

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

Gc
978.1
K13c
v.15
1214030

M. L.

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

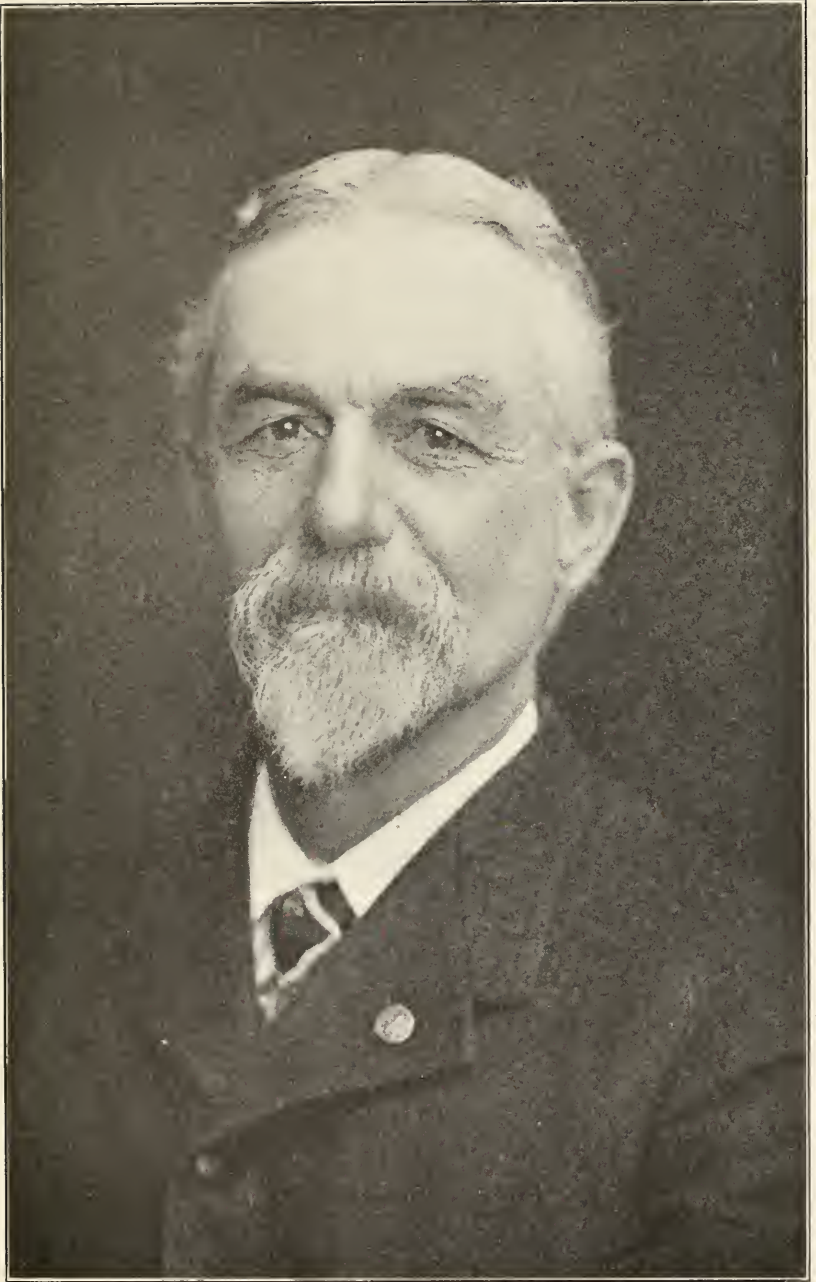
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 00826 0657

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



ALBERT R. GREENE

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1919-1922

TOGETHER WITH

ADDRESSES, MEMORIALS AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

EDITED BY

WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, *Secretary*

VOL. XV

Be
978.1
K13c
v. 15

PRINTED BY KANSAS STATE PRINTING PLANT
B. P. WALKER, STATE PRINTER
TOPEKA 1923
9-3652

OFFICERS FOR 1922.

C. H. TUCKER, Lawrence	President.
F. D. COBURN, Topeka.....	First Vice President.
THEODORE GARDNER, Lawrence.....	Second Vice President.
WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, Topeka.....	Secretary.
MISS CLARA FRANCIS, Topeka.....	Librarian.
MRS. MARY EMBREE, Topeka.....	Treasurer.

1214030

PAST PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY.

*Samuel A. Kingman, Topeka.....	1876	*John Francis, Colony	1901
*George A. Crawford, Fort Scott.....	1877	William H. Smith, Marysville.....	1902
*John A. Martin, Atchison	1878	*William B. Stone, Galena.....	1903
*Charles Robinson, Lawrence	1879-1880	*John Martin, Topeka	1904
*T. Dwight Thacher, Lawrence ..	1881-1882	*Robert M. Wright, Dodge City.....	1905
*Floyd P. Baker, Topeka	1883-1884	*Horace L. Moore, Lawrence.....	1906
*Daniel R. Anthony, Leavenworth, 1885-1886		*James R. Mead, Wichita.....	1907
*Daniel W. Wilder, Hiawatha.....	1887	*George W. Veale, Topeka.....	1908
*Edward Russell, Lawrence	1888	*George W. Glick, Atchison.....	1909
*William A. Phillips, Salina.....	1889	Albe B. Whiting, Topeka.....	1910
*Cyrus K. Holliday, Topeka.....	1890	*Edwin C. Manning, Winfield.....	1911
*James S. Emery, Lawrence.....	1891	William E. Connelley, Topeka.....	1912
*Thomas A. Osborne, Topeka	1892	David E. Ballard, Washington	1913
*Percival G. Lowe, Leavenworth	1893	John N. Harrison, Ottawa	1914-1915
*Vincent J. Lane, Kansas City	1894	Charles Frederick Scott, Iola.....	1916
*Solon O. Thacher, Lawrence	1895	*Charles Sumner Glead, Topeka.....	1917
*Edmund N. Morrill, Hiawatha.....	1896	George Pierson Morehouse, Topeka...	1918
*Harrison Kelly, Burlington	1897	Wilder S. Metcalf, Lawrence.....	1919
*John Speer, Lawrence	1898	Thos. A. McNeal, Topeka	1920
*Eugene F. Ware, Kansas City.....	1899	F. Dumont Smith, Hutchinson.....	1921
*John G. Haskell, Lawrence	1900	Sam F. Woolard, Wichita	1922

* Deceased.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

FOR THREE YEARS ENDING OCTOBER, 1923.

Anthony, D. R., jr.; Leavenworth.
 Baird, Mrs. Amelia Ware; Kansas City.
 Bullard, Mrs. Cora W.; Tonganoxie.
 Capper, Arthur; Topeka.
 Coburn, F. D.; Topeka.
 Cory, Charles E.; Fort Scott.
 Dawson, John S.; Hill City.
 Denison, W. W.; Topeka.
 Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V.; Larned.
 Gardner, Theodore; Lawrence.
 Gray, George M.; Kansas City.
 Guernsey, Mrs. George T.; Independence.
 Harley, Thomas; Lawrence.
 Harrison, J. N.; Ottawa.
 Henderson, Robert D.; Junction City.
 Hobbie, Frank A.; Dodge City.
 Hogin, John C.; Belleville.

