of A. Schneider are still preserved by a relative in Marien-thal, Russia; also that Rev. Th. Beratz, pastor in Herzog, Russia, has written a work on the colonies which he contemplates publishing.

names are here chronicled are no longer in the land of the living, and the time is not far distant when all the pioneers of our German-Russian settlements will have passed from the stage.

The question as to whether our settlers know nothing of their ancestors is a difficult one. A few can state from what village in Germany their ancestors came, but it must be admitted that most cannot. These records could undoubtedly be found in the parish registers in Russia and Germany. Some settlements near Odessa which date from the first two decades of the nineteenth century have printed details of all persons who founded the settlements. A like service could probably be performed for the settlers on the Volga. Without doubt an extensive literature, both Russian and German, exists, of which we have no knowledge. While, then, it is true that most of our settlers know little of their ancestors, such records may, and probably do, exist. The sum which the Russian government expended to colonize the region near the Volga was repaid by the colonists, which goes to indicate that the government had a complete list of persons and expenditures.

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## EARLY DAYS ON THE UNION PACIFIC.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by JOHN D. CRUISE,<sup>1</sup> of Kansas City, Kan.

IT would be as easy to locate the tomb of Adam as to name the man who first proposed the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast. But among the first of those whose voices had weight enough to attract public attention was Dr. Samuel K. Barlow, of Massachusetts, who, returning from a trip to the Northwest, warmly advocated building a road through the wealthy country he had traversed. This was in 1834, when the East was railroad mad. The New York legislature alone in that year chartered ten roads, and people actually talked of connecting Buffalo and New York city by rail. Three years later Dr. Hartwell Carver, in the *New York Courier and Inquirer*, advocated a railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, if possible; if not, as far west as the head of navigation on the Columbia river. But the nation laughed to scorn these new seekers for a north-west passage.

In spite of this Doctor Carver went to Washington to see if he could awaken Congress to the importance of constructing a railroad and of settling and holding the Northwest. He found Asa Whitney there on a similar errand.

Mr. Whitney was a New York merchant and a trader with China. During a return voyage from the Far East he had beguiled the tedious hours by planning a shorter route thither. To his mind a railroad solved the problem. Hence, in 1845 he presented a memorial<sup>2</sup> to Congress asking that a strip of land sixty miles wide, extending from the shores of Lake Michigan to those of the Pacific ocean, be granted to himself and heirs, the proceeds to be faithfully expended by them in the construction and operation of a track through the middle of this strip. Mr. Whitney's theory was that emigrants should do the work, and that they would buy with their wages the land on each side of the track as fast as the road could be built. This sale of land would enable him to proceed with the construction. He asked in return what might remain of lands or proceeds of sales after the

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NOTE 1.—JOHN DANIEL CRUISE was born at Albany, N. Y., February 16, 1844. His father, John Cruise, was a native of county Clare, Ireland, of Norman-French descent. He was a civil engineer and a graduate of Dublin University. His mother, Mary A. McCarthy, was a native of Southampton, England. Young Cruise was orphaned at St. Louis, Mo., at the age of eleven. He became a chore boy for a farmer in Franklin county, Mo. From there he went to clerk in a grocery store at Franklin, Mo., thence to St. Clair, and thence to Rolla. Returning to St. Louis, he obtained a job and learned telegraphy at the North Market street depot of the North Missouri railroad. He next joined the United States military telegraph corps and was ordered to Wyandotte, Kan., where he arrived October 22, 1863, and was operator for Gen. Samuel R. Curtis during the Price raid in 1864. He remained at Wyandotte at the close of the war, and on the 26th of June, 1865, married Miss Amanda B. Nelson. Mr. Cruise was the first telegrapher, and the first superintendent of telegraphy, for the Union Pacific railroad, Kansas Division. He afterward became joint agent at Wyandotte for various railroad and steamboat lines. From 1875 to 1878 he was general agent for the Union Pacific at Topeka. He returned to Kansas City and occupied various railroad positions. His wife died January 4, 1903. April 29, 1905, he married Miss Edith M. Shortt. He resides in Kansas City, Kan. Mr. Cruise frequently made trips to the front in connection with the telegraph service, but always in company with several others, as he had a wholesome respect for the red men, and had "never lost any Indians." He necessarily saw a great deal of the toughness that used to predominate at Abilene, Ellsworth and Hays in 1867-'68. It was dangerous to go out after dark, and frequently in daylight. Human life was very cheap. "However," Mr. Cruise says, "if persons kept sober and attended strictly to their own business, it was not so dangerous as it appeared."

NOTE 2.—The memorial was presented January 28, 1845.—*Congressional Globe*, 28th Cong., 2d Sess., vol. 14, p. 218.

completion of the work, and all expenses had been paid. Built from public lands the road would be free—only such tolls charged as would serve for its operation and repairs.

But the subject was new to Congress and the public. Whitney was looked upon by some as a speculator. St. Louis and the South saw in the scheme a suggestion for a western outlet in their own latitude. The undaunted Whitney, however, did not lose faith in his project, nor in his ability to arouse the American people. He spent the best years of his life in traveling, and lecturing, and writing upon this subject.<sup>3</sup> In his book entitled "A Project for a Railroad to the Pacific," he tried to make the American people believe that it was their duty to secure the rich commerce of the East and to disseminate the American idea along the path of the traders. He could imagine the time when the wilderness of the West should become the granary of the world, when the territory of the United States should be peopled from ocean to ocean, and when our commerce should extend across both oceans, tending to cement the whole world as one nation into a common brotherhood.

He influenced city councils and twenty state legislatures to indorse his plans. The senate committee on public lands made a favorable report upon his scheme as early as 1848, but no concerted action was ever obtained by him, either in this country or in England, where he also attempted to interest capital in his project.<sup>4</sup> He outlived the men of his generation who had not the eye of faith, and to see the Union Pacific railway completed, instead of the more northern route which had been talked of before we

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NOTE 3.—Mr. Whitney's efforts extended through the Twenty-eighth to Thirty-second Congresses, 1845-'52. The following extract shows the estimate there placed upon his work:

"Your committee find that Mr. Whitney has been unremittingly engaged, at his own expense, since 1841, in collecting information on this subject, as well in Asia as in our own country, and that we are indebted to him for the origination of the project, for the maturity of the first plan, for the large amount of practical information that is brought to bear upon the subject, and for awakening public attention to its importance. Your committee therefore feel that much deference is due to one who has so long, and with such effect, devoted himself to this great object, and who has in these labors compassed sea and land, traversed the globe, passed through the states of the Union again and again, and himself penetrated 800 miles of the almost trackless route which he thinks most expedient to be adopted. Your committee, moreover, think that such individual enterprise and success are not less worthy than calculated to inspire public confidence in his fitness and ability to consummate a scheme which he has so vigorously conceived and so well matured, and which seems to command respect and approbation in proportion as it is considered, not only *per se*, but in comparison with all other plans.

"Your committee have been forced to observe that all the excellencies of other and more recent projects are embraced in Mr. Whitney's, and apparently borrowed from his original conceptions, while their defects and objectionable features, arising from different views entertained of the power and scope of the federal constitution in application to such an object, from party strifes and sectional jealousies, from scientific and physical laws, and from insurmountable physical obstacles, are entirely obviated by Mr. Whitney's plan."—31st Cong., 1st sess., House Rept. No. 140, p. 1; serial No. 583.

NOTE 4.—In a report January 30, 1852, Mr. John L. Robinson reviews the whole congressional action upon Mr. Whitney's project. The bill presented by this committee "sets apart and sells to Mr. Whitney, under such restrictions as your committee have deemed as proper and necessary, sixty miles in width of public domain, from Lake Michigan or the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, together about seventy-eight millions of acres of good, bad and indifferent at ten cents per acre, to be paid in cash into the treasury when the road shall have been completed, for the object and purpose of enabling him to create by his own efforts and means, out of this wilderness land, the means to construct a line of railway from said Lake Michigan or the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean; which he purposes to effect by connecting the sale and settlement of the lands with the building of the road, and thus carry on and carry out the two great objects together; and as an individual enterprise, involving no constitutional question or difficulty, construct a great highway between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, which would bind the two remote extremes of our broad possessions and our great Union together, and make this road across our continent the thoroughfare for the commerce of the world; and for the cost of its construction as well as for its free use forever after, the people of the United States would be taxed for passage and transport only sufficient for the necessary expenses for the operation and repairs, and the mail would be transported free."

In Mr. Whitney's memorial accompanying the above paper he asks Congress to decide at "this session." To delay the decision longer would have probably put the work beyond his means forever. —32d Cong., 1st sess., House Rept., No. 101, pp. 1, 9; serial No. 656.

acquired the Mexican cession and lost British Columbia. He saw others grow rich from the enterprise while he kept the wolf from the door by peddling milk in the city of Washington. Such is the gratitude of republics!

After the acquisition of the Mexican cession and the discovery of gold in California, followed by the settlement of that state and its admission into the Union, the necessity for rapid communication and travel between the distant parts of our country became more keenly felt. It is not strange that the West felt the need more than the East, nor that Western statesmen were first to urge the construction of the road.

William Gilpin,<sup>5</sup> at one time an officer in the regular army, an Oregon pioneer, officer in the Mexican war, and later territorial governor of Colorado, saw the need, and because of his extensive knowledge of the western mountain region, realized the feasibility of constructing a line to the Pacific coast. He, too, suggested to Congress that it help the good work along, and followed Whitney's example by writing books and lecturing.

William M. Gwin, senator from California, did his best to secure national aid, and Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri's most prominent statesman, although he had opposed Whitney's measure, kept the matter of a Pacific route before the public. But prejudice is hard to overcome, and Eastern people were sure that it was utterly impossible, for lack of fuel and water, if for no other reason, to cross the Great American Desert with a steam engine. Could these difficulties be overcome, trains would be lost in the snowslides and avalanches of the mountains; besides, the chasms of the Rockies could not be bridged, their slopes could not be traversed, their massive bases could not be tunnelled. Furthermore, the Indians would tear up the tracks as fast as they could be laid. Moreover, if a road could be built, if an engine could be run, these same savages would scalp and murder both trainmen and passengers. These learned arguments and others may be found upon the pages of the *Congressional Globe* of that day.

The people of Missouri began agitation for railroads within that state as early as 1835, and were deeply interested in the projects of Whitney and others for the northern line. By the annexation of Texas in 1845 and the Mexican cession of 1848, the United States came into possession of California, Nevada, Utah and western Colorado, making possible a national Pacific railroad in a more southern latitude than Whitney's project.

Senator Benton had, in the early '20's, before the time of steam cars, skillfully engineered a bill through Congress and obtained President Monroe's signature to the same, authorizing the appropriation of national money for the survey of a highway<sup>6</sup> to New Mexico from Missouri. This was for the purpose of developing Southwestern trade. What wonder then that the senator was an earnest advocate of the transcontinental line. He was intensely American, and, like Whitney and Gilpin, believed in the American idea of colonizing the wilderness, and in congressional aid to facilitate trade with other nations. But as a Missourian he very naturally preferred that the transcontinental line should start from St. Louis.

February 7, 1849, he introduced a bill in the United States senate providing for the location and construction of a national road from the Pacific to

NOTE 5.—For biography of Gilpin see Wm. E. Connelley's *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 144.

NOTE 6.—The Santa Fe Trail. Thomas H. Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, vol. 1, p. 41, "Internal Trade with Mexico."



the Mississippi. The Pacific Railroad of Missouri (Missouri Pacific) was chartered by the legislature of that state March 12<sup>7</sup> following, the line to run from St. Louis to the western line of what is now Cass county, "with a view that the same may be continued hereafter westwardly to the Pacific ocean." Work was begun on the road at St. Louis July 4, 1851, and completed to Jefferson City November 1, 1855. October 3, 1865, the road had pushed its way across the state and had reached Kansas City.

Benton felt that such a road would tend to cement the states at a time when the phantom of disunion was distinctly discernable. During a debate upon the question he dramatically asked Congress, "Shall this Capital become the capital of the Atlantic states, or shall it remain the capital of the United States of America?" Benton hoped to live to see the day when trains, hurrying toward the Pacific, should glide by some noble peak of the Rockies, transformed by a sculptor into a statue of Columbus, whose outstretched hand extending toward the West should hold a tablet containing the inscription "There lies the East! There lies India!" His distinguished fellow senator, Jefferson Davis, also advocated the road as a Union saver, and believed that the route of the thirty-second parallel was the most practical and economical.<sup>8</sup>

Beginning with President Taylor in 1849, who favored the survey<sup>9</sup> of the various proposed routes, Fillmore, Pierce and Buchanan, urged upon Congress the propriety of extending aid to private enterprise in the building of a railroad, by surveys and land grants. Buchanan saw in this swifter mode of communication the means of protecting our Pacific coast.<sup>10</sup>

In 1856 the National Democratic convention in an involved resolution advocated the Pacific road, while the Republican convention asserted "That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded," and that the government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction. In 1860 the Republican and both Democratic conventions asserted in few words the necessity of the road and that the government should aid the project.<sup>11</sup>

Congress, however, after sixteen years of importunity, July 1, 1862, was compelled to yield to the demands for a national charter and national aid to a transcontinental line. The fact that the Civil War was in progress helped rather than hindered that decision. Indian uprisings were dreaded along our whole frontier while so many men were away in the army. An easy means of transporting troops had no small influence in securing the passage of the bill. Nor were there lacking vague rumors that the Pacific states, cut off from the remainder of the Union by the natural continental divide, would conclude that it was best for them to withdraw and set up a national

NOTE 7.—J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County*, 1883, vol. 2, pages 1143, 1154.

NOTE 8.—*Congressional Globe*, Thirty-fifth Cong., 2d sess., part 1, p. 486.

NOTE 9.—Fred P. Stanton, member of Congress from Tennessee, and later secretary of Kansas territory, presented a bill in Congress, August 1, 1850, providing for a survey of the routes for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific.—House Rept. No. 439, 31st Cong., 1st sess., serial No. 585. The Secretary of War was finally authorized to undertake the work March 3, 1853, and his report was ordered printed in February, 1855, embracing twelve quarto volumes, Washington, 1855-'60, and three volumes, octavo, 1855—two volumes of text and one of maps—(volume 3 was not printed). In all \$340,000 was appropriated for the surveys.

NOTE 10.—*Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. 5, p. 20, 86, 121, 178, 221, 290, 435, 457, 526, 572, 650.

NOTE 11.—J. M. H. Frederick, *National Party Platforms*, 1892, p. 28-33.

government of their own. The great advantage the road would have upon the development of the country adjacent was a weighty argument.<sup>12</sup> In commenting upon this act the Washington correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican* said:<sup>13</sup>

"The success of this measure in Congress is not viewed here in such light as it would have been years ago. It is thought the beginning of the work will be postponed by the war, and that practical legislation is viewed more in regard to its effect on foreign nations than upon any anticipation that it is a practical establishment of the measure."

This charter,<sup>14</sup> amended by the act of July 2, 1864, provided that the trunk line should start from a point on the one-hundredth meridian to be decided upon by the President, "between the south margin of the valley of the Republican river and the north margin of the valley of the Platte river, in the territory of Nebraska, and should have a connecting branch with the Mississippi river at Omaha. This line was a concession to the Chicago interests. The Central Pacific, incorporated under the laws of California, May 20, 1861, was to build eastwardly to a junction with the Nebraska road. To appease the St. Louis interests the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad of Kansas, starting at the Missouri line, on the south side of the mouth of the Kansas river, was to proceed by way of Fort Riley and form a junction with

NOTE 12.—The Historical Society has a copy of the annual report of the Parkville & Grand River Railroad Company to the stockholders, signed George S. Park, president, November, 1860, in which we find the following statistics:

"We obtained a short time since, from Thomas White, Esq., the following copy of a registration, kept at Council Grove, by S. M. Hays & Co., from the 24th of April to the 1st of October, 1860: 'Passing west—men, 3519; wagons, 2667; horses, 478; mules, 5819; working cattle, 22,738; carriages, 61; tons of freight, 6319.' The above includes only those engaged in the freighting business. No account was taken of travelers, emigrants, or men engaged in private business. The amounts passing west through Manhattan and other leading points in the territory, not including travelers and emigrants, from the 1st of April to the 10th of October, 1860, foot up as follows: Men and agents, 7560; wagons, 4975; horses, 980; mules, 7897; working cattle, 43,762; carriages, 550; tons of freight, 13,422. Add this to that registered at Council Grove and we find the expense of the carrying department to be:

11,079 hands and agents—for wages, expenses, outfits, etc.....	\$3,220,000
7,642 wagons at \$125 each.....	954,000
1,458 horses at \$100 each.....	145,800
13,716 mules at \$130 each.....	1,782,080
66,500 oxen at \$33 each.....	2,194,500
611 carriages at \$150 each.....	91,650
Total.....	\$8,391,280

"We find, then, transportation west through Kansas to New Mexico, Pike's Peak, Utah, the military posts, Indian traders' forts, for about six months of the present year, has cost \$8,391,280. Deduct \$2,000,000 as the value of outfits, wagons and teams on return, we have \$6,391,280 paid out for freighting alone. We may safely estimate the individual freight, passengers and mails going west at \$2,000,000, and the return east of passengers, freight and mails at \$2,000,000 more. We can then safely set down the cost of transportation which would have gone over this trunk road at \$10,391,280 for the last six months; which, however, includes the best business season of the year."

The Parkville & Grand River Railroad, as proposed, was to run from Cameron, on the Hannibal & St. Joseph, southwest to Parkville. It "was one hundred miles farther by St. Joseph to reach the heart of Kansas; the Hannibal & St. Joseph found it necessary to run packets down the river even below Parkville." We quote further:

"When our forefathers landed at Jamestown and Plymouth, in the midst of a howling wilderness, filled with merciless savages, when with their wives and little ones, shivering in the cold December blasts, they knelt on the icy shore and offered thanks to God for their safe deliverance from the perils of the ocean; when their numbers were daily thinning by starvation and exposure, little did they dream what was in store for their posterity.

"So with the citizens of Kansas. They have long suffered by civil dissension and strife, and now they suffer by an unparalleled drouth, that has burnt up their substance. Yet from a thousand groves prayers ascend, like sweet incense, to heaven. Will they not be heard? The voice of sympathy, followed by material aid, comes cheerily over the mountains, the lakes and the prairies. Why this interest, such as has never before been felt for any new territory? Because great things are to concentrate and go forth from the mighty heart of this continent."

NOTE 13.—Leavenworth *Conservative*, July 3, 1862.

NOTE 14.—The Kansas corporators of the road were James C. Stone and John Kerr of Leavenworth, W. H. Grimes and L. C. Challis of Atchison, Chester Thomas of Topeka, Josiah Miller of Lawrence, and Werter R. Davis of Baldwin.

the Nebraska line at the one-hundredth meridian. The latter road was required to construct a branch line connecting Leavenworth with Lawrence,<sup>15</sup> on the main line, and might, if desirable, unite with the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, or the Hannibal & St. Joseph road, or both, and proceed westward to the one-hundredth meridian. Should the Kansas line outstrip the Nebraska road and reach its destination first, it should have all the privileges and endowments of the main line and proceed to race for a junction with the Central Pacific. The trunk roads were to be completed in one through line to the Pacific coast by 1876, or forfeit their entire property to the government.

The Union Pacific of Nebraska and the Central Pacific were granted alternate sections of land for twenty miles on either side of their track, and bonds to the amount of \$16,000 per mile on the plains, \$32,000 per mile on the higher altitudes, and \$48,000 per mile for 300 miles through the Rockies. The main Kansas line shared the land grant and for 394 miles west of the Missouri the bonds to the amount of \$16,000 per mile. It, too, was privileged to issue its own bonds to the same amount as the government bonds, to be a first lien on the road. By the act of July 3, 1866, the Kansas line, by this time called the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, was authorized to change its route from a connection with the trunk line in Nebraska to a line up the Smoky Hill, by Fort Wallace, Denver, and to a junction with the Nebraska line at Cheyenne. This road was not granted the increase of bonds allowed the trunk line in the mountainous regions.<sup>16</sup>

In 1855 the first Kansas legislature had followed the example set by Missouri in chartering her own railroads. Among the first dozen charters issued was one to the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company,<sup>17</sup> which hoped to cross the state and eventually reach the Pacific ocean.

NOTE 15.—One of the most interesting chapters of Kansas history, pertaining to the location of the Union Pacific so as to touch the towns of Lawrence and Topeka, is to be found in John Speer's *Life of General Lane*, pages 272-278. The proposition of the contractors was to build to the north of Lawrence and Topeka, saving two miles and a half at Lawrence, and about one and three-quarters miles at Topeka. Senator Lane presented to Samuel Hallett, contractor, a petition signed by thirty-six United States senators, and endorsed by Abraham Lincoln, asking that the road touch these two towns. Hallett refused, demanding \$300,000 from Lawrence. Lane then had a bill passed by Congress authorizing the construction of the road to these points, but still \$300,000 was demanded. Speer says he was present in Lane's room when Samuel Hallett and John D. Perry called and informed Lane that they had determined not to change the location of the road unless Lawrence would vote them \$300,000 bonds. Lane was lying upon his bed when this proposition was made. His eyes flashed as he raised himself up and replied, "Before you get a dollar out of that burned and murdered town (this was less than a year after the Lawrence massacre) you will take up every stump and every old log you have buried in your grade to save money, and stone ballast every rod to Lawrence; and even then, when you get your first subsidies, let Jim Lane know." After a couple of additional similar meetings, Hallett, on June 13, 1864, wrote the following letter to Lane: "An inquiry into the wishes of the government and the facts in the case has induced me to adopt your suggestion in locating the main line of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, so that it shall approach the Kansas river at the nearest practicable points opposite Lawrence and Topeka. I shall telegraph my brother to so make the location." J. O. Brinkerhoff, superintendent Union Pacific, November 26, 1909, writes: "Our records show that the difference in the original line and the present line at Lawrence is two and one-half miles; that is, the present line is two and one-half miles longer than the original." John P. Rogers, city engineer of Topeka says the road is one and three-quarters miles out of a straight line to reach the present depot in Topeka.

NOTE 16.—"Mortgage or Deed of Trust of the Union Pacific Railway (Eastern Division) to Thomson & Meier, trustees; Acts and Amendments in Regard to the Construction of a Railroad and Telegraph Line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean; Charters of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company, and Laws of Kansas Relative to Railroad Companies," etc. St. Louis, 1867.

NOTE 17.—Books had been opened by this company as early as December 26, 1856, to receive subscription of stock, and steps were then taken to secure from Congress a grant of land. A meeting of stockholders was also called at Leavenworth for January 3, 1857, to elect nine directors.—Leavenworth *Herald*, January 3, 1857. "The company was organized in January, 1857, at Leavenworth, by subscription of \$156,700 of stock, and the choice by the stockholders of a board of directors and other officers. Since then other subscriptions of stock within the limits of the charter have been made; new directors and officers at various times chosen; and the company,



Kansans then had not the money to construct the road and the East was not yet ready to invest in Kansas railroad stocks. Hence it was not until 1857 that preliminary work began on this line at Leavenworth, and that the road was surveyed as far west as Fort Riley. By 1862, Ross, Steele & Co.,<sup>18</sup> of Canada, undertook the construction of the road. Everything progressed favorably until the summer of 1863. The construction company, under the superintendence of Mr. Carter, had expended a large sum of money for material, and grading was then in full operation.

Suddenly all work stopped. Gen. John C. Fremont, Senator Benton's son-in-law, and Samuel Hallett, of Steuben county, New York, had purchased the controlling stock of the road, and had changed the name to the "Union Pacific Railway (Eastern Division)."<sup>19</sup> The old construction contract was pronounced invalid by the new stockholders, and peremptory orders were given for the work to cease. Carter refused. Hallett declared war, and by some means, unknown to any one but himself, secured control of a company of United States dragoons and rode down the contumacious contractors, agents and men. In florid style he telegraphed his Eastern confreres:

"LEAVENWORTH, KAN., August 5, 1863.

"I had an awful row with Carter, a battle on the works and a 'pitch in' to get possession. We drove them back into the river until they cried enough. And my foreman, S. S. Sharp, led Carter to the bank by the collar and but for his begging would have ducked him. I expect Steele and Carter back with reinforcements. Let them come. We are ready. We have all their ties, houses and works and shall hold them. SAMUEL HALLETT."

Ross, Steele & Co. did not resort to force, but to law, and tedious litigation ensued.

Hallett soon got out of patience with Leavenworth. It had been a military post and central depot of the West. Emigrant trains had stopped

pursuant to the provisions of its charter, kept in constant and efficient existence. The construction of the road was commenced in May, 1857, and in that year surveys and profiles of the main line were made, and the location completed from Leavenworth to Fort Riley, under the direction of Mr. Edward L. Berthoud. In November last, final estimates and adjustments of the line were commenced by Col. Sylvester Medbury, of Columbus, Ohio, an engineer of known ability and experience, and are now being continued from Leavenworth to Fort Riley. The right of way and depot grounds for nearly that length of the line have been obtained—the right, through the reservation of the Delaware Indians having been secured by the twelfth article of the treaty of 1854, and the third article of the treaty of 1860, and the right through the reservation of the Potawatomie Indians having been expressly granted by the fifth article of the treaty of 1862—and if the bill now pending should become a law, the company can enter at once and vigorously upon the construction of the road. I have been connected with the company, as stockholder and officer, from its organization to this time, and know the above statements are true.—Thomas Ewing, Jr., Washington, June 14, 1862."—Extract from a pamphlet entitled "The Charters of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company, and All Laws of Kansas Affecting Its Powers, Duties and Liabilities. New York, 1864."

NOTE 18.—The contract for construction of the L. P. & W. R. R. was let to Ross, Steele & Co., of Montreal, Canada, September 19, 1862, they to begin work at both Kansas City and Leavenworth November 1 following. They had expended some \$50,000 upon the gradings and had about 100 men employed upon the work in June, 1863, when Hallett announced that his company would ignore the contract and construct the road themselves. June 15 and July 1, 1863, the new company executed two deeds of trust to Hunt & Ruggles, trustees, giving as security the line of the road built and to be built, and the lands of the company, for the purpose of securing bonds to the amount of \$5,760,000 and \$7,200,000. These deeds of trust completely disposed of all the assets of the corporation, and conveyed away the entire property upon which Ross, Steele & Co. were to be secured for building the road. Having received no pay for the work already done, and finding their securities thus disposed of, they brought an injunction suit against the Union Pacific Railway Company to prevent the issuance of the bonds. The suit was had in the United States circuit court, before Associate Justice Miller, at Keokuk, Iowa. The decision was adverse to the contractors.—Federal Cases in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, vol. 20, p. 1245; Leavenworth *Conservative*, September 13, 25, and October 4, 1862; October 23, 1863.

NOTE 19.—Done at a regularly called meeting of the stockholders of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company, held at Leavenworth June 6, 1863; the name being changed under an act of the Kansas legislature of March 5, 1862.—Mortgage or Deed of Trust of the Union Pacific Railway Company (Eastern Division) to Thomson & Meier, etc., p. 78.

there to purchase supplies, and military expeditions equipped themselves at the fort. The little city believed itself indispensable to Hallett, and the only possible eastern terminus of the road he was building. Therefore it demanded exorbitant prices for land and for all supplies, and although it had voted the bonds requested by the company, the mayor I believe withheld them until a certain number of miles of road should be completed. As the much needed money could not be had, Hallett transferred all property into the hands of the new company, left Leavenworth to its fate,<sup>20</sup> and removed everything to Wyandotte, making that the initial point of the road, in accord with the terms of the charter. The first ground was broken at Kansas City September 7, 1863. Among those present were Samuel Hallett, A. B. Bartlett, a lawyer, Silas Armstrong, a leading man of the Wyandots, and H. H. Sawyer, a foreman. Sawyer handed an ax to both Bartlett and Armstrong, asking each to fell a tree, saying that the honor of doing the first work on the right of way would fall to him whose tree fell first. Armstrong's tree first fell, but it remained attached to the stump. Bartlett's fell a few seconds later, clean cut. At one time the contestants threatened a friendly lawsuit to decide to whom the honor belonged. Mr. Sawyer then drove a post into the ground near where they stood, and exactly on the state line just east of the present Union Pacific bridge. On the Missouri side of this post he wrote with red keel the word "Slavery," and on the Kansas side "Liberty." Capt. H. H. Sawyer died February 28, 1910, at Fifth and Minnesota avenues, Kansas City, Kansas, within a mile of where he drove the post.

The first rail of this great system was laid without pomp or ceremony April 14, 1864, in Wyandotte, at the foot of Minnesota avenue, on a spur. This spur was laid for the purpose of handling material brought by the river and landed at the levee. To get government subsidy it was incorporated into the system of which it must always remain a part.

The first locomotive was brought to Wyandotte, and also to grief, a few days later. She was an old wood burner and had been used by the government on the Orange, Alexandria & Manassas railroad in Virginia. Matt Cleary was transporting the rolling stock from Weston<sup>21</sup> on the Missouri river, the then terminus of the Platte County Railroad, and the nearest rail point to Kansas City. He brought the engine<sup>22</sup> down on a barge, and as the bank of the river was high above the barge, a cut was made, rails were laid from the water's edge to her deck, and on these the engine was slid along to terra firma. J. L. Hallett fired her up and used her to draw a small push car. Alas! he knew not the ways of locomotives, and ran her too near the edge of the river. In she plunged up to the headlight, the rear end fortu-

NOTE 20.—The "road was built to what is now known as the Junction on the Missouri Pacific, near Leavenworth" at this time.—Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas, Historical and Biographical, Goodspeed, 1890, p. 205. Work was resumed on the Leavenworth and Lawrence branch June 26, 1865.—Wilder's Annals.

NOTE 21.—"The steamer Majors has been chartered by Samuel Hallett & Co. to carry railroad iron from Weston to Wyandotte. She went down yesterday with 100 tons on board."—Leavenworth *Conservative*, December 13, 1863.

NOTE 22.—Eighteen flat cars loaded with iron and one locomotive left Chicago this morning, and four carloads of iron are now in Quincy."—Extract from letter of J. D. Smith, December 3, 1863, in Leavenworth *Conservative* of December 4. "The iron and equipment for this part of the road arrived by rail at St. Joseph about the time the river closed with ice, and it was not until the opening of navigation in the spring that they were brought to Kansas City, arriving March 24, 1864. The engine belonging to this outfit was the first ever seen here."—Wyandotte County, etc., Goodspeed, 1890, p. 212.

nately remaining on the bank. With scarcity of both knowledge and tackle, it was several days before she was pulled out.

The Leavenworth papers, smarting at the change of base, had their laugh, but "he laughs best who laughs last." Leavenworth will never regain the commercial supremacy she lost. Old Wyandotte may become a great metropolis.

Hallet was working rapidly and was confident of success. He sent wordy invitations to high officials and to men of wealth throughout the nation to be present at the completion of the first forty miles of the road. His invitation ran as follows:

"UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY,  
EASTERN DIVISION,  
St. Louis, July 1, 1864.

"DEAR SIR—The government of the United States, a little more than a year ago, with a wisdom looking far beyond the burdens and anxieties of the hour, provided aid for the construction of a railroad from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean. Stimulated by its liberality and by the spirit of American enterprise, the work has been undertaken; and already the first section of forty miles is approaching completion. The opening of this section—giving earnest to the people of the country that, within the time prescribed by law, the great highway will be built to San Francisco—bringing into close union the states of the Atlantic and Pacific, and offering to the industrial enterprises of our people the incalculable wealth of a continent—is an event worthy of commemoration by the leading men of America.

"You are respectfully invited to attend the celebration, and will be received by the committee of arrangements at Weston, Mo., on the 18th day of August next, on the arrival of the morning train from the East.

"Upon the receipt from you of an acceptance of this invitation, addressed to me at 58 Beaver street, New York, you will be furnished with a free pass to Kansas and return, good over all the principal intermediate roads.

Faithfully yours,

SAM'L HALLETT."



Original is an engraved card, about 6 x 8 inches. Among the Curios of the State Historical Society.



The Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, also enclosed a card with the head "New York and San Francisco." Its sponsors seemed to believe, with W. H. Seward, that "make a terminus where you will, there can be but two—New York and San Francisco."

But the celebration never took place, for Mr. O. A. Talcott, chief engineer, had truthfully reported to President Lincoln that the road was too poorly constructed to meet the requirements for the subsidy. Hallett was in Washington when he heard this report, and telegraphed his brother Tom to slap Talcott next time he came into the office at Wyandotte. This the lusty young fellow did with gusto. Talcott bided his time for revenge, and July 27, 1864, he shot Hallett as he was returning to his office from his lunch. Hallett died immediately. Talcott escaped.<sup>23</sup>

John D. Perry, of St. Louis, became president<sup>24</sup> of the road in 1864. In spite of the delays caused by the death of Hallett and the suit of Ross, Steele & Co., not to mention the fact that the work done under Hallett's management had to be patched up, he pushed ahead with commendable speed.

NOTE 23.—The writer was an eye-witness to the killing of Samuel Hallett. It occurred about 1:20 P. M., July 27, 1864. President Lincoln had been informed by O. A. Talcott, who was a personal acquaintance of Mr. Lincoln, and who had been acting as chief engineer of the line, that the road was not being constructed by Hallett & Co. according to requirements; that Hallett & Co. were dishonest and owed nearly everybody (which was true), among them Talcott for services rendered. Samuel Hallett was shown these letters from Talcott. He therefore wired his brother at Wyandotte to discharge Talcott and kick him out in the street if he called at the office and made any demands. Thomas Hallett, a large, burly man, on the strength of the message, slapped Talcott and threw him out of the office a few days later. Talcott was a small man and had had a stroke of paralysis and was physically no match for Tom Hallett. Talcott bided his time, remarking that if Sam Hallett was destroyed, it would end the *regime* of that family, and he was correct, for it did. Samuel Hallett was sitting by me at the dinner table at the Garno House, remarking as he rose to go, "I will leave a telegram in your office; do not hurry your meal; it is not important." He crossed the street to write the message—it was a very warm day, and he recrossed to get his umbrella, and started north on Third street toward the general offices, which were in what was known as the Brick Block, the building in which the Wyandotte constitutional convention had been held. He had gone half a block, spoke to persons sitting in front of Holcomb's drug store, Talcott among the rest, for he was a very affable, gentlemanly man. Talcott, after he had passed, raised the heavy repeating rifle which he carried and shot him in the back. Talcott had been in my office just before noon, and I had asked him to dine with me, but he refused. Jack Beaton, John M. Funk, the mayor and myself had just finished our meal, and saw the whole proceeding. We all ran to the scene, picked up Hallett and carried him back to the Garno House, but he expired before we reached the hotel. The bullet cut the strap of his white duck trousers and lodged in his abdomen near the navel, but did not pass through. He exclaimed, "My God! my God!" Talcott instantly mounted his horse, which he had hitched conveniently, and rode off towards Quindaro, where he lived at the time. Because of the enmity towards Hallett by many of the people living at Quindaro, the hunt for Talcott was impeded and he never was apprehended.

Mr. Cruise's account of the killing agrees generally with a very full statement of Samuel Hallett's connection with the building of the road, published in Goodspeed's "Wyandotte County and Kansas City," chapter 13. From this volume it seems that Talcott was arrested in Colorado fifteen years later, and brought back to Wyandotte for trial. John and Tom Hallett were brothers of Samuel, the first having general charge of the work, while Tom was an assistant, and it is said unmercifully whipped Talcott, who was a much smaller man, at Samuel Hallett's request. O. A. Talcott was the chief engineer, and was employed by the capitalists, and so was not under the control of Hallett. Judge B. F. Kingsbury, who later lived at Burlington, Kansas, engaged through Fremont as an assistant engineer, and John Speer are Goodspeed's principal authorities.

The Leavenworth *Conservative* of August 2, 1864, publishes a lengthy statement of the trouble between Hallett and Talcott, signed "A. D. D." It is stated that Talcott left the service of the company voluntarily the winter previous. He was in the interest of Fremont, and disloyal to Hallett, while drawing pay as an engineer; that Thomas Hallett "threw him across his knee and administered a pretty smart spanking." Hallett then took a pistol from Talcott, who was in a foam of wrath. The "spanking" occurred several months before the shooting. A public meeting was held the next day and great indignation expressed against the cowardly assassination.

NOTE 24.—The Leavenworth *Conservative* of April 6, 1864, states that "at the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, held in Leavenworth April 5, 1864, the old board of directors was unanimously elected, with the exception of John C. Fremont, Samuel A. Stinson being elected in his place. They are, John D. Perry, president, J. B. Alexander, Timothy B. Edgar, J. P. Devereux, secretary and treasurer, A. C. Anderson and R. J. Wood, all of St. Louis; James C. Kennedy, of New York, John K. Hale, of Wyandotte, and S. A. Stinson, of Leavenworth."

In the next issue of the *Conservative* the proceedings of the annual meeting of the company, held also on April 5 at Leavenworth, are given: "The following directors were chosen for the ensuing year: Gen. John C. Fremont, Edward Learned, C. P. Dixon, of New York; John Kerr,

After the road had reached Lawrence, Messrs. Shoemaker, Miller & Co.,<sup>25</sup> from Ohio, took charge of the construction and built the road to Sheridan, Kan., reaching that point about July, 1868. R. H. Shoemaker, the eldest son of the managing contractor, Robert M. Shoemaker, a gentleman of railway experience, took charge of the operating department. He had formerly been with the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton railroad, of Ohio. He brought order out of chaos—in fact, we then began to have a railroad.<sup>26</sup> The railroad company itself constructed the road from Sheridan to Denver. Gen.

William M. Clough, R. P. C. Wilson and Fielding Johnson, of Leavenworth; William J. McAlpine, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Chas. A. Trowbridge, of Detroit, Mich. General Fremont was elected president by the directors."—*Leavenworth Conservative*, April 6, 1864.

Under date of May 17, 1864, the same paper contains another list of board members: "The members of one board of the Union Pacific Railway now stands as follows: John D. Perry, president; Adolphus Meier, vice president; J. P. Devereux, secretary and treasurer; C. S. Greeley, Giles F. Filley, Thomas L. Price, J. C. Kennedy, A. C. Anderson and Samuel A. Stinson."

The *Conservative*, August 21, 1864, says John D. Perry discharged John and Thomas Hallett, and paid numerous bills for the company.

NOTE 25.—The State Historical Society obtained from the estate of John B. Anderson, who died at Manhattan July 25, 1897, many letters and papers of great historical value. Colonel Anderson was a railroad man, first connected with what is now the Monon Route, afterwards the Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago, and the Louisville & Nashville. He served during the war as military superintendent of railroads for the Southwest, with the rank of Colonel. In 1866 he became interested in the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, and in 1868 settled in Junction City. The Historical Society holds his receipts for assessments on \$140,000 of stock in the constructing firm of Shoemaker, Miller & Co., and also receipts for assessments on \$100,000 of stock in the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division. In the collection there are autograph letters from Thomas A. Scott, William J. Palmer, Robert E. Carr, John P. Devereux, Carlos S. Greeley, Charles B. Lamborn, T. F. Oakes, John D. Perry, E. M. Bartholow, Samuel Hallett and R. M. Shoemaker. There was Adna Anderson, superintendent, and Alex C. Anderson also connected with the road, neither of whom were related to John B., and about whom but little is known. Col. John B. Anderson quit the company when they concluded to build over the Harker Hills. He wanted the road to branch at Salina, going to Denver by way of the Saline valley, and south to McPherson, covering the present route of the Santa Fe. He was also very mad because the company allowed the Santa Fe to get the Pottawatomie Reserve at \$1.25 per acre. Among the papers are several statements of earnings, which show the day of small things. Here is one signed by Adna Anderson, superintendent, addressed to John B. Anderson:

"Your letter of [1869] 24th is received. The business of the road for the months of March and April, 1868 and 1869, was as follows:

	March, 1868. 335 miles.	March, 1869. 405 miles.	April, 1868. 335 miles.	April, 1869. 405 miles.
Earnings .....	\$134,544 32	\$136,674 92	\$166,425 60	\$217,914 49
Expenses .....	84,198 94	99,388 25	89,973 27	93,291 61

"Of the expenses for March, 1869, over \$13,000 was for general expenses, and I presume come from paying some accumulated expenses at the general office. The earnings for the first half of May were larger than for the first half of April, and I think they will reach, say \$215,000 to \$220,000, against \$180,210.23 last year. I enclose a statement showing details of earnings for the two months of both years, from which you can see the direction of the increase. My judgment of the effect of the Denver extension upon the *present* road is that it will largely increase the receipts and considerably reduce the per cent of expenses. It will furnish considerable eastward bound business to load trains back and greatly reduce cost of fuel—that is, if the statements in regard to coal in that region prove correct. Whether for the additional business thus obtained it will pay the company, or others, to build the 200 miles to Denver from Sheridan, is a wholly different question from that of its effect on the road now built."

NOTE 26.—Referring to the day of small things: The secretary recalls the time when a train on the Union Pacific left Wyandotte at eight A. M. and reached Junction City, 139 miles, at five P. M., and the fare was \$9. The stage fare from Kansas City or Leavenworth to Junction City was previously \$10. A time-card as late as 1875 shows that seven hours and forty minutes was required between Kansas City and Junction City. Now the Union Pacific trains make the same distance in three hours and twenty minutes, with magnificent Pullmans and diners, and the fare is \$2.80. Five passenger trains per day each way at forty miles an hour pass along the Kansas valley, and all are crowded with passengers. Four trunk lines—the Union Pacific, Rock Island, Santa Fe, and the Missouri Pacific—cross the state from east to west with, in all, about twenty-eight trains each way daily, with the Central Branch and Burlington covering a portion of the territory on the north, and the Fort Scott branch of the Missouri Pacific on the south. The Union Pacific in 1904 to 1906, between Kansas City and Topeka, sixty-eight miles (including the forty miles built by Hallett), was rebuilt and double-tracked, curves obliterated, and grade raised in consequence of the flood of 1903, at a cost of \$2,250,000. The first rail of the second

William J. Palmer, an officer of the company, had charge of the construction.<sup>27</sup>

In 1866, when it had become certain, because of delays already mentioned, that it was impossible to beat the Nebraska line builders, permission was obtained from Congress to change the route, and instead of following up the north fork of the Republican to meet the Nebraska road, Perry was permitted to build as directly from Fort Riley to Denver as the topography of the country allowed.<sup>28</sup> It was not until September 1, 1870,<sup>29</sup> that the road was opened for traffic from Wyandotte to that city. May 31, 1868, the name of the road was changed to Kansas Pacific Railway, and January 24, 1880, the road was consolidated with the Union Pacific and Denver Pacific under the name of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

During the seven years spent in constructing the line many hardships were undergone, all materials, even cross ties for the road and coal for the locomotives, had to be transported from the points below Wyandotte on the Missouri river by boat. The Indians everywhere opposed the graders, track

track was laid in December, 1904, and tracklaying was completed in October, 1906. In the year 1909 Kansas had 8943.60 miles of main line, and 2407.06 miles of second and side track, assessed for taxation at \$367,429,051. The contrast between then, when a Denver extension was a question, and conditions to-day, seems unbelievable.

NOTE 27.—Letter of Supt. J. O. Brinkerhoff, August 22, 1910.

NOTE 28.—The progress of the road up the valley, with a slight comparison with conditions to-day, are of exceeding interest:

November 26, 1864, the last rail was laid into Lawrence. December 19, 1864, the first regular service was given Lawrence. There was an excursion train into Lawrence November 28.

January 19, 1865, the legislature adjourns to the 23d, in order to indulge in an excursion from Lawrence to Wyandotte. They had to stage it to Lawrence. June 26, 1865, work began on the branch between Lawrence and Leavenworth. October 30, 1865, President Johnson accepts the first forty miles, or about from Wyandotte to Lawrence. December 15, 1865, fifty miles of the Union Pacific were completed, or to about Perry.

January 1, 1866, the first regular passenger train arrived in Topeka. Senator James H. Lane, R. M. Shoemaker, general superintendent, James Christian, of pleasant memory, and Charles A. Farris, of the *Lawrence Journal*, were in the party. About 600 of the citizens of Topeka with a band met the party. A cannon awoke the prairie dogs, and Senator Lane made a speech. Many bottles of champagne were required. March 19, 1866, track laying reached Silver Lake, ten miles west of Topeka. May 15, 1866, trains were running on the Leavenworth branch. July 1, 1866, first passenger train leaves Leavenworth for St. Louis over the Missouri Pacific. July 3, 1866, the route was changed by Congress from the Republican to the Smoky Hill valley. July 14, 1866, the track is laid five miles west of Wamego. August 18, 1866, the track was completed into Manhattan, and regular service was first given August 25, 1866. The *Manhattan Radical*, August 11, 1866, then edited by E. C. Manning, now of Winfield, says: "Passengers have come through to our town from Leavenworth in one day, the last two or three days of this week. They leave the passenger train at Wamego and come up on the construction—it waits to take them up." October 7, 1866, the work reached Pawnee, on the Fort Riley reserve. The United States commissioners inspect 130 miles of the road, or to Ogdenburg. The first rail west of the Republican river was put down Wednesday, October 24, 1866. It was taken over the river on a wagon. A passenger train ran into Junction City Saturday evening, November 10, 1866, and began making regular trips the following Monday morning.

January 17, 1867, the road was completed to the 155th mile post, or three miles west of Chapman. April 29, 1867, trains run to Salina. June 6, 1867, Simon Cameron, with a large party from Pennsylvania, have an excursion as far west as Fort Harker, now Kanopolis. December 15, 1867, the road completed to the 335th mile post, or about Collyer.

March 4, 1868, the legislators of Kansas indulged in an excursion to Hays City. The end of the track was then at Collyer. In April, 1868, the track reached the 385th mile post, or about Monument. July 3, 1868, completed to about 400 miles west of Kansas City, in vicinity of Fort Wallace (Petition of Sixty Railroad Presidents, p. 3).

Regular service was established between Kansas City and Denver August 15, 1870. The first Pullman car into Denver over the Kansas Pacific from Kansas City was on the 7th of October, 1870, and it was named the Comanche. On the 18th of October, 1870, the Kansas editors were given an excursion to Denver.

Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 246, contains a table showing sections, miles, and date of acceptance by the President.

NOTE 29.—Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1878, p. 882. "The Denver Pacific Railway was completed June 9, 1870."—Third Annual Report, May, 1871, p. 10. The Denver Pacific was constructed under the charter of the Union Pacific, E. D., and under the act of March 3, 1869, the land grant for that road between Denver and Cheyenne was transferred to them.—Poor's Manual, 1878, p. 896. For change of name, see, also, Wilder, p. 479, and Cutler, p. 246.



layers, and the surveyors, rightly judging them to be the advance guard of civilization.<sup>30</sup>

The eighteenth Kansas calvary was organized and served from July 15 to November 15, 1867, for the better protection of the construction men. Section gangs always carried breech-loading rifles. The entrapment of the seven workmen at Russell, May 28, 1868, was quite characteristic of Indian methods. Seven men were at work some distance from their hand car, when they became aware that the savages were approaching them in numbers. The workmen reached the hand car before the Indians could overtake them and hurried eastward, thinking themselves safe, but as they rounded the curve another division of the band attacked them and before they could reach Fossil station (Russell) two out of the seven men had been killed.<sup>31</sup>

The years 1867, 1868 and 1869 were characterized by a general Indian war in the west half of the state. A glance over those years, without being exact, shows that contemporaneous with the building of the Union Pacific railway through western Kansas, on the immediate route and in the region south of the north line of the state, there were in the year 1868, 82 men and 4 children killed by Indians, and 14 women ravished; hundreds of head of stock run off, and thousands of dollars' worth of property destroyed. Up to July of 1869, 34 citizens were killed and 3 women outraged. The military

NOTE 30.—Telegrams relative to the military protection of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division. From Archives Department, book of executive telegrams:

"LEAVENWORTH, KAN., June 28, 1867.

"Gov. Crawford:

"The following dispatch has just been received from Wilson's creek, 18 miles west of Harker:

"FORT HARKER, KAN., June 28, 1867.

"R. M. Shoemaker, Leav., Kan.:

"My camp was attacked yesterday at 7 A. M. by Indians. We lost one killed, John Kessler, from Springfield, Ohio; and John Waite badly wounded. Five or six Indians were killed. I leave here to-night with more soldiers for our protection. Kessler's body is here.

J. B. RILEY, Resident Engineer."

"Unless our men are promptly protected, all the men will be driven off, and the citizens out of the country.

R. M. SHOEMAKER."

"ST. LOUIS, Mo., July 1, 1867.

"Gov. Crawford:

"You may call out a volunteer battalion of six or eight companies to be at the end of track on Saturday next. I will come in person.

W. T. SHERMAN, Lt. Gen'l."

"FORT HARKER, KAN., July 8, 1867.

"Gov. Crawford: I believe there are other causes than Indians why the Smoky Hill stage has not run. The railroad was delayed by high water, and not by Indians, and the stages have stopped for want of connection and because it is not profitable. I want both railroad and stage companies to prosper, but cannot excuse them from doing their share of service unless they make efforts equal to the occasion. All our posts and intermediate stations to Denver are safe. Trains of wagons go with light escort, and even single carriers run from post to post. General Smith has offered the stage company any amount of guard, but they won't go. Keep this to yourself, only help me to quiet down unnecessary alarm, which, as you see, often does as much harm as real danger; and of course all parties having close contracts avail themselves of the alarm to avoid service, and claim compensation and damage.

W. T. SHERMAN."

"JUNCTION CITY DEPOT, KAN., [September] 21, 1867.

"Gov. Crawford: Tom Parks, one of our principal contractors, and three other men, were killed by Indians Thursday. Gen'l Smith says we have all the protection he can give. Can you not give us a regiment of infantry at once to guard our working parties and prevent suppression of work?

R. M. SHOEMAKER."

"HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIV. MO.,

ST. LOUIS, Mo., September 24, 1867.

"Gov. Crawford, Topeka, Kan.:

"With the present convictions (?) of the Indian commission to be at Fort Harker the eighth [8], I would not be willing to accept more volunteers. Mr. Shoemaker ought not to push his parties too far out, till we meet the Cheyennes.

W. T. SHERMAN, Lieut. General."

NOTE 31.—"Railroad grading among the Indians," by Adolph Roenigk, in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, p. 384.

report for the year 1868, Department of Missouri, which included New Mexico, Colorado, and the region south, says that 353 officers, soldiers, and citizens were killed, wounded or captured.

Many accounts have been published of massacres committed along this line of road in those years; but one of the most thrilling experiences of Indian warfare anywhere on the border is mentioned in the government report<sup>32</sup> thus: "June 19 (1869, Saturday), near Sheridan, Kan., a surveying party, escorted by a detachment of the Seventh cavalry, were attacked. The escort had two men wounded, but repulsed the Indians, inflicting a loss of four killed and twelve wounded. The same day Indians attacked a government train near Fort Wallace, Kan., and drove it into the post. Troops from the garrison pursued the Indians, and captured one pony; no casualties." Here is the story of that day on the plains, in connection with the construction of this railroad, as published in the *New York Post*:

"In the month of June, 1869, when the grass and flowers on the plains of Kansas and Colorado were nearly knee high, the result of unusually abundant rains, which left clear pools of water in all the little arroyos, a corps of Kansas Pacific engineers, under the leadership of Howard Schuyler,<sup>33</sup> were engaged in making certain preliminary surveys in the vicinity of the terminal town of Phil Sheridan,<sup>34</sup> near the border line of the two states. They had been out on a trip of several months in the direction of Denver, and had returned to the end of the track to begin the definite location, which we afterwards carried through to Denver. At this time I had been with the party some two or three months, taking my novitiate in engineer-

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NOTE 32.—Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from 1868 to 1882. Chicago, 1882, p. 23.

NOTE 33.—PHILIP HOWARD SCHUYLER was born at Ithaca, N. Y., December 11, 1844. He was the son of Philip C. Schuyler and Lucy Dix Schuyler. He came to Kansas with his father's family in 1859, the father having settled in the territory in 1855. The father was a heroic leader in the contest for free soil, and Howard promptly obeyed a like impulse and enlisted in company D, Second Kansas infantry, June 20, 1861, when but sixteen years old. He was in the battle of Wilson Creek, August 10, 1861, and was one of the first to reach Gen. Nathaniel Lyon as he fell from his horse. He was mustered out with the regiment October 31, 1861. On the 1st of September, 1862, he enlisted in company I, Eleventh Kansas. He was transferred to the Fourth Arkansas cavalry, made a first lieutenant, and was mustered out a captain in 1865. He obtained employment in the summer of 1865 as an axman with Phil D. Fisher, the chief engineer of the Union Pacific, beginning work at Topeka and closing his services as locating engineer in putting the road into Denver in 1870. After passing through the Indian troubles, his party enjoyed many months of peace and undisturbed quiet on the plains, but as they neared Denver an incident occurred which showed that he was something of a philosopher as well as a very practical man of affairs. When within ten miles of the city he sent a teamster in for supplies. The teamster loaded the required stuff and then proceeded to load himself up with whisky, with the result that the supplies were spread over the prairie and the wagon a wreck. When the news reached Engineer Schuyler he remarked, "There now, we have struck that damned civilization again." When the road reached Denver William J. Palmer, who had superintended the building from Fort Riley west, concluded to penetrate the mountains with a railroad, and taking Philip Schuyler with him went to Wales to investigate the idea of a narrow gauge. The result was the Denver & Rio Grande, which enterprise engaged Mr. Schuyler until completed. He then became connected with the North Coast road in California north of San Francisco. He next built a portion of the Mexican Central. About this time his health failed him and he went to Europe. He died in Switzerland December 3, 1883, in his thirty-ninth year, and is buried in Zurich. He married Miss Fannie Brannan, of San Francisco, who survived him with one son, named Philip Schuyler, now living in Berkeley, Cal.

Philip Church Schuyler was a noted man in the territorial days of Kansas. He was the founder of the town of Burlingame; a member of the Topeka constitutional convention, and in all the conventions and conferences of the free-soil party. He was born at Stillwater-on-the-Hudson in 1805; he died July 15, 1872. His wife, Lucy Dix, was born in Champlain, N. Y. Another son, James D. Schuyler, of Los Angeles, Cal., is a hydraulic engineer of world-wide reputation. He was one of the five engineers chosen by President Roosevelt to investigate the Panama canal at the beginning of operations. He has been called for consultation to Japan, South America, British Columbia and Mexico. There are two daughters in the family, Mrs. Sarah S. Lawrence and Mrs. Matilda Sheldon, 221 West Tenth street, Topeka. Mrs. Lawrence has two sons, Schuyler Lawrence, of Chihuahua, Mexico, a mining engineer, and Courtland Lawrence, of Tampico, Mexico, engaged in the oil business.

NOTE 34.—Sheridan, now extinct, was on the east bank of the North Fork of the Smoky Hill—Logan county, Kansas, at the crossing of the Union Pacific railroad.—Map accompanying F. G. Adams's Homestead Guide, 1873.

ing, and was occupying the position of rodman. Prior to commencing the location, we were running some rapid trial lines north of Sheridan, and by Saturday, the 19th of June, were fifteen or twenty miles out in a rolling country, where the heads of the Smoky Hill and Republican forks of Kansas river interlock. On the evening before, our camp had been brought up to the end of our work, and we started out bright and early on this memorable Saturday morning, so that by ten o'clock we were several miles away from camp. In all our work we had been accompanied by an escort of fifteen infantry soldiers under the charge of a lieutenant, acting in the capacity of a camp guard, who, while they were very useful in guarding our base of supplies, were of no protection to us in the field. Our party numbered thirteen all told, two of whom remained in camp as cook and teamster. The working party was therefore reduced to eleven, including Howard, whose duty it was to ride several miles ahead, looking out the line and indicating it by building sod mounds two or three feet high with a shovel. We followed from one mound to the next, measuring angles and distances and leveling the ground. Our progress was as rapid almost as a man would walk at a moderate pace, and we were exceedingly vulnerable to attack, as we were all separated, strung out over a distance of a mile or more, while Howard was away out of sight and several miles ahead; but having been out several months without seeing any Indian signs we had no suspicion of danger and did not dream there were any Indians in the country. We afterwards knew they had been watching us some days and were simply waiting for the most favorable opportunity to make the attack, having evidently planned to kill Howard first and then come back along the line, picking off the rest of the party one by one.

"In pursuance of this plan they lay in wait until they had cornered him in a trap, when they fired a shot, striking the horse in the hip; and looking around he saw a long line of the red-painted devils on three sides of him, while on the fourth, in the direction of his party, was half a mile of broken ground cut up by deep, narrow ravines. It took but a moment to decide his line of action. Putting spurs to his horse he turned to the only loophole of escape, and, to the surprise of the Indians, went leaping over the ravines, one after the other, at the risk of his life, but with the assurance that they could not follow him, as none of their ponies were equal to the work. And to keep up the pursuit they were obliged to make a long detour.

"Having once got clear of the broken ground, Howard, looking back, found himself well ahead, and was congratulating himself on so easy an escape, when he saw directly before him, springing out of the grass, a formidable array of Indians intercepting his flight. Those pursuing in the rear closed up, and almost before he could realize the situation, he found himself again entrapped, this time by a line of Indians that entirely encircled him, numbering about 100, as nearly as he could judge. They rapidly narrowed the limits of the circle and began taunting him with all manner of insults and telling him of the tortures that awaited him, and of the slow roasting that they proposed to give him. For several minutes he sat on his horse trying to reconcile himself to the certainty that death was before him, but when the first struggle was over all trembling ceased, and with as true aim as ever huntsman leveled at a reindeer, he threw up his rifle and fired at the nearest man, killing him instantly. Earlier in the fight he had realized that he was more lightly armed than usual, having that morning left his belt with a brace of pistols and a box of cartridges in camp to be cleaned, taking his Winchester carbine, carrying only twelve shots. He now determined to sell his life as dearly as possible, and counting every shot, to be sure that he saved one for himself as a *dernier ressort* in case of capture, since death by his own hands was preferable to slow torture. Twice more he shot in quick succession, without fatal effect, when he suddenly put spurs to his horse and dashed through their lines.

"At this moment there was a general scramble and rush for him, some trying for him with their spears, others seizing his legs and trying to unhorse him. He succeeded in the twinkling of an eye in throwing them all off, and even killed a second man riding at his side—putting his arm against his (the Indian's) body and blazing away. The blood spurted over Howard's



buckskin leggings, saddle and horse. The instant he freed himself from them and got clear—alone, on open ground ahead of them, where they were not in danger of killing each other in shooting at him—they fired a volley of bullets and arrows at him. None of them hit him, and up to this moment he was entirely unharmed. Had his horse been equally fortunate this would have ended the fight, as the horse was a fine, high-spirited animal, superior to any of the Indian ponies. But the first shot received at the beginning of the hostilities had cut a small artery, and from this the blood was pumping out a steady stream that, together with his violent exertions, was fast sapping his strength. The Indians seeing this were encouraged to continue in pursuit, and their leader, mounted on an American stage horse (stolen the day before at a stage station a few miles back, which they had burned, murdering all the inmates), succeeded so well in keeping pace with him that Howard could almost feel the breath from the nostrils of his pursuer's horse. Thus they rode, nose to tail, for a mile or two, the Indian occupying the time in shooting at Howard. Three pistols, six-shooters, he emptied, and bullets flew all around poor Howard on every side. Four more entered the poor horse, already so badly wounded; a bullet pierced Howard's clothes at his side; another cut the strap of his field glass, which was lost; another cut off his spur, bruising the heel slightly, but not drawing blood; a fourth pierced the wooden breech of his rifle as he carried it in his hand, almost striking it from his grasp; others struck the saddle, and in short they seemed, to strike everywhere but where they were aimed. All this time Howard was endeavoring to reach over his shoulder a get a shot at the Indian, but at every such moment the savage slipped under the belly of his horse and was out of sight, except a hand on the mane and heel on the back. Finally, all ammunition exhausted, the Indian resorted to his spear, and with the wooden handle gave Howard one or two severe raps on the head, trying to knock him out of the saddle, without avail; but at last Howard's horse, that had been trotting shakily from loss of blood, fell on his knees, and the Indian rushed up to end the contest. At this instant the horse struggled to his feet again, and Howard saw that his opportunity had come; his foe was at his side and he quickly thrust his rifle against the Indian's body and fired, blowing a hole through that seemed as large as one's arm. The Indian shrieked, leaped out of his saddle and fell to the ground on his face, dead.

"Looking about, Howard saw the remainder of the band following at a prudent distance, for by this time they began to look upon him as a god, invulnerable to all their weapons. When at last the poor horse fell prostrate and apparently dead, they all flocked up to make a final disposition of their troublesome enemy. But Howard, undaunted, lay quietly down behind the body of his horse, and, when they came within shot range, took deliberate aim and fired, killing another man. This unlooked for disaster completely demoralized them, and they fled in all directions. Within three minutes not an Indian was in sight. He turned his attention to his horse, loosened the girth to take off his saddle, and was surprised when the animal took a deep breath and struggled to his feet. He then led him slowly to where the rest of the party had made a stand about their wagons, and as he approached from one direction I came limping from the other with a bullet in my right leg. The Indians had paid their gentle attentions to the rest of us during the time Howard was having his fight, but fortunately not in force, and we succeeded in getting together at the wagon without the loss of a man, I being the only one wounded in the whole engagement. As soon as Howard joined us we started on the retreat for camp, the Indians harassing us the whole way. They would form in single file or all abreast, and charge as though they were going to ride right over us, but on getting within shot range would wheel and retire after discharging a volley of shots that would tear up the earth all around us. This was most terrifying to me, a boy fresh from school, who had never experienced any sort of warfare, and had never even seen a gun fired by one man at another; but Howard, who had gone through four years of the War of the Rebellion, and had seen three years or more of border warfare with the Indians, was quite exhilarated by the excitement. He gave them a challenge by walking alone several hundred yards away on one side. They charged, but retreated when he kneeled and fired.

"Arriving at camp after an hour's ride and running fight, we found the escort thoroughly alarmed and just starting out to pick up our dead bodies, for they had seen so many Indians about that they made sure we were all killed. It was a scene of mutual rejoicing and congratulation, as we had feared that they had met an untimely fate. A hasty council of war was held as to what was to be done. We were unanimous in the opinion that it was folly to continue work without a larger escort, and a personal body guard; besides, it was necessary that my wounds should be dressed. Consequently it was decided to turn our faces in the direction of Sheridan, which we did, arriving there late in the afternoon, the Indians following us all the way, seeking an opportunity to attack us again. With them it had become a question of revenge, as they had lost heavily while we had escaped entirely.

"The horse that carried Howard so nobly through his fight ultimately recovered. Three of the five bullets were extracted. I afterwards took him home to Burlingame, where he was carefully fed and pampered for some years, till he died.

"I recovered from my wounds very quickly, and within six weeks rejoined the party, receiving promotion to first place in the corps, that of transit man, which I occupied until the road was completed. Our miraculous escape was long the subject of wonder on the frontier, where it was regarded as the most marvelous on record, as we fought against such fearful odds. I hope that the narrative that I have written will be intelligible. I fear I have not made it as clear as I could verbally. It always excites me to think or tell of it."

During the latter part of the month of November, 1867, our train ran into quite a severe storm as we neared Hays City, about 300 miles west of Kansas City, at that time the end of the track. We were domiciled at the Perry House, the leading hotel of Hays City. This building had been hastily constructed, and when we awoke, after an uncomfortably cold night, we discovered streaks of snow across our beds, drifted in through the walls and roof. The wind was high and the snow was fine and dry. Persons who have experienced snowstorms on the plains know how hard it is to keep this snow out of the best of houses, for it comes through the frames of doors and windows, especially when driven by a strong wind. We were soon downstairs in the dining room eating buffalo steak, potatoes *au naturel*, black coffee with dark brown sugar, and soda biscuits, served on tin plates with tin cups and tin spoons; but we had good wholesome appetites, well whetted by the bracing atmosphere.

The problem before us now was how to get back to the Missouri river, or at least to Junction City, then the edge of civilization. We boarded the train and started about nine A. M. After we had proceeded a few miles eastward we encountered a small cut full of snow and sand. Our little locomotive was an old-time wood burner. Compared to the engines of to-day it would be a veritable pigmy. However, we got through the first cut after bucking once or twice.

Perhaps, for the benefit of the uninitiated, I might say that "bucking," as it is called in railroad parlance, means uncoupling the engine from the train and making a dash at the snow that covers the rails in a cut where it has drifted. Sometimes two and three runs will be made, and even more, before the locomotive can force her way through, when she is again coupled up to the train and proceeds until the next cut is reached, where the same performance must be repeated. Nowadays, however, there are fences on either side of cuts to catch the snow and sand which would otherwise be blown by the wind into the cuts, where it packs very hard. Sometimes powerful snow plows, with three and four large locomotives, are used to

clear roads of snow. At the time we are describing no such thing as a snow plow was known west of the Missouri river. We soon discovered another cut full of snow, and after several attempts to buck through our poor little engine became disabled on one side and stuck in a long cut. All hands volunteered to dig her out, which was done. But next time she became so firmly imbedded that we had to give it up. We could not go east or west now. By this time it was afternoon and we were out on the cold, bleak plains, with the wind howling from thirty to fifty miles per hour, and snow freezing as it fell. Provisions and fuel were scarce, and not a human habitation within many miles of us.

We made the best of it and turned in for the night, after having transferred fuel from the locomotive to our passenger coaches. However, we passed a warmer night than the night before had been at the hotel. Sunday morning dawned clear, calm and comparatively mild. The sunlight upon that vast expanse of snow was beautiful to behold. Mr. L. P. B., a fellow passenger, of the firm of B. & M., well-known forwarding merchants, a gentleman who had been familiar with the plains for many years, suggested that we take a stroll. I readily accepted his invitation to get away from our surroundings, and as a diversion. The snow covered the ground to a depth of perhaps twelve to fourteen inches, and was encrusted on the top sufficiently to bear our weight, which made walking easy and smooth. We had gone perhaps a mile ahead of our train looking for signs of a relief train from the east, which we felt satisfied would come; though having no telegraph lines in working order we had to guess at this. I called Mr. B.'s attention to a lot of dogs that were trotting along parallel with, but off at a respectable distance from us. Mr. B. looked, turned to me, smiled, and suggested that we might retrace our steps toward the train. We did so, and he informed me that my supposed dogs were coyotes, and while they were great cowards, and were usually not dangerous to mankind, still, because of the snow covering the ground, and cutting off their food, a large hungry pack might possibly get up enough courage to attack us, hence his precaution.