Huggins, W. L.; Topeka.
 Huron, George A.; Topeka.
 Ingalls, Mrs. J. J.; Atchison.
 Johnston, Mrs. Lucy B.; Minneapolis.
 McNeal, Thomas A.; Topeka.
 Mason, Mrs. Lucy Greene; Topeka.
 Markham, O. G.; Baldwin.
 Morehouse, George P.; Topeka.
 Monroe, Mrs. Lilla Day; Topeka.
 Nicholson, John C.; Newton.
 Plumb, George; Emporia.
 Russell, Wm. J.; Topeka.
 Simpson, Albert P.; Axtell.
 Stone, George M.; Topeka.
 Tucker, C. H.; Lawrence.
 Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H.; Leavenworth.

FOR THREE YEARS ENDING OCTOBER, 1924.

Alden, Maurice L.; Kansas City.
 Anspaugh, J. R.; Topeka.
 Brokaw, C. L.; Kansas City.
 Carey, Emerson; Hutchinson.
 Case, Alex E.; Marion.
 Connelley, William E.; Topeka.
 Dean, John S.; Topeka.
 Embree, Mrs. Mary; Topeka.
 Farrelly, Hugh P.; Chanute.
 Francis, Clara; Colony.
 Gleed, J. W.; Topeka.
 Gray, John M.; Kirwin.
 Johnson, Mrs. Elizabeth A.; Republic City.
 Kagey, C. L.; Beloit.
 Kinkel, John M.; Topeka.
 Lee, Thomas Amory; Topeka.
 Long, Chester I.; Wichita.

Martin, Charles C.; Kansas City, Kan.
 Morgan, W. Y.; Hutchinson.
 Nichols, J. C.; Olathe.
 Pierce, A. C.; Junction City.
 Rankin, Robt. C.; Lawrence.
 Rice, Oscar; Fort Scott.
 Ruppenthal, J. C.; Russell.
 Shields, J. B.; Lost Springs.
 Smith, W. H.; Marysville.
 Soller, August; Washington.
 Stone, Robert; Topeka.
 Travis, Frank L.; Kansas City, Kan.
 Vandegrift, F. L.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Wayman, William; Emporia.
 West, J. S.; Kansas City, Kan.
 Wood, O. J.; Topeka.

FOR THREE YEARS ENDING OCTOBER, 1925.

Austin, E. A.; Topeka.
 Ballard, David E.; Washington.
 Berryman, J. W.; Ashland.
 Botts, Jay T.; Coldwater.
 Brooks, H. K.; Topeka.
 Bumgardner, Edward; Lawrence.
 Cobb, S. E.; Topeka.
 Cornell, Mrs. Annie M. S.; Kansas City, Kan.
 Curtis, Charles; Topeka.
 Davis, John W.; Greensburg.
 Frizell, E. E.; Larned.
 Geddes, K. M.; El Dorado.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A.; Leavenworth.
 Hamilton, Clad; Topeka.
 Horton, Mrs. Mary A.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Karlan, C. A.; Topeka.

Klein, Paul; Iola.
 Marshall, John P.; Wakefield.
 Metcalf, Wilder S.; Lawrence.
 Mulvane, Mrs. D. W.; Topeka.
 Murphy, Mrs. Eva Morley; Goodland.
 Orr, James W.; Atchison.
 Rockwell, B.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Scott, C. F.; Iola.
 Slonecker, J. G.; Topeka.
 Van Petten, A. E.; Topeka.
 Wagstaff, T. E.; Independence.
 Wark, George H.; Caney.
 Whiting, Albe B.; Topeka.
 Wilson, Walter E.; Topeka.
 Woolard, Sam F.; Wichita.
 Wooster, Lorraine E.; Salina.