About four o'clock in the afternoon we discovered the smoke from the locomotive of the relief train from the east, and our spirits rose in accordance, although it was yet some time before it reached us. We were hungry, having eaten our last meal about five o'clock Saturday evening, picnic style. The relief train was in charge of Supt. Blaine Marshall. His private car it was my special privilege to reach very soon. He always carried a good commissary and a good cook, and I made the best of it. Upon reaching Ellsworth I boarded the regular train for Wyandotte. The baggagemaster made a bed for me of buffalo robes and blankets in the baggage car, and I slept reasonably well. We had no such thing as a sleeping car on the line. A wrecked freight train near Fort Riley delayed us, but we finally reached Wyandotte without further mishap. However, when I got up in the morning and proceeded to roll up the robes and blankets, I discovered that my bed had been on the coffin boxes of several cholera corpses that were being taken East for permanent burial. The cholera carried off a great many people in the summer of 1867 about Fort Harker, Fort Hays, and on the frontier. Perhaps if I had known where my bed was made my slumbers would have been disturbed—another case where ignorance was bliss.



The train dispatcher's office and the Wyandotte county courthouse were near neighbors in those days. In the spring of 1865 the people became very tired of a gang whose principal occupation had been marauding, a remnant of whom had sunk down to common horse stealing. The superintendent's and train dispatcher's office was at the corner of Second and Nebraska avenue. The courthouse was a two-story building near the center of the block, on the north side of Nebraska avenue, between Third and Fourth. Here several county officials had offices. The ground floor was used as a court room. On the bench had sat at different times Judges John Pettit, William McDowell, and D. J. Brewer. My home was at No. 412 Washington avenue, and in going to and from my work I often made a short cut through an alley. One morning I was anxious to get a train out earlier than usual—it was about the break of day—and as I was going through the alley back of the courthouse I stumbled over the dead body of a negro named Mitchell, and as I looked up saw the body of "Yellow Tom" dangling at the end of a rope tied to the porch of the courthouse. Mitchell was probably innocent, but he was caught in bad company. Later I saw others suspended in the air from the same porch. The justice dispensed within was too slow.

A telegraph operator in the early '60's had to be an all-round man or boy. I say he had to be an all-round boy because most of the operators in those days were boys, and right lively fellows they were. They had to send telegrams, repair breaks in the line, locate interruptions from grounding, install offices, and, in fact, do any kind of work that came to hand in connection with the telegraph service. Thorough electricians they were not, nor were there many in existence in those days, although they are now as thick as flies in the cities. When the road had been built as far west as Edwardsville a wreck occurred near the end of the line, and all hands from headquarters were ordered out. It was in the fall, and there was a drizzling rain. We built a bonfire along the side of the track. The operator shinned up a pole and brought down a wire. Then he took a bureau from one of the wrecked cars, put an old Clark relay on the bureau, and used one post as a key by pounding it with one end of the wire. Having no umbrella, I kept my messages in one of the bureau drawers while copying them, and kept the paper covered with the cape of my military overcoat. And there we worked all day and night until the wreck was cleared up. Fancy such a telegraph office now. Oh, I tell you, we had experiences in those days! But I believe we all enjoyed them. And then, you know, we were only paving the way for the splendid railroad telegraph system of to-day.

Thomas F. Oakes was the private secretary of Mr. Hallett at the time of the latter's death, and later became prominent in Kansas railway circles. At the time of his retirement from active business he was president of the Northern Pacific Railway. Among the gentlemen who became prominent in the early days of the old Kansas Pacific may be mentioned Messrs. D. M. Edgerton, and John P. Devereux, land commissioners. E. M. Bartholow was made superintendent because he was a relative of the president, John D. Perry. He was later land agent for the company. He had had no experience in the managing of a railway whatever. He boasted of having managed his railway without a collision. During his stewardship there was but one locomotive, and the schedule was not to exceed ten miles per hour. The line extended from Wyandotte to Lawrence, Kan., 39½ miles.

Major Waterman was master mechanic and master car builder. The first consignment of freight offered was a lot of flour. It was loaded on a flat car, and housing was built over it for protection. It was destined for Lawrence. C. Wood Davis was general freight and passenger agent at this time. He was living in Sedgwick county when last heard from. Henry Tuell came in charge of the first locomotive, and was the first engineer. He was succeeded by W. O. Hockett. Then came George Dean and John McDaniel, now of Bonner Springs. John Broadus, for many years chief of police of St. Joseph, Mo., was the first conductor. Moses [Jacob O.—Wilder, p. 378] Brinkerhoff, ran the first passenger train. He was followed by Charlie Wallis. After the death of Samuel Hallett, Silas Seymour, a civil engineer, came from New York and took charge. He remained in Kansas but a short time, and went to Omaha as consulting engineer of the Nebraska line. John M. Webster was general freight agent, John H. Edwards, afterwards a state senator from Ellis, general ticket agent, J. E. Gregg, cashier and paymaster. Ex-United States Senator William A. Harris was one of our civil engineers. About 1867 the Pennsylvania railroad people took charge. W. W. Wright was general superintendent in January, 1867, George Noble, division superintendent, S. T. Smith, auditor, T. F. Oakes, purchasing agent. Adna Anderson succeeded Wright, May 6, 1867. He had been chief engineer of military railroads in Virginia during the Civil War. O. H. Dorrance was superintendent of the Western division, E. A. Redington paymaster. E. S. Bowen, afterward general manager of the New York, Ontario and Western, succeeded Mr. Anderson. Then came O. S. Lyford, later president of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railway. Mr. Oakes became general freight agent, and Beverley R. Keim general ticket agent. Robert E. Carr of St. Louis succeeded John D. Perry as president. D. E. Cornell, ex-mayor of Kansas City, Kan., became general ticket agent after Mr. Keim. Peter B. Groat was general passenger agent.

Among the early employees later residing in the vicinity of Kansas City, Kan., were A. D. Downs, S. S. Sharp, Thomas A. Shaw, W. H. Sills, of Kansas City, Mo., J. O. Brinkerhoff, present general superintendent of the Kansas division, and John McDaniel, of Bonner Springs, Willis I. Converse, of Denver, C. C. Walburn, of Kansas City, Kan. To go back, who does not remember our old conductors, Jake Sproat, Al Cheney, Frank Calkins, John Phelps and L. G. Thorne, the latter now general manager of the Texas & Pacific. Messrs. V. J. Lane,<sup>35</sup> of Kansas City, Kan., Thomas Parks and T. A. Shaw, were contractors among the hostile Indians west of Junction City, near Ellsworth and Fort Harker. The Indians killed Mr. Parks near what was afterwards named Park's Fort, about 325 miles from the Missouri river.

It goes without saying that there was great and bitter rivalry between the officers of the Union Pacific of Nebraska and the Central Pacific of California, and especially between the construction men, in the effort to build their road the farthest west or east as the case might be, and so secure the natural advantages of the longest line and the generous government subsidies.

"The matter, however, was settled by Congress, which by joint resolu-

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NOTE 35.—For a biographical sketch of Vincent J. Lane, ex-president of the Kansas State Historical Society, see volume 10, page 274. The date of the killing was September 19, 1867. See also, *Atchison Free Press*, September 21, 1867; and Kansas Archives Department Executive Telegrams, p. 34.

tion, adopted on April 10, 1869, fixed the common terminus of the two roads at or near Ogden, and directed that the Union Pacific should build and the Central Pacific pay for and own the road from the common terminus to Promontory summit, where the rails should meet, connect and form one continuous line."<sup>36</sup> Both roads had graded beyond this place, the Union Pacific some 200 miles. Here, on the 10th of May, 1869, the final ceremonies took place.<sup>37</sup> Leland Stanford, governor of California and president of the Central Pacific, was present to officiate for his road. Thomas C. Durant was there for the Union Pacific. Congratulatory telegrams from all parts of the United States were read. The governors of Idaho, Montana and Nevada presented spikes of silver and gold. Governor Stafford, of Arizona, handed to governor Stanford one made of iron, silver and gold, saying, "Ribbed in iron, clad in silver, crowned with gold, Arizona presents her offering to the enterprise that has banded together every continent and has dedicated a new pathway for commerce." Governor Tuttle, of Nevada, presented his silver spike to "help span the continents and wed the oceans." Superintendent Coe, of the Union Express Company, presented a silver hammer, and Mr. Durant, having driven some of the spikes into the last tie, made of California laurel, handed the hammer to Governor Stanford, who drove the golden spike of California into the tie.

These blows were transmitted by the electric wire to San Francisco, where the guns from the city, the forts and the ships resounded for hours. The same strokes were intended to set ringing the bells in Independence Hall and the chimes in Trinity church, New York, also to inform President Grant in the White House, that this enterprise of peace and union was completed. But it is whispered that the clicks at Omaha, owing to imperfect insulation, were so faint that the operator there had to give three taps himself to hurry the message eastward. But that did not change the result. Every city of size in the Union observed this as a gala day; flags, bunting and parades were everywhere in evidence. In Springfield, Mass., the car builders carried banners through their town announcing "We build cars to run to San Francisco, where there is connection with ferry boat to China."

The engineers, managers and presidents of the roads were the heroes of the day. They deserved to be. They had ushered in an era of peace and union. They had annihilated time and space. By establishing easy communication they had spread knowledge, which always means sympathy. But alas! no mention was made of Whitney, of Carver, nor of any of the early but unsuccessful projectors of a great transcontinental line. "Providence is prodigal of courage, of virtue, of man; it is only after a host of noble souls have fallen into despair, convinced that their cause was lost, that it triumphs."

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NOTE 36.—Hittell's *History of California*, vol. 4, p. 493.

NOTE 37.—Sterling J. Morton's *History of Nebraska*, 1906, volume 2, chapter 3, and Theodore H. Hittell's *History of California*, 1897, volume 4, chapters 5 and 6, are valuable contributions to the history of the Pacific railroad enterprises of their respective states.



## MY FIRST DAYS IN KANSAS.

Being a short account of the early experiences of **MRS. S. B. WHITE**, read at the Home Coming in Junction City, August 25, 1909.

**M**Y husband and myself, with two little children and an adopted daughter aged eight years, left Cincinnati, Ohio, for Kansas, November 1, 1854, by steamboat.<sup>1</sup>

After an uneventful voyage of two weeks we landed at Kansas City, Mo., or rather at a bluff called by that name. Our goods arriving soon, we went to housekeeping in Westport, a small town four miles from the river. We had a comfortable home and some good neighbors. There we met Mr. and Mrs. J. R. McClure,<sup>2</sup> and a friendship developed which lasted a lifetime; we shared our troubles, our joys and our sorrows, and through their death I was deprived of loving and devoted friends.

The Albrights, too, most estimable people, lived there. One day while visiting at Mrs. A.'s I witnessed a terrible fight between two Indian women which will never be effaced from my memory. Two squaws rode into an open lot behind Mrs. A.'s house and, dismounting, went for each other hot and heavy. Both were drunk and were soon down on the ground wallowing in the mud. One struggled on top, got hold of the silk handkerchief the other wore around her neck, twisted it until the woman gasped for breath, then catching with each hand her large hoop earrings, she tore them from the woman's ears without the trouble of unfastening them, making the blood stream down her neck. She still held her down and was about to choke her to death when a little old Indian rode up, presumably lame as he carried a crutch, and the way he belabored them with that crutch made it evident that that was his usual weapon. He finally got them up and on their ponies. Bloody, muddy, with their clothes torn in rags, they both rode away, and a little further on both fell headforemost into the mud, which was knee deep on their ponies. There we left them, too disgusted to watch further proceedings. I could never have looked on such a sight if enacted by white people. But Lo! the poor Indian!

Mr. White, with several other men, started to prospect for Kansas claims. Governor Reeder advised them to go to Fort Riley and secure them as near the reservation as possible, as the capital was to be at Paw-

NOTE 1.—STEPHEN BEVERIDGE WHITE was born in Montgomery county, Ohio, August 16, 1820. He was the son of Rev. Stephen Beveridge White, a Presbyterian minister. He was married in 1850 to Miss Anna Eliza Green, of Hamilton county, Ohio. In 1852 he graduated from the Cincinnati Law School in the same class with Governor and Senator Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana. He formed a partnership with Judge Vance and practiced at Rossville, Ohio, until the fall of 1854, when the call of Kansas reached him. In the fall of 1854 he located on Three Mile creek, in Riley county. In 1859 he removed to Junction City, where he enjoyed a large and lucrative practice. April 5, 1872, he died from an affection of the heart intensified by a plethoric constitution. He was a good-hearted, public-spirited man, a useful neighbor, interested in friends and in the welfare of all about him. He served some time on the local school board. Mrs. White, his widow, is now in her eightieth year, having been born in 1830. In her later years she has made twenty-two trips between Junction City and Denver, visiting among her children, and this spring visited in Oklahoma. Mrs. White's mother, Mrs. Mary Green, came to Kansas in 1856 with the family. She was a delightful character in the history of the neighborhood, known to all as Grandma Green, and popular with all for her clever attentions and useful services. She was born in Pennsylvania in 1798, the daughter of Bonham and Temperance Fox. She was married in 1820 to Eli Green, who died of cholera in 1849. She was a very devout and useful Methodist. She was the mother of nine children. She died in Kansas City, Kan., September 30, 1887, in the eighty-ninth year of her age.

NOTE 2.—See footnote about Mrs. J. R. McClure, *Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 8, pp. 244-246.



STEPHEN B. WHITE,  
Pioneer Lawyer,  
Junction City, 1855.



MRS. S. B. WHITE,  
Junction City,  
1855.

nee, one mile from the fort, a city was to be built there, etc. But that is history now and I need not repeat. Of course their faith was strong in the coming city and all staked their claims according to the governor's advice, Mr. White taking one three miles from the future city, on land that Capt. Nathaniel Lyon had chosen for himself, but, as he told Mr. White, "a soldier has no use for land, except enough to bury one." Dear man, he found his in Connecticut. He pointed out to Mr. White the beauties and advantages of his claim, and indeed it was one of earth's beauty spots. Although farther from the city than Mr. White desired, he took it, and fortunate he was in doing so, for as is well known the reservation was enlarged and many of the nearer claims swallowed up by Uncle Sam, ours having eleven acres shaved off.

Mr. Albright took a claim adjoining ours on the north, which on the next survey was thrown into ours. Mr. A. was so disgusted he packed bag and baggage and went back to Pennsylvania, whence he came.<sup>3</sup> My brother, who took a claim adjoining ours on the south, lost his also. Our mother kept house for him, and one day she saw a large snake upon the log just behind the clock, which stood on a rude shelf. She couldn't strike it without injuring the clock, and she said that clocks were too scarce to be broken for a snake, so she caught it by the tail, and with a quick and strong jerk

NOTE 3.—Charles Albright was one of Governor Reeder's party from Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania. In 1856 he returned to that state, where he became a very prominent man. He was a delegate to the National Republican convention of 1860; was a major, lieutenant colonel, colonel, brigadier general of Pennsylvania volunteers during the Civil War, and in 1872 elected a member at large of Congress from Pennsylvania. A second member of that settlement at Pawnee, Robert Klotz, also returned to Pennsylvania and served as a member of Congress.

dashed its head on the carpetless floor; it didn't hurt the floor but it killed the snake. But that's another story.

I must go back to Westport. We left that little burg on the 10th of March, 1855, for our new home in Kansas. We had two covered wagons, one containing our *lares et penates*, and a spring wagon for the family. The morning was everything that could be desired, no snow on the ground, and the sunshine warm and invigorating. But alas! it was only one of March's rare smiles luring us on with false pretenses. We slept in the wagon, and the next morning myself and children had our breakfast there also, as the ground was covered an inch deep with snow, and the wind blowing as only Kansas winds can blow. We had been advised to take the route by way of Council Grove, as it was the best road. It surely was the longest one, and if other roads were worse I pitied those who traveled them. We were ten days on the road, striking only two houses where we gained shelter; other nights we camped in the ravines or on the open prairie, or wherever night overtook us. Often the men who slept outside the wagons had to pile limbs of trees on top of their blankets to keep them from blowing away. One day we traveled only three miles when a blizzard struck us in the face. We turned tail and made for what shelter we could find. On arriving at Council Grove we found one house<sup>4</sup> only, and an encampment of Kaw Indians, it being upon their reservation. The people of the house received us kindly, and gave not only ourselves but our horses and goods shelter, for they said there would be nothing left in the morning, as the Kaws stole everything they could lay hands on. From there we made a bee line for Fort Riley.

After difficulties too numerous to write, we struck a bluff on the east side of the Smoky Hill river, where the descent was so steep the wheels of the wagons had to be tied together. We could neither walk nor roll down, as the snow was so deep on the ground, and but for the canvas covers being tied tightly in front, we should have been pitched out head over heels. Oh! how I wished ourselves back in the dear old home at Hamilton, Ohio, where I was born, lived, loved and married. But mum was the word, and mum I kept. We crossed the Smoky on the ice; then on again over the very ground where our dear old town now stands, then an unbroken expanse of snow-covered prairie, untracked save by Indians or howling wolves. We saw the fort from the bluff, and my heart sank lower than ever; it was truly "Bleak House"—no trees, nothing but cold stone walls, that chilled as we looked. But we were to find that those same stone walls held warm and hospitable hearts. We went too high up the Republican, and it seemed we never would get to the ford. We crossed that river as we did the Smoky, on the ice, and at last came to the fort, cold, hungry and dilapidated. But our welcome by Col. William R. Montgomery and Capt. Nathaniel Lyon was so warm and cordial that our hardships were all forgotten and seemed only an ugly dream.

There were no ladies then at the fort, but the men made up for their absence. Captain Lyon, the truest of friends, the bravest of soldiers, did all in his power to make us comfortable, giving his own room for myself and children. There I remained for three weeks in company with Mrs. Albright, who had arrived before us. Mr. White and Mr. Albright in the meantime were building log cabins. When the timbers were ready they had a "log

NOTE 4.—Mrs. White evidently stopped in East Council Grove, for at that time there were several buildings on the west side of the Neosho.—Cutler's History of Kansas, p. 796.



raising." The officers, taking a number of soldiers, went over and they had a jolly time with dinner in the woods, speech making, etc.

To that cabin in the woods we moved, where we spent five happy years, notwithstanding the many inconveniences and drawbacks, of which snakes were not the least.

Now for some snake stories: Our cabin stood in the edge of the woods, with many large oaks on the two sides of it, and very near the creek (Three Mile creek, by the way). It was lined inside with unbleached muslin, which made a good hiding place for snakes that crept through from the outside. Many did Mr. White kill by impaling them on a pitchfork, then loosening the muslin at the bottom and taking them out. Blacksnakes, rattlers and many other kinds thus met their death.

One afternoon we took a walk over the bluff. The first thing we saw on getting to the top was a big rattler, which my husband killed by throwing a stone at it. Going a little further we saw a strange-looking animal, less than a quarter of a mile away. It turned and looked at us and began walking slowly into a ravine, but kept its head turned towards us as though watching to see if we were coming nearer. It was a panther and a very large one. Mr. White regretted so much that he had no gun or pistol with him, as it was such a good shot. We never saw it again.

But the wolves! Oh! the wolves were numerous and bold. They attacked a young calf one night very near the house and would soon have despatched it but for its bawling, which awakened us. Mr. White ran out, seized an ax, and the wolf was so intent on having veal for its supper it did not run, and was knocked in the head with such force it never knew what killed it.

The first summer in Kansas, in July, Mr. White went back to Westport to buy the inevitable soda and another team, we having only the one horse and spring wagon. He left a young man that lived on a near-by claim to look after myself and children, get wood, catch fish and frogs, kill snakes, etc. For a few days he was faithful. Then a large carbuncle developed on his right hand, which made him almost helpless. He suffered greatly, but walked the four miles every day to have his hand dressed at the hospital. That was the summer that the cholera was so bad at the fort. The soldiers died by scores.<sup>5</sup> All that were able to walk left, many died by the wayside. The surgeon fled and many officers, but noble Major Ogden was true to his trust and fell a victim to the dread scourge.

I must here pay a tribute of respect to John T. Price.<sup>6</sup> He was untiring in his attention to the sick and dying. I recall one instance where he went into a tent and found a sick woman who had been washing clothes. Her husband lay dead on a cot, and she said she must have clean sheets to lay him out in. Price almost by main strength forced her to lie down, and

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NOTE 5.—See account of cholera at Fort Riley in August, 1856, by Percival G. Lowe, *Kan. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 7, pp. 103-107.

NOTE 6.—JOHN T. PRICE died at his home in Milford December 30, 1900. He was born in Louisville, Ky., February 14, 1826. He was educated at Hanover, Ind. He left college and enlisted as a private soldier in Col. Stephen W. Kearney's regiment, the First Dragoons, at the breaking out of the Mexican war. He marched across the plains to Santa Fe and into Old Mexico. In the fall of 1847 he went with Col. Sterling Price to Chihuahua and assisted in the battle of San Rosalia. With two soldiers he made a march of 400 miles in ten days, traveling only at night and hiding in the daytime. He was given a clerkship in the quartermaster's department at Fort Union, where he served until 1854, when he was transferred to Fort Riley. October 7, 1859, he married Miss Elizabeth Badger, of Geary county. He was colonel of the Fifteenth Kansas militia, and served two terms as county treasurer, from 1872 to 1876.

washed the sheets and hung them out. He then gave the woman his attention, and by God's blessing she was restored to health and to her two small children.

But to return to my cabin and snakes: I don't want to be tiresome, but I must tell some snake stories—true ones. Returning from the woods one day with an armful of sticks which I had gathered to catch frogs with, I saw a large snake lying across the path in front of my three-year-old daughter, who was with me. I caught and pushed her behind me, then throwing down my sticks, picked out the largest and went for that snake. The stick was rotten and broke with the first stroke, only enraging the viper, for it coiled itself up on one side of the path and, rearing its head two or three feet from the ground, ran out a red forked tongue and made such a noise with its rattles that my adopted daughter Maggie ran to the door to see what it was. Without taking my eyes off the snake I called to her to get the hoe and run away around and come up behind me, which she did very quickly. Without moving from my tracks I took the hoe and made short work with his snakeship. We dragged it up to the house, cut off the rattles, sixteen in number, and measured him. He was over five feet in length and as large around as a man's arm. It was the first snake I had ever killed, and only the thought of my children being in danger gave me courage. I shudder now to think of the peril I was in. But it was all owing to a kind Providence that I was saved. About a week later I put the baby to sleep in the house and told Maggie to shake the leaves and litter off a pallet the children had to play on under a large tree, intending to lay the little one there, as it was cooler than in the house. I got ready to follow, and at the door glanced onto the bed or pallet, and Oh, horror! there lay a huge snake coiled around the roots of the tree with part of its body on the bed. I called for Maggie to come back, and stepped in, laid the baby on the bed, and went out to consider how I should dispatch this one, lying as it did so close to the tree I could not strike with other effect than to enrage it. It soon crawled away and into a little calf pen near by. I had a kettle of soap boiling over a fire out of doors and I dipped up a large cupful, thinking I would scald it to death. I looked at the snake and then at the golden fluid, and thought what a pity to waste it on a snake, and poured it back into the kettle, the snake in the meantime watching as though to see what I was going to do about it. Finally I got a spade and made short work of him. He had fourteen rattles and was only a little less in size than the first one I killed. My husband returned soon after, and I relegated the snake killing to him; and although they were as plentiful as ever I have never killed another one from that day to this.

Such a comical disaster occurred on the morning of Mr. White's return, and being so fresh in my mind I must relate it. I got up one morning very early and going to the door I saw two men out under a large tree seeming to be busy with teams. It was not light enough for me to see distinctly, and my first impulse was to shut and barricade the door, there being no fastening of any kind to it—"the latch-string was always out." Instead I plucked up courage and walked out towards them. To my great joy I found them to be my husband and brother. I scarcely knew them at close range, so unkempt, unshaven, dirty and dusty were they—and half-starved, as a matter of course. But after a bath in the creek, and the tangles combed from their heads and whiskers, they did not look so forlorn. We had a

good garden and tomatoes were ripening, and knowing how fond both were of them I had saved them for their coming. I prepared the breakfast all ready for the table, a large bowl of the delicious vegetables cooked, along with a pot of coffee on the stove hearth, when the children running back and forth over the floor stepped on a loose puncheon that two of the stove legs rested on; up went the board sideways, down went the stove with its precious burden. I leave the reader to imagine the rest. I could not do justice to the subject then and will not try at this late day. Mr. White said he must have tomatoes for his breakfast, and went out and picked enough of half-ripe and green ones for another dish. I prepared them as before, made another pot of coffee, fortunately my meat and biscuits were intact, and all was ready to put on the table, when brother said, "O, let's carry the table out under a tree; it is so warm in here." No sooner said than the leaves were let down and out it was carried. My young man, Mr. Lincoln by name, was there too. We were all seated and I was about to pour the coffee, when down came a torrent of rain without a hint of warning from thunder or lightning. It did not begin by sprinkling, but came in torrents. Everything was piled in the middle of the table and we went in, not in the order of going, but just went. With all our mishaps and hunger we had to have a good laugh before we began to eat.

This young Lincoln I speak of was no relation to the President, the more the pity, for I should love to know that I had been aided and served by one of his kin. "Grand old man," he deserved the name fully as much as Gladstone. He was the only President I ever cared for. I loved him, and still revere and love his memory. I never see anything in print regarding him that I do not read and enjoy. But for his untimely death he might have lived to see the good result of his wise policy—and what a reward that would have been. "May he rest in peace"

Before cold weather we had a larger and higher house, with a loft where a man might sleep if he didn't want to turn over, and the beauty of it was we had a large fireplace that made such a big blaze by night we needed no "dips." Coal oil was then unknown, to us at least. I kept my best dresses hanging in the loft, where Mr. White said the rats or mice could not get at them. One day I went upstairs—by the way, our stairs were hollowed out pieces of wood nailed to the logs; not the hardest way of going upstairs by any means—to see if my dresses were all right. On looking them over I found the best one, a lovely silk and my wedding dress, had two breadths cut to tatters, and all were more or less injured. I put my hand in the pocket of one and felt something warm and soft. I got down the grand staircase in a hurry, and threw half a dozen young mice in a blazing fire with a vim that was vicious. Usually tender-hearted, I had not the least compunction about making a holocaust of those mice. There I was without a dress to wear if a preacher came along and preached somewhere, but they never did, until Mrs. Daniel Mitchell came. She would live nowhere without a church. After Ogden was incorporated as a town, and the land office opened

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NOTE 7.—Mrs. ANGIE B. MITCHELL, wife of Daniel Mitchell, died on the Maricopa Indian reservation in Arizona about July 21, 1906. They came to Kansas with a Massachusetts colony in the year 1855, and settled on Seven Mile creek near the present town of Ogden. Her husband died July 23, 1877, at the age of seventy years. They left Junction City for Arizona June 21, 1875. Mrs. Mitchell was born at Westborough, Mass., June 27, 1824. She was a strong character, highly educated and possessed much literary ability. Daniel Mitchell was a surveyor, very accurate in all he did. He surveyed the town site of Junction City in the early part of 1858. He served as county treasurer, register of deeds, and other positions in Geary county almost constantly. In 1866 he surveyed the town site of Solomon.



there, a goodly lot of people came, and Mrs. Mitchell was indefatigable in her efforts to have a meetinghouse. In her own kind and taking way she got us all interested, and with her for leader we held a fair, with the proceeds of which that little stone church on the hill was begun, and was finished mainly by her untiring efforts. It still stands as a memorial of her goodness. It was the first church built in that part of the country.

One very cold night the latch of our cabin door was lifted and in walked a young man. Later we would have called him a "tramp." But the "Weary Willies" were beyond our conception at that early day. He took a seat in the corner of the big fireplace, and as supper was ready, we urged him to eat with us, but he would not. Drawing a great piece of corn bread from his pocket, he said, "I would like to wallop my dodger in this gravy if you hain't no objections," pointing to the skillet of gravy which stood on the hearth. We had no objections, and he "walloped."

We had a big Dutch oven with a lid and many times used it to bake shortcake, corn dodgers, meat pies, etc., in, and they always tasted better than when cooked in a stove, which we had set by one side of the fireplace. And I must tell of a chicken pie we had for our first Christmas dinner in Kansas, 1855.

Lincoln, the ever-present, was there. He and Mr. White said they were going to get the Christmas dinner. I was only too glad to let them, and gave them *carte blanche* for everything. A family whose claim had been taken into the reservation had gone in disgust and left several chickens to starve or freeze, as might be. After two or three had frozen to death we took those left, gave them shelter and food, and killed and ate them to save them from a cruel death; that was the way we got chicken for our Christmas dinner. The boys prepared the fowls, made their dough for the crust, and began filling in their pie. After the fowls were in Mr. White said tomatoes would be good in it. I had dried ones, and they put in a plentiful supply. Then Lincoln said sugar is good in anything, so in went a large cup of sugar. The pie was baked in the big Dutch oven, dished and put on the table and eaten. I surprised the two fellows, casting glances at each other as they ate, but I said nothing and ate as if it had been a dish fit to set before a king.

The rats and mice led us such a life that Mr. White tried shooting them—the rats, at least. His first shot put a bullet through the bottom of our iron skillet, the only one we had, so he gave up that *modus operandi*.

The following summer we made our garden some distance from the house, as we were raising chickens then, and fences were a convenience we did not aspire to. One day Mr. White and I took a little two-year-old baby and went to the garden to work. While there I saw a file of Indians passing over a bluff that was in plain view of the cabin. Thinking the little girls would be badly frightened, we started for home with all speed. As the baby could not walk through the brush, her father had her to carry. We made such slow progress I begged him to leave her with me and hasten on, which he did as fast as his long legs could carry him. I followed, dragging and carrying the little one by turns. As I neared the creek I heard pistol or rifle shots. The trees still hid the house from view, and the pioneer mothers can imagine my feelings. I splashed over the creek, not heeding the stepping stones, ran up the bank, where I got a full view of the house and surroundings, and what did I see? My dear ones massacred, the Indians

dancing around the burning cabin with the scalps of the loved ones dangling from their belts? Nothing of the kind. Instead, I saw my husband and some dozen or more Indians *shooting at a mark*. I was relieved, of course, but I think my angry feelings predominated. I set the babe on the grass, and throwing myself beside her I gave way to my feelings in angry tears. The Indians soon left, and I guess I would be lying there yet had not my husband started to meet me and found a very angry woman. He never thought the shots might alarm me, and was very sorry, etc. Soon all was smooth—forgiven, if not forgotten.

One day that summer my eldest child, Stella by name, was sitting on the floor playing. She put her hand through a crack in the boards to recover something she had dropped. Suddenly she ran to me with the blood dripping from her fingers, crying that a snake had bitten her. I thought of nothing but a rattlesnake. I caught her fingers to my mouth and drew the blood from the wound until her fingers were perfectly white, then ran out with a cup of water, made some mud in a twinkling and bound it tightly to her finger. That was the last of it; no bad results followed, but whether it was a snake or a rat will never be known.

That summer we learned from papers and magazines sent from home that hoops were all the rage. One of my new friends living near the fort had seen the ladies there with hoops and she declared we must have them, so we induced Mr. White to buy for us, as we were too modest to ask for them ourselves. A little while after, but before we had worn our hoops, I wrote a note to my friend to come out and spend the day with me and be sure and bring her hoops. I sent the note by my husband, as he was passing that way on his road to Fort Riley. The note was delivered and Mrs. Charles Whitehair came out "mule back." We made some wide skirts to wear over hoops, dressed up and strutted around, feeling very swell, which we were in one sense, I am sure. Towards evening, when we were expecting Mr. White to come, we took the children and walked down the road to meet him. We had not gone very far when we saw him driving old Tom in a liesurely manner. When we were within a few rods of him he lifted his head, saw us, put his hand over his eyes, then peering at us for a moment, stopped the horse and, with a yell that awakened the echoes, jumped from the wagon and ran back in the direction from which he had come, yelling the while like a Comanche Indian. At first we were frightened; then we got next to him and all tumbled into the wagon and made old Tom travel for all he was worth, leaving the crazy man to walk off his fright, which he did, for he came trudging home very meekly; said he thought we were two great hogsheads walking off with the children, and he thought it best to take care of No. 1. He admitted the joke was on him.

In the fall of 1856 we had another cabin built, this time a hewed log house with a porch and a grand stairway which ran up behind the door. Then we had three houses all in a row. The last one was still standing three years ago.

Ogden had been built, the land office opened there in October, 1857, and a great deal of business carried on. For two and a half years the office remained there, then Junction City was incorporated and the office removed there, as did nearly all the citizens of Ogden. Mr. White gave me my choice of having a nice large home built there on the farm and I to stay there while he went to practice his profession in Junction, or to have a

house built in the latter place. I decided without a moment's hesitation on a home in Junction. Life was too short to live separated even a week at a time. I regretted leaving our dear woodland home exceedingly. I loved the trees, the bluffs, the creek—everything.

We made the change, and the first night in Junction I found the little four-year-old girl crying as if she was broken-hearted. On inquiring the trouble she sobbed out, "Oh, mamma, I cannot live here, there are no trees to play under." Dear heart, she died five years ago, and I hope she has found trees like those on Three Mile.

In addition to our three little girls we took three little boys to Junction whom we found among those same trees. The youngest died the summer of 1860, aged sixteen months. His death occurred on the 17th of June, our wedding anniversary, which we had always celebrated, but which we never did again.

I said in my letter that we lived a few "months," not years, in a shack where the Smith library now stands. Then a few months more farther west on Seventh street, waiting for our own house to be built, which was completed and occupied in September, 1860.

We found a goodly number of people and many houses erected when we came. I recall the McClures, Hendersons, Orrs, and many others already in their new homes, ready to live, which they said they had not been doing, only stopping off for a time. Uncle Dick Whitney was there with his family in their new house on the corner of Washington and Eighth, now owned by the Ross family. Mr. Whitney<sup>8</sup> built the first frame house in Junction, and many others, our own among them, which still stands, witness of good honest work, by a good workman, as Uncle Dick certainly was. Then the Mitchells came up from Ogden, which made an addition to our pleasant and congenial little society.

In Junction hoops were everywhere in evidence, but we did not make scarecrows of ourselves by wearing them. Kansas winds made sad havoc with them and they were soon discarded.

We had pleasant times in those days. We met often at each other's houses; had spelling school once a week for a while, and it was such fun to see the best spellers have to sit down for missing little words when they could not be caught on big ones. Dear Mrs. Woodward, a bright little woman, was our best speller. She never missed a word, big or little. The men gave each other nicknames by making their initials spell some ludicrous thing. For instance, S. B. White was Steam Boat White, which clung to him for a long time. There was a bright young lawyer, Caswell by name, whom they named Caterwaul, and so on to the end of the chapter.

Our second summer in Junction we had a good garden and raised some fine watermelons. Wishing to share them with our friends we gave a melon party on a long table in the yard. We had melons, many of them cut in all imaginable shapes. We had a yard full, and after eating all we could we got to throwing rinds, like children, and had a merry if wet time. I supplied dry dresses to the limit of my wardrobe, and all went home happy, if they did leave their dresses on the clothesline.

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NOTE 8—RICHARD CLARKSON WHITNEY was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, and died in San Juan county, New Mexico, October 13, 1896, aged seventy-nine years. He came to Kansas in 1856, settling in Pawnee. In July, 1859, he was elected first mayor of Junction City, and reelected in 1860. His wife, who was a sister of Mrs. White's, died in 1860. In 1869 he was elected sheriff of Geary county. He moved from Junction City to Denver, and in 1894 moved to New Mexico. The first frame house in Junction City built by him was torn down in the spring of 1910 to give place for a large modern stone building for the Central National Bank.



Snakes there were, too, in Junction. A very large rattler was killed in our yard, and one day starting down town I saw a curious looking snake lying in the road a little distance from the gate. It lay with its head so flattened to the ground I thought it had been killed. I looked around for a stick to touch it when I saw A. C. Pierce in his yard cutting wood. I called to him to bring his ax, which he did, and with one blow severed its flat head from its body. He then told me it was a copperhead, and they always assumed that form before striking. He said if I had touched it, it would have struck at me. I wonder if A. C. Pierce remembers the incident?

Another time, taking Stella, when she was eight years old, with me, I went up to Mr. R. E. Lawrenson's field to gather greens. Returning with my basket full we walked in a narrow path overgrown with weeds—there was no road nor any houses. I heard the loud hissing and rattling of a snake. Stella as usual was before me. I called to her to run for her life, and she ran. For the fraction of a second I hesitated; to turn to either side was dangerous, so I kept the straight and narrow path. I could see nothing for the weeds, but I was a high stepper till I got to a place free of weeds, where Stella awaited me. She cried out "Oh, mamma, a snake bit me on the foot." My heart sank. Was she to die of snake bites after so many escapes? I examined her foot and found on the heel of one shoe, very plainly to be seen, the marks of the snake's fangs, but the stiff leather of the heel had been too hard to pierce, so the third time she escaped. Pray don't say the "trail of the serpent was over us" for it was not. We lived happy and contented lives in spite of the snakes.

We had schools taught by good teachers, and our children learned rapidly. Miss Lizzie Brigham, Mrs. Mitchell's sister, taught the winter of 1859 and 1860. Mrs. McFarland, that tireless little woman who could and would not be idle, taught a term in the kitchen of the City Hotel, then vacant, and at that time the only house between ours and Washington street. Later on Mrs. Mitchell and Mrs. Robert McBratney each had large classes.

Time moved on and the war broke out. Sorrow, separation, and all manner of changes were made. Many of the men of the town joined the army and went to the field to battle for freedom. Well do I remember the morning that Captain McClure and his little band of recruits gathered before his house to receive a flag made by their wives and the mothers of that same little band. A bright young girl<sup>9</sup> stood on a chair and made the presentation speech in an audible voice and charming manner. What a tearful parting it was. Captain McClure left a foot on the field at Shelbina. Dear Willie Mitchell, so bright and loving and beloved, lost his life the last year of the war.<sup>10</sup> It nearly broke his mother's heart. Oh! how many hearts

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NOTE 9.—Miss JOSEPHINE MORGAN, now Mrs. Josephine Blakely Martin, 823 Topeka avenue, Topeka.

NOTE 10.—Capt. WILLIAM D. MITCHELL, son of Daniel Mitchell, enlisted with Company B, Second Kansas regiment, at Junction City, in the spring of 1861. He was detailed by Brig. Gen. R. B. Mitchell as clerk to the adjutant, and in this position was transferred to the Fifth Kentucky cavalry with the rank of first lieutenant. He was with Gen. A. J. Smith on his raid through Mississippi, when he received a severe wound. About the fall of Atlanta his regiment was attached to Sherman's army. He was in all the battles from Atlanta to Fayetteville, N. C. March 10, 1865, Kilpatrick's cavalry was surprised by a superior force, when the Federals lost two guns. Captain Mitchell was determined to recapture those guns. He was leading a company in such an attempt when he received a ball through the heart. He died instantly and was buried where he fell, with the honors of war. He was twenty-four years old at the time of his death. Mitchell county was named in his honor. A sister, Mrs. George E. Brown, died about a year ago in Arizona, and a very thoughtful neighbor, discovering a picture of Captain Mitchell among her effects, inquired if the Kansas State Historical Society did not want it, and now a picture of Captain Mitchell graces the walls of the Kansas state capitol.

were broken before the war ended! We who were left could stand and wait.

There were some lawless people in the country (and if not in the town, there were sympathizers). One day a young man, a mere boy in fact, was brought into town accused of horse stealing. He knew no one and had no one to defend him until my husband offered to do so. The trial was set for the next day, but the poor fellow was not there to be defended. That same night we were awakened by a noise down town. Going to the window we heard shouts and saw lights. Some one yelled "Bring on the rope." Then all sounds were swallowed up in a long wail of woe that begged for mercy. As long as I live that cry for mercy will at times sound in my ears. Mr. White could stand it no longer. Getting into his clothes, he started to the street. All of a sudden a dead silence fell on the town, the deed was done, and he came upstairs and told me about the boy. That was the only case of the kind that ever happened in the town. Many of a very different nature occurred, however. All had the interest and welfare of their neighbors at heart, and when sickness or death visited us we were as one family. One sad happening I must refer to. Mrs. Robert Henderson lost two little girls, twins, by death within thirty-six hours. Captain Henderson was in the army, she knew not where. But she had the aid and sympathy of the town. The little ones were buried in the same coffin, and it was heart-rending to see that bereaved mother.<sup>11</sup> So it was in all cases; friends and neighbors could all be depended upon to assist.

As time went on we became indifferent to the outside world. We followed the same routine day by day, week after week, until there was danger of our never getting out of the rut, when fortunately a red-breasted Martin came along and stirred us up with his ringing notes, uttered from the press. We were soon all on the *qui vive* to see what was coming next. Nothing escaped him, and the wrongdoer was well scored. He was a practical joker, too. I recall a joke he got up on a lawyer who was just beginning to wear glasses, by entering his office in his absence and removing the glasses from the frames and having a crowd to witness the man's confusion when he read as usual with the frames minus the glasses. I wonder if Mr. Martin recollects.

The cruel war was ended at last. People flocked to Kansas and Junction City got a good share of them. Business was resumed, and with the influx of strangers our little coterie was broken up. So many changes took place in the memory of many now living that I will leave some one else the task of continuing the story.

Of all that dear circle few are left. The last few years death has been busy; even in the last few days word has come of the death of two dear ones. Indeed, I stand almost alone. I am the last survivor, too, of a large family; brothers and sisters have all passed over the dark river, which I, too, will soon be called to cross. As I have lived the most of my life in Junction City, there, too, I hope to die, in the old home so dear to my heart, and there I will be buried.

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NOTE 11.—The twins were born March 4, 1861, but a few moments before Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as President. Capt. Robert Henderson enlisted in company F, Sixth Kansas cavalry, October 4, 1861. The twins were named Annie Douglas and Jane Campbell. They died September 20, 1862. Between September 15 and October 9 the father was fighting in Arkansas, beyond the reach of any communication. He had been absent from home a year. Mrs. Henderson enjoyed good health and passed her eighty-second birthday February 17, 1910. Captain Henderson died January 6, 1906.—See Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 8, pp. 405-415.

## STATEMENT OF THEODORE WEICHSELBAUM, OF OGDEN, RILEY COUNTY, JULY 17, 1908.

I WAS born in Furth, near Nuremberg, Bavaria, June 10, 1834. My father was Dr. Morits Weichselbaum. He practiced medicine in Furth for sixty-six years. He was born in 1802, and died there in 1895. My mother was Betty Kohn. I do not remember her father's name. She lived in Würzburg, Bavaria, a university town. She died in 1869.

I landed in New York city the 1st of June, 1856, and worked for a wholesale jewelry store in that city belonging to Louis Lewinger, corner of Nassau street and Maiden Lane, in which I had some interest. I sold my interest in this business soon, as I wanted to learn to speak the English language, and my employer used German only. I went peddling for a short time in Connecticut, and took opportunities to talk whether I made sales or not. I had been an English student in Bavaria, but it needs experience to talk well. Springer & Fries, wholesale clothing manufacturers of Cincinnati, heard that I was in this country, and having known me in Bavaria, sent for me. They furnished me with goods and paid my expenses to go out to Leavenworth, all the way from New York city. At St. Louis I took the steamboat Morning Star, and landed in Leavenworth in March, 1857. My goods were landed at Kansas City, Mo., and I opened a general store there on Main street, the third house from the levee on the east side. I visited the locality recently, but could not recognize a building. I stayed there until the 18th of December of that year. My business did not suit me, so I loaded up my goods in three wagons and took them to Ogden. I followed the Santa Fe trail with my three wagons until I reached the station at 110. From there I took the Mormon trail and traveled three full days, and never saw a person or a house. On the morning of the fourth day I saw a house within three rods of where we had camped the night before. I went to the house to find out where I was, and found I was on the head of Humboldt creek, in Geary county. From there I had to drive to Fort Riley, and crossed the Kansas river at Whisky Point, just opposite the fort. There was quite a little town there then—saloons, stores, etc. The soldiers bought whisky there. I then drove five miles northeast to Ogden, and put my goods into a little log store building, and opened them up for sale. The county seat was then at Ogden, and the land office. Davis county was not yet organized, but was under the jurisdiction of Riley county.<sup>1</sup> I slept on my counter. Not long afterward I moved my goods

NOTE 1.—At the Home-coming Week in Junction City in August, 1909, George W. Martin read a paper, from which we extract the following statement, showing the manipulation of county lines, the rise of Junction City and Manhattan, and the fall of Ogden:

"Davis county was established by the proslavery legislature of 1855. At that time there were no surveys. The legislature began with the county boundaries at the mouth of the Kansas river, south along the western line of Missouri twenty-four miles, thence west twenty-four miles, thence north to the channel of the Kansas river, thence down said river to place of beginning. The next county westward started at the southwest corner of the first county, and so on westward. Davis county starting at the southwest corner of Richardson (now Wabaunsee) and running west thirty miles, thence north to the Smoky Hill, and down the river to the northwest corner of Richardson. This at that time was about St. George, and the county was all south of the river. In 1857 the surveys had extended so that the legislature used definite lines. The legislature of 1859 moved the south line of Davis county nine miles north. In 1860 the east line of the county was pushed four miles westward to accommodate Richardson. The legislature of



into a log cabin, with a loft, in which I slept. In 1859 I put up my first stone building, the one in which the post office is now kept.

I was postmaster at Ogden under Buchanan's administration. My commission is dated October 26, 1859. It was signed by the President and indorsed by Joseph Holt, postmaster-general, who died a short time ago. I also had the post office under Lincoln and until Grant's administration, when the Republican party put me out. I was postmaster twice under Cleveland's administration.<sup>2</sup>

I early became financially interested in the sutler stores at Forts Larned, Dodge, Harker, Wallace and Camp Supply. I sold out my interest in all of them in May, 1869, to Charles F. Tracy, of St. Louis, who had received the appointment as sutler at Dodge and Larned. During the '60's I filled several government contracts at these posts putting up hay and wood. The last wood contract I filled in 1869—1200 cords at \$24.42 a cord—for Fort Dodge. I got the wood twenty-five miles south of Fort Dodge on Bluff creek, and hauled it with my own teams.

Jesse Crane got the original appointment for the sutler's store at Fort Larned, in 1859, and asked me to help him. He had clerked for Bob Wilson, the original post sutler at Fort Riley, and secured his appointment in that way. So we started in partnership and continued four years. Our first goods were taken to Camp Alert, right across the timbered ravine, northeast of where they were building Fort Larned. We were there perhaps six or eight months before the completion of the fort. Maj. Henry W. Wessels

1860 took some territory off Dickinson and added it to Davis, and also extended Davis north of the Smoky Hill. The territorial legislature of 1861 changed several sections in township 10 south of the river, opposite Manhattan, to Riley county. In 1864 there was a change made of a few sections in the line between Davis and Dickinson. The west line of Riley was five or six miles west of Junction City, so that this region north of the river was, prior to 1860, in Riley county. In 1873 the territory at the mouth of McDowell was given to Riley, and the Milford section on the Republican given to Davis. To complete the story of the manipulation of these county lines, I must say that the legislature of 1871 took from Wabaunsee a strip of six miles wide and twelve or fourteen miles south from the river and gave it to Riley county. The legislature of 1873 restored six miles of this territory to Wabaunsee.

"Now, why and how happened all this changing of boundary lines? I venture there are not ten people in the county familiar with this business. Local history was always a fad with me, and I have observed, both before and since occupying my present position, that quite frequently the best part of history is never told. County lines were originally laid out on a barren and undeveloped region. Lines of travel and development made frequent changes necessary. The Smoky Hill and Kansas rivers made a very unsatisfactory boundary line. The task of reconstruction began in this neighborhood. I suppose some would call it selfishness, but present conditions amply justify the foresightedness of those who first made settlements in the counties of Davis and Riley. Historical writers are getting very particular in this day about documents, but we all know that common gossip, general understanding and rumor sometimes involve very good history. In talking about these changes and how they happened, I must give you some history without documents.

"Davis and Riley were very reasonably shaped counties. Ogden was the county seat of Riley, and it also had the United States land office, and it was reasonably situated. Pawnee was destroyed, leaving Ogden the only town. Kansas Falls was an attempt at a town, but it could not succeed. Manhattan and Junction City combined to crucify Ogden. I have no documents to show this, but that is the way it looks to me. The former took the county seat of Riley and the latter took the land office. But Junction City was without a county, and hence the gradual reconstruction into its present shape of Davis or Geary county. Riley City, located about where the Country Club now is, was an ambitious point, and had also to be wiped out.

"And here we come to a point where we have some documents. The legislature of 1857 directed that the people of Riley hold an election for county seat on the first Monday of October, 1857. The same date was fixed for a county-seat vote in Davis, but this latter did not happen until June 25, 1860, at which time Davis was extended north of the river. But Riley voted on the 5th of October, 1857. In placing in order certain archives of our library we came across a bunch of testimony about that election, causing grave suspicion of crookedness, and upon which Manhattan made a contest before the legislature of 1858. Andrew J. Mead was a member of the council and Abraham Barry a member of the house. The latter was chairman of the special committee to investigate, and he reported that Ogden received 193 votes and Manhattan 156; majority for Ogden, 37. They found 59 illegal votes at Ogden for Ogden, which were thrown out, leaving a majority of 22 for Manhattan. Governor Denver signed a bill January 30, 1858, making Manhattan the county seat.

"In the papers on file with the Historical Society it is charged that Ogden was never notified

NOTE 2.—Theodore Weichselbaum was the Democratic candidate for state treasurer in 1880, receiving 59,750 votes.

and Capt. Julius Hayden (of company H, Second infantry) commanded the soldiers at Fort Larned then, companies G and H, Second infantry, sent there to establish the fort. Major Wessels was a very fine old man. I hauled out the baggage and provisions for these men.

F. W. Schaurte was orderly sergeant when I went down to Fort Larned with Major Wessels. Schaurte had his wife and one child with him there. She was an Irish woman while he was a German. I used to stop with them when at Fort Larned. He was stationed there over a year. He was colonel of a Cherokee regiment during the Civil War. One of the captains had his family there too. I think it was Capt. Julius Hayden; just his wife. He remained there until the breaking out of the war.

Jesse Crane got the appointment at Fort Dodge when the fort was first

of the investigation by this legislative committee—they heard of it through the newspapers, and when they reached the seat of government the bill in favor of Manhattan had passed both houses of the legislature.

"The folks then certainly had some nerve. The territorial legislature of 1857 overlooked Riley in making legislative apportionment. Among the papers we have is a petition asking the governor of the territory to call a special session of the legislature solely to give Riley county a member. They say that 'the growing interests of our county demand some representative, and we know of but one way to correct this blunder.' There are twenty-three signers, including such well-known names as Ben H. Keyser, P. Z. Taylor, Robert Henderson, William Cuddy, Geo. W. Kingsbury, John Sanderson, William Sanderson, George Montague and Henry Mitchell.

"The United States land office was opened at Ogden in October, 1857. Ashland was made the county seat of Davis county in 1859, but I cannot find any authority for it. On the 9th of February, 1859, Junction City was incorporated. In September, 1859, the United States land office was moved to Junction City. In the grand march of events, or perhaps of political manipulation, the county having moved north of the river to include this beautiful spot, a county-seat election happened on the 25th of June, 1860. Of course it was conducted better than the Manhattan job, and did not need the intercession of the legislature. There were 287 votes for Junction City, 129 for Union, 3 for Ashland, and 3 for Riley City. Junction City polled 224 votes. Thirty days later there were 112 votes polled in the county, of which number Junction City furnished 45.

"Now the two towns of Junction City and Manhattan have each a county seat. Ogden led off with a 'Kansas Female Collegiate Institute,' in February, 1857, and Manhattan followed with the 'Blumont Central College,' now the Kansas State Agricultural College, in February, 1858. Our proslavery forefathers were slow in this respect.

Junction was now comparatively at ease concerning county lines. But the extreme length of Riley county north, extending westward across the hills to the Republican, gave Manhattan constant distress. The town needed strength in the south, and in 1871 Riley gobbled Zealand township from Wabaunsee. Milford was a thorn in the flesh of Manhattan, though friendly enough to Junction. They were a smart lot of Yankees up there who have never given us any trouble. McDowell was of no use to Junction City, except to come here to pay their taxes; the people did all their trading at Manhattan. One night during the session of 1873 Junction City and Manhattan got together and swapped territory. How Milford did roar! The dear people in either township knew nothing of it until it was all over. Geary county was born about the same way. But Manhattan was still in trouble, and in 1903 reached the harbor of safety by the skin of her teeth. I was present at a big fight between Manhattan and the north end of Riley before a committee of the legislature that year. Manhattan wanted a law authorizing a tax to build a courthouse. She won in the legislature, and set the day of the election about one week before the flood of 1903. A week later a sea of water would have drowned her hopes for a few years more. Now the town is fixed, about the most beautiful in the state, with the first or second greatest institution of its kind in America, saved to her by a Junction City man.

"Now to return to the county lines of Davis (or Geary). A remarkable fight was started in 1879, I guess by authority of the board of county commissioners, to gobble a six-mile strip from Dickinson county. There never was such excitement before or since in Dickinson county. It seems as though the town of Abilene was all in Topeka. If it had not been for the Horton-Ingalls row, which involved everything at that session except the state printer, the bill making such a change would have passed the house, but with no probability of passing the senate. It was a wild and woolly row. A five-gallon keg was kept on tap all the time in the washstand in a rear room of the Tefft House, and everybody was privileged to call and help himself. That was my last run for state printer, and I had a dreadful time and some fun downing that keg. Now, I haven't any papers for this, but it is a reasonable and a believable story. That frolic cost \$600, and it was paid in some sort of voucher by the county commissioners for rippin' the Republican river bridge, probably a ten-dollar job.

"There was a lively contest in the legislature of 1903 over a bill to detach six miles from Morris county and add it to Geary. This involved the Rock Island road, eighty-eight sections of land, \$400,000 of taxable property and 1500 population. The bill did not pass either house, but it raised a great commotion. It was understood to be a White City movement against Council Grove, and Geary was not much interested. Junction City would have about as much use for additional territory on the south as Manhattan would have on the north end of Riley.

"I think county lines in Kansas are now definitely settled. But to justify the transfer in this neighborhood I call attention to the fact that Shawnee worked some territory off Jackson and Jefferson; Douglas also worked Jefferson, and Wyandotte worked Johnson. In Pottawatomie the trouble took the opposite chute, and the county has a county seat in the hills away from the railroad, with two good towns on the railroad, St. Marys and Wamego."

established in 1865, and I became his partner. I would go on to St. Louis and buy the goods, and haul them with my teams from Leavenworth to all the posts. Crane had the oversight of the work at the posts, at each of which we had a clerk.<sup>3</sup> George W. Crane, now head of a Topeka printing office, was head clerk at Fort Larned. A brother of mine, Albert Weichselbaum, was at Fort Dodge. He was killed there on Sunday, August 27, 1865. It was our custom to close the store at one o'clock in the afternoon on Sundays. My brother and one of the soldiers, a cavalry sergeant, went out hunting. As they did not come back, news was sent to my brother Sam, who was clerking for me at Fort Larned. The commander there furnished him with a company of cavalry to escort him to Fort Dodge. They found my brother Albert's body on a sand bar in the Arkansas river, about a mile above Fort Dodge, but they never found the soldier's remains. I was never satisfied as to whether Albert was killed by the Indians or by the sergeant who went out with him.

I bought out the interest at Fort Harker and Fort Wallace from Robert S. Miller, a former banker of Junction City, dead long ago. The firm name at Fort Wallace was Scott & Weichselbaum. D. W. Scott had been the quartermaster at Fort Riley for several years.

The firm name at Fort Harker was Osborne & Scott. Vincent B. Osborne had been a soldier during the war and had one leg cut off. Neither man had money, and I furnished the capital, and supposed I had a half interest in Scott's share, but I had no contract written. I did have a written agreement for Fort Wallace, written out by the judge of the court, who was my attorney at Junction City.

The firm name at Camp Supply, Fort Larned and Fort Dodge was Tap-

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NOTE 3.—Jesse H. Crane was born in Easton, Pennsylvania, June 23, 1839. He was educated in La Fayette College, and came to Kansas with his father, Dr. F. L. Crane, in 1855. During that year he took a position as clerk with "Bob" Wilson, sutler at Fort Riley. In 1859 he was appointed post sutler at Fort Larned, and engaged in partnership with Theo. Weichselbaum of Ogden. This partnership continued until 1866, when he sold out his Fort Larned interests and removed to Topeka, the home of his father and brothers. In 1873 he went to Santa Barbara, California, on account of catarrhal trouble, and returned with his family in 1876. He died in Topeka July 5, 1908.

Francis Loomis Crane, the father of Jesse, was born January 10, 1808, at East Windsor, Hartford county, Connecticut. His father, David Crane, did good service under the immediate command of General Washington. His home training was in the strict Puritan school. He was educated in the common schools, and studied medicine with an uncle, Dr. John W. Crane. At the age of 22 he had established a successful business at Easton, Pennsylvania. In October, 1854, he moved to Kansas and settled on the present site of Topeka, and became a member of the town company. He was active in the formation of the Free-State party. In 1857 he was treasurer of the St. Joseph and Topeka Railroad Company, and he was also foremost in the labor and agitation resulting in the construction of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Five acres of the site on which the Santa Fe shops are located were donated by Doctor Crane. In 1859 he started the present Topeka Cemetery; he built a bridge across the Kansas river. August 19, 1862, he enlisted as a private in Company E, Eleventh Kansas regiment, and served until mustered out, August 7, 1865. He was soon detailed as hospital steward, placed in charge of a small-pox hospital, and did the work of a brigade surgeon on a private's pay. He was married in October, 1838, to Mary Elizabeth Howell. She lived but six and one-half years. Doctor Crane died at 4 o'clock A. M. November 19, 1884, at the residence of his son Jesse, in New Mexico. He made a splendid record, and left a very pleasant memory. He was greatly interested in the State Historical Society, and has left in its files a scrap-book showing a remarkably enterprising and liberal business and public life. He left four sons, Jesse H., Franklin L., who died at Fort Larned during the war, David O., and George W., Crane. The youngest son is the noted publisher of Topeka. He was born at Easton, Pennsylvania, August 25, 1843. He lived with an aunt in Canada until March, 1865, when he came to Kansas. He clerked in the store of his brother Jesse at Larned for one year. He returned to Topeka in 1866, and for three years cultivated a market garden on the ground where the yards and depot of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company now are. In 1868 he began business as a bookbinder and blank-book maker in partnership with J. G. Bryon. In 1869 he acquired a one-third interest in the Topeka *Commonwealth*, under the firm name of Prouty, Davis & Crane. In 1888 he organized the Crane Publishing Company, and ever since has enjoyed a large and lucrative trade. He was the nominee of the Republican caucus for state printer in 1893, but being the session of the legislative war he lacked one vote of an election. In June, 1870, he married Ella Rain. Two children were born of this marriage, Frank S., cashier and superintendent of the publishing business, and Edna. Mrs. Crane died in April, 1881. In the winter of 1882 Mr. Crane married Miss Fannie Kiblinger.



pan & Weichselbaum. J. E. Tappan was first lieutenant of the Second Colorado, company G, during the war, a nephew of Samuel F. Tappan, Boston people. John E. Tappan's father was a large manufacturer of rubber goods in Boston. When the young man went in with me he put in a capital of \$5000, and he bought out Jesse Crane. Ours was the first sutler's store at Camp Supply.

I think it was in 1868 that I opened the sutler's store at Camp Supply. Maj. Henry Inman was the chief quartermaster for the Western Department, stationed at Fort Harker. He supplied the transportation for all those Western posts when there was an expedition to go out. There were several such expeditions fitted out from there. When Custer was stationed at Fort Riley he and Mrs. Custer visited at my house.

When Major Inman and I went down to Camp Supply, soon after it was opened, we had an escort of ten Cheyenne Indians. They would always have fresh buffalo meat ready for us in camp. I traded with the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas between the Arkansas river and Camp Supply.

We did a lot of business at Fort Supply; a good business. ——— Drum, I think, was in charge of the Camp Supply sutler's store, and had an interest with us.

In July, 1864, Maj. Gen. S. R. Curtis was sent out to Fort Riley by the War Department to raise all the militia he could to go to the relief of trains which were corralled at Cow creek<sup>4</sup> on the Santa Fe road because of the hostile Indians. As soon as he reported at Fort Riley, Capt. James R. McClure, who was in command of that post, sent for me to report to him, and go as guide on that expedition. I reported the same day, but it took a few days to make ready. I had to furnish teams to haul the goods. I furnished seven or eight teams and drivers. Brother Albert was one of the militia, and rode one of my mules. We went to Fort Larned, and after we were there a day or two General Curtis got my horse to ride. He had none, having come out to Fort Riley in a four-mule ambulance which he had continued to use to Fort Larned. Capt. John Willans, General Curtis's adjutant on this expedition, was the only soldier he had with him. I knew Willans before the war. He had a theater upstairs in my store building.

NOTE 4.—The following manuscripts were found among the Society's papers, and evidently pertain to this expedition:

"HEAD QUARTERS 14TH REG. K. S. M.,  
FT. RILEY, July 23, 1864.

"Pursuant to instructions just received from Major General Curtis, you are ordered to report to this headquarters with the least possible delay, with all the men you can raise from your company, well mounted, arms will be furnished here.

"Order your men to take one or two blankets each, as they probably will be absent for eight or ten days. Very respectfully, Your obedient servant.

"2d Lieut. C. M. Dyche, commanding F Co.,  
14th Regt. K. S. M."

D. W. SCOTT,  
Col. 14th Regt. K. S. M.

"Report of 2d Lieut. C. M. Dyche, Co. F, 14th Regt., Kansas Militia.

1. C. M. Dyche, 2d Lieut.
2. Robert Mellan, 4th Sergt.
3. E. C. Estman, 2d Corporal.
4. J. Myres, 4th
5. A. B. Brookfield, 3d Lieut.
6. J. Busby.
7. C. Caley.
8. S. Cutter.
9. James Hestan.
10. J. Mellan.
11. Robert Mellan.
12. John Osbern.
13. Th. Osbern.

14. Joe Osbern.
15. William Pcwel.
16. J. Streetfield.
17. R. T. Thomas.
18. D. Warner.
19. A. Weichselbaum.
20. Th. Weichselbaum.
21. J. J. Myres.
22. Alb. Phasan.
23. C. Zubell.
24. J. T. Banister.
25. Philip Bloomer.
26. S. Glossip.

"I certify that the above is a correct list of the men serving on the Indian expedition.

"Aug. 6, 1864.

C. M. DYCHE, 2d Lieut., Co. F., 14th Regt. K. S. M."

A pretty good fellow. We crossed the Arkansas river south of Larned. After we crossed Pawnee fork we went east without seeing any Indians; but they saw us. We recrossed the river near the mouth of Walnut creek, near Fort Zarah. (I ran a store there in 1864 or 1865, and made hay there for the government.) Curtis found nothing. It was the state militia from Riley, Davis and Pottawatomie counties I accompanied. We picked them up going out. The state made an appropriation that partially paid us, but we were never paid in full.

I brought the news of the breaking out of the war from Fort Riley to Fort Wise, in April, 1861, with an ox team, ahead of the mail. I took a soldier's wife out there to her husband. Her husband was a bugler in the company. She begged me to take her out. I asked her \$20 for the trip, 500 miles out and the same back, but I took some Indian goods out and sold them, so made something. In those days there was only one mail from Independence, Mo., to Fort Union, N. M. The same animals they started with had to go through the whole trip to Fort Wise (Bent's old fort). This was when the fort proper was still used—the fort by the river. It was moved afterwards. They used Bent's old fort on the hill for their commissary stores and offices; but the post, made up of little shanties and tents, was down on the river.

June 10, 1862, I married, my wife coming directly to me from Germany. I had never known her nor seen her. My parents picked her out for me and sent her out. They made a good selection—the best woman that ever lived. She had eight children, of whom four are living. Fanny Blumenstein was her name. They had sent me her photo and we had had some correspondence. My brother-in-law, John Jacob Tipp, brought her with him from Germany to Leavenworth with a sister of mine, Tipp's wife. They lived at Ogden in the same house with us. Our children were: Josephine Weichselbaum, born May, 1864. Samuel, my oldest boy, was born in 1866. He was married in August, 1908, in Chicago. Edwin was born in 1868 in Furth, Bavaria. My wife and children were there on a visit. I had taken them over in 1867, stayed two months, got tired of bumming and came back to my work, but went back for them in the fall and brought them home, crossing the ocean four times that year. Johanna, living at Macon, Ga., is our youngest child, she married my second cousin, Julius J. Waxelbaum, a wholesale fruit man or commission merchant at Macon. They have three children. He changed the spelling of our name. My oldest daughter, Josephine, is not married and lives at home, is my storekeeper. My wife died in 1896. June 14, 1900, I married Miss Bertha Koch, of New York city.

When I took that woman out to Fort Wise in 1861 I was attacked by five young Indians after I crossed Big Coon creek on the Santa Fe trail. The five had but one pony. When they saw my horse there they wanted to trade. The woman was in the wagon. I refused to trade, when one took his spear and punched me in the face. I then took out my pistol and pounded the one that punched me on the head, and left him there on the prairie. Returning from Fort Wise, I brought three discharged soldiers from three miles this side of Cow creek. One was a cook and made up a loaf of bread, and had it out to cool while some more was cooking. A great big Indian came up (there were others behind him) and climbed into my wagon and helped himself to my bread, but I took out my blacksnake whip.

and whipped them right and left, and chased them off. I think they were Kaws. When I came back to the wagon the three soldiers were just as white as could be. One of them, Joseph Rendlebrock, then a sergeant, became a captain of cavalry in the regular army during the war. I have read two articles in the *Kansas City Star* recently about this man's service in New Mexico. He seems never to have conquered his fear, although he served in the army long enough to draw a pension on retiring.