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

- Alden, Howell Henry; Topeka.
 Alden, Maurice L.; Kansas City.
 Allen, G. B.; Meade.
 Alrich, Alaric G.; Lawrence.
 Anderson, R. M.; Beloit.
 Anderson, Theodore W.; Minneapolis, Minn.
 Anderson, Thomas; Salina.
 Anthony, D. R., jr.; Leavenworth.
 Arnold, F. M.; Emporia.
 Auerbach, H. A.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Austin, Edwin A.; Topeka.
 Badger, Gordon A.; Eureka.
 Bagby, John L., jr.; Topeka.
 Bailey, Willis J.; Atchison.
 Baird, Mrs. Amelia Ware; Kansas City.
 Ballard, Clinton David; Barnes.
 Ballard, David E.; Washington.
 Banker, Louis; Russell.
 Barker, Thos. J., jr.; Kansas City.
 Barndollar, Pratt; Coffeyville.
 Bennett, Arthur Henry; Topeka.
 Bennett, Henry; Topeka.
 Berryman, J. W.; Ashland.
 Bislop, John L.; Riverside, Cal.
 Blanton, Mrs. W. S.; Coffeyville.
 Boisseau, O. G.; Holden, Mo.
 Botkin, J. T.; Wichita.
 Botts, Jay T.; Coldwater.
 Bowman, W. W.; Topeka.
 Brock, R. F.; McCracken.
 Brokaw, C. L.; Kansas City.
 Bronaugh, R. M.; Chico, Cal.
 Brooks, H. K.; Topeka.
 Brown, Burt E.; Lawrence.
 Brown, W. E.; Wichita.
 Buist, F. J.; Cawker City.
 Bullard, Mrs. Cora W.; Tonganoxie.
 Burdick, Henry W.; Los Angeles, Cal.
 Burge, N. B.; Topeka.
 Burkholder, E. R.; McPherson.
 Burks, W. H.; Wellington.
 Byers, O. P.; Hutchinson.
 Cain, William S.; Atchison.
 Campbell, Alexander M.; Salina.
 Campbell, Altes H.; Hollywood, Cal.
 Campbell, J. J.; Pittsburg.
 Campbell, J. W.; Plevna.
 Capper, Arthur; Topeka.
 Capuchins Fathers; Victoria.
 Carey, Emerson; Hutchinson.
 Carson, C. W.; Ashland.
 Cawker City High School, District No. 10.
 Chapman, William J.; Hartford, Conn.
 Christiansen, Louis; Hays.
 Clark, Elon S.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Clarke, Fred B.; Seattle, Wash.
 Clarke, Genevieve Stonecker; Blue Mound.
 Cloud County Teachers' Association;
 Concordia.
 Cobb, S. E.; Topeka.
 Coburn, F. D.; Topeka.
 Cole, Redmond S.; Pawnee, Okla.
 Coleman, Mrs. Mary O. D.; Orange, Cal.
 Connelley, William E.; Topeka.
 Conover, Mrs. John; Kansas City, Mo.
 Cooper, J. T.; Fredonia.
 Cornell, Mrs. Annie M. S.; Kansas City.
 Cory, Charles E.; Fort Scott.
 Countryman, S. E.; Burdick.
 Crawford, Robert M.; Hugoton.
 Cron, F. H.; El Dorado.
 Curtis, Charles; Topeka.
 Crosby, E. H.; Topeka.
 Daughters of Founders and Patriots of
 America, Kansas Chapter.
 Davidson, C. L.; Wichita.
 Davis, John W.; Greensburg.
 Dean, John S.; Topeka.
 Deming, Robert O.; Oswego.
 Denison, W. W.; Topeka.
 De Rigne, Haskell; Kansas City.
 Dick, J. Lee; Hutchinson.
 Dickey, John B., jr.; Newton.
 Dodge, C. B.; Salina.
 Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V.; Larned.
 Driscoll, F. W.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Eaton, David W.; Norma, Va.
 Eunice Sterling Chapter, D. A. R.; Wichita.
 Evans, Earle W.; Wichita.
 Evans, William J.; Iola.
 Everhardy, Jacob L.; Leavenworth.
 Fairbanks, David Russell; North Yakima,
 Wash.
 Fitch, Thomas Geyer; Wichita.
 Foley, C. F.; Hollywood, Cal.
 French, Laura M.; Emporia.
 Frizell, E. E.; Larned.
 Frost, Mrs. Margaret; Perry.
 Gardner, Theodore; Lawrence.
 Geddes, K. M.; El Dorado.
 Gled, James Willis; Topeka.
 Goldsmith, L.; Wichita.
 Goodlander, Elizabeth C.; Fort Scott.
 Gray, George M.; Kansas City.
 Grav, John M.; Kirwin.
 Griggs, R. W.; Meade.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A.; Leavenworth.
 Hall, John A.; Pleasanton.
 Hamer, Robert M.; Emporia.
 Hanna, D. J.; Salina.
 Harbaugh, D. C.; Topeka.
 Hardman, M. W.; Downs.
 Harley, Thomas; Lawrence.
 Harper, Josephine C.; Manhattan.
 Harris, Kos; Wichita.
 Harrison, J. N.; Ottawa.
 Haskins, Samuel B.; Olathe.
 Hawley, J. E.; Burr Oak.
 Healy, Michael J.; Lincoln.
 Hegler, Benj. F.; Wichita.
 Henderson, Robert D.; Junction City.
 Hertz, Mrs. Lyde H.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Hill, Mrs. Gladys E.; Salina.
 Hinshaw, John E.; Emporia.
 Hite, D. R.; Topeka.
 Hobbie, Frank A.; Dodge City.
 Hugin, John C.; Belleville.
 Holsinger, Ray R.; Norcatur.
 Hornaday, Grant; Fort Scott.
 Huggins, W. L.; Topeka.
 Humphrey, James V.; Junction City.
 Humphrey, L. L.; Independence.
 Hurd, L. R.; Wichita.
 Huron, George A.; Topeka.
 Hutchison, William Easton; Garden City.
 Hyde, James Hazen; Paris, France.
 Hyer, Charles H.; Olathe.
 Ingalls, Ellsworth; Atchison.
 Jacobs, John T.; Council Grove.
 Jackson, Fred S.; Topeka.