In 1864 the Cheyenne Indians asked my partner (Crane) and myself to trade with them in their camp, twenty miles southwest of Fort Larned, in November and December. They escorted us out to the camp on the Arkansas river. We forded the Arkansas with our four-mule team. I was in my own conveyance, a carriage and mules, and expected to stay a week. Then the river froze over so we could not get back for four weeks. The Indians treated us well. Their camp was south of the Arkansas—a great big camp. We got a lot of buffalo robes there. We traded our goods to them for buffalo robes and antelope skins. The Indians had lodges from which the Sibley tent was patterned. They furnished us a lodge to live in, and gave us soup in six- and eight-quart milk pans. Another dish was little dogs roasted. They were raised for that purpose, and were just as nice and fat as could be. They also roasted buffalo. They also cut the meat in little pieces and mixed it with red berries, and made a sausage which was very fine eating. We did our business with the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas.

John K. Wright built the foundation of my store at Fort Larned in 1862. It was a big stone store building, and though he afterwards followed the business, this was the first contract of that kind he ever had. He was a sergeant in the Second Colorado, stationed at Fort Larned at the time. I had a back room where I slept. Sometimes six or eight big Indians slept on the floor at the same time. We had a Cheyenne to do the chores about the place. When they went on the warpath they had to give us notice and he left. They would not allow him to stay there.

About 1861, or perhaps later, the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos went out in the fall of the year for buffalo meat, to about where Abilene now is. As the party came back a young fellow had two long strings of fingers and toes of a Pawnee strung from his saddle horn to the back of his saddle, outside of his legs. There seemed to be more than would belong to one person. He had done the killing. I remember there was a big fight between the Pawnees and Pottawatomies, but have forgotten the particulars.<sup>5</sup>

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NOTE 5.—These relics may have been taken from one of the victims of the fight on Bull Foot creek, Lincoln county, about 1863, mentioned by Adolph Roenigk in the following extract from his letter:

"In 1884 I became acquainted with Mr. Ferdinand Erhardt, an old settler two miles south of here on Bull Foot creek. Talking with him about old times and Indians, he told me about this place where he found skulls and some remains of dead Indians when he first settled, in 1867. A few years later a party of Pottawatomie Indians camped there for about a week, about a half mile west of his farm. Several white men were with the party, and from them he learned about the battle. It was said to have been a running fight. The retreating party of fourteen tried to find shelter or a hiding place in among rocks, a kind of a cave near Bull Foot creek, and all were killed. Some writer may have written about this before, as it was known to the military officers at Fort Harker. Mr. Erhardt said in 1869 an ambulance came over from the fort, distance twenty miles, and gathered up the bones and what was left of the dead Indians. I wanted to see the place, and we went over. On a rock near by we found an inscription cut. The exact words I do not remember, but think it reads: 'Battle between Pottawatomies and Pawnees, fourteen Indians killed, 1863.' A number of bullet marks were also plain to be seen where the rain could not wash over it. This was twenty years ago."—Letter, July 18, 1904.

A Mr. Solomon Humbarger, of Culver, told Mr. Roenigk that at the time the battle happened a large party of Pottawatomies came past their place, having with them one dead and one wounded,



About the winter of 1863-'64, after Col. Jesse H. Leavenworth had been appointed Indian agent, he came in at the same time I did, by coach, from Fort Larned. When we came to about where Brookville now is, to a little log shack, we were snow-bound and had to stay there all night. I had bought from the Indians two good blankets and was prepared for the night. Leavenworth asked me where I got the blankets. I told him to mind his own business, that I had bought and paid for them. The man who helped Leavenworth in his dirty work was a large man—an American, and was along on this trip. He afterwards went to the Territory. He kept the Cow Creek ranch on the Santa Fe trail for Doctor ——. Doctor ——— came out from Council Grove, where he had swapped or traded with the Indians, and when he left the Cow Creek store he went back there again to live. The Indians were to have received the blankets as presents, but Leavenworth traded them to the Indians for buffalo robes. Colonel Leavenworth made his headquarters at Fort Larned. His pay was small and he had to make his living from it. My brother found two of my mules when he came in from the west. Custer gave him an order on the quartermaster at Fort Harker for two mules. Inman was the quartermaster.

Capt. Nathaniel Lyon was in command of Fort Riley in the fall of 1860, and hired me and my outfit to go to Camp Alert, afterwards Larned, to make hay for the government, and allowed me sixty-five dollars per day from the time I left Fort Riley until I returned. I had about ten wagons and about ten extra hands. The men did the mowing with scythes, a half dozen great big Dutchmen, all in a row. I cleared twenty dollars a day for my own services. I was gone thirty days. We hauled the grass ten miles, across Coon creek and the Arkansas river. There was not a drop of water in the Arkansas. I had to sink a big wagon box in the Arkansas to collect water for our own use. We drove the cattle across the river to Coon creek to get their water. When the water of Coon creek reached the Arkansas, it sunk too. The grass grew plentifully that year, about one and one-half feet high. The Indians did not bother us any there. This was in early November, and we cut the grass in good shape.

Lyon, to punish his soldiers, would make them carry two or three sticks of cordwood on their shoulders. There would always be some of these men marching up and down there. He was a little fellow. He was a terrible growler. He was smart. He was a hard nut. He was an honorable man, and a good friend to me. It was Lyon who gave me the job of making hay at Fort Larned. They could not get anyone else to take the contract, and so I got it, and big wages.

I built a brewery and ran it for ten years at Ogden, and closed up the business when the prohibition law came into effect, May 1, 1881. I hauled the beer around the country and sold it to the saloons, and shipped it as far west as Hays. I never got a cent in compensation for my loss, and I am out \$15,000. I had built a large brewery with cellars underground, and

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and told of the fight and the number of Pawnees killed, all of which agreed pretty well with Mr. Erhardt's story. Mr. Roenigk concludes, in a letter of October 24, 1906:

"I would also call your attention to Mr. James R. Mead's description of those Pawnee horse-stealing parties, pages 13 and 14, vol. 9, of Historical Collections, which I think throws light on how those Pawnees got there. The number is within the number described; the year is within a few years of the time of which Mr. Mead writes; the route taken through Jewell, Mitchell and Lincoln counties is in direct line with this battle ground, and they were on foot. If you have my letter on file you will see where I state that those Pawnees were said to have come from the north, and when the remains of those Indians were found in the rocks by Mr. Erhardt, after 1867, no carcasses or bones of ponies were found."

employed four or five men, who were originally brewers in Germany, and had come directly from the old country, and knew all about the making of malt. We made beer from barley and hops. The grain was raised in our neighborhood. I bought lots of barley right in the county and made malt of it. The hops I bought of St. Louis dealers; I think they were obtained largely from northern New York state. My income from the sale of beer may have been about \$1000 a month. Out of this I paid my men and bought my materials. I did the hauling and selling of it myself principally. When Mr. Walruff, of Lawrence, began litigation in the courts regarding the loss of his brewery he asked me to join him in the suit, but I told him I had lost enough already, and would stop where I was. The building stands there yet. The cellars I use in part for stables and the upper rooms for grain.

I only knew the road as the Mormon road. Before and after I came to Ogden the Mormons traveled on that road, turning onto it from the Santa Fe trail. They crossed the Kansas at Whisky Point, where the Junction City Country Club is located, and climbed the hill on the east side of where the hospital now stands at Fort Riley, and thence across the country to Fort Kearney, Neb., and from there to Salt Lake City. I don't remember of any other emigration than the Mormons using that road. I have seen hundreds of them come that way in all kinds of conveyances. Some of them took out strings of fine horses. They would have a team hitched to a wagon, pulling it, and a man driving. Then a rope would be tied to the end of the tongue, and to either side of this rope would be tied ten more horses, two abreast, and a man ahead of them on horseback with the lead end of the rope fastened to a doubletree with a team of horses, making it appear as though a wagon was hauled by six teams. Their road lay up the east side of the Republican to Fort Kearney.

In going from Fort Riley to Larned we crossed the Kansas at Whisky Point, then followed up Clark's creek to Skiddy, and from there crossed to the Santa Fe trail, two and a half miles east of Lost Springs, thence on the Santa Fe trail to Fort Larned.

During the war and up to 1869, whenever the Indians became hostile we made our trips after dark. The Indians never fought after dark. They were afraid to tackle anything they could not see. I have driven many a night between Larned and Dodge, fifty-six miles, by myself. There was only one watering place between those two points, about twenty-six or thirty miles west of Larned. We kept to the divide, and it was good traveling. The river road between the two points was sixty-six miles.

Yes, I remember Mr. Dodds, but not his initials. His family kept a boarding house adjoining our store at Fort Larned. I think Jesse Crane married one of his daughters, and that one of the boys clerked for us.

It was not necessary for our clerks to know much of the Indian language to sell goods and look after things at our stores. They picked up some words quickly and used signs mostly, and got on very satisfactorily in that way. Our man Bradley (I don't remember his first name) was our interpreter for several years, living with us at Fort Larned. He had a Cheyenne squaw living with him. They had no children. He had been with the Indians for years before and could talk with all the plains tribes. He was paid monthly wages the year round.

During the time I was in the sutler stores I hauled thousands of buffalo robes to Leavenworth with my teams. I sold them there mostly to W. C.

Lowenstein, for from five to six dollars apiece, cash. He made so much money from his trade there that he went to Milan, Italy, and was still there when I last heard of him, enjoying the fruits of his Kansas trade. I bought buckskins from the Indians, dressed antelope skins, and have some still at home. I have seen these animals in herds of from thirty to fifty on the plains.

I bought my goods at St. Louis, New York and Chicago, going back for them myself. All my freighting was done from Leavenworth. My goods were brought up there on boats from St. Louis, and I hauled them out in my own teams to Ogden and the western posts. Once, I think it was in the spring of 1859, I bought several barrels of whisky and salt, heavy goods, from a steamboat that came up to Ogden and landed the goods on the bank for me. The river was high. I think this was the only time a steamboat reached Ogden.

The Cow Creek ranch, on the Santa Fe trail consisted of three or four little lumber shanties built in a row on the east side of Cow creek. There were other trading ranches at the crossing of the Little Arkansas and the Walnut on the trail, mostly built of lumber which had to be hauled out. Timber was scarce. There were scattering trees on Cow creek and the Arkansas, and in some ravines north and south of the Arkansas.

Peacock had the ranch at the crossing of Walnut creek, on the east side. It was of adobe, a one-story house, long and square. He went up on top of the store to see if there was any danger from Indians, and was shot and killed by Satanta. Charley Rath kept store after him; probably purchased the right of his executors. Rath was a teamster at Fort Riley in 1858, and I remember his coming down to my store at Ogden on a little black pony, which I bought later and drove with another in my buckboard for several years. Rath hauled wood for me at Fort Dodge. He drove about ten little Mexican mules to each wagon. He was a very nice fellow; went later to New Mexico and freighted down about Las Vegas, out from the railroad to the government posts, and for other parties.

When I was at Fort Larned I remember having seen a Pawnee on foot with a rawhide lariat or bridle in his hand, walking along six or ten feet below the top of the bank of Walnut creek, looking for horses, and trying to conceal himself as he passed by.

Some white men built a log cabin on top of Pawnee Rock about 1866, I suppose for the purpose of keeping a lookout up and down the valley. I remember of seeing some friendly Indians come out of the cabin and look at me as I was passing along the road that ran at the foot of the rock. They lived there some time. It was burned down about 1868, for, not seeing it, I went up on foot, and found in the ashes a silver ten-cent piece, which I kept for a pocket piece for years.

I was acquainted with E. W. Wynkoop for several years. He was an honorable man. I believe he was appointed Indian agent in 1866, for the Cheyennes. At one time he invited me to go into business with him at Denver, but I declined to do so.

Gov. James M. Harvey drove into my neighborhood in 1860, and settled at Vinton, north of the military reserve. He had made the trip from Illinois with an ox team. In one of my contracts out at Fort Larned I hired Harvey and his ox team. He was with me thirty days on the trip. I saved



his life near Larned. A large white wolf, frothing at the mouth, had attacked him when I happened to be near. I drew my revolver and killed the wolf. When the war broke out a military company was formed at Ogden, called the Ogden "Mudsills." They elected Harvey captain. They enlisted as volunteers, and the Mudsills became a part of company G, Tenth Kansas regiment. This started Harvey.

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## OLD FORT HAYS.

By JAMES H. BEACH,<sup>1</sup> Western State Normal School, Hays.

IN the settlement of western Kansas every event was in some way connected with the coming of the railroad. The old Kansas Pacific line, now the Kansas branch of the Union Pacific, was begun at Wyandotte in 1863, and by the close of the Civil War was pushing its slow way across Kansas. Indian affairs during the war had been neglected and population had crowded into the debatable country. It became necessary to protect the construction camps and lines of communication across the plains. For these reasons a line of forts was established, of which Hays was one.

The post was named Fort Fletcher, in honor of former Governor Fletcher, of Missouri. It was situated on Big creek, fifteen miles below the site later chosen. It was established on October 11, 1865, and on November 11, 1866, the name was changed to Hays. Gen. Alexander Hays, for whom the post was named, was an officer of the Civil War who went out with the Sixty-third Pennsylvania infantry and was killed at the battle of the Wilderness. The garrison of the post was composed principally of former Confederate soldiers who had been captured and who had changed their allegiance. This was true of other posts in the West and Northwest.

On June 5, 1867, a disastrous flood occurred, which destroyed the post and caused the death of several soldiers. Mrs. Elizabeth B. Custer gives a stirring account of the flood in her book, "Tenting On the Plains." Evidently a prairie thunderstorm was a new phenomenon to her. She asserts that the water rose thirty-five feet in one night, and that soldiers were rescued from the water while clinging to the tops of tall trees.

General Hancock was in command of the troops on the frontier at that time and at once gave orders for the selection of a new site. Major Gibbs, of the Seventh cavalry, according to these orders went up the creek and chose the new location. It was on high ground to the south of Big creek, and half a mile south of the present town of Hays. No more commanding site could have been chosen in the entire region. Lieutenant Jackson, of the Seventh, was the engineer in charge who laid out the post. Lieut. Charles H. Brewster, of the same regiment, first hoisted the flag over the new fort on July 4. The fort had been officially established on June 21, and during the month of July a survey of the reservation was made by Lieut. M. R. Brown, chief engineer, Department of the Missouri. The reservation included approximately 7600 acres, the greater part of which lay to the

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NOTE 1.—JAMES HARVEY BEACH was born on a farm in Douglas county near Lecompton, on January 26, 1872. His father, James M. Beach, came to the state in 1860, and his mother, Nancy J. Spurlock, came in 1856. The son was educated in the State Normal School and in the State University. He has been principal of various schools, and is now teacher of Kansas and American history in the Western State Normal School at Hays. He married a schoolmate, Miss Mary E. Beach, of Hays.

south of Big creek. The creek in those days was well timbered and furnished an abundance of good water for the post. In the days when the sod was unbroken and impervious to water the volume of the streams was much greater than at present.

Things were just beginning. In the early spring the town of Rome was started, a mile west of the present Hays. It flourished greatly for a time, but its prosperity was brief. Hays was surveyed in June. It was nearer to the fort and was favored by the railroad officers. Rome was soon absorbed and nothing now remains to mark its site. Materials for construction had to be brought overland at great expense. Those for the fort came from Fort Leavenworth. In October the railroad reached Hays, and then town and fort had communication with the outside world.

A "Circular Descriptive of Army Posts," issued in 1870, gives a good description of Hays. It was in latitude 38 degrees and 59 minutes north, and longitude 99 degrees west. The elevation is given as 2107 feet. A similar publication issued by the War Department in 1875 gives the elevation as 1893 feet. In other respects the descriptions are almost identical. The buildings of the post at that time consisted of four barracks, four married soldiers' quarters, nine officers' quarters, three quartermaster's storehouses, one quartermaster's office, one commissary office and storehouse, one guardhouse, one hospital, one dead house, one bakery, four quartermaster's stables, one cavalry stable, one quartermaster's workshop. It appears that no substantial increase was ever made in the equipment of the post. From official reports it seems that not more than six companies were ever stationed regularly there. Of course large numbers of soldiers were in camp on the reservation at the times when Indian expeditions were fitted out. When the expeditions were absent the garrison dropped to a single company at times.

The belief in the American desert has died hard. General Sheridan, in his report for 1866, says, in speaking of the country of the plains, that the eastern part is fertile but that of the west is subject to drought and not inviting to settlers. "These plains," he says, "can never be cultivated, never be filled with inhabitants capable of self-government and self-defense, but at best can become one vast pasture ground." He evidently thought that the forts would always be needed to keep order. It is interesting to note that Pike in his report on eastern Kansas sixty years earlier gave an almost identical opinion.

Just as the fort was being established an epidemic of cholera<sup>2</sup> visited the West. The disease had traveled westward from the Atlantic seaboard. It was brought to the frontier posts by the negro soldiers of the Thirty-eighth infantry, who had come out from St. Louis. It spread terror along the settlements on Big creek, and many exaggerated reports have become current as to its fatality. The following, from the official records of the surgeon general's office, gives the facts: "The first case at Fort Hays was a citizen who had just arrived from Salina. On the same day, July 11, a colored soldier of the garrison was taken sick and died next day. During July, August and September 33 cases and 23 deaths are reported among the colored troops, whose mean strength during the three months was 215 men. September 1 a white soldier was attacked, but recovered; the rest of the white troops, averaging during the three months 34 men, escaped." This report

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NOTE 2.—Cholera at Fort Harker, July, 1867. (See Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 6, p. 85.)

makes no mention of the fatality among the settlers and there is no way at this time of finding out the facts.

It is not the purpose of this paper to rewrite the history of the Indian campaigns on the western border. Their story has been ably told for the Historical Society by participants in the campaigns. It is proper, though, to note the connection of Hays with these events.

In the spring of 1867, General Hancock took the field with an expedition against the Indians. To Hancock had been assigned the duty of protecting the railroad builders. The expedition stopped at the old fort, where Custer was in command. Henry M. Stanley was along as a correspondent for eastern newspapers. Under date of May 9 he describes the fort and the country.<sup>3</sup> The command moved up the creek and camped near the site which Hancock later chose for the new fort.

Later in the summer it became necessary for the state to coöperate with the War Department in subduing the hostile Indians. The Eighteenth cavalry battalion<sup>4</sup> of four companies was organized to take the field against them. The career of this regiment began at Harker on July 15 and extended over a wide area of the western counties. Two companies (B and C) of the battalion took the field from Hays on August 12 and fought a severe battle on Prairie Dog creek on August 21.<sup>5</sup> In all probability these operations prevented a general uprising of the Indians such as occurred the next summer.

In the summer of 1868 the uprising came. From Texas to Nebraska and from central Kansas to the mountains there were murders and outrages of the most atrocious kind. The forces of the War Department were inadequate to meet the emergency, and, at the request of General Sheridan, Governor Crawford called a full regiment of cavalry to assist the regular army. The Nineteenth cavalry was organized at once, and took the field with Custer's command to subdue the savages.<sup>6</sup> General Sheridan himself came west and spent the summer and autumn of 1868 with Hays as his headquarters.<sup>7</sup> Two troops (D and G) of the Nineteenth were sent by rail to

NOTE 3.—Henry M. Stanley, "My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia," London, 1895, vol. 1, p. 83.

NOTE 4.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 6, p. 35.

NOTE 5.—This battle is recorded in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 9, p. 443, by Geo. B. Jenness, under the title "The Battle of Beaver Creek."

NOTE 6.—"Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry and the Conquest of the Plains Indians," by James A. Hadley, in Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 10, p. 428.

NOTE 7.—

"CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 12.

"Resolved, By the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That the thanks of the people of Kansas are hereby tendered to Generals Sheridan and Custer, to Colonel Forsyth, and to the officers and soldiers of their commands, for the efficient manner in which they are prosecuting the war against the Indians on the plains.

"Resolved, That we have no sympathy with the peace commissioners and eastern philanthropists, who seek to cast odium upon the names of the gallant commanders above mentioned by reporting that the Indians attacked in the late fight were friendly to the United States.

"Resolved, That the clerk of this house is hereby instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to our senators and representatives in Congress, and to Generals Sheridan and Custer, and Colonel Forsyth.

"Adopted by the House January 19, 1869.

HENRY C. OLNEY, *Chief Clerk.*"

Concurred in by the Senate January 22, 1869.

(Records of the Secretary of State, Topeka.)

"HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSOURI.

"CHICAGO, ILL., November 9, 1871.

"Hon. W. H. Smallwood,

Secretary of State, Kansas:

"DEAR SIR—Please accept my sincere thanks for your kindness in furnishing me a copy of the joint resolution of thanks passed by the Legislature of Kansas in the winter of 1868-'69.

"Very truly yours,

P. H. SHERIDAN, *Lt. General.*"

(Archives department, Kansas State Historical Society.)



Hays in November, from which place they went south and later joined the rest of the regiment in the campaign on the Washita. This was the last desperate attempt of the Indian to resist the settlement of the plains by the white man. That it was a serious matter is proved by the statement of Governor Harvey in his message of January, 1869, that from 80 to 100 settlers of Kansas had been killed within the previous year. Popular estimates placed the number much higher.

At the close of the winter campaign of 1868-'69 the Nineteenth and Custer's Seventh returned to Hays, where the Nineteenth was mustered out. On the 18th of April the regiment received its final discharge and its heroic record was closed. Custer's regiment went into camp on the reservation just below the fort and spent the summer there. A large detachment of Indian prisoners had been brought up from the Indian Territory, and they were kept in a prison stockade, guarded by the Seventh, until autumn. The experiences of the summer furnished the material for a large part of Mrs. Custer's book, "Following the Guidon."

In the correspondence of this summer there is frequent mention of an independent detachment of Kansas militia recruited at Hays. It was under the command of John S. Park, and is called the Sharp's Creek Detachment. The records of the adjutant general's office show that the company was ordered into active service on August 24, and that it was relieved from service by Governor Crawford on December 1.<sup>8</sup> No record of its service is preserved. It appears that Governor Crawford made a visit to Hays to look after this and, perhaps, other matters. An order from General Smith at Harker on September 10 directs the assignment of an escort to the governor of Kansas to visit Hays. Those were indeed strenuous days when the governor of Kansas had to have an escort to visit a town in the state.

In these Indian days Col. Geo. A. Forsyth was a frequent caller at the fort as he passed back and forth on his expeditions. In September, 1868, he recruited his famous band of scouts whose fight at the Arickaree placed Forsyth in the ranks of the great Indian fighters. The command stopped at Hays on the way to the West. General Sheridan was in Hays, and reported the result of the fight to Governor Crawford on September 24. To a civilian the remarkable thing about the telegram is the soldierly brevity and directness with which he tells the story. There was no time then for wasting words in hero worship. He gives the briefest details, adding only, "The fight was a very close and severe one."

In the spring of 1870 another raid was threatened and Custer was back at Hays. His forces were scouting for hostile Indians to the west and northwest. On May 31 he sent a despatch to Colonel Tilford to notify the detachments on the Republican, the Solomon and the Saline to be on the alert, and says he has sent Reno with four troops to scout the country between Wallace and the Platte. The reports of the time are full of stories of outrages, of expected attacks, and of excitement in the scattered settlements along the river valleys. The settlement of western Kansas was not altogether a holiday picnic.

The West was to have one more Indian raid. It came in the autumn of

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NOTE 8.—Letters of W. B. Hutchinson, August 28, 1868, of J. S. Park, September 4 and 6, 1868, and telegram of Governor Crawford, October 13, 1868, relate to raising and service of this company, and may be found in the Archives department of the Historical Society.

1878, when the Northern Cheyenne<sup>9</sup> Indians from the territory left their reservations and started north. Many depredations were committed, and after the record of 1868-'69 it is small cause for wonder that settlers were alarmed. The following telegram from Hays to Governor Anthony on October 2 illustrates the state of feeling: "Reliable information has just been received that eighteen white men were killed by Indians this morning near Buffalo. Please send immediately 100 guns," etc. Then follows a great number of petitions for arms, requests for aid, and wild rumors of killings. A letter from D. Gochenaux, county superintendent of public instruction for Ellis county, to the adjutant general of Kansas, on February 14, 1879, gives a list of seventeen persons killed by the Cheyennes in his vicinity, and is a seemingly reliable account. He evidently refers to the same massacre mentioned in the telegram given above. The garrison at the fort was very small at that time, because the greater number of the troops were away on the plains. There was abundant ground for alarm, but as a matter of fact the Indians kept well out in the open country, and there is no evidence that any of them came within the limits of Ellis county.

After the campaign of 1869 military officers began to consider the danger from Indians as much less to be feared. General Pope was in command of the Department of the Missouri in 1870 and recommended that Harker, Dodge and Lyon should be consolidated at Hays. He thought the Indians could no longer be dangerous except in small bands of marauders. He argued at length that the small posts were unnecessarily expensive, and that the equipment of all of them was temporary in its character. He thought the Indians could move only in the summer, when the grass furnished forage for their ponies, and that scouting parties of soldiers sent out from central posts would be sufficient to overawe them. In 1871 he repeated his recommendation for consolidation, but did not mention Hays as desirable for the central post. In 1872 he urged the abandonment of Hays and Wallace. Harker was abandoned that year. This ended any rational hope that Hays would ever become a post of importance. From that time Pope urged the abandonment of all the small posts, including Hays. In 1882 General Sherman recommended the abandonment of the post. It has been claimed that General Sheridan recommended the consolidation of Kansas posts into Leavenworth and Hays, but a careful reading of all his official reports shows that he expressed no such opinion. It is of course natural that every post should be considered locally the most important one in the possession of the nation, but there is no evidence that army officers of high rank considered Hays as different from other temporary outposts to guard the frontier until conditions had become settled.

Fort Hays was abandoned in November, 1889, and the reservation was turned over to the Interior Department. When it became apparent that the post was lost to the state, an agitation was started at once to secure the reservation for a soldiers' home. The legislature of 1889, by resolution, asked Congress for a cession of the lands at Dodge and Hays for this purpose. The same legislature appropriated money for the establishment of homes at both places, but provided that none of the money should become

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NOTE 9.—U. S. Comm'r of Indian Affairs, Ann. Rept., 1878, p. XXII; Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 9, p. 577; "Report of commission appointed in pursuance of the provisions of Senate joint resolution No. 1, relating to losses sustained by citizens of Kansas by the invasion of Indians during the year 1878."

available until the state had secured title to the lands. Citizens of Dodge bought the remainder of the reservation there and gave it to the state, and the Soldiers' Home became a Dodge institution.

In 1895 the Kansas legislature again asked Congress for the land. This time it was proposed to make it an experiment station, a public park and a site for a branch normal school. Congress failed to act, and numberless schemes were proposed for the disposition of the reservation. Finally, by act of March 28, 1900, the land was given to the state so long as it should be used for a branch of the State Normal School, an experiment station of the State Agricultural College, and a public park. By joint resolution of February 7, 1901, the legislature accepted the land on behalf of the state, and by act of February 26 of the same year the two institutions were created. The history of old Fort Hays was at an end. The scientist and the student came to take the place of the Indian, the soldier and the cowboy. They had all become only a memory, and only the dilapidated buildings of the fort remained to call attention to their story.

In the summer of 1899 the report was spread that the reservation was open to homestead entry. A small army of squatters appeared and a long, complicated contest ensued. This was finally decided against the squatters after the act of Congress had granted the land to the state. The account of the contest forms no part of the subject matter of this paper, but it is interesting to note in passing that the Interior Department decided that the reservation was in fact open to homestead entry for a short time during the summer of 1899. If the claimants had proceeded legally in their course the state could never have secured title to the land.

The land grant in Ellis county to the Union Pacific Railway was made in 1866. The road, however, did not secure title to the land until after the line had been built and the plats of the surveys had been filed according to law.<sup>10</sup> The executive order setting apart the land of the Fort Hays reservation for military use was made on August 28, 1868, and the railroad plats were not filed until a later date. The railroad company therefore never had any title to the lands of the reservation.

When the state came into possession of the fort property the buildings had been unoccupied for twelve years and were of little value. They were constructed of flimsy material, and after more than thirty years the climate

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NOTE 10.—The grant for the Union Pacific railroad was made by acts of Congress of July 1, 1862, and July 2, 1864, of every odd-numbered section of public land within twenty miles on either side of the road not otherwise disposed of. This grant in Kansas was to the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western railroad from Kansas City to Fort Riley, and thence in a northwesterly direction to where the Union Pacific road of Nebraska should cross the one-hundredth meridian. The Kansas road, having failed to comply with these acts, secured a change in the route beyond Fort Riley under act of July 3, 1866. The map of the new route, up the valley of the Smoky Hill and to Denver, was filed in the United States land office prior to July 14, 1866. As these acts reserved from the lands granted railroads such as had already been appropriated by the government for other purposes, the post would naturally have the first right of selection.

John A. Anderson, in May, 1880, in a speech before Congress, shows how the road and the purchasers of land from it evaded taxation under the provisions of section 21, act of 1864, which provided that the company should not receive a patent for the land until it had first paid into the United States treasury the fees for surveying, etc. The company sold the lands on time, and when the deferred payments were all in, presented the required fees to the treasury and received the patent. In the meantime no taxes could be collected by the state or county, the land being still in the name of the government. (See speech of John A. Anderson, May 5, 1880: "Pacific Railway lands unjustly exempted from state taxation.") The late William A. Harris made this assertion in the house of representatives January 31, 1895, in a discussion relative to these same lands: "The road, for instance, would sell land on ten years' payment, and would never apply for patent until the last payment was made and the party demanded his deed; or at least no application for patents was made except at convenient intervals, and the purchasers then became the taxpayers. The settlers on the alternate sections have been required for years and years to pay all the taxes in the development of that new country," and they paid \$2.50 instead of \$1.25 an acre for their land. (See, also, Report of Samuel J. Crawford as State Agent, 1886, pages 8 to 11.)



of western Kansas had left nothing of permanent good. The only buildings of the post now remaining in their original positions are the commander's house, occupied until recently by the principal of the Normal School, a small octagonal stockade building known locally as the "arsenal," and the stone guardhouse. All the others have been razed or moved away. The hospital building has been moved to the new site of the school, and is doing duty as a dining hall. Where once the army surgeon cared for sick and wounded soldiers is now heard the clatter of dishes and the gay talk of students.<sup>11</sup>

Many noted soldiers served at Hays for at least a short time. General Sheridan dates his report of 1868 from "The Field near Fort Hays." Corbin, Cutler, Hancock, Miles, Forsyth, Lawton, Wheaton, Hazen, Sturgis, and others more or less famous, were all at the fort in some capacity or another in the old Indian fighting days. The following list of commanders is taken from the reports of the adjutant general and other authentic sources. It is not complete, because some of the commanders served only a short time and their names do not appear in the reports:

- 1867, Col. Geo. A. Custer, Seventh cavalry.
- 1867, Capt. Henry C. Corbin, Thirty-eighth infantry.
- 1868, Maj. John E. Yard, Tenth cavalry.
- 1869, Lieut. Col. A. D. Nelson, Fifth infantry.
- 1869, Col. Nelson A. Miles, Fifth infantry.
- 1869-'70, Lieut. Col. George Gibson, Fifth infantry.
- 1871, Capt. Samuel Ovenshine, Fifth infantry.
- 1871, Col. Wm. B. Hazen, Sixth infantry.
- 1872, Col. Samuel D. Sturgis, Seventh cavalry.
- 1872-'73, Col. DeL. Floyd-Jones, Third infantry.
- 1874, Col. James Oakes, Sixth cavalry.
- 1874, Maj. Charles E. Compton, Sixth cavalry.
- 1875, Lieut. Col. E. A. Carr, Fifth cavalry.
- 1876, Lieut. Richard Vance, Nineteenth infantry.
- 1877, Capt. D. M. Vance, Sixteenth infantry.
- 1878, Lieut. Col. R. I. Dodge, Twenty-third infantry.
- 1880, Col. R. S. Mackenzie, Fourth cavalry.
- 1881, Lieut. Col. Z. R. Bliss, Nineteenth infantry.
- 1882, Lieut. Col. N. A. M. Dudley, Ninth cavalry.
- 1883-'84, Lieut. Col. C. R. Layton, Twentieth infantry.
- 1885, Lieut. Col. J. J. Coppinger, Eighteenth infantry.
- 1887-'88, Col. J. E. Yard, Eighteenth infantry.
- 1889, Maj. G. K. Brady, Eighteenth infantry.

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NOTE 11.—By legislative act of February 26, 1901, the Western State Normal School was created as a part of the normal school system of Kansas. No action was taken toward starting the school that year because of the controversy over the title to the land. This was settled so that the school could begin work in the summer of 1902. On June 23 the formal opening occurred, with William S. Picken and Anna Keller as teachers. Thirty-four students were present.

Work was begun in the old fort hospital building, which served its purpose until the autumn of 1904, when the school moved into a building provided by the legislature of 1903. The present buildings have cost \$75,000, and \$30,000 more is to be spent the coming summer for an electric light, heating and water plant.

The first course of study provided for two years' work. This was lengthened to three years in 1905, and to four years in 1908.

In 1907 a Model District School was established especially for the training of teachers who are to work in the rural districts. A building is now being erected for its use on the reservation.

The first legislature gave \$12,000 for the support of the school for the biennium 1901-'03. The appropriation for 1910-'11 is \$98,000. The institution has in addition the rentals from the reservation.

The total number of students in attendance for the year 1902-'03 was 121. For the year 1908-'09 it was 402.

There are at present fourteen teachers.

No history of a western army post would be complete without some account of the conditions of society in the towns that grew up around them. These towns were all alike, in that they consisted of a collection of people coming from the ends of the earth. They were attracted by the lure of gain, the desire for plunder, the hope of health, the wish to bury their past, or merely that gregarious instinct that leads men to flock into crowds where some excitement is to be had. In such a community ordinary restraint is laid aside and shame asserts no power over the play of primitive passion. The old elemental desires of men for contest, for blood and lust assert themselves. Orgies that have hidden under the veneer of civilization for ages come forth in such towns into the blazing light of day. All this exists along with the highest regard for the rights of others. It is simply individualism run riot. The lives and property of respectable citizens are no safer to-day under modern conditions than they were then. Every one did what seemed right in his own eyes without let or hindrance, but was forced to respect the same right in others. The man of conventional life went on his way unmolested. The adventurer, the gambler, the "gun fighter" and the prostitute lived in their own world, and their orgies of gambling, drunkenness, lust and murder excited neither note nor comment.

Mrs. Custer, in her book, "Following the Guidon," describes the Hays of those days. Her account is the mere statement of what the old-timers tell in detail. She says, beginning on page 153: "The town of Hays City was a typical western place. . . . There was hardly a building in it worthy of the name except the station house. A considerable part of the place was built of rude frames covered with canvas; the shanties were made up of slabs, bits of driftwood and logs, and sometimes the roof was covered with tin that had once been fruit or vegetable cans, now flattened out. . . . The carousing and lawlessness of Hays City were incessant. Pistol shots were heard so often that it seemed a perpetual Fourth of July. . . . The aim of a border ruffian is so accurate that a shot was pretty certain to mean a death, or at least a serious wound, for some one. . . . Our men knew so much of the worthlessness of these outlaw lives that it was difficult to arouse pity in them for either a man's or a woman's death in the border towns. . . . There was enough desperate history in that little town in one summer to make a whole library of dime novels. . . . Our soldiers were unfortunately in many an affray with the citizens."

Much has been written of "Boot Hill" in Hays. Stories vary as to the number of persons meeting violent deaths who were buried on that hill. It was the cemetery in which all the dead of the town were buried until about 1879. The West in those days was filled with the young and the vigorous. There were no aged and but few women and children. For these reasons the number of natural deaths during the first ten years was exceedingly small. At a conservative estimate probably seventy-five in all were buried on the hill, and the greater number of these died with their "boots on." Mrs. Custer says: "It was in Hays City that the graveyard was begun with the interments of men who had died violent deaths. There were thirty-six of their graves before we left. The citizens seemed to think no death was worthy of mention unless it was of some one who had died with his boots on." She left in October, 1869.

During this same summer Wild Bill lived in Hays, and in the intervals of

his work as a scout acted as marshal of the town.<sup>12</sup> It has been reported that he was sheriff of the county, but this comes probably from the fact that he was the defeated candidate in 1869. The old settlers give him the reputation of being quiet and inoffensive in his manners, but cool and utterly fearless. He helped to populate Boot Hill, but perhaps in most cases his acts were justifiable. Stories do not agree as to his reasons for leaving the town. Mrs. Custer is not very explicit, but her account probably comes as near to being authentic as any other. She says: "Some of our men, having received, as they considered, a deadly insult to their company, planned to assassinate the renowned scout." Then follows an account of a saloon fight in which the leader of the soldiers was killed. She continues: "The troopers were driven out of town, but not without loud threats of vengeance. There was no question among the citizens but that every threat would be carried out, and it was decided that if Wild Bill hoped for his life he must flee. It was impossible for General Custer to interfere in such a contest." Local tradition adds some details to this account, but all agree that Bill had pressing business elsewhere. Buffalo Bill was a citizen of Rome<sup>13</sup> in the summer of 1867. His name appears on a petition forwarded to Governor Crawford asking for the appointment of a certain J. G. Duncan as justice of the peace. When Rome fell he came over to Hays. He does not figure extensively in the accounts of the time. His principal business was killing buffalo for the camps of the railroad contractors and for the commissary of the fort.

During the history of the fort there were three noted clashes between negro soldiers and the citizens. The first of these occurred in January, 1869. A squad of riotous soldiers killed a white man named John Hays. The next day three soldiers were arrested at the fort and lodged in jail. On the following night they were taken from jail and hanged to a railroad trestle just west of the station. Colonel Nelson was in command at the time and Governor Harvey wrote to him to make inquiry as to the truth of the report that the town had been placed under martial law. The reply is worth quoting, because of the light it throws on conditions in a border town. Colonel Nelson says: "Fort Hays has been the depot of supplies for General Sheridan's forces in the field, and consequently it sometimes happens that three or four hundred wagon masters, teamsters, etc., are congregated here at one time. While here numbers of these men have been in the habit of visiting Hays City after nightfall, and what with the use of whisky and their revolvers the town was rendered very uncomfortable for the better class of citizens. It was upon the representation of such citizens that I sent out a patrol a few nights since to stop the dangerous rowdiness going on. Nearly fifty arrests were made, and of that number there may have been five or six citizens. . . . I presume also you have been informed that three colored soldiers were very recently taken out of the jail at Hays City at midnight and hung by the inhabitants of that town. . . ."

Another noted affair occurred in the fall of 1869. At that time one of

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NOTE 12.—James B. Hickok, in W. E. Webb's *Buffalo Land*, p. 145.

NOTE 13.—Rome was founded by a Mr. Rose, a grading contractor on the Union Pacific near Fort Hays, and William F. Cody, it is supposed, in the spring of 1867. It was situated on the grade south of Big creek, and a little west of Hays City, its successful rival, which was located in June of the same year by Dr. W. E. Webb, W. J. Wells and Judge Knight, of St. Louis.—Cutler's *History of Kansas*, p. 1291; Last of the Great Scouts, by Mrs. Helen Cody Wetmore, p. 146.



the most notorious resorts was kept by the desperado Jim Curry and a woman named Ida May. Some colored troopers came to the place and were denied admission. They were soon in a quarrel with Curry and a general fight ensued. A number of soldiers were killed—six, according to local memory. It does not appear that any citizens were killed. This seems strange, because the negroes were armed and were in force. Perhaps no one cared to keep the names or histories of the citizens killed. The fight occurred late in the afternoon. Soon after nightfall a mob collected that drove out of town every negro citizen of the place. None were allowed to return except a harmless old man named White and his wife. He came out of hiding and remained in town many years, until he was killed by falling off the station platform and being run over by the cars. Since that time no negro family has ever ventured to make Hays a place of residence. An occasional straggler has worked a few days in town, but the history of the place has appealed too strongly to his imagination for him to remain.

Something should be said further of the Jim Curry mentioned above. He was a ruffian of the type occasionally developed on the frontier. He had none of the redeeming qualities of chivalry and generosity that sometimes accompany a violent life. He was simply a cutthroat, one of "the devil's own." As life became more decent he was compelled to seek other fields.

In marked contrast to Curry was Tommy Drum, who kept the most noted saloon that ever ministered to the thirst of the town. He began business very early in the history of the town, and ended with the coming of the prohibitory law. He was everybody's friend, and no one who came to him for help went away unrelieved. While his saloon was the scene of many disorderly brawls, he was a gentleman in every respect. In another business and amid other surroundings he would have been an ornament to any community. When the prohibitory law went into effect at midnight of December 31, 1880, he gave away all of his remaining stock of liquors, and never once attempted to violate the law. A few years later he left Hays, and his going caused universal regret. It has been reported that he died on a small fruit farm in Indiana or Illinois.

By the latter '70's life on the border became more settled. With the coming of the farmer and the disappearance of the Indian, conditions were changed. Citizens ceased being proud of the reputation of their town, and made an effort to induce settlers to come. The long lines of saloons and dance halls that had so long been the principal feature of Main street were closed, or were at least compelled to become outwardly respectable. Hays had become a new town. The old order had passed away.

There was to be one more act of bloodshed before the history of the fort was closed. On January 13, 1882, a number of drunken negro soldiers resisted arrest, and in the affair one of them was shot so that he died soon after. On the following night a company of the soldiers came over from the fort fully armed to kill the constable. They were in the mood to shoot up the town, when Capt. Lloyd Wheaton appeared on the scene. His prompt action averted bloodshed, and the negroes were marched back to the fort as prisoners.

Some years after the abandonment of the fort the War Department took steps to have the bodies of the soldiers buried in the post cemetery removed. A protest went up at once from Hays because of the fear that another outbreak of cholera would result. The State Board of Health interposed, and

the threatened action was prevented for a time. This occurred more than once. Finally the War Department convinced the state board that no danger was threatened, and, after many delays, in December, 1905, the work was done. On the 20th of that month the shipment was made, and the remains reinterred in the Fort Leavenworth cemetery. This was positively the last act in the government ownership of the post. The number of bodies removed is reported by the doctor in charge to have been 157. This by no means represents the total number buried in the cemetery, for nearly all the civilians and many of the soldiers had been removed by friends. Possibly 200 would be a fair estimate of the number buried in the cemetery. This number includes many who had been removed from Harker and other places.

A pathetic interest attaches to the lone grave on the hill. One of the first victims of the cholera was a Mrs. Polly, the wife of the hospital steward. When she knew that she must die it was her request that she should not be buried in the cemetery but out on the hill southwest of the fort, where she might overlook its activities. Her request was granted, and she still sleeps on the lone hill keeping ward over the reservation. When the other bodies were removed the doctor in charge asked permission to take hers too. The department refused to grant it because none but those buried in military cemeteries were included in the order. It was better so. Who knows whether her spirit, in company with those of other brave men and women, still broods over the scenes of those stirring days?

In a few years the memories of the old post will have passed away and it will live only in tradition. It represented an epoch in the history of the West that is as much a part of the dead past as the era of Spanish colonization. Events have moved rapidly, and our children will learn the history of those days in the same way that they learn the history of the Crusades—from books.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF KANSAS CITY, MO., FROM THE BEGINNING TO 1909.

Written for the *Missouri Historical Review*, by H. C. McDOUGAL,<sup>1</sup> of Kansas City.

*Beginning.* "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Science often attempts to fix this at some particular period, but as no one knows certainly, this imperfect sketch of the history of Kansas City, Mo., commences just where the Book does—"in the beginning."

*Indians.* From the Creator of the universe, this part of the western hemisphere must have passed to the original proprietor of our soil—the Indian. For when the white man here first set his foot, at the dawn of our known history, the copper-colored Indian was here with his squaw and his papoose, and in the actual, open and undisputed possession and control of all that country which is now known as North America.

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NOTE 1.—Henry Clay McDougal was born on a farm in Marion county, Virginia, December 9, 1844. Served as private in a West Virginia regiment in the Civil War. Came west in 1866. He was educated in the common schools, and read law in the office of Robert L. Dodge at Gallatin, Missouri. He was admitted to practice in the courts of Missouri at Gallatin, November 6, 1868, and on December 14, 1866, he was admitted to practice in the supreme court of the United States at Washington. In December, 1874, he entered into partnership with Marcus A. Low. He continued to practice in Gallatin and Trenton until January 20, 1885, when he removed to Kansas City. At this time he formed a partnership with ex-Governor Thomas T. Crittenden. Mr. McDougal married at Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1869. Has three living children; was mayor of Gallatin from 1870 to 1872, and judge of the probate court of Daviess county from 1872 to 1876, and has been president of the Missouri Bar Association and city counsellor of Kansas City. He is still practicing law in Kansas City, Missouri.

1492. The earliest successful European discoverer, explorer and adventurer of this continent was Christopher Columbus, of Spain, in 1492. After his party there came hither first his many Spanish successors, then the subjects of sunny France, and still later the English.

1540. It is more than probable, however, that the followers of the great Coronado were the first white visitors to this part of the country, and the time about 1541.

The historical facts relating to this ill-fated expedition, in brief, are that, following earlier reports which had already come to him, Charles V of Spain, through his viceroy (Mendoza) in Mexico, directed Coronado to explore and subdue for the Spanish crown the seven cities of Cibola (buffalo), without knowledge as to their precise location; that Castañeda, who accompanied the expedition as its historian, twenty years later wrote out his story thereof for the king, and from his writings, as well as from a few other authorities, the world to-day has all its information as to the success and failure of that undertaking; that Coronado organized his forces at Compostela, province of Guadalajara, Mexico, in February, 1540, but made his actual start from Culiacan, near the Pacific coast, in April of that year, with 350 Spanish cavaliers and 800 Indian auxiliaries; that during his two years' quest the entire or detachments of his expedition wandered east and north through Old Mexico, Arizona and New Mexico, encountering en route, and with strong arm subduing, many recalcitrant towns and villages, among them the seven cities of Cibola (Zuni pueblos of New Mexico); that, wintering at Tiguex (Bernalillo, N. M.), Coronado heard of Quivira, a rich land to the northeast, and in the spring of 1541 continued his search east through New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and north into Kansas; but that finally, disappointed and humiliated at his failure to find the gold and silver treasure and rich cities for which he sought, Coronado and his surviving followers returned to the City of Mexico in the autumn of 1542.

But the precise point now of especial interest to the people of Kansas City arises upon an analysis of the circumstantial evidence which to me points to the historical fact that, at the eastern terminus of their long wanderings in search of the Quivira country, Coronado and his followers were the first white men to visit the very spot whereon now stands Kansas City.<sup>2</sup>

There is a half legendary story to the effect that from the historic spot upon which he once stood in northeastern Kansas, Coronado and the forces under his command passed on to where Atchison, Kan., is now located, thence down the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas, and thence sixteen miles up the latter to Coronado Springs, later called Bonner Springs, in Wyandotte county, Kansas, where they spent the winter of 1541-'42. It is known that Coronado's Spanish cavaliers, among other weapons, carried and used as an implement of war halberds similar to the metallic Roman halberd, and in excavations in our Missouri river bottom lands within the past few years there have been discovered and unearthed, in splendid state of preservation, beneath many feet of alluvial soil, the metallic heads of two such halberds in this vicinity. The first is now in the possession of Prof.

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Note 2.—In coming to this conclusion regarding the eastern limit of Coronado's expedition, the author has probably not consulted the very elaborate report of Winship (14 Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 398), the very able articles of the late William E. Ritchey and of Prof. John B. Dunbar (Kansas Historical Collections, vols. 6, p. 477; 8, p. 152; 10, p. 72), nor the volume of the late Prof. J. V. Brower, entitled "Quivira," all of which place Coronado's eastern terminus on at least the lower waters of the Smoky Hill, Solomon, Republican and upper Kansas.



John Wilson, a distinguished archeologist at Lexington, Mo., and was found just northeast of Kansas City, in this (Jackson) county; while the other is in the hands of a Catholic priest at Leavenworth, Kan., and was discovered just across the Missouri river from that city, in Platte county, Missouri. These late discoveries point to the conclusion that Coronado and his men once wandered over these hills and prairies, and that at least two of his cavaliers lost their lives in this immediate neighborhood through either savage Indians or wild beasts, in both of which this country then abounded.

1584. Many scholars claim and few dispute the historic proposition that from the voyage and discovery of Columbus in 1492 the crown, as well as the statesmen, of Great Britain longed to explore and own all the territory which later became America; and that Queen Elizabeth, "in the sixe and twentieth yeere" of her reign, and on March 25, 1584, attempted to grant all this vast domain to her then trusted follower, Sir Walter Raleigh. To those of the present day it is a trifle curious to note the fact that in this patent the "Virgin Queen" described the grantee thereof as "our trustie and welbeloued seruant Walter Raleigh, Esquire, and to his heires and assigns forever"; and also designated this country as "remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories." This, and the equally fruitless expedition of Gilbert, Raleigh's half brother, the year before, under the same auspices, was the first step in the work of the English colonization of America, and while under the grant of this authority five different voyages were here made: yet that country did not then succeed in making a permanent settlement upon American soil.

1607. In establishing a starting point known to all, it is well to here pause, look backward and reflect: That whether descended from Cavalier, Puritan, or Huguenot, the average American citizen has inherited and to-day holds, either consciously or unconsciously, many of the thoughts and theories of his remote ancestors, and that heredity, environment and education largely determine and fix our political and religious faith. And it should be remembered that the United States was originally founded, and the first permanent settlements were here first made, by peoples of widely divergent views on both politics and religion, under authority conferred by three royal English grants to American colonists, as follows: At Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1607; Plymouth, in Massachusetts, in 1620; and Charlestown, in South Carolina, in 1670.

1609. In the seventh year of his reign, James I, then king of England, by his royal patent dated May 23, 1609, granted to "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the first colony in Virginia" (the same sovereign made the first cession to that colony in 1606) "all those lands, countries and territories situate, lying and being in that part of America called Virginia," from Cape or Point Comfort, a strip of land 400 miles in width and therein designated as being "up in the land throughout from sea to sea." This session from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans sought to make this part of the territory not only English, but within and part of the colony of Virginia, for Kansas City is located on this 400-mile wide tract of land running from "sea to sea."

The subsequent European claimants were as follows:

1682. Ceremonious possession was taken by La Salle of all that country which afterward became the Louisiana purchase, by, for and in the name of Louis XIV, then king of France, at the mouth of the Mississippi river, on

April 9, 1682, and this portion of the country was then given the name of that sovereign. While that claim was made and thereafter maintained, yet the undisputed possession thereof did not actually begin, nor was there here made any permanent settlement, until the year 1699, at Biloxi. New Orleans was founded in 1718, and the permanent seat of the French government was there established in 1722. In the meanwhile Louis XIV first granted this entire province to one Antoine Crozat in 1712, and, his occupancy being a failure, Louis XV, in 1717, granted a similar charter to The Mississippi or Western Company, directed by John Law, and later called the Company of the Indies. In 1731 the company surrendered its charter, and all this country reverted to the crown of France.

1763. Then in that stormy struggle between England and France to settle and adjust their conflicting claims to this territory and their international disputes growing out of the French and Indian wars, France, by the treaty of Fontainebleau, November 3, 1762, ceded to Spain her possessions west of the Mississippi known as Louisiana, including New Orleans, and by the treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, duly ratified by the crowned heads of France, England and Spain, ceded and granted to England all her claims and possessions east of the Mississippi.

This treaty fully made the ground upon which Kansas City stands Spanish. Without apparent knowledge of this treaty of Paris, the city of St. Louis, in Missouri, was laid out, founded, and named in honor of Louis XV of France, in 1764; but in the following year Louis St. Ange de Bellerive there assumed the reins of government. Then came Count Don Alessandro O'Reilly, under the authority of the king of Spain, with an armed force, and formally took possession of Louisiana for the Spanish king, on August 18, 1769. From this date on, and in fact up to 1804, this territory was subject to and under the command of the Spanish lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, whose seat of government was the city of St. Louis.

1800. But Europe was in turmoil; the great Napoleon was in the saddle and disarranging the map of all that country. No one seems to have known just what was coming next. So, after many conferences and negotiations, the two countries of France and Spain at last got together, and the result was the terms and conditions of the definitive treaty of San Ildefonso, entered into on October 1, 1800, by Napoleon, who was then the first consul of the French republic, on the one side, and the king of Spain on the other, by which all this country was retroceded to and again became a part of France.

1803. Immeasurably greater in all ways than any other land transaction of earth, either before or since, and of vaster direct personal concern to the people of America than all other treaties combined, in this year came the purchase and cession of Louisiana. The war of the Revolution had been fought and won; by our treaty of peace and cession, concluded with England in 1783, the United States had been granted all public lands east of the Mississippi river (except in the Floridas) not owned by the original thirteen colonies; the federal constitution had been proclaimed adopted in 1789; George Washington and John Adams had been and Thomas Jefferson then was the President of the United States of America, when Robert R. Livingston, as our principal representative at the French court, vigorously aided by Monroe on his arrival, concluded with Napoleon Bonaparte, still first consul of France, on April 30, 1803, the treaty of cession under and by the

terms of which the French ceded and granted to the United States all that vast empire since known in history as the Louisiana purchase. For a period of more than 100 years one of the illusions of our history has been that as our President, Thomas Jefferson, then was and to-day is entitled to all the credit, honor and glory of this great transaction. But a free people may always consider the truth of history. Jefferson was a cautious and conservative statesman. The historical facts, then well known, in brief are that, under the uncertain and somewhat contradictory instructions from our government at Washington, our diplomatic representatives who mainly negotiated this great treaty were authorized and directed, not to acquire this empire, but only to purchase "New Orleans and the Floridas."

The government at Washington did not, at first, dream of acquiring one foot of the unknown land west of the Mississippi river. The scheme to sell and cede to the United States all French possessions on this side of the waters originated in the fertile brain of that marvelous man, Napoleon Bonaparte, who proposed to dispose of it all, because, as he then said, France "had to sell." Livingston and Monroe had no authority to negotiate for the purchase of anything save the city and island mentioned; indeed, to do so was beyond and in practical violation of the instructions of our government. Yet, with far-sighted statesmanship, rare courage and sagacity, they saw the tremendous advantage of the purchase to our country, wisely and bravely assumed the responsibilities, closed the negotiations, and concluded this treaty. Hence to Napoleon's offer to sell, and to Livingston and Monroe's wisdom and courage in buying, we are to-day indebted for the Louisiana purchase. Livingston said after signing the treaty, "This is the noblest work of our lives."

When the treaty reached Washington in that summer, the administration was astounded at the audacity of its bold negotiators as well as with the immensity of the transaction.

Thus it came about that, for the consideration named and about \$15,000,000 of money, the United States purchased and France ceded to this government all the land that had been theretofore retroceded by Spain to France. Of this cession Napoleon then said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." And in his message transmitting this treaty to Congress (which caused it proclaimed by his message of October 21, 1803), in noting the possibilities of this purchase, President Jefferson said: "The fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws." All this occurred before the days when steam and electricity were harnessed and working for the use of man, and is therefore not so strange. Then the average American had no adequate conception of the West; the bulk of our population lived east of the Alleghanies, and the people of the Atlantic seaboard knew even less than they now know of our country lying west of the "Father of Waters." This cession included almost all of the now states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Kansas, the two Dakotas, Montana, Colorado and Wyoming. Of late maps have been published and books written to prove that this purchase did not extend beyond the crest of the Rocky Mountains; but a study of congressional debates upon this question will con-



vince the scholar and thinker, I believe, that besides the states named, Oregon, Idaho and Washington were intended to be included. On October 31, 1803, Congress duly authorized the President to take possession of and occupy this territory, and on December 20, 1803, formal possession thereof was duly delivered by the republic of France, through Laussat, its colonial prefect, to the United States, through W. C. C. Claiborne and Gen. James Wilkinson, as commissioners of the United States.

1804. For a few months after this purchase all this country was known and designated as the territory of Louisiana, but this was changed by our Congress. On March 26, 1804, the now state of Louisiana and a part of that which is now Mississippi was designated the "Territory of Orleans," and all the remainder of the purchase was then called the "District of Louisiana"; and that Congress then further provided that the executive and judicial power of the territory of Indiana should be extended to and over the district, and "the governor and judges" of that territory were therein given the authority to enact laws for and hold their courts therein. In May, 1804, Gov. William Henry Harrison, from the seat of justice of Indiana territory at Saint Vincennes, on the Wabash river, rode over on horseback to the city of St. Louis to ascertain the wants of our people in the way of law and courts.<sup>3</sup> Having satisfied himself on these scores this territorial governor returned to his home, and during that and the following year "the governor and judges" of that territory enacted and here enforced such laws as they deemed were needed by this "district."

In the spring of this year, too, the great Lewis and Clark expedition started near the city of St. Louis and came up the Missouri river, passing the site of Kansas City on its way to the Pacific ocean. The wondrously strange history and vaster possibilities of this expedition of 1804 to 1806, under the title of "The Conquest," has recently been well written by Eva Emery Dye, of Oregon.

1805. On March 3, 1805, the Congress of the United States enacted a law which went into effect July 4, 1805, which not only changed our official name from the "District of Louisiana" to the "Territory of Louisiana," but provided for our first local territorial self-government. That congressional act conferred upon the governor of the new territory full executive authority, while the legislative power to enact and enforce all laws was therein granted to the "governor and the judges or a majority of them."

1808. The most important and far-reaching Indian treaty that was ever made anywhere affecting early Missouri was that treaty which upon its face recites the fact that it was "made and concluded at Fort Clark, on the right bank of the Missouri about five miles above Fire Prairie," on November 10, 1808. This fort, says Coues, the historian of Lewis and Clark, "was built at once thereafter."

This treaty was between the Big and the Little tribes of Osage Indians and our government, and by its terms those tribes, then being in actual possession, ceded and granted to the United States all lands lying eastward of a line drawn due south from Fort Clark, and running from the Missouri

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NOTE 3.—Among the curios in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society is the desk used by John Johnson, private secretary of Gen. William Henry Harrison, while acting as governor of the territory of Indiana from 1801 to 1813. This desk became the property of his son, Fielding Johnson, one of the territorial pioneers of Kansas, and by his daughter, Mrs. Col. George W. Veale, placed with this Society.

river to the Arkansas river. This, then, left as Indian lands and country all westward of the line so drawn.

Upon their slow voyage up the Missouri river on their way to the Pacific Ocean, in 1804, Lewis and Clark had first mentioned this site as eligible for a fort, and when established it was named in honor of the junior member of the exploring party, then agent for Indian affairs in Louisiana territory. As a tribute to the memory of the Osage tribe of Indians, the name of the place was known also as Fort Osage, and still later was changed to Sibley, to perpetuate the name and fame of George C. Sibley, who was at one time the United States factor at that point, for the government, maintaining a trading house here for the Osages.

If any archeologist is now curious to know just where to locate the site of ancient Fort Clark, the task is easy: Set up a compass anywhere on the Missouri-Kansas line, run due east twenty-four miles and thence due north to the Missouri river, and there may be found to-day the city of Sibley, in Jackson county, Missouri, once Fort Osage, and still earlier Fort Clark.<sup>4</sup>

1812. By an act of Congress, which commenced "to have full force" December 12, 1812, the name of this portion of the country was again changed from the "Territory of Louisiana" to the "Territory of Missouri"; and executive, legislative and judicial powers were then for the first time vested in and conferred upon our own people. Although the fathers then knew all about the Missouri river from its source to its mouth, yet this was the first federal recognition of the name now so well and highly honored—Missouri. The act did not change our boundary lines, and the territory of Missouri then embraced and had jurisdiction over all of the Louisiana purchase, excepting only the extreme southern portion thereof, as stated. All general laws governing this territory from 1803 to 1821, both congressional and territorial, may be found in print in volume 1 of the Territorial Laws of Missouri.

1820. The enabling act of Congress of March 6, 1820, was passed to authorize the people of this territory to form a state and adopt a constitution for their own government. Upon the questions raised in the discussion of the enabling act was fought the most terrific political battle that had ever been waged in this country up to that time. It is known in history as the "Missouri Compromise of 1820," and for length, intensity and bitterness this struggle then had no parallel in American history.

The boundaries of the future state were then first fixed as they to-day remain, the "Platte purchase" of 1837 excepted. Our delegates thereupon duly formed, adopted, and, on July 20, 1820, sent to Congress a state constitution, which was not entirely satisfactory to our national lawmakers, who still were inclined to insist on the exclusion of slavery.

1821. The final result was that on March 2, 1821, Congress resolved to admit Missouri with slavery provided she expunge from the constitution in

NOTE 4.—"This fort was established by the United States government, and built on the brow of the hill overlooking the river to the north and east, about one mile north of the present site of the town of the same name. The indications are that it was about ten rods long and eight or ten rods wide, with a ditch around the whole enclosure, also a kind of stockade so built as to make it extremely difficult or entirely impossible to get into the fort except through the gate. There are still pits or holes where the old fort stood. For a distance of about two rods on the brow of the hill there are these marks which can be distinctly seen. The fort was established as an Indian trading post, garrisoned by a company of soldiers. The fort was abandoned in 1825, and soon fell into disuse and decay. The fort was named from the commander, Gen. George C. Sibley, and the township derived its name from the fact of there being a fort here and the Osage Indians having occupied the land. Sibley was thereafter the name of the village which was built near the site of the old fort."—History of Jackson County, Missouri, 1881, p. 308.

question the clause to prevent free people of color from emigrating to and settling in the state. On June 26 following our legislature assented to these terms, and, on August 10, 1821, James Monroe, as President of the United States, proclaimed the historic fact that on that day Missouri became, and it has ever since been, a state of the American Union.

The admission into the Union of the state of Missouri left all the remainder of the Louisiana purchase lying westward and northward of this state an unorganized territory, subject to congressional legislation, but having no laws of its own, excepting those theretofore passed by the several sovereigns hereinbefore named.

1825. The original proprietors, known as the Big and Little Osages, having relinquished their title to all lands lying east of a due south-and-north line drawn from old Fort Clark to the Arkansas, in 1808, as stated heretofore, were left a strip of land twenty-four miles in width, lying due eastward of the west line of this state, and running from the Missouri river to the Arkansas river. The Indian title to this strip of land was relinquished by them and ceded to the government of the United States by the terms of the treaty of June 2, 1825. From these Indian tribes the government thus secured its final title and came into full and complete possession.

This strip of land was soon opened up for entry, purchase and settlement. And "in 1828 a land office was opened at Franklin, and the lands in Jackson were brought into market."

1826. Jackson county was organized under the general assembly act of December 15, 1826, and the first session of its county court<sup>5</sup> was held at "the house of John Young in said county," May 21, 1827. But prior to this time the lands now embraced within the limits of the county had by law been included within the borders of the counties, successively, of St. Louis, Howard, Cooper, Lillard and Lafayette.

1828. At the time the title to this strip of land had become fully vested in the United States, by the extinguishment of the Indian title in 1825, the northeast portion of Jackson county had been settled for some years. As early as 1821 a number of French-Canadian trappers, traders and huntsmen had squatted upon and occupied lands along the Missouri river front; but the first white American to make a permanent entry of and settlement upon the lands now included within the boundaries of Kansas City was James H. McGee, whose patent for his 320 acres of land bears date November 14, 1828.

1833. The town of Westport, now within and a part of Kansas City, was laid off in 1833<sup>6</sup> by John C. McCoy near his trading house, and for many a long year thereafter the few people who lived in the straggling hamlet along the Missouri river front and at the steamboat landing here were known only as citizens of Westport Landing.

1839. With the report of his explorations of 1673, Marquette prepared a map, which gives the first definite location of the Kansas tribe of Indians, showing them to be on the Missouri, beyond the Missouris and Osages. From this tribe the Kansas river derived its name. The name of tribe and river were both spelled in many different ways by the explorers, but Kansas City was originally so named to perpetuate both. The first attempt to plat the "Town of Kansas" was made in 1839,<sup>7</sup> but little was accomplished, on

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NOTE 5.—History of Jackson County, Missouri, 1881, pp. 118, 638.

NOTE 6.—Ibid, p. 388; Case's History of Kansas City, p. 28.

NOTE 7.—Ibid, pp. 396, 408; Case's History of Kansas City, p. 28.



account of a flaw in the land title, until the reorganization of the town company in 1846.

1850. On February 4, 1850, the Jackson county court, by its order of record entered at Independence, first incorporated the "Town of Kansas," but the trustees failing to qualify, another order of incorporation was given June 3 of the same year.

1853. The efforts at incorporation in 1850 failing to meet requirements, by special act of the Missouri legislature, duly adopted on February 22, 1853, the "Town of Kansas" was changed to the "City of Kansas," and on that day we first became an incorporation under the laws of this state. Various amendments were later made to the charter, and by the first freeholders' charter, adopted by our people under grant of constitutional authority in 1889, the name was changed from Kansas to Kansas City. But for many long years prior this city had properly and proudly borne its present name of Kansas City, Mo.

1854. It may again be here noted in passing that all that country from the western line of Missouri to the crest of the Rocky Mountains remained unorganized "Indian country" up to 1854. Efforts had been heretofore made by Congress to segregate it from the state of Missouri, and bills had been introduced at Washington to make it all into one territory under the name of either Platte or Nebraska; but finally, on May 30, 1854, Congress adopted an act popularly known as "The Kansas-Nebraska Act," under which the two territories were created and erected on the same day. Kansas became a state of the American Union on January 29, 1861, and Nebraska on March 1, 1867.

1909. Through all the seething and roar, the bustle and the hurry, the buying and building, the enlarging and progress of the years intervening between 1839 and 1909, Kansas City has pursued the even tenor of its way, the Kansas City spirit pervading city and country alike. Nothing save an invisible line divides the two great municipalities near the mouth of the Kansas, and the stranger within our gates would not dream of its existence; while between the two combined cities and their suburbs we now have a population of 350,000 of happy and prosperous people, all hopefully confident that the future of Kansas City will be even more glorious than its past.

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## FRANK M. GABLE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society.

AS A figure in the annals of Leavenworth county, Frank M. Gable might truthfully say, with Ulysses: "I am a part of all that I have met," for his parents, Barnabas and Mary Gable, natives of Green county, Tennessee, were settlers on a claim three miles southwest of the city of Leavenworth before the site of that town had been determined upon, and while most of the communities now dotting the country were still in the egg. Mr. Gable's father, upon coming west, first settled at Camden Point, Platte county, Missouri. That was in 1839. In February, 1855, he came to Kansas, and occupied the claim he had taken up the previous May; and there he continued to reside until his death, in 1866. He left a widow and five children, a daughter and four boys, Frank being the eldest.

Mr. Gable now looks back serenely on this formative period of his life,

though it was one of struggle and stress for all of the pioneer folks in the settlements roundabout. He was twelve years old when the family came to Kansas, and he had full experience of the character-building hardships which awaited the early settlers on the borders of the Missouri.