- Jaedicke, August, jr.; Hanover.
 Jaussi, Bertha E.; Baker.
 Johnson, Elizabeth A.; Republic.
 Johnston, Frank O.; McPherson.
 Johnston, Lucy Browne; Minneapolis.
 Johnston, William A.; Minneapolis.
 Jones, Lawrence M.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Kagey, C. L.; Beloit.
 Kane, Margaret; Greensburg.
 Karlan, C. A.; Topeka.
 Keeler, Lewis; Osborne.
 Keeling, Henry C.; Caldwell.
 Kellough, Robert W.; Tulsa, Okla.
 Kennedy, James M.; Fredonia.
 Kennedy, Thomas B.; Junction City.
 Kennedy, William B.; Fredonia.
 Kerns, Frank A.; Denver, Colo.
 Kimball, F. M.; Los Angeles, Cal.
 King, S. S.; Atchison.
 Kinkel, John M.; Topeka.
 Kinkel, Mrs. John M.; Topeka.
 Klopfer, Harry L.; Topeka.
 Knapp, Dallas W.; Coffeyville.
 Krieh, Mrs. Mary E.; Springfield, Mo.
 Krouch, Mark; Larned.
 Lacey, John T.; Sharon Springs.
 Lee, Thomas Amory; Topeka.
 Lewis, Fred; Marion.
 Linds, Ed S.; Larned.
 Lininger, Herbert K.; Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Lininger, W. H.; Evanston, Ill.
 Little, Mrs. Flora M.; La Crosse.
 Little, James H.; La Crosse.
 Locknane, Charles L.; Topeka.
 Long, Chester I.; Wichita.
 Longshore, Joseph S.; Topeka.
 Loomis, Mrs. Christie C.; Omaha, Neb.
 Loomis, N. H.; Omaha, Neb.
 Lower, George Levi; Puente, Cal.
 Lower, J. B.; Washington.
 Lower, Mrs. Mamie W.; Puente, Cal.
 Lower, W. S.; Puente, Cal.
 McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill; Topeka.
 McDonald, W. S.; Fort Scott.
 McFarland, Horace E.; St. Louis, Mo.
 McGonigle, James A.; Leavenworth.
 McGrath, Robert W.; Fredonia.
 McGregor, Mrs. Leonora G.; Wichita.
 McKercher, F. B.; Boyne City, Mich.
 Mackey, W. H.; Kansas City.
 McMullen, J. E.; Great Bend.
 Marburg, Albrecht; Topeka.
 Marshall, Daniel Benjamin; Lincoln.
 Marshall, John B.; Wakefield.
 Martin, Amos Cutter; Chicago, Ill.
 Martin, Charles Coulson; Kansas City.
 Martin, Donald Ferguson; Rock Island, Ill.
 Martin, George Haskell; Kansas City.
 Martin, John E.; Emporia.
 Martin, Mrs. Ralph; Wichita.
 Martin, William Haskell; Kansas City.
 Mason, Henry F.; Garden City.
 Mason, Mrs. Lucy Greene; Garden City.
 Mayflower Descendants, Kansas Society;
 Topeka.
 Mead, James Lucas; Chicago, Ill.
 Menninger, C. F.; Topeka.
 Metcalf, Wilder S.; Lawrence.
 Miller, John; Cottonwood Falls.
 Mills, Arthur M.; Topeka.
 Monroe, Lee; Topeka.
 Monroe, Mrs. Lilla Day; Topeka.
 Moore, Ralph F.; Topeka.
 Morehouse, George P.; Topeka.
 Morgan, Isaac B.; Kansas City.
 Morley, G. Vernon; Clyde.
 Moses, E. R.; Great Bend.
 Mulvane, David W.; Topeka.
 Mulvane, Mrs. David W.; Topeka.
 Murphy, Mrs. Eva Morley; Goodland.
 Myers, Frank E.; Whiting.
 Naftzger, M. C.; Wichita.
 Naftzger, Mrs. M. C.; Wichita.
 Nellis, Luther McAfee; Los Angeles, Cal.
 Nellis, Mrs. Virginia McAfee; Topeka.
 Newman, Mrs. Nellie A.; Emporia.
 Nichols, J. C.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Nicholson, John C.; Newton.
 Nies, Mrs. Abby Ware; Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Noble, Dorothy Esther; Wichita.
 Norman, J. S.; Troy.
 Olinger, E. E.; Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Oliverson, Minnie J.; Winfield.
 O'Neill, C. H.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Orr, James W.; Atchison.
 Orr, Mrs. Jennie Glick; Atchison.
 Peacock, A. S.; Wa Keeney.
 Philips, Mrs. W. D.; Hays.
 Pierce, Alfred C.; Junction City.
 Pierce, Francis L.; Lakin.
 Plumb, A. H.; Emporia.
 Plumb, George; Emporia.
 Potter, Thomas M.; Peabody.
 Prentis, Mrs. Caroline E.; Denver, Colo.
 Price, Fletcher; Wellington.
 Price, Ralph R.; Manhattan.
 Rankin, Robert C.; Lawrence.
 Rice, Oscar; Fort Scott.
 Richards, J. F.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Rightmire, Wm. F.; Stuart, Fla.
 Rockwell, Bertrand; Kansas City, Mo.
 Rockwell, George A.; Junction City.
 Roenigk, Adolph; Lincoln.
 Root, George A.; Topeka.
 Ruppenthal, J. C.; Russell.
 Russell, W. J.; Topeka.
 Savage, Mrs. F. S.; Topeka.
 Sawhill, R. M.; Glasco.
 Sawyer, Mrs. L. M.; Springfield, Mo.
 Schmidt, Carl B.; Chicago, Ill.
 Schoch, William F.; Los Angeles, Cal.
 School District No. 1, Jewell Co., Jewell.
 School District No. 7, Osage county;
 Burlingame.
 Schott, Henry; Chicago, Ill.
 Schutte, A. H.; La Crosse.
 Schutte, Mrs. Mamie E.; La Crosse.
 Shields, Mrs. Clara M.; Lost Springs.
 Shields, Joseph B.; Lost Springs.
 Shulsky, Mrs. Mary E.; Denton.
 Simpson, Albert P.; Axtell.
 Simpson, Samuel S.; Axtell.
 Slonecker, J. G.; Topeka.
 Smith, Mrs. Caroline Abbott; Manhattan.
 Smith, C. Henry; Bluffton, Ohio.
 Smith, Ezra Delos; Meade.
 Smith, F. Dumont; Hutchinson.
 Smith, Horace J.; Kansas City, Mo.
 Smith, R. B.; Erie.
 Smyth, Mrs. Lumina C. R.; Ottawa.
 Soller, Albert W.; Washington.
 Soller, August; Washington.
 Soller, Lester E.; Washington.
 Soller, Walter A.; Washington.
 Spencer, Robert Nelson; Kansas City, Mo.
 Spratt, O. M.; Baxter Springs.
 State Teachers College; Hays.
 Stauth, Thomas; Dodge City.
 Stewart, James H.; Wichita.
 Stone, George M.; Topeka.
 Stone, Robert; Topeka.
 Stout, Francis W.; Oswego.
 Stover, Lute P.; Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo.
 Stratton, Mrs. Lenore; Topeka.
 Stubbs, Walter Roscoe; Lawrence.
 Taylor, H. S.; Abilene.
 Thatcher, George W.; Great Bend.
 Thomas, R. E.; Burrton.
 Thompson, W. A. L.; Topeka.
 Throckmorton, Oak L.; Wichita.

Travis, Frank L.; Kansas City.
 Van Petten, A. E.; Topeka.
 Voiland, Fred; Topeka.
 Ward, Mrs. Etta L.; Hays.
 Ware, E. H.; Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.
 Watson, W. W.; Salina.
 Wayman, Will; Emporia.
 Webster, C. D.; Yale, Okla.
 Wells, Ira K.; Seneca.
 Wheeler, Mrs. Mabel Ranney; Lawrence.
 Whitcomb, George H.; Topeka.
 White, Fred M.; Wellington.
 White, Mrs. Joseph P.; Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Whiting, Albe B.; Topeka.

Whiting, Thomas W.; Council Grove.
 Wilder, Frank J.; Boston, Mass.
 Wilford, Mrs. R.; Republic.
 Wilkie, George W.; Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Wilson, John H.; Salina.
 Wilson, Vernon W.; Topeka.
 Wilson, Walter E.; Topeka.
 Woolard, Francis; Wichita.
 Woolard, Sam F.; Wichita.
 Wooster, Lorraine E.; Salina.
 Wooster, O. O.; Beloit.
 Zohner Brothers; Penokee.

Total number, 319.

ANNUAL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Abilene.—J. H. Edwards, Mary E. Edwards,
 Ethel M. Giles.
 Admire.—T. O. Hill.
 Anthony.—L. G. Jennings.
 Atchison.—Sheffield Ingalls, Mrs. J. J. Ingalls.
 Baldwin.—O. G. Markham, Charles E. Beeks,
 Arthur Bridwell.
 Barnes.—R. B. Briggs.
 Bucklin.—Dorothea Brehm.
 Caldwell.—Mrs. C. H. Detrick.
 Caney.—George H. Wark.
 Catherine.—William Grabbe.
 Chanute.—Mrs. Chas. T. Beatty, Mary E.
 Davidson, Wiley A. Keve, Mrs. Martha
 A. Plummer, Jesse F. Shinn, T. F. Mor-
 rison, Christiana Musser Chapter D. A. R.
 Clay Center.—W. P. K. Gates, Floyd Schultz.
 Coats.—T. A. Eubanks.
 Coffeyville.—L. A. Rucker.
 Colony.—Clara Francis.
 Concordia.—Ruth Bruner.
 Conway Springs.—E. F. Anderson.
 Council Grove.—R. M. Armstrong, Mrs. Lalla
 M. Brigham, Mrs. R. D. Durland, Mrs.
 Mamie S. Sharp, E. D. Scott, J. J.
 Haney, Hugh Stewart, Mrs. Albert L.
 Pullins.
 Courtland.—E. D. Haney.
 Delavan.—Theo. P. Henry.
 Dodge City.—G. J. Stauth.
 Dunlap.—Frances E. Washington.
 Durham.—R. Homer Miller.
 Edgerton.—Robert O'Connor.
 Elgin, Ill.—Sarah C. Hall.
 Ellis.—Charles A. Baugher, Howard C.
 Raynesford, J. F. Hull.
 Emporia.—F. S. Perkins, Pelagius Williams,
 G. E. Blakeley.
 Enterprise.—James Frey.
 Erie.—Will T. Allen, L. Stillwell.
 Esbon.—Marshall M. Grabosch.
 Everest.—Estella N. Miller.
 Falun.—James D. Hedberg.
 Fort Bayard, N. M.—W. H. Eisele.
 Fort Scott.—Ralph Richards.
 Fredonia.—Thomas C. Babb, A. C. Flack, B.
 M. Dunham, C. H. Pierce.
 Fremont.—J. P. Aurelius.
 Garden City.—Juanita Counsell.
 Garnett.—E. T. Fay.
 Gas.—F. W. Frevert, Mrs. Ella C. Frevert.
 Gem.—Cline Curtiss.
 Great Bend.—W. H. Kerr, Edwin Tyler.
 Greensboro, N. C.—Mrs. Vella Coble Hutton.
 Gridley.—H. C. Hatch.

Hagerman, N. M.—O. R. Tanner.
 Hargrave.—H. R. Barnard.
 Harper.—Anabel Estes.
 Hiattville.—Dorothy C. Roland.
 Hiawatha.—M. G. Ham.
 Holcomb.—Maude Graham.
 Holton.—Mrs. Nina B. Keller, Jesse Bum-
 gardner.
 Humboldt.—W. C. Caldwell, Lucretia Camp-
 bell.
 Hutchinson.—Hal G. Evarts, J. S. Simmons.
 Jamestown.—Marguerite Christensen.
 Jewell.—Lillian Forrest.
 Junction City.—A. H. Harshaw, A. D. Jelli-
 son, H. M. Pierce.
 Kanorado.—Georgina Bleakley.
 Kansas City, Kan.—George B. Allen, Lucy T.
 Dougherty, Mark M. Howe, Alla M. Mil-
 ler, Eva H. Wolf, A. W. Stubbs.
 Kansas City, Mo.—F. M. Brigham, S. E.
 Connelly, Mrs. Mary A. Horton, Charles
 H. Rhodes, Charles H. Moore, Willard R.
 Douglass.
 Kingsdown.—Clara Delander.
 Lane.—B. Needham.
 Lawrence.—Mrs. Anna W. Arnett, Bureau of
 General Information, Extension Depart-
 ment, University of Kansas; F. H. Hod-
 der, James C. Malin, R. D. O'Leary, W.
 R. B. Robertson, C. H. Tucker, Edward
 Bumgardner, Aleene Carter, J. C. Moore,
 George Innes, Mary P. Clarke, Margaret
 Lynn, Arvin Olin, Mrs. Mary S. Learnard,
 Oscar E. Learnard.
 Leavenworth.—Mrs. Effie Hiatt van Tuyl.
 Liberty.—Ethel Cooper.
 Lincoln, Neb.—Nebraska Genealogical So-
 ciety, John L. Osborn.
 Lindsborg.—Vendla Wahlin.
 Linwood.—John Tudhope.
 Longford.—S. Marty.
 Los Gatos, Cal.—W. J. Meredith.
 Lyons.—Lucile Logan.
 Manhattan.—Mrs. A. E. Blackman, John V.
 Cortelyou, F. B. Elliott, Nellie F. Elliott,
 Mrs. J. A. Koller, E. B. Purcell, Mrs. C.
 Elizabeth H. Purcell, Mrs. C. B. Daugh-
 ters, S. M. Fox, Harriet A. Parkerson.
 Mankato.—D. H. Stafford.
 Marion.—Alex E. Case, Rosse Case, E. S.
 Hannaford.
 Marysville.—W. H. Smith, P. W. Kirk-
 patrick.
 Mayetta.—H. D. Jones.
 Minneapolis.—C. D. Clark.

- Moline, Ill.—J. B. Oakleaf.
 Muscatoh.—W. R. Miller.
 National Military Home, Kansas—Ed G. Moore.
 Neodesha.—Neodesha High-school Library.
 Newton.—J. H. Langenwalter, Francis Dunkelberger, P. M. Hoisington, Cornelius F. Fein, Mrs. Gaston Boyd.
 New York, N. Y.—George Bird Grinnell.
 Olathe.—H. L. Burgess, George H. Timanus, J. R. Newton.
 Olsburg.—Oscar Fagerberg, Ira B. Allen.
 Osawatomie.—Mrs. J. B. Remington.
 Osborne.—Caroline Beeson, R. R. Hays.
 Pelham, N. Y.—E. F. Bennett.
 Pittsburg.—Lora Allen, Mrs. Hattie M. Mitchell, Mrs. E. H. Chapman.
 Portis.—W. E. Farnsworth.
 Pratt.—R. F. Crick.
 Puyallup, Wash.—Theo. H. Scheffer.
 Ransomville, N. Y.—Elizabeth Curtiss.
 Rose Hill, Iowa.—Levi F. Howell.
 Sabetha.—M. J. Geer.
 St. Louis, Mo.—W. H. H. Tainter, Frederic E. Voelker.
 Salina.—T. W. Carlin, Luke F. Parsons, Mrs. Cora M. Holland, Grace G. Nelson; Saline County Chapter, Native Daughters of Kansas.
 San Diego, Cal.—O. W. Bronson.
 Scranton.—Mrs. Leo Canfield.
 Sedan.—Frank S. Shukers.
 Shenandoah, Iowa.—Arthur S. Lake.
 South Pasadena, Cal.—H. A. Perkins.
 Spring Hill.—George S. Sowers, Emma A. Skinner, P. O. Coons, Ed Blair, Clara Davis, R. O. Boice, Stewart Simpson, Winifred Foote, Ray D. Smith, Fred R. Giffin, Laurene Kuns, Maud Ellsworth, Lee A. Scott, Dorothy Chaney, Hattie B. Burkett, Harry Leighty, Spring Hill Rural High School, Spring Hill City Graded Schools, Ella Russell, I. F. Edwards, Leona Locke, Thelma Hines, W. E. Tisdale, Crawford Neff, May M. Eagan, F. C. Machin, Rowene L. Hogue.
 Sterling.—Milton S. Cushman.
 Stockton.—Emma Bigge.
 Sublette.—George B. Levitt.
 Syracuse.—E. P. Barber, Mrs. Caroline E. Barber, George Getty.
 Tampa.—P. H. Meehan, A. L. Socolofsky.
 Taylorville, Ill.—John H. King.
 Toledo, Ohio.—Glenn D. Bradley.
 Topeka.—Clad Hamilton, Howell Jones, Mrs. Ward Burlingame, Alberta Davis, P. H. Coney, Mary Bunker, Mrs. A. B. Jetmore, Mrs. Mary Embree, Selden H. Kilgore, Mrs. Malvina G. Lord, H. S. Morgan, O. L. Moore, Alice K. McFarland, John S. Rhodes, Elizabeth Smith, Robert S. Thompson, J. S. West, J. G. Waters, Charles L. Mitchell, Nellie C. Terrill, F. J. Funk, W. S. Iandsay, John S. Dawson, N. H. Wolff, O. J. Wood, I. D. Graham, W. A. S. Bird, John A. Bright, W. T. Davis, Mrs. F. C. Montgomery, J. R. Anspaugh, J. W. Priddy, Edward Minard, Byron H. Davis, Samuel P. Nygren, A. D. Gray, Mrs. A. D. Gray, J. B. Larimer, A. F. Harrison, L. C. Harbaugh, Nellie Ansell, Gwendolen Shakeshaft, Helen M. McFarland, C. M. Case, H. L. Shirer, Mrs. H. L. Shirer, James A. Troutman, J. H. Mercer.
 Trask, Mo.—Alfred T. Kriegh.
 Troy.—Walter B. Montgomery.
 Urbana, Ill.—Rexford Newcomb.
 Wallace.—Thomas Madigan.
 Washington, D. C.—McKinley W. Kriegh.
 Wellington.—E. B. Rosser, Mrs. Marie M. Longfellow, M. R. McLean, J. M. Thralls.
 Westphalia.—J. H. Borror.
 White Cloud.—Edward Park.
 Wichita.—E. J. Miller, Mrs. C. W. Bitting.
 Winfield.—M. B. Light.
 Winona.—Fern E. Lahman.
 Woodston.—Mrs. Minnie Bruton.

Total number, 287.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Albert Robinson Green, by William E. Connelley.....	1
Major General James Guthrie Harbord: An Appreciation by I. D. Graham	7
Kansas as a State of Extremes and Its Attitude During the World War, by George P. Morehouse	15
Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders, by George Bird Grinnell.....	28
Religious Conceptions of the Modern Hurons, by William E. Connelley...	92
Wyandot and Shawnee Indian Lands in Wyandotte County, Kansas.....	103
Kansas City, Kansas: Its Place in the History of the State, by William E. Connelley	181
The Coming of Prohibition to Kansas, by Clara Francis.....	192
The Genesis of Prohibition, by Grant W. Harrington.....	228
The Development of Public Protection of Children in Kansas, by Nina Swanson	231
State Regulation of Woman and Child Labor in Kansas, by Edith Hess....	279
Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858, by Elmer LeRoy Craik,	334
A Summary of the Achievements of the American Expeditionary Force in France, 1917-1919, by Lieut. McKinley W. Kriegh.....	451
Early History of the Kansas Department, American Legion, by Thomas Amory Lee	457
Kansas Sixty Years Ago, by Thomas F. Doran.....	482
Sixteen Years on a Kansas Farm, 1870-1886, by Anne E. Bingham.....	501
Eleventh Indian Cavalry in Kansas in 1865, by Judge Frank Doster.....	524
Battle of the Arikaree:	
The Beecher Island Fight, by Scout John Hurst.....	530
The Beecher Island Fight, by Scout Sigmund Shlesinger.....	538
The Last Battle of the Border War, by Theodore Gardner.....	548
My Story, by Harry Jasper Harris.....	553
Early History of the El Paso Line of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, by Oliver Philip Byers.....	573
The Settlement of Bessarabia, Russia, by the Germans, by William Morg- enstern (translated from the German by J. C. Ruppenthal).....	579
The Romantic Growth of a Law Court, by James H. Lowell.....	590
The Battle of the Spurs, by James H. Lowell.....	598

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord.....	8
Drill on Campus, K. S. A. C.....	14
George Pierson Morehouse	16
George Bird Grinnell	30
William Bent	32
Ceran St. Vrain	34
Cheyenne Woman Putting up a Lodge	44
Cheyenne Woman Fleshing a Hide.....	66
Three Fingers	86
Nicholas McAlpine	104
Silas Armstrong	105
John W. Greyeyes	120
Kate Greyeyes	121
Isaac Brown and Wife.....	127
William Walker	184
Quindaro Nancy Guthrie	186
Edith Hess	280
Dr. Elmer LeRoy Craik	335
Thomas Amory Lee	458
Brig. Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf.....	460
Dr. W. A. Phares	464
Frank E. Samuel	468
Thomas F. Doran	482
The Doran Homestead, 1859.....	486
Judge Frank Doster	524
Oliver Philip Byers	573
Mr. and Mrs. William Morgenstern	582
Lutheran Church at Plotsk, Bessarabia, Russia.....	584
Mr. and Mrs. Jacob C. Krug.....	586
Mr. and Mrs. Radke	588
Mr. and Mrs. George K. Krug	589

PREFACE.

IT BECAME necessary to make this volume cover a period of four years. But the contents are of that quality that it is hoped they may make some compensation for the delay in their appearance. So much copy had accumulated that some valuable articles had to be put aside for future use. Some of the principal features of this number are given special mention.

The basis of the land titles in Kansas City, Kan., and all the eastern portion of Wyandotte county rests in the extinction of the Indian titles held by the Wyandots and Shawnees. Maps showing the exact surveys of the allotments to these Indians are published herein, and the original descriptions furnished. It is always of interest to know who were the first individual owners of the soil. Some other states have done much more along this line than has Kansas. Kansas City, Kan., is the commercial metropolis of the state, and historically Wyandotte is the most important county in Kansas; so this information as to the origin of the titles to these lands is timely.

Kansas is the first state to achieve constitutional prohibition. Since the nation has followed Kansas, the manner of this achievement assumes more than ordinary interest. The only attempt worthy of mention to show the processes of obtaining constitutional prohibition for Kansas is that of Miss Clara Francis, librarian of the Society. She prepared her paper for Connelley's "History of Kansas," from which work it is here reproduced with permission. It was believed that it should be made as available to the public as possible. Constant calls on the Society are made for information on this subject.

In this volume literature pertaining to the Kansas soldiers in the great World War makes its first appearance in our publications. The account of the formation of the American Legion in Kansas is a paper of great historical value. It preserves the record of the organization of a patriotic body which will exert a beneficent influence in Kansas for at least half a century.

In the matter of problems uppermost in the public mind, the papers on the state regulation of woman and child labor in Kansas and the development of public protection of children in the state are

important. They show that Kansas is well abreast of the progress being made in America along these lines.

The early days of Kansas have not been neglected. The article on the southern interest in territorial Kansas throws a new light on many of the operations of political parties in the genesis of Kansas. And there is another paper, valuable and unique, on the early stages of the Kansas struggle.

There is also a most valuable contribution to the literature and history of the early days on the Great Plains. It is a charming account of the transactions in the upper Arkansas valley in the days when Bent's Fort was the center of an Indian empire, and the stake driven down by the pioneer Americans in the western wilderness.

Nearly a century ago Council Grove became an important point on the Old Santa Fe trail. There the caravans were formed for the journey to Santa Fe, or perhaps to Chihuahua. There's an interesting paper on this old trading station in the sixties.

There are many other papers in this volume. They are all of historical value and interest, making this the equal of any of the volumes of this popular and invaluable series.

W. E. C.

KANSAS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

ALBERT ROBINSON GREENE.

By WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY.

ALBERT ROBINSON GREENE was born at Mount Hope, McLean county, Illinois, January 16, 1842. He died at Hood River, Ore., June 15, 1918. He was married August 3, 1868, to Miss Julia Anna Coblentz. To this union were born six children, five of whom are still living: Mrs. Julia E. Eddy, Berwyn, Md.; Mrs. Jennie Greene Harris, Hood River; Arthur A. Greene, Honolulu; Mrs. Henry Freeman Mason, Topeka; and Mrs. Carrie P. Keller, Hood River.

Greene's father, Elisha Harris Greene, of Scituate, R. I., was married at Providence, December 10, 1832, to Miss Lucy Stacy, who was born in Biddeford, Maine. They moved to Illinois in 1837, where they lived until 1857, when they came to Kansas. The subject of this sketch was then fifteen years old. In his boyhood, Illinois was pretty much a frontier country. There are many pictures of it drawn by those writers on the times of Lincoln. The foundation for future greatness was being laid in those frontier virtues of honest toil, thrift, sacrifice and self-denial. Viewed in the light of the present, times were hard and life held few enough of those luxuries now deemed indispensable. Those were the days of barter and homespun, of the tallow candle, and the neighborhood mill, where the settlers assembled to have their grinding done; of cows and poultry, of potato holes and apple pits, of home-cured meats, lard tubs, pickle barrels, dried fruit and buried cabbage—when an abundance of plain, wholesome, substantial food was to be found in and about the home of every industrious family.

The schools of that time were primitive and poor enough. But those who attended them could spell—something modern schools do not teach. They could read with the understanding and to the sense. They received a knowledge of grammar which enabled them to write correct English. Of geography they knew something, and of arithmetic they knew enough to transact all of the business of their generation. Their time had not been wasted with clay modeling, paper cutting, stick laying, water-color painting, butter molding, doll making, peg whittling, speculative philosophy, or other absurdities which prevent the child from getting a clear conception of anything whatever and leave him with a muddled intellect, demanding cigarettes as the finishing course of his education. From all this intellectual pabulum the boys of Greene's day were saved by the sound practice of teaching only what experience had shown to be essential to business requirements and the comprehension of the problems of life—intelligence and common sense, industry and self-reliance.

In this period of his life Greene formed those habits of clear observation which served him so well in the days of his strength. He looked about him. He saw. He was interested in the unusual and was able to recognize and appreciate character and individuality. He was wont to relate in after life

the story of the old soldier who had strayed into the New World after the ruin of Napoleon, his commander and idol. This son of Mars presented himself at the Greene homestead in that financial condition to be expected of such world wanderers. He was given permission to occupy a vacant cabin on the premises. He helped about the farm in such fashion as he himself chose and drew his living from the Greene larder. He had the ardent temperament and enthusiasm of his race, and was soon a favorite of the children. He carried up a cedar board which he had found about the premises and requested that it be given him. From this board he devised a violin, the strains from which all who passed his cabin in the night might hear. One night the boys went to visit him. Approaching the cabin, they heard him rehearsing military commands. They found him in a reminiscent mood, and he told them of his services in Napoleon's wars. Of that military genius, his overthrow and final fate he could only speak in tears. This devotion greatly impressed young Greene.

But fate was not through with the staunch old soldier. Some French immigrants conceived the plan of raising silk in the valley of the Neosho, in far-away Kansas. Some of their literature found its way into the humble cabin of the old soldier, and he joined this band of French enthusiasts. Greene never again saw him. He never heard from him. But many years later as he wandered through the old cemetery of the lost town of Cofachique, he found the name of his old friend on a gravestone there. So it had happened to this sturdy son of France as it must happen to every man—the path of life had ended at an open grave. And for him this grave was dug in Kansas.

In 1857 Greene's father moved to Kansas. He settled on Elk creek, in the northeast corner of Osage county. Here the subject of this sketch began his acquaintance with Kansas, her people and her institutions. The life of a Kansas pioneer was a hard one, and beginning with 1857 there were a number of lean and panicky years. The real benefit which accrued to Greene in these early days was that he became a real Kansan. An attachment was formed for the state which deepened with his life. When the Civil War came on he became a soldier for the preservation of the Union. He was a member of company A, Ninth Kansas cavalry, from August 20, 1862, to July, 1865. He had the faculty of seeing everything, and in later years wrote many articles of historic value on the military movements in Kansas and western Missouri. He was in the pursuit of Quantrill, after the Lawrence massacre, and it was always a mystery as to how that bloody villain escaped, until Greene's article on that subject was published in a volume of "Kansas Historical Collections."¹

Greene had those qualities which made him a favorite with his associates. In the army his genial nature and the faculty of seeing the bright side of things endeared him to his comrades, and many of the friendships formed then endured until cut asunder by death. And like many another Kansas soldier in the Civil War, he found politics, and the associations formed through it, agreeable and even fascinating—perhaps indispensable to his nature and disposition. He began as postmaster at the village of Richland. In 1880 he was alternate at the national Republican convention. For a time he was private secretary to Congressman Dudley C. Haskell. He was state senator

1. Kansas Historical Collections. Vol. 13, p. 430 *et seq.*

from Douglas county, 1881 to 1885. In 1883 he was made an inspector for the General Land Office, but resigned upon the election of President Cleveland. He was state railroad commissioner from April 1, 1887, to April 1, 1893. When Richard W. Blue was elected congressman at large he made Greene his private secretary, which position he held during Blue's incumbency. He was a special inspector of the General Land Office from 1897 to 1901. January to August, 1901, he was chief of the forestry division. From August, 1901, to 1905, he was a special inspector for the Department of the Interior.

Greene was a pleasing public speaker. While he was not a profound student of any of the great problems touching life or affecting government, he quickly grasped that superficial knowledge of a matter which enabled him to present it in a most attractive manner. He found the lecture platform much to his liking, and a trial demonstrated that he would be successful there. He was soon in demand, and for more than two years devoted his time to this work. His itineraries carried him over Kansas, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. He gave up this congenial work to serve as state senator.

In the seventies, those years of panic and hard times, the rule was that everyone went "broke." If a man did not fail in business or lose his property through foreclosure in those trying days he was apt to become an object of suspicion. Greene found his property swept away almost overnight. He, with true Kansas fortitude refused to acknowledge that he was beaten. He applied to his old-time friend Colonel Van Horn, owner of the *Kansas City Journal*, for a position as general correspondent. He secured the place. How well he filled it every old-time Kansan remembers. He had a sort of roving commission. He went where he could find interesting matters to write about. His most interesting letters of that time, signed "Joe Fluffer," would make a bulky volume.

Having been a soldier it was inevitable that Greene should interest himself in that great organization, the Grand Army of the Republic. He was one of the founders of the order in Kansas. In 1892 he was made department commander for the state. In this capacity he made application to the executive council for office room for department headquarters in the state house. His effort was in vain, but it bore fruit, and later such office room was furnished. He was one of the first to advocate the erection by the state of a memorial to the Union soldiers and sailors of the Civil War. He and Captain Henderson, of Junction City, Col. J. N. Harrison, of Ottawa, and others, used to meet to devise plans for this memorial. For years they labored without success. Less sanguine men would have quit of sheer discouragement. But they persevered, and the fruits of their efforts may be seen to-day in the magnificent Memorial Building erected for the Grand Army and the State Historical Society.

The basic principle of Greene's character was good-fellowship. No man had more friends or truer ones. And he invariably saw the humorous side of any event and never failed to enjoy the joke, even if it was at his own expense. Like every true Kansan, he believed he could do anything which could be accomplished by any other man, "barring accidents" and the opportunities being equal. He had no doubt whatever of his ability to produce a masterpiece of fiction; that is, he had no doubt until he made the

effort. The result of the delusion he sets down in an article prepared for the library of the Historical Society, and from which this extract is made:

"The Kansas writer and speaker is apt to be mighty direct in his forms of expression. He believes it just as good form to call a spade a spade as it would be to describe it more elaborately, as a useful but humble implement of industry used for making excavations in the earth. For example, a Kansas man once dreamed a daydream to the effect that he could write a book if he could find a mighty good subject with such a mass of facts in actual life as to justify putting them into the loom of fiction for weaving. So when he finally stumbled on just what he wanted and got busy with his head and pen, it wasn't long until he had the hero and heroine in a Pierce Arrow and happy ever afterward, just as Will White's folks do, and a host of others. It was timidly read to several friends—not Kansas friends—and by them pronounced A 1, with loud calls for more. Then it was submitted to various literary critics—some of the way-up critics, but not Kansas critics—and they with one accord said it filled a long-felt want, etc. Last of all it was laid before a Kansas critic, and here's a small part of what he said about it:

"I have been reading manuscript stories all my life, and I think I can truthfully say that I remember one manuscript which was worse than yours. . . . It was unquestionably worse than yours, but yours reminded me very strongly of it. . . . It is inconceivable that any woman should go through the multitude of volcanic experiences your heroine had, all within the thirty-six pages you sent me. The story loses all air of probability or possibility and becomes grotesque. . . . Cremate it and do it over; it must be born again."

"The language is singularly free from the mysticisms of ambiguity. And to think, this man was, and is, as dear to the amateur author as the Yellow Newtown Pippin of his eye! 'Which is why I remark, and the reason is plain,' that candor is an attribute of the true Kansas man who calls a spade a spade."

This same paper contains a number of extracts from letters of his friends. He does not disclose their identity, but it may not be impossible to guess the names of some of them. Here is another page from this paper:

"In 1892, when the western Kansas farmers were appealing to the railroad commissioner for emergency rates on coal, corn and seed grains and vegetables, a noted Kansan filed an interlocutory plea in the following form—

"Our laws must be lame,
Or some one to blame,
When a bushel of corn
Buys *one* drink of "The same."

"If it isn't too late
I wish now to state
That the times now demand
An emergency rate.

"It will strengthen the use
And will make times more loose
To have an emergency
Rate on the Juice."

"Is this the ebullition of a dyspeptic condition or philosophy of an advanced school?

"I am down on the past; it is no good; it had to be in one sense, and it ought not to have been in another. In about fifty years all of these things which we now prize and which are not good for anything now, but which we have to use because we don't know any better and cannot get anything better, will be laid around on shelves and mantelpieces as an illustration of what a lot of jays then inhabited the earth, and how little they knew about things which were in their reach but which they could not get. Any man who begins to talk about having relics of old things—candlesticks, snuffers, letters and all that sort of business—is growing old. The only relic about my house will be me, and I don't think I shall ever discuss anything that dates back of the Populist craze. . . ."

"Referring to attacks made upon him by a venal press, the same writer says:

"I've a pachyderm hide,
And make no replies
Through the newspaper press
To a pachyderm lies."

That seems so appropriate that I shall add another page from the same source:

"Notwithstanding its personal nature, I am constrained to include in this review an extract from a letter in which the writer expresses his disgust in rhyme for the action of his friend in accepting a political office:

" 'I.

" 'They've been saying that we'd no man
Like the old gray-bearded Roman
Seated in his ivory chair,
Who made the long-haired Vandals,
Leaning on their war-axe handles,
Pause and stare.

(NOTE.—Classic historians inform us that when the Vandals, or some other gang of heathen, invaded the Roman senate house they were so struck by the dignity of the senators, who remained seated in their chairs, that they stood mute.)

" 'II.

" 'But that notion has departed;
Let us all be cheery-hearted,
For a better day is seen,
And in place of bearded Roman
See that honest-hearted yeoman,
Old Man Greene.

(NOTE.—What a yeoman is, the writer does not exactly know, but believes he is a good fellow who is in some way connected with the newspaper business.)

" 'III.

" 'Now the pilgrim and the stranger
And the tanned and sun-burnt granger
Shall to Topeka go,
To sit up in the gallery
And listen to the rallery
Of the statesmen down below.

(NOTE.—This expression about sitting up in the gallery is figure of speech. Nobody sits in the galleries of the capitol at Topeka unless he wants to be suffocated.)

" 'IV.

" 'And passing minor sages,
Doorkeepers, clerks and pages,
Cast a look of deep intent
Full of loving admiration,
When, in honor of his station,
Brave Old Greene shall cry, 'Consent.' "

(NOTE.—All members of the legislature at stated intervals bawl out 'Consent,' with the accent on the first syllable. It goes with the job.)

"I have already said that the true Kansas man was nothing unless he was candid. Here's an illustration of the characteristic:

" 'The greater number of Kansas governors have been of the pin-head or the swell-head variety. The fellows that run the machine won't let anybody be governor unless they can run him. It is a condition precedent to the nomination. No office for me. I'd rather stay outside the ring and see the fun. If I had an office I'd have to be in Topeka this weather, which is closely related to Gehenna, holding it down and earning my princely salary. As it is I can sit down in these mountain solitudes and take my ease. I am fairly reveling in silence. Silence is a boon; we don't get enough of it. The poor devils in Topeka who are playing governor, and so forth, don't get any of it. I'm getting lots of it here and enjoy it deliriously. In an atmosphere of silence, the overburdened soul expands like a dried apple in a vacuum. Here I adopt the ancient motto, "Rest, quiet cat, in peace." "

"Substituting capital letters for proper names, the following volcanic eruption from a well-known Kansas man is vivid and to the point:

" 'If I had as many legs as a centipede and the activity of a flea, I should be unable to discharge the errands put upon me by these vermin that infest the politics of our state. I regard A as a barnacle that should be scraped off; that fellow B is no better than a sneak thief; C is an intestine; D is a fossil and belongs to the silurian age; E is a superstition—and so on down the long line of Kansas statesmen. I care nothing for their attacks, although naturally I should be reluctant to be trod upon.' "

He sets down what some friend wrote him of Senator Ingalls