The elder Gable's narrow financial means were sorely taxed to pay the debts of certain delinquent "friends" for whom he had gone security, and the winter of 1855 was bitter cold. The suffering among the adventurous settlers still lingers in the memory of the lad, Frank. Then with the opening of the new year, 1856, came the tumultuous scenes of the border war. There is no darker page in the history of Kansas than this which recounts the tense, fierce struggle between the partisans of the North and South imported better to secure the control of the territory and determine the complexion of the new constitution. Life was dirt cheap in those days. Barnabas Gable found himself involved in the conflict. It was he who first came upon the dead and scalped body of the man Hops, a free-soiler, who was killed while on his way from Lawrence to Leavenworth, by a proslavery man named Fugate. In 1856, when the Missourians came over to Kansas, they camped on Mr. Gable's place, and without the consent of anybody proceeded to use up his corn and hay. This placed him under suspicion with the free-state men, who threatened him, but George W. Gardner, a free-state lawyer at Leavenworth, a man named Wade, a school-teacher, and Uncle George Keller, vowed for Gable and saved him.

Those were days to try men's souls. The face of Kansas was not wreathed in smiles then. The early settlers had something more to do than merely tickle the soil with a hoe and see the land laugh with a harvest. They had to contend against the visitation of hot winds and blighting drought, the grasshopper, and, later, the potato beetle and pestilential attacks of the chinch bug. Mr. Gable distinctly recalls how the other and older states came to the aid of Kansas in this, her extremity, when thousands of the pioneers, grown faint of heart, turned their faces again to the East.

In the tide of immigration many strange and undesirable adventurers had found their way into the state; cranks of all sorts, advocates of everyism, confidence men and audacious robbers. But the leaven of higher citizenship was in its population, too, working always towards civic righteousness, "*ad astra per aspera*." The Civil War, clearing the atmosphere for Kansas, found Mr. Gable settled on the farm near Lansing, which is still his home. When Price began his memorable invasion of the state, Mr. Gable, then second lieutenant of company K, Nineteenth Kansas Militia, marched with the force that was dispatched to Independence, Mo., to repel the raid. It will be remembered that the Kansans, meeting the rebels at the Little Blue river, east of Independence, were overpowered and compelled to retreat, and that on the next day, in a second engagement on the banks of the Big Blue, they were forced back to Westport, where in a sharp encounter on Sunday morning, October 23, 1864, the Price forces were badly discomfited and driven southward with heavy losses. Mr. Gable was in the thick of all this.

In 1864 he was married to Miss Sarah E. Spears, a truly happy union, blessed with two living boys, now married, Julian and Robert Spencer, with the latter of whom Mr. and Mrs. Gable are still making their home on the old farm.

The active political career of Mr. Gable began in 1879, when the Democrats of his district had elected him to the legislature over John Larimer. He might feel at home in the legislative halls, for he had relatives there, his brother, Thomas P. Gable, having been elected from Leavenworth; his cousin, William B. Henderson, coming as a member from Kickapoo, and his father's nephew, George W. Greever, representing Wyandotte county. Mr. Gable stamped his name in red letters on the records of that important session. It was he who secured the appropriation of \$25,000 needed for the sinking of the coal shaft at the State Penitentiary, perhaps the wisest expenditure the commonwealth has ever made, inasmuch as the state institutions has ever since derived from it the benefit of free coal through convict labor.

In 1893, during the gubernatorial term of Geo. W. Glick, Mr. Gable was appointed deputy warden of the State Penitentiary, under Warden W. C. Jones. The prison records sufficiently attest the high character of this efficient administration. With an average of only 600 convicts it built the waterworks at a merely nominal cost to the state, graded and constructed two miles of turnpike on the Leavenworth road, furnished 250 men to six different contractors, and mined coal not only for the use of the state but for public sale.

Mr. Gable was again sent to the legislature by his party in 1887, being victorious over E. J. Holman; and at that session he was instrumental in enacting several highly important measures, among them that which insured the erection of the fine public school at Lansing. Once more, in 1891, his district sent him to Topeka triumphant over his Republican and Populist opponents. This was the lively session in which Populism was rampant in the house and Mr. Peffer was elected to the Senate. The dominance of that party, however, did not prevent Mr. Gable from securing the passage of a measure of economy which, in doing away with the free boarding of officers at the State Penitentiary, effected a saving to the state of some \$20,000 a year. Through his influential exertions, moreover, the wages of the prison officials, grading \$600 and \$720 per annum, were raised. He also secured the passage of the law which authorized the employment of surplus convict labor in the building of a certain public road.

Because of Mr. Gable's vigorous prosecution of its interests in the legislature it was obviously fitting that he should resume his former official connection with this big institution at Lansing. This he did in 1897, when J. W. Leedy was governor of the state and H. S. Landis was warden of the prison. Under this capable administration the east wing of the Penitentiary was completed, and the brick and twine plants were established. Also, the shop known as the "trinket shop" was organized by Mr. Gable, where \$2500 to \$3000 worth of trinkets are made and sold to visitors as souvenirs each year, the prison being credited with the earnings. This work is done by invalid and crippled prisoners. Several necessary and important buildings were added to the structure and two miles of turnpike built on the Kansas City road in accordance with the law which Mr. Gable had procured from the legislature. It was through his recommendation that the large sewerage pipe was put in from the prison to the Missouri river; also, the suction fans in the cell house and shops, clearing out the foul air and dust, thereby greatly improving the health of the prisoners.

He served as deputy warden at this time during a period of two years



and a half. After a public career as lengthy and creditable as this, it is something to say, as Mr. Gable lately did, in speaking of the present-day exposures of graft in office: "My conscience is clear and my hands are clean. That is no boasting; it is confession."

Now, the surviving militiamen of Kansas who saw service during the war have elected him president of their organization, to procure recognition as volunteer soldiers in the army of the United States.

## THE END OF THE KANSAS FIGHT.

THE original copy of concurrent resolution No. 42, legislature of 1865, ratifying the amendment to the constitution of the United States abolishing slavery, was on the 24th of August, 1909, forwarded to Gov. W. R. Stubbs by Thomas A. Good, of Del Norte, Colo. Mr. Good said he found it among the papers of the late Maj. Henry Foote. Major Foote was a state senator from Leavenworth. Governor Stubbs placed the paper with the Historical Society. The following members are, 1910, still living: James McGrew, lieutenant governor, Kansas City, Kan.; Frank H. Drenning, Wathena; Joel Moody, Topeka; A. W. Callen, Junction City; Cyrus Leland, jr., Troy; Rev. Joab Spencer, Slater, Mo.; E. C. Manning, Winfield, first vice president of the Kansas Historical Society; D. W. Houston, Garnett; George W. Glick, Atchison; William Goss, La Cygne; Frank B. Swift, Girard; and H. D. Shepard, Leavenworth.

The journals of the legislature are not in very good shape. Those names marked with a star (\*) are not the signatures, but the name has been inserted in pencil, evidently by some clerk. The journal shows that the following members voted for the resolution, but did not sign: A. B. Hendrick, N. B. Hughes, J. R. Kennedy, M. R. Leonard, J. R. Mead, William Morrow, Wm. B. Perry, E. Stafford, N. Z. Strong and A. Lowe. The following members signed but did not vote, at least according to the journal: John A. Christy, John D. Wells, Rufus Darby, E. S. Scudder, S. J. H. Snyder, James Fletcher, M. R. Benton, N. P. Rawlings, F. B. Swift. Not on the list but voted for: O. J. Grover and J. H. Jones.

This, with the autographs, is a document of great historical interest.

"SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 42. Introduced by Mr. Foote.

"Concurrent resolution ratifying certain proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery.

"WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has submitted the following proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States to the legislatures of the several states for ratification, namely:

### "ARTICLE XIII.

"SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"Therefore, be it resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring therein, That the foregoing proposed amendments be and they are hereby ratified.

"RESOLVED, That the Governor of the state of Kansas is hereby requested to transmit to the President of the United States, the president of the senate and speaker of the house of representatives in Congress, a copy of the foregoing resolutions, duly certified by the presiding officers of the two houses and the chief clerks thereof.

"I hereby certify that the foregoing resolutions originated in the senate on the sixth day of February, A. D. 1865, and passed the senate on the seventh day of February, A. D. 1865, unanimously.

F. WM. POTTER,  
*President pro tempore of the Senate.*

"A. SMITH DEVENNEY, *Secretary of the Senate.*

"I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution passed the house of representatives unanimously on the seventh day of February, A. D. 1865.

JACOB STOTLER,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*  
"Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives."

James McGrew.\*  
Charles V. Eskridge.  
Henry Foote.  
W. P. Gambell.  
Thos. E. Milhoan.  
Wm. K. Bartlett.  
James F. Legate.  
G. A. Colton.  
D. H. Horne.  
Frank H. Drenning.  
A. H. Smith.

Thos. Murphy.  
A. Danford.  
Matthew Quigg.  
Edwin C. Manning.  
Sam'l Speer.  
Charles P. Twiss.  
J. T. Lane.  
D. W. Houston.  
John Speer.  
Oliver Barber.  
Wm. Weer.

Job Throckmorton.  
M. R. Leonard.\*  
Joel Moody.  
John A. Christy.  
James M. Harvey.  
Hugh A. Cook.  
Chas. H. Stratton.  
Charles C. Coffinberry.  
D. H. Sutherland.  
Wm. Martindale.  
A. W. Callen.  
A. I. Loomis.  
John D. Wells.  
G. H. Fairchild.  
Rufus Darby.  
A. B. Hendrick.\*  
William Draper.  
E. S. Scudder.  
William Karr.  
M. R. Dutton.  
J. Hodgson.  
Thos. O. Gwartney.  
Daniel C. Finn.  
Henry Smith.  
Michael Jordan.  
T. M. O'Brien.  
R. Church.  
Conrad Kohler.  
James R. Mead.\*  
H. Cavender.  
D. G. Campbell.  
Geo. Storch.  
Cyrus Leland, jr.  
S. J. H. Snyder.  
William Morrow.\*  
J. Spencer.  
E. Stafford.\*

George W. Glick.  
James Fletcher.  
M. R. Benton.  
Chas. Sherman Glick.  
Robert H. Abraham.  
F. R. Page.  
Ed Russell.  
I. D. Sammons.  
Dr. D. L. Payne.  
John Fletcher Broadhead.  
Darius Rogers.  
N. P. Rawlings.  
Wm. Goss.  
Dr. L. D. Cleavinger.  
Frank B. Swift.  
N. B. Hughes.\*  
Warner Craig.  
Watson Stewart.  
A. Lowe.\*  
O. H. Browne.  
Henderson Rice.  
Sam F. Atwood.  
Nelson Griswold.  
S. D. Macdonald.  
Lawrence Kennedy.  
C. L. Dille.  
H. D. Shepard.  
James McLellan.  
James Hanway.  
W. L. Houts.  
A. G. West.  
Dan'l Detrick.  
D. L. Campbell.  
Robt. Riddle.  
J. P. Salisbury.  
Wm. B. Perry.\*  
N. Z. Strong.\*  
J. R. Kennedy.\*

## PIONEERING IN WABAUNSEE COUNTY.

Papers read at the annual meeting of the Wabaunsee County Historical Society.

## EARLY DAY TRANSPORTATION.

Written by J. M. BISBEY.

I LEFT Pavilion, N. Y., on the 17th day of October, 1854, with my wife and four children; met the fourth Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company at Buffalo, N. Y., coming by steamboat to Detroit, Mich., where we took railroad to Alton, Ill. From there we went by steamboat to St. Louis, Mo., and by steamboat from St. Louis to Kansas City, where we arrived on the 26th day of October.

Myself, with five others, were chosen as delegates to go forward and select a location for the company, which consisted of 263 persons. With James Blood as pilot we followed up the Kansas river as far as the place where Manhattan now is, where we found a man by the name of Geo. S. Park, of Parksville, Mo., had settled on the town site. Deciding that we did not wish to go into partnership with one whom we supposed was a proslavery man, we returned down the river as far as the present site of Wamego.

I returned alone to meet the company at Lawrence and report what we had done. The report was unanimously accepted. The next day (Friday) I went to Kansas City, and on Saturday it snowed all day long. I never saw half a dozen of the company together again. I found my family in company with another by the name of Ryan, also a cousin, Harvey Bisbey, who had come with the company.

We bought supplies for the winter, and a company of Wyandot Indians with a flatboat said they would take our things up in seven days. So we loaded our supplies on their flatboat, and they started up the river. I bought a yoke of oxen and Mr. Ryan and I hired a man and a team and started for the location selected, reaching there in six days. We found that four or five young men who went with the company had put up the body of a sod house. This we covered with prairie hay, and slept there at night, passing the days in a ravine, where we built a fire. We stayed here about a week, when a Mr. Hill came across the river and wanted us to go over and look at the country on the south side. This we did, and liked it better than the north side. I selected the second claim taken in Wabaunsee county, Ryan taking the claim adjoining mine.

We went to work to build a house, and still our goods did not come. We found the river was so low the Indians could not make it, and having worked three weeks to reach the mouth of Wakarusa, had unloaded. My cousin hired teams and brought up our goods. We finished our house and moved into it the day before Christmas. We found a French Canadian named Peter Shaira, who had come in May and settled on Antelope creek, having chosen the town site of Wabaunsee, but had given it no name. Three others of the Emigrant Aid Company, Geo. Hill, Calvin Lawin and H. P. Leonard, with a young man named Dowd, came about the same time.

About the time we finished our house we heard that our goods shipped from the East were in Kansas City. So I started out next morning to find



my oxen. We had been so busy we had paid no attention to them for a few days, and now they could not be found. We hunted them for about a week and tracked them for twenty miles east, but could hear nothing of them, so started on foot for Kansas City. When near where Topeka now is we were overtaken by two men who were teaming for emigrants, and whom we hired to bring our goods.

While I was in Kansas City I ran across Dr. Johnston Lykins, who had been superintendent of the Baptist mission school for the Pottawatomie Indians for the past six years. I told him about our location and he said it was one of the best west of the reservation. I asked him what we should name our town site. He answered, "Call it Wabaunsee, which means Dawn of Day."<sup>1</sup> So that is the way our town came by its name, Wabaunsee. We had a prosperous trip home, reaching there the 20th of January, 1855. So far there had been no storms that winter, but the next day it turned cold and snowed.

During the winter and in March I got out logs and built my house, moving into it on the 3d of April, 1855. In March there came a man by the name of Goodrich with a load of goods to open a store, and J. H. Nesbit, who came with him, put up a small building on the town site for a store, while Mr. Goodrich went to Kansas City for more goods and his family. Starting back he drove about fourteen miles, was taken with the cholera, and died there. Mr. Nesbit bought the goods and set up a small store. The next arrival was Harvey Jones, a missionary, who lived with us for many years.

On the 4th of April I started for Kansas City, and was gone two weeks; bought another yoke of oxen and supplies; found a man with a yoke of oxen and more wagon room than he needed. I put my oxen with his and my goods in his wagon. When we reached the Pottawatomie reservation I heard of some cows for sale, and bought two cows and calves. I started home with my cows, but when I had driven some ten miles one of them laid down and would not get up, so I had to leave her in the care of an Indian.

When I got home my neighbor Ryan had sold to John Willig, and the next claim below was taken by a Mr. Moses Foss. I started on the 17th of May, 1855, to get the cow I had left in April. When seven or eight miles from home I thought I saw my lost oxen coming, but the man driving told me where to find mine on Mission creek. I found them and my cow all right and drove them safely home.

Settlers continued to come in through the summer until there were twenty-five or thirty by fall. It had been very healthy until the last of August, when one of Mr. Lawin's children died after a short illness. Mrs. Leonard also died about the 5th of September, and Mr. Foss two weeks later. My wife was taken sick about the 10th of September and continued so for five months. The ague attacked me about the 20th of September, and I was sick for three months. We got out of supplies, and I was obliged to go to Kansas City for them. Starting on December 17, 1855, I reached there on the 22d at noon. About three o'clock the wind came up from the

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NOTE 1.—"This old fellow's name means literally Dawn of Day, and he gained it by an exploit of his youth. He went solus on an expedition against the Osages, to avenge the death of a friend; stole into their camp, tomahawked a dozen before the alarm was given, and then escaped just as the day was dawning. 'Wah-bon-seh!' he exclaimed, 'day a little!' and took that for his name."—Richard S. Elliott. *Notes Taken in Sixty Years, 1833*, p. 203. Mr. Elliott was United States subagent for the Pottawatomies at Council Bluffs, Iowa, in the '40's.

north with snow, and the storm was so severe we were weather-bound for four days. In a small hotel were fourteen men, mostly Missourians, who had to have their Christmas—a jug of whisky and plenty of tobacco to smoke. The day we were to start I got up with an ague chill, but we were loaded and left for home, making ten miles the first day; after that fifteen miles a day, until we reached home, the 2d of January, 1856. It continued cold until the 15th of January, when it thawed enough to pack the snow, turning cold again and snowing until the snow was two feet deep. It grew colder until the 3d of February, when the thermometer was thirty-two degrees below zero.

The fore part of February we thought we would have some corn ground, so Christian Wrath and I made a sled of hickory logs to go to mill, but just as it was finished and loaded it began to thaw, so we put the grist on the wagon, and Christian Wrath, Mr. Leonard and his eldest son started for the mill. They found the creek so high they had to put rails on top of the box, and the corn on the rails to keep it dry. They got home on the third day—nineteen miles. We found there were several families on Deep creek who had been living on boiled corn for over a month.

The Connecticut colony arrived between April 21 and 27, 1856. In August following my wife was taken violently sick, and her life was probably saved by a bottle of cholera medicine brought by Doctor Reed. That fall our house was quite a hospital. Evarts Platt and his brother Luther were there; my eldest son had malarial fever, and I was very sick with congestive fever. A little girl of Doctor Reed's died. The rest got well.

In the winter of 1856 and 1857 word came to the New Haven colony that there was a large sawmill in Kansas City which they could have the use of if they would haul it out. The mill belonged to the Emigrant Aid Company. The colony accepted the offer. John J. Walters was appointed to take charge of hauling it out. He did not want the job, so turned it over to H. I. Tadder, who gathered up all the oxen there were within ten miles of Wabaunsee, and we started on the 9th of February, 1857.<sup>2</sup>

Among those employed was one Frank Abbott, who had a large, awkward yoke of oxen, which on the second morning he managed to get into another team, securing three handy yoke of oxen for himself to drive. He left the company that afternoon to go around by the Baptist mission to change wagons, as he had broken down his wagon, and left it there to be mended. The rest of the company kept on the divide road, camping on a small creek about a mile east of Mission creek. About nine o'clock it began to rain, keeping on all night and next day till noon. When it stopped raining we hitched up and drove on to the next creek, about five miles, which was so high we could not cross, so camped until the water went down. In the afternoon Abbott came into camp, saying that he had drowned all three yoke of oxen. He had started out in the rain and came to the Shunganunga creek near Abram Burnett's. Seeing a covered wagon there he drove into the creek, where the banks were ten or twelve feet high, nearly perpendicular, with a rough elm tree just below. When the leaders went over the bank and swerved against the tree he unhitched the other oxen from the wagon and they swung around the opposite side of the tree in twelve or fifteen

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NOTE 2.—In the scrapbook of C. B. Lines, in the collections of the Historical Society, are found four letters, June 10 to July 2, 1856, telling of bringing a sawmill and boiler from Kansas City to Wabaunsee during that time, Mr. Lines being of the party.

feet of water. He could do nothing. The next morning when we got there two yoke of oxen were hung up so their hind feet touched the ground. No further incidents happened until we reached Kansas City.

We found more machinery than we expected—two large boilers, when we had wagons for only one. Tadder hired a man called Deacon and his son and seven yoke of oxen and a big Santa Fe wagon. George Coe was cook and George Thomas assistant. They had one yoke of oxen, a wagon with a stove in it, and the provisions. I bought a yoke of oxen while in Kansas City. An ox belonging to John Smith died about this time.

We loaded up and started for home. The second or third morning a fat hog came into camp while we were at breakfast. There was a hurrah and a chase. The boss said, "Catch him and I will pay for him." The hog did not get away, and we had fresh pork for a few days. We camped one night on Cedar creek, and next morning there were four or five inches of snow. It took all day to get across the creek. Our next camping place was Cole creek. While Abbott was with the Indians at the mission he had got well salted with graybacks, and distributed them freely; so the boys built big fires at this camp, took off underclothes and roasted the inhabitants. It rained that night, and the ground was very soft, and we had to keep carefully in the traveled road. Some two or three miles from camp one of the boiler wagons got stuck. I was so close behind that I had to drive around to get out of the way. As soon as I got off the road every wheel of my wagon went down and I was stuck fast. The boss said, "Get the cook's team," which we did and started, but it did not move. I had in my team a yoke of oxen belonging to Ben Street, called spikehorned, wild as deer. As I looked at my team one of those oxen dropped dead. The boss shouted, "Get that ox that is following." We hitched him in, skinned the dead ox, and got started into the road before the boiler wagon got started. We were then three miles from Blanton's bridge, on reaching which we found the bottoms covered with from two to six inches of water. We were ordered not to stop until we got across the bottoms, and made it all right.

One morning we had a small creek to cross. It had frozen during the night and the ground was hard. I stepped on the tongue to ride across. The ends of the cord in the wagon cover had got fastened together, and as I jumped off the loop caught my foot and I fell with my face downward astraddle of the forward wheel, which ran over my leg. I got up and went on, nothing the worse. The last stop was made on Dog creek, where a team from Wabaunsee met us with a load of corn. Starting out the next morning the front axle of my wagon got broken, so we took the front gears out of my wagon and put in those of the corn wagon. I reached home the 6th day of March, 1857. The others came next day.

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#### THE TOWN OF WILMINGTON AND THE SANTA FE TRAIL.

By THOMAS F. BURNS.

I started for Kansas in June, 1859, from near New Hampton, Iowa, and on July 3, 1859, crossed the Missouri river at Fort Leavenworth with two wagons, one drawn by a span of horses and one by two yoke of oxen. My family came with me in the wagons, and then consisted of my wife and a daughter one year old, Fannie Emma. A young man, as driver of the ox



team, came with us. We camped our first night in Kansas on the north or east bank of Big Stranger creek, in Leavenworth county, and during that night we had a big rain which raised the creek so that we could not cross the next day till nearly night. That was the last big rain I saw for a year and a half, though there were sufficient small rains in the summer of 1859 to make a fair crop of corn for that year, but there began in 1859 such a continuous shortage of rain as to cause a total failure of all crops in 1860.

This summer (1910) will be fifty-one years since I drove into the town of Wilmington, then a station on the Santa Fe trail. I was still contemplating going a little farther west, and did go on six miles farther, to Chicken creek, and there located in section 22, township 15, range 12 east, where I lived nine years.

The village or station of Wilmington in 1859 consisted of one two-story house of some half a dozen rooms (used as a hotel), a blacksmith shop, a wagon maker's shop and several dwelling houses, all built of concrete. There were also, under construction, a store, one two-story and a one-and-a-half story dwelling house, these two last in regular masonry work. In addition to the stone and concrete buildings mentioned above there were two built of native lumber, boarded up and down, and one story in height. I suppose that the reason for concrete buildings was that the more convenient and easily gotten rock might then be used.

Wilmington was not a dry town in those days. The hotel had a bar, and a sign in front which read "Dow's Wilmington House." There were about a dozen families in town at this time. There was no schoolhouse, but a school was kept in a vacant dwelling house. There was also no store kept in the town when I came, but H. D. Shepard soon afterwards opened up a little store in the front room of Mrs. Miller's residence and afterwards built an addition to the store building and moved his goods into it.

The town of Wilmington was located on section 15, township 15, range 13, and comprised three eighties. The central eighty is Wilmington yet. The north and south eighties were vacated by act of the legislature while H. D. Shepard was representative from Wabaunsee county.

During the nine years I lived on Chicken creek this town was my most convenient trading point. There was all this time a store at One Hundred and Forty-two creek, kept by a man by the name of Withington, and there were one or more stores at Burlingame, but these places were a long ways off. The town of Wilmington furnished the early settler in the neighborhood a market for some of his produce and saved him much travel when some of the necessities were needed.

After my nine years' residence on Chicken creek I moved six miles east, upon section 22, township 15, range 13, which was just about one mile south of the village of Wilmington, and though I have moved once since, I never again lived more than about one mile from the town. I have always lived outside of Wabaunsee county but near its south boundary, and the town of Wilmington was always my nearest home trading point.

The Santa Fe trail passed through the town, and over it in 1859 much freight from Westport Landing and Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri river, to Fort Union and other United States forts, was being hauled, mostly by ox and mule teams. The next year, 1860, there was more such freighting for the government in supplying western posts. There was also some freighting done in the same manner in the opposite direction. Some

time in the '60's, I don't remember the year with certainty, H. D. Shepard, the merchant in Wilmington, bought a whole trainload of wool that had been brought that far on the way from the distant Southwest, and he made a large profit on it. I think that the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861 had the effect of lessening a little the amount of government freighting over the trail, but it by no means extinguished it. The Mexican freighting that started from the other end of the route I think remained as vigorous during the war as before; and after the war was over, until the Union Pacific was built, freighting by ox and mule teams over the trail continued as prosperously or increased. After the building of this railroad, however, railway stations on the line of the road were brought much nearer the source of the Mexican trade than Westport Landing, and ox and mule team freighting over the trail rapidly declined.

These Santa Fe ox and mule trains were usually large; in fact, there were no small trains. They had to pass through a country for a long distance occupied by wild Indians, and it was necessary for them to travel compactly and in large bodies. Usually there were from four to six yoke of oxen, or from four to six span of mules, to a government freight wagon, and the train would be made up with from twenty to twenty-six wagons. The oxen of which the trains at the eastern end of the trail were made up were good, large, native work oxen, probably raised in Missouri, while the mules were good sized, and from the same locality. Both classes of teams were good. The trains, however, made up at the western end of the trail—that is, the Mexican trains—were of small Mexican cattle, many of them black or black-and-tan in color, and they had small black horns, and usually there were from five to seven yokes of them to a wagon. It was rather rare to have any longhorns with them. The mule teams of the Mexican trains also were made up of small animals, and usually from five to seven spans to a wagon.

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#### EGGS AND SALERATUS.

By Judge J. T. KEAGY.

Some ten or a dozen years ago Herman Meseke, now deceased, but then a farmer, who prior to the year 1860 had located a land warrant on 120 acres of land in section 14, township 13, range 8 east, near Templin, told me an incident of the drought year 1860.

He said that in May, 1860, he got married, and in that spring and summer built a little house on his land, into which he and his wife moved; that he tried to do some farming, but that the drought was so severe he raised nothing. He had at the time a yoke of oxen, a wagon, a plow, a scythe, an ax and a hoe as farming implements; also two cows, no hogs, and no other stock except a yoke of oxen and two hens, but no rooster. In the late autumn he found he had enough money to provide flour for himself and wife sufficient to reach into the next spring, besides rye to parch for coffee. When he had provided thus for the winter his money was all gone, and he and his wife settled down for the winter.

He told me (and this is the incident I am reducing to writing for perpetuation) that during this late autumn and early winter the two hens had laid an occasional egg, and that he and his wife both agreed to save these eggs until their needs became greater. By the time winter was fairly on and the winter holidays very near, his wife had so often wished that she

had saleratus to bake buscuits out of the flour, a desirable change from the continuous diet of only light bread and rye coffee (saleratus is a soda, known fifty or sixty years ago only by the name of "saleratus" in the stores, and it preceded the baking compounds now known as baking powders, and was used with sour milk, or with sweet milk and cream of tartar, as baking powders are now used), and the winter weather being mild for a considerable part of the day, he resolved to go to Council Grove, the then nearest market, distant eighteen miles, to get saleratus, provided they had eggs enough to make the trade. He and his wife counted up and found they had eleven eggs. He then made a good search to see if an egg might not have been laid that day so as to make a full dozen, but could not find one. So, on the next morning, the weather being clear, he yoked up the oxen to his wagon, and with his eleven eggs drove to Council Grove, and got there a little before night. He camped there for the night, intending after camping to do his trading, so that the eggs should not freeze, and he would be ready to get an early start for home next morning. Before doing his trading he met Mr. Carl Grunewald, a Wabaunsee county neighbor (though living a half dozen miles from each other), and told Grunewald why he had come to Council Grove, and the embarrassment he was in because he only had eleven eggs. Grunewald said, "Why, I had an extra egg, and the store gave it back to me. I'll give you that egg." Meseke thankfully accepted the proposition, got the egg from Grunewald, and bartered his now full dozen of eggs for saleratus. He slept in his wagon, and next day drove home, having spent two full days and one night in a trip to Council Grove for no other purpose than to get saleratus so his wife could bake biscuits.

Before writing the above, Judge Keagy went to Mrs. Meseke, the widow of Herman Meseke, who resides here in Alma, and she fully corroborated the story, and further said that by a trade her husband made later they got a large part of a hog for meat, and that he also caught some rabbits and prairie chickens, so that they did not suffer for meat that winter.

The pioneers who lived in Kansas through the later '50's and early '60's were made of sterner and more heroic stuff than this generation, and all honor and praise are due them for making Kansas the great state it is today.

#### A TRIP TO THE LAND OFFICE.

By JOSEPH THOES.

In 1859 the settlers in the United States land office district that had Lecompton for its place of business were required to pay for the lands on which they had filed declaratory statements by or before September 12, 1859. My brother and I had adjoining claims about four miles south of the city of Alma, in Wabaunsee county, and we were so situated that we could not both leave home at once—one had to care for some property of the other while the latter was absent. So about September 4 I started with my team and wagon to go to Westport to buy a land warrant to locate on my claim. I had to borrow most of the money to buy it with, and because of my acquaintanceship at Westport I believed I could do better there. I borrowed the money for a short time only from a friend who would take no note from me, and when I paid it back refused to take any interest.

I then bought my land warrant from a lawyer named Lee (I forget his first name) for \$140, and went to Lecompton. When I came to the land



office and presented it for location on my claim, the warrant proved to be defective in some feature, so that the land office refused to take it unless lawyer Lee would correct it. The land office officials pointed out to me the defect, which I carefully noted, and with it I returned to Westport. Before starting, I concluded that if I could borrow a saddle at Lecompton instead of driving back I would ride a good traveling mare that constituted a part of my team. I succeeded in borrowing an old saddle from a resident of Lecompton and started back to Westport on horseback, carrying a buffalo robe with me lest I should have to camp out.

On the way I met John Hess and William Dowling coming from Westport. They were Mill creek valley neighbors, and we stopped and talked a little. I explained to them why I had to go back, and Mr. Hess then said he also had bought a land warrant from lawyer Lee, and we then compared his with mine and discovered that his had about the same defects as mine, and so Mr. Hess asked me to take his warrant along back to Mr. Lee for correction, which I did, while he went on to Lecompton and awaited my return.

In due time I arrived at Westport and had no trouble to find Mr. Lee. I showed him the two land warrants and told him what the land office had said about mine. He looked at both and said he thought he could correct mine but thought he could not correct Mr. Hess's, as he would have to send it somewhere for correction. He then corrected mine, and gave me \$140 in gold to hand back to Mr. Hess in Lecompton. The day was nice and clear, and I knew there would be moonlight if it continued clear, so I made up my mind to ride toward Lecompton that night because of the urgency necessary to give my brother in Wabaunsee county a chance to get to Lecompton by the 12th of September. Except for this urgency I would not have ventured to travel alone with \$140 of Hess's money in gold and a little of my own and my land warrant through Johnson county, for our settlers had a bad impression of the proslaveryites, who had largely settled up Johnson county, and I was fearful of getting robbed. One hundred and forty dollars was a large sum of money in those days.

I started for Lecompton from my brother's barn in Westport at 4 P. M. to ride to Lecompton, or as far as I could get, and being disposed to be gentle towards the animal that was carrying me, I rode on a walking gait. It was pretty well on toward midnight when I crossed Cedar creek, and still had a considerable part of Johnson county to go through, I had seen no one after nightfall so far, and after having crossed the creek I drew away from the road into the prairie so as not to be seen by any one traveling along the road, while my mare ate grass for about an hour. It was now quite cold, and I wrapped myself up in my robe, kept awake, and held my mare by the halter. About an hour later, and probably a little after midnight, I remounted my animal, got back into the road, and moved on towards Lecompton. Having left Cedar creek two or three miles behind me, my attention was attracted to a peculiar haze in the atmosphere, or in the sky, and more dense in the direction I was traveling, and apparently at some distance. I watched this as I rode forward, and after watching it a little while, I noticed it had specks or spots in it, and shades and lines, or streaks. After a little it occurred to me that a little body of specks which particularly attracted my attention might be about in the direction of the town of Franklin. As soon as this thought occurred to me the whole scene was revealed to my comprehension. I had been looking at a reflection of the

Wakarusa valley in Douglas county, displayed in this upper haze. I now could see a reflection of Wakarusa creek with its water, its bed, its timber fringes and bodies, and its bluffs, valley, and settlers' cabins and improvements; also the town of Franklin and the line of travel along the valley, which I well knew; but Eudora, Lawrence and the Kaw river were too far north for me to see from my position.

For the only time in my life I beheld a mirage. It lasted after I comprehended it for fully a half hour. It was indeed a grand scene. I never saw a natural phenomenon that so much impressed me. While I beheld this I kept moving on, and probably about four o'clock I arrived at Eudora, a place of only two houses then. I concluded to stop here and stay until after breakfast. But nobody was up in all this town, judging from the absence of light in either of the two houses, and so I tied my mare and wrapped myself up in my robe and laid down, anxious to fall asleep, but too cold to get warm enough to do so. I laid and rolled around there eager to catch a sign of breaking day, or a lighted candle in one of the houses. By and by I caught the first glimpse of breaking day, and boldly went to one of the houses and, waking up the proprietor, begged him to build me a fire, as I was nearly frozen, and told him I would stay for, and pay for, my breakfast. He built me a fire and I finally got warmed up. There was a very hard frost that morning. I got my breakfast there and grazed my mare, and went on to Lecompton.

When Mr. Lee had corrected my land warrant, he also gave me a letter to a lawyer, David T. Mitchell, of Lecompton, requesting him to go with me to the land office when I took my warrant there again. I presented the letter to Mr. Mitchell and he went with me, and the office now accepted my warrant. I gave Mr. Hess his money, and next day started for home.

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#### GOING TO MARKET IN 1862.

By JOSEPH THOES, of Alma.

In the spring of 1862, while the Civil War was in progress and traffic was interrupted between the interior of Kansas and trading points in Missouri, and when coin money was fast passing or had already gone out of circulation, and the general government was doing its utmost to provide a paper currency, including the fractional currency, I had at my farm south of the present city of Alma nearly a wagonload of choice cured pork meat. The hogs from which it was made were well fattened and young 200-pound hogs. The hams, shoulders and sides were neatly trimmed, brine cured, and well smoked with hickory wood smudge. It was country cured meat, as good as could be made. Only the country people who still cure meat for their own use, and the people who lived a generation or two ago, before the packing house business developed to its present stage, can know the vast superiority of the country well-cured ham over the packing-house cured ham of to-day.

My neighbor, Andreas Thowe, who lived a half-mile south of my place, also had about a wagonload of country cured pork, and we both had quite an accumulation of eggs. We planned to go together and sell this produce. There was no market for it we knew in Wabaunsee county; we thought we might sell it at Topeka, and if we could not sell all there we could sell the rest at Lawrence. We were afraid to go to Missouri, or I would not have thought of stopping at Topeka or Lawrence, because my acquaintances at Westport

had assured me if I once could get there I could easily sell my supplies; but I knew we would have to pass through Johnson county, Kansas, to reach Westport, and this county I personally knew was largely settled by secessionists, and had the reputation in the counties to the west of being a harbor for bushwhackers and people who might hold us up for a part of our loads.

So we loaded up our wagons with our meat and eggs, and with our ox teams set out for Topeka. In due time we got there. We went into every trading house and tried to sell our supplies, or part of them, but nowhere could we sell five cents' worth. We then camped our wagons near where John Branner and Jacob Klein, shoemakers with whom I was acquainted, were doing business. We spent part of the evening with them, and incidentally I remarked to Mr. Branner that we would go to Lawrence and if we could not sell our goods there we would go on to Leavenworth. Mr. Branner then said, "I will give you a letter to take along to Mr. Endreas, a leather dealer at Leavenworth, containing an order for leather, in the event that you go there, and you can bring the leather back on your return home." I agreed to this, and Mr. Branner gave me the letter and order for leather, and next morning Mr. Thowe and I set out for Lawrence. Roads were good and we got there all right. I had done some trading in Lawrence before and knew a few of the merchants. We saw all the provision dealers, but could find no one that desired to buy any of our supplies. They all said they were already oversupplied.

So we drove on to Leavenworth. I had never been there before, and Mr. Thowe had no acquaintance there. We went to all the stores and tried to sell our goods, but at no place could we sell anything. Mr. Carney had a large store there and I looked through it, and the quantity of hams, shoulders and side meat that filled his provision department was simply wonderful; the joists hung full, and the floors were piled up and stacked with it, so I did not wonder that the dealers did not want any more.

We thought now that we were at the end of our string, but we had Mr. Branner's letter and order for leather to Mr. Endreas, and we went to see him and to deliver the letter. He was a German, as we were, and was very courteous to us. We gave him the letter and with it Mr. Branner's order for leather, and narrated to him our experience on the trip, and that now there appeared no other course to pursue but to go back home a hundred miles with everything we had started with.

Mr. Endreas had carefully listened to our story, and after a little reflection said: "Now I will direct you to a German who has just recently come to Leavenworth from Missouri, having been run out from there, and who lost much of his property. He has started a small store out towards the fort. He probably has no money to pay, but maybe you can get some trade for your provisions, and if you are willing to take pay in trade maybe you can dispose of a part of your load."

We concluded to act on his suggestion, and Mr. Endreas directed us to follow certain streets in reaching the place. This man's place of business was one of the last towards the fort. We set out for the place, which was owned and conducted by a Mr. Gretzer. The last street on the way there was pretty well built up, and some women who were outside of some of the dwellings seemed to me to wonder what we had in our wagons. The thought occurred to me that "these women think we are peddlers, and peddlers probably travel this street." So thinking I would test the correctness of my



judgment, I pulled my team to the side and stopped in front of a dwelling where a woman was standing. She advanced a little toward the road and I spoke to her and told her what I had to sell. She came to my wagon, I showed her my nicely cured meat, and I made a sale to her, and made a few more sales of hams and eggs between there and Mr. Gretzer's, selling the hams along the way at five and one-half and six cents a pound and the eggs at six cents a dozen, getting cash for these sales, and the only money we got for our produce.

We now arrived at Mr. Gretzer's, and halted in front of his place of business. He was cordial to us, and looked at our stock. We explained to him where we came from and what we had tried to do at Topeka and Lawrence, and here in Leavenworth, and that we had sold nothing but a few things on this street. He said, after he had seen our goods, "I have no money, but if you will take pay in trade, I will take all you both have. Go into my store and see my stock. I'll take your produce at the market price, and will sell to you at the market price." We went and looked over his stock in the store and concluded to make the deal with him, though we thought we would have to take some things we did not much need and hardly wanted. We weighed and counted out our supplies and calculated what they came to, and it took several hours to select and pack what we thought would be sooner or later most needful and useful, or that we might probably sell again at home. We took everything in trade. He had only a grocery stock, and dealt justly by us.

We now started for home, going by way of Mr. Endreas's leather house. We thanked Mr. Endreas for what we were bound to consider good luck. We took along Mr. Branner's leather and delivered it to him at Topeka, and later we got home. I don't know the exact distance we traveled, nor remember the exact time it took us to make the round trip; distance by wagon road must be about 200 miles, which ordinarily would mean an eight days' journey for an ox team. The trip was one of the sacrifices demanded of the pioneer farmers of Wabaunsee county.

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#### THE WABAUNSEE MILITIA COMPANY.

By GEORGE S. BURT.

Sometime in the fall of 1863, about October 1, an order was issued by Thomas Carney, governor of Kansas, for all able-bodied men to organize themselves into militia companies, and in accordance with that order the Wabaunsee boys met in the old town hall and perfected an organization by the election of the following persons as officers: Captain, Chauncey Noyes; first lieutenant, Wm. Mitchell; second lieutenant, Geo. S. Burt. They voted to organize as a cavalry company, forming company B, Fourteenth regiment. I do not remember who were the regimental officers. Soon after the organization, William Mitchell was appointed as one of the staff officers. By that appointment the lieutenants were advanced, Geo. S. Burt to first lieutenant, and W. S. Griswold to second lieutenant, and as such we secured our commissions from Governor Carney.

We began drilling, as nearly every one had some kind of a horse, and some of the mounts were truly ludicrous. We held quite a number of meetings before all the able-bodied men were in line. We met to practice every Saturday afternoon, going through the common cavalry maneuvers. Cap-

tain Noyes had been in the three months' service at the beginning of the war in 1861, so he knew a few of them. We continued to practice through the fall and into the winter, as the people were not rushed with work, and there was no objection to those who had no horses coming to look on.

When spring opened we did not meet very often, and had begun to think that there would be no call for the militia, but all at once, in July, 1864, a call came one Sunday morning to the captain to get every available man who had a horse, and proceed to Fort Riley at once. The Indians had attacked a wagon train near the great bend of the Arkansas river, killed some of the drivers, and stole goods, cattle and horses, and had escaped into the hills northeast of Fort Larned.

By one o'clock Sunday about twenty-five men were in saddle or bareback. We were a motley crowd, with big horses and little ponies. James Enlow had just bought a big horse of Mr. Haines, in Zeandale, which had never been ridden, or even halter broken, but Jim wanted to go, so the boys got two long lariats, and with three or four of the boys on each side to hold, Jim got on him, twisted his legs under the horse's belly so he could hold his seat, and the word was given to forward march, and march we did, in all shapes.

We went up southwest through Tabor valley and over south of Manhattan, up through Ashland bottom, arriving at Fort Riley about dark. We had nothing to eat through the day, except that which some of the more thoughtful ones had put in their pockets. No one seemed to know what to do with us, and as it was warm weather we camped in the bottoms along the Republican river, picketed our horses, took our saddles—those who were fortunate enough to have one—for a pillow, spread our blankets to lie on, and went to bed supperless and hungry.

The next morning we were out early to see what was the prospect for breakfast. We found a sutler's or government wagon with commissary stores. They issued us bacon, hard tack, flour, coffee not browned, sugar, and two camp kettles that would hold about ten quarts. The question now was, How were we to fry the bacon and make the coffee with no cooking utensils? Finding we could get nothing more from the government, we went on to Junction City, where there were a few stores. The company clubbed together, and while one would buy a coffee mill another would get frying pans, others tin cups, baking tins, etc. Then we proceeded to cook our first meal near the city, so if there was anything lacking we could get it before leaving civilization.

At Junction City we were joined by the Pottawatomie and Riley county companies; also the Zeandale company, with Perry McDonald as captain. J. M. Limbocker was captain of the Riley county company. Here we were all put under the command of Capt. Henry Booth, of company L, Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, who was going west after the Indians. We also had one section of battery. General Curtis was with us in his ambulance. I do not know what he came for, as we only know of his giving one order, and that was to his bodyguard, to catch a big skunk that was making across the prairie with his big, bushy tail over his back. Of course the boys took after the old fellow, being careful to keep a proper distance from him until they got over a rise in the ground where they were lost sight of by the general. I don't know what their report was, but Byron Cotton might tell you, as he was one of the bodyguard that day.

The command left Fort Riley sometime in the forenoon, Monday, I believe. Our camp that night was on the Solomon river. The next day at noon we camped where the town of Salina was just started. I remember there was a sawmill there. This was Col. Wm. A. Phillips's town. We camped the third night at Fort Ellsworth, near the Smoky Hill river. Here we had our first fresh meat. Sol Metty, of the Pottawatomie company, cut a fine fat heifer out of a bunch of cattle, and with the help of some of the other boys drove her in front of the command nearly all the afternoon, until we camped. Then she was killed and divided among the militia companies. The volunteer company did not get any of it. All I got was a little broth from one of the shin bones, but it was better than the "sow belly" that the government issued to us.

The next morning, about two o'clock, the bugler of company L routed us out, and we were in the line of march by three o'clock, on our way to the great bend on the Arkansas river, near the mouth of Walnut creek. That was what we called a forced march, as we arrived thereabout three o'clock in the afternoon. Here we found where the Indians had attacked the train. The Indians had cut open some sacks of flour, and it had scattered on the ground, and that was all the evidence we had that the Indians had been in that vicinity. Here along the Arkansas river were acres of sand plums. We ate our fill and tried to cook some, but it was no use, as they were so bitter we could not eat them, no matter how much sugar we used. The government commissary wagon had plenty of provisions and we were well supplied.

The next day we marched to Fort Larned, where we camped about one week. We were there on the 1st of August, 1864. In the two weeks we were away from home I don't remember that there was any Sunday. From Fort Larned we were ordered northwest. I think we must have reached what is now Trego county. Up on the Smoky Hill river we found lots of buffalo, and from this time on the hunters kept us well supplied with fresh buffalo meat, which was the first fresh meat we had eaten except the one heifer. Up here we found six Indian ponies and one lone ox that the Indians had left in their haste to get out of the way of the soldiers.

Up to this time the Indians had not been very bad. The command continued northwest until it struck Big creek, without seeing any Indians. We followed down Big creek to what was later Fort Hays, and from that place the militia companies were sent home. While camped in the bottoms near the future Fort Ellsworth, our company got a settler's wife to make us some biscuits, paying her in flour. From here our company marched alone. By this time our ranks were depleted, not by deaths, but as soon as the horses got used up their owners were sent home.

In the final roundup for home there were Captain Noyes, First Lieutenant Burt, Second Lieutenant Griswold, Commissary Enoch Platt, privates Wm. Mitchell, S. A. Baldwin, Chauncey Gladden, James Enlow, and two or three others whose names I do not remember. W. S. Williams, who had gone as far as Fort Larned with us, went south with a wagon train, but arrived home about the same time we did. After we left Fort Ellsworth for home we made good time. The last night we camped on the Solomon river, and when we were ready to start for home the next morning I told Captain Noyes that I was going to leave the company and go home that day. He said I could not, but must stay with the company, and if I did not he



would put me under arrest. As I had the best horse in the company, and was good for 75 or 100 miles a day, I told him he would have to catch me first. So I lit out, and arrived in Junction City before noon, got my dinner, and was about ready to leave for home when Gladden and Griswold came in. They said if I would wait for them to get their dinners they would go to Wabaunsee with me, and, as it was a lonesome road, I did so.

We crossed the Kansas river to the south side, where there was a good trail. We struck Shoal creek just about where Mr. Blain lived. At Mr. Meachem's they gave us a good supper, and thus refreshed we struck straight for home, arriving there about sundown. There we found the folks much excited by a report that the Kaw Indians down near Council Grove were on the warpath. I think there was some trouble with them, but do not know just what it was, as nothing came of it.

The following men were enrolled in company L: Capt. Chauncey Noyes, First Lieut. Wm. Mitchell, Second Lieut. George S. Burt, First Sergt. Byron Cotton; A. W. Gregory, Walter Griswold, W. S. Williams, Sam'l R. Weed, E. J. Lines, A. C. Cutler, William Isbell, Chauncey Gladden, S. C. C. Gladden, J. A. Bisbey, John Willig, Adam Kratzer, Volney Love, John Smith, Wm. Smith, Wm. F. Cotton, G. S. Beckwith, S. A. Baldwin, J. H. Gould, James Enlow, J. F. Willard, J. T. Genn, Robert Banks, Egbert Kelsey, Smith Kelsey, and Enoch Platt, quartermaster sergeant.

The following men are still living: Wm. Isbell, John Smith, Wm. Smith, J. T. Genn, and George S. Burt.

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#### EARLY SETTLEMENT ON MISSION CREEK.

By JAMES R. LITTLE, of Eskridge.

We were widely separated. Our houses were log, and close down by the timber; you could not see one until close to it, but every one could turn out from three to five good men. No roads, no bridges—just go as you please. There were very few work horses, but plenty of Indian ponies and oxen. No light rigs of any kind. If you took your sweetheart for a constitutional you rode ponies.

The writer, a few days after arriving, in 1866, rode his pony up into Zeandale township to get work oxen; got two yoke and started for home at nearly dark. No road, no guide, no houses, nothing but prairie. The oxen were hungry for the rich, succulent grass, so we had to stop somewhere, and to help matters a brisk rain- and hailstorm visited us. I pulled off the saddle for a pillow and turned the pony loose, sleeping soundly till the moon rose. When I awoke the pony and oxen were close by, waiting for me. Nothing was in sight or hearing except the yelp of the coyote and the click of their teeth.

By the way, this free range at that time would fatten a dry cow more than if stall fed. Ask any old settler. Indians? Yes, plenty, but they were tame. We drove those oxen to Topeka many trips. Topeka was small; no pavement or sidewalk—not a foot. They had a pontoon bridge in those days.

Everybody was breaking prairie, and having the "shakes." The foregoing incidents were common to all. There were no rich and no poor; every one free and social. You could scarcely hurt a man's feelings worse than to offer to pay for dinner and horse feed or a night's lodging.

Our shanghai fences just served to show the cattle where the corn grew.

Prairies were burned off every fall, and we have had some thrilling experiences in fighting fire. The wind would change with a rush in the night, and you would awake with the whole country ablaze, making lively work to save stacks and stables, and we did not always save them. First thing to do was to turn the stock loose onto the breaking. Everybody would turn out and try to save a strip up and down the creek for stock to run on during the winter, and keep that black dust from blowing into the houses. There were no roads for firebreaks. It required expert managing to head it off, and it was no picnic, either.

And there was another winter feature quite different from the present. Where has the old-time blizzard gone to? It was as much as a man's life was worth to get caught out in one, with nothing but the wind to guide him; but I never knew but one man to absolutely freeze, although many have come near it. We were told you could raise only corn and sorghum, but we tried spring wheat and oats and did fairly well, but had no grist mills nearer than Lawrence. We were also told that fruit of all kinds was no good. If you wanted apples, go to Missouri. Those who could spare time and money would do so.

I have been here forty-two years and no white man has been killed, but there have been three suicides. The Texas cattle used to be driven through here some parts of the season, contrary to law. A man living at the station on the old Council Grove trail carried mail from Topeka to Council Grove, also electricity in packages (not made of paper) for the weary ones. I will not tell his name, but you old-timers all know him. Besides, he got to be a good law-abiding citizen. He once piloted a herd of 3000 cattle down onto the headwaters of the creek. In those days nothing escaped the eye of the settler. The herd was seen coming through the "gap" and down the slope, and was met by a dozen or so not very fierce looking men who proposed to see the law obeyed and were well prepared for peace or war. Meeting them the pilot lit out, and because he had only a second-class critter under him he had to come back and settle with the squire.

Speaking of Indians, a friend of mine went over on Kuenzli creek to transact some business with one, and after a good deal of delay found him after dark at a big pow-wow. All were dancing around a fire, with what he supposed was a jug sitting by it. When his Indian saw him, he caught up that jug to show him, and presto—it was an Indian's head, from some tribe with whom they were at war.

A man not so very far from here saw some one around his stable at night, and filled him full of shot. The next morning his victim was still there, sitting up against a stack. He sent word to the Pottawatomies to come and get him, supposing he was one of that tribe. When a dozen arrived and saw him, they set up a yell and the victim sung his death song. They made a lariat fast around his neck and tied the other end to a pony's tail. But the white man would not let them drag the poor fellow off alive. So they indulged in some blood letting, and then went off a-whooping with the dead body.

We had a vigilance committee in those days, and no strange rig could pass any member without getting one good searching look, sufficient to report everything about that outfit down to the very minutest detail. Vigilantes were organized so as to be in quick communication with each other. A horse was stolen in Captain Buckman's district near Topeka about eight

o'clock at night. He sent two men on his track, and at sunrise the next morning they took breakfast with our captain, and by 10:30 in the morning everything was captured—pretty quick work.

Two horse thieves were shot, not killed, and taken by one of our men and one other. They were tracked to Bob McMaster's, just over the bluff west, with two fine horses on ropes. They thought they were perfectly safe in that out-of-the-way place, and when found showed fight. Too much credit cannot be given to McMaster, an old veteran, for the part he took in the scrimmage—his management and coolness. The thing was short and decisive.

Along about the '70's, if you wanted to know who had been here the longest, you had just to look around the crowd and see who had on the most rags, and you would have him. Labor! You might travel from Dan even to Beersheba, and you could not get a day's work and get the money for it.

Every spring we started out with fresh vigor and high hopes, and in the fall we would make calculations on how long it would take to drive an empty covered wagon back to Indiana; for Kansas was not a staid matron as now, but a fickle maid that would lift you up the highest and let you drop the hardest of any one of all her sisters.

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#### GETTING MARRIED AND THE AGUE.

Paper by S. H. FAIRFIELD, before the Old Settlers' Meeting at Harveyville, in 1904.

Fifty years ago the territory of Kansas was the great battle ground of two mighty forces. It was here the Southern states planted their standard with the determination to make slave states of all of the vast unoccupied territory extending from Missouri to the Golden Gate on the western sea. With equal determination the states north of Mason and Dixon's line endeavored to prevent a foot of this region from being given over to the slave power for the propagation of slavery. Thousands of the chivalry of the Southland poured into the new territory, and thousands of young men from the North and East flowed into Kansas. Both of these forces were armed to the teeth, and ready for the conflict that eventually ended in the great Civil War and the death knell of slavery. The history of the border war, with the suffering and privation of those heroic early settlers who helped to make Kansas what it is to-day, has not been written and never can be.

In April, 1856, I left my New England home for the great West, stopping at Mendon, Ill., until August of that year. During this time the fierce struggle raged in Kansas. Free-state men were being murdered, Lawrence sacked and burned, and the whole country was in a fearful state of agitation. Free-state men were not allowed to pass up the Missouri river into Kansas. The only way for them to reach the territory was by the circuitous route through Iowa.

Four other young men from Mendon, and myself, started for Kansas in August of 1856. Arriving at Tabor, southwest Iowa, we found our way into Kansas blocked by a large body of South Carolina troops. About 100 free-state men, led by James Redpath, had gathered at Tabor on their way into the territory. They had a howitzer and all were armed with Sharps' rifles and revolvers. Among the number was a son of John Brown. Old John Brown, Jim Lane, Dr. J. P. Root, and several other free-state leaders had congregated at Tabor about this time on their way east from the terri-



tory. Redpath thought that his party was able to go into Kansas and remove any obstruction that came in their way. Arriving at the northern boundary of Kansas he had his men fall into line. He then unfurled "Old Glory," the company fired a salute, and we passed over into the territory which was forever to be consecrated to freedom. We proceeded into the territory with caution. On our march we kept out scouts; at night camp guards and pickets. Some dozen of us had horses and had to act as scouts. As we approached the Big Nemaha firing was heard, and through the spy glasses tents were seen. We supposed it was the enemy. Six horsemen were sent ahead to reconnoiter. Arriving at the timber we found only Indians, and did not go back to report. Redpath, still hearing the firing, supposed that his scouts had been captured. Corraling his wagons, he deployed his men as skirmishers and came charging into the timber. He found us sitting in the bed of the creek cracking walnuts. The language he used came near setting the timber on fire.

John W. Geary had been appointed governor of the territory. He ordered that all armed bodies of men coming into the territory should be disarmed. Redpath heard of the order and hid his howitzer under a haystack. Before reaching Topeka his party met the United States troops, and were disarmed and escorted into Topeka. Redpath himself was "hid among the stuff" and escaped arrest. The troops started back and arrested a company of over 200 men under Eldridge, disarmed them, and turned them loose to go their own way.

Our little Mendon crowd came on to Wabaunsee. There were Enoch Platt, Everts Platt, Luther Platt, Sam Weed and myself. Only Sam Weed and myself remain. The others have passed over the "river." At Wabaunsee we found the New England colony, commonly known as the Beecher Bible and Rifle Company, composed mostly of young men, the best blood of New England. The "Prairie Guards," a military company of the colony, had just returned from Lawrence, where they had been summoned by General Lane to help defend the free-state men from the border ruffians of Missouri. From what we had read in the New York and Chicago papers we were expecting to find Wabaunsee a pretty New England village. We had first taken up our abode with a couple of the colony boys in a log cabin some three miles up Antelope creek. The next day, in a two-wheeled cart drawn by a yoke of Missouri steers, we set out to see our pretty village. A rope tied around the horns of the near steer kept them from running away. Crossing the branch east of town we came into the village. It was composed of three tents, a bark house, and a small log cabin. The post office was kept in a shake cabin two miles west of the village on Emmons creek. The postmaster was the home missionary, Rev. Harvey Jones. This was the first post office in the county, and the only one at the time, unless there was one at Wilmington. (It was a question until the year 1861 whether that little burg. was in Wabaunsee county or not.) Our mail was brought on horseback once a week from Tecumseh. The colony numbered some eighty persons. They spread themselves all over that part of the country. When a man drove a stake on a quarter section of land that held it. One fellow came up from Missouri and "wanted to be shown." He built a cabin on a staked claim, and was "shown" by the boys. One dark night some thirty of the colony came upon him, tied him to two logs pinned together, and set him afloat on the Kaw. We had a rope attached to the logs so as to pull

him in when he was sufficiently "shown." When pulled ashore he took an oath to leave the country and never return. He was marched to Mitchell Hill by two of the boys with Sharps' rifles, and told to leave. We were never again troubled by men who wanted to be "shown." We burned his cabin. It was on the farm now owned by Geo. S. Burt, sr. Wabaunsee and Mission Creek were stations on the underground railway, and many a slave was taken through on this line to Canada.

Most of the members of the colony had never farmed. They came up the Missouri river and landed at Kansas City in April, 1856, and purchased their outfit in Missouri. And such an outfit! The cows were not Jerseys, Shorthorns or Durhams, but a scrub breed. The hogs were not Poland Chinas, Berkshire or Chester White, but were razorback pure and simple. I saw one of the boys milking his cow. He had her head tied up to a post, her hind leg tied up to another; one of her fore legs was tied up, a chain was tied over her back to keep her from holding up her milk, and then with his head in her flank he proceeded to milk.

The hogs! I tried to make my speck from those razorbacks. Another fellow and I had eighty of them. It was in 1860—the dry year. We fed them all the corn that we had raised in 1859; then we fed them on weeds. Finally it got so dry that weeds would not grow, and there was no corn in the country. The hogs got so thin that it took two of them to make a shadow. Finally we concluded to kill them. I pickled my share and smoked the meat. When we undertook to cook it we found it only rind, bone and gristle, and my wife declared that there was not enough grease in the hogs to make soap. This is a pretty big story, but it is true, all the same. Remember it was in 1860, the noted dry year in Kansas.

The settlers hauled all their stores from Kansas City and Leavenworth by ox team. In December, 1856, two of us started to Kansas City for provisions with two yoke of oxen. A fearful snowstorm came on, and covered the ground with three feet of snow on a level. All the ravines were full. It took us three weeks to make the trip. We came all of the way home on the crust of the deep snow. It had rained a little, and the top had frozen over. We arrived home none too soon as the boys were living on short rations.

Wabaunsee was planned for a great city, the New Haven of the West. Archie Williams declared that when any of the boys died, if they had been real good, they would go to New Haven, Conn. The town was laid out on 320 acres of land, with a river front and a levee on the river. The river was supposed to be navigable. Two steamboats came up from Kansas City in 1857, and unloaded freight on the levee at Wabaunsee. The captain of one of the steamers kept so continually drunk that he could not steer clear of the sand bars in the river, and he declared the stream unnavigable. Town companies were organized by some of the men of the colony. A town was laid out on the opposite side of the river from Wabaunsee, and named Webster City. In the inundation of 1903 it was buried in the sand. Three other towns were laid out on the Pottawatomie reservation, and the Indians hired to hold them; one was at the mouth of Wells creek, another at the mouth of Mill creek, and the the third at the falls of Mill creek, south of Maplehill. The Union Pacific railroad was built on the north side of the river, and the beautiful town sites on the south side, so carefully selected and laid out, are now productive farms.

The people who settled in the territory in the years 1856, '57 and '58 had, along with the suffering and privation incident to pioneer life, the fever and ague, the latter called "shakes" by the early settlers. Oh, how they did shake! Not a person coming into the country escaped. Whole families—father, mother and children—were down at the same time, and all stretched out on hay floors or improvised beds. Every day, or every other day, for months, they would have chills, shakes and fever, and a terrible headache; and then came the awful sweat. Just think of it! Whole communities were in this condition. I asked one of the aborigines of the country if he considered it a healthful climate. He said, "Yes, perfectly healthful." I asked him what it was that made the people so yellow. He answered, "That's nothing; we only have the ager." Where did the shakes come from and where did they go? They are not here now.

Whether it was the privations of a new country or "The Girl I Left Behind Me" that took most of the young men of the colony back to their ancestral homes in Connecticut, I cannot say. I suspect, however, that it was the "girls." The noble fellows had accomplished the main object which had brought them to the territory of Kansas, and the vast regions to the west of us were safe to freedom.

The young men of this generation do not realize what it cost a young man in Kansas, fifty years ago, to get a partner for life. They ought to know, so that they may appreciate the advantages which they have over the Kansas young men of half a century ago. Only a very few young women had come to the territory at that early day, and the young man had to leave the settlement to find one. A young man started from Wabaunsee in February, 1856, on foot, with only \$4.50 in his pocket, for Mendon, Ill. He did chores where he stopped nights for his lodging, supper and breakfast. A part of the time the thermometer stood at twenty degrees below zero. When he arrived at Mendon he had twelve and one-half cents in his pocket. He came back in the spring with a breaking team of two yoke of oxen, and a young wife. They both did noble work for Kansas and Oklahoma. He was for many years a professor of the Kansas State Agricultural College.

Another young man from Wabaunsee left in December, 1859, for a wife. He footed it 100 miles to Leavenworth. He had several shinplasters, or state bank bills, in his pocket. That was the only kind of paper money we had in those days, and it was liable not to be good over night. The bank which issued the bills the young man had collapsed during his walk to Leavenworth. He borrowed some money of a merchant, took a boat up the river to St. Joseph, and then staged it 100 miles into Iowa. He found the girl he went after, was married, and came back to western Missouri. He found the river breaking up and had to be taken across the stream on hand sleds to Fort Leavenworth. An ox team was waiting there to take him and his wife to Wabaunsee to live in a log cabin; and the next year, 1860, to subsist on buffalo meat and "Pomeroy" beans.

The brave, patriotic women who came to Kansas in those days and endured all the privations, sufferings and dangers incident to a pioneer life on the frontier of civilization will never be forgotten. They did their part nobly, and helped make Kansas the great and glorious state she is to-day.

Wabaunsee was the county seat of the county until 1867, when the German got away with the Yankee and moved the county seat to Alma. George Burt, sr., of Wabaunsee, moved the county offices, books, safe, and all the



county belongings to Alma in two wagons, in the month of December, 1867, and dumped them all into a room, fourteen by sixteen, in the rear of a frame building erected by the Alma Town Company. There was only one small building on the town site besides the one used as a courthouse.

The town of Wabaunsee sits on the banks of the "raging Kaw," but its glory has not departed. The historic building known as the "Beecher Bible and Rifle Church" still stands on the old town site as a monument to remind coming generations of that noble band of young men who left their New England homes in the time of their country's peril and

"Crossed the prairies as of old  
The pilgrims crossed the sea,  
To make the West as they the East,  
The homestead of the free."

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NOTE.—Previous to February, 1859, Wabaunsee county was known as Richardson county. It was named in honor of Gen. William P. Richardson, a member of the Kansas Territorial Council in 1855. The territorial legislature of Kansas changed the name to Wabaunsee county, February 11, 1859, and temporarily located the county seat at Wabaunsee. Wabaunsee was an Indian chief of the tribe of the Pottawatomies.

## ERRATA.

- Page 38.—Line 18 from bottom, "December 1, 1896," should read "December 1, 1869."
- Page 40.—Under the cut of the Colony Building, "See Note 13," should read "see page 31."
- Pages 113, 165, 166.—"Matthieson" should read "Matthiessen."
- Page 183.—Last line of text, for "Mulvane, in Sedgwick county," read "Mulvane, in Sumner county."
- Page 211.—Line 18 from bottom of page, "Kansas Bureau of Labor," should read "Annual and Biennial Reports."
- Page 213.—Line 11 from top of page, "Annual Review of Greater Kansas City, 1908," see also page 214, line 6 from top of page.
- Page 222.—Note 6, line 7 from bottom of page, read "in the collections" instead of "of the collections."
- Page 230.—Note 8, last line, for "G. W. Goodlander's," read "C. W. Goodlander's."
- Page 277.—First paragraph, "Hopps" should read "Hoppe"; and on page 590, line 15 from top of page, "Hops" should read "Hoppe."
- Page 296.—Second line of Note 1 should read "Otter Creek" instead of "Ottawa Precinct."
- Page 300.—Second line from top of page, read "General Sherman" instead of "General Sheridan." The latter was not in the battle.
- Page 315.—Lines 3 and 5 from bottom of page, "Gelemend" should read "Gelelemend."
- Page 330.—Line 21 from bottom of page, read "arrow" for "arror."
- Page 391.—Second line under portrait of Dr. William Jones, read "Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine" instead of "Sturnes' Oklahoma Magazine."
- Page 407.—Line 10 of text from the bottom, the word "debauch" should be "debouch."
- Page 411.—Line 16 from bottom of text should read "On reaching the north side of the island," instead of "Once reaching the side."
- Page 423.—Line 11 from bottom of note the name "M. Batel Dumont" should be "M. Butel Dumont."
- Page 460.—Note at bottom of page, third line from bottom: Chittenden's American Fur Trade says "This point (junction of Oregon and Santa Fe trails) was a little northwest of the present town of Gardner," &c. This is an error. Should read "a little southwest." This information is obtained from original surveys of Kansas in office of state auditor at Topeka.
- Page 499.—Location below picture of church should be spelled "Schoenchen," not "Schoengen."
- Page 526.—Line 3 from bottom of Note 177, for "Waldemar Lindgreen" read "Waldemar Lindgren."
- Page 549.—Note 37, Hittell's History of California, 1897, for "volume 4, chapters 5 and 6," read "volume 4, pages 447-495."
- Page 577.—Line 11 from top of page, "Cutler" should read "Custer."

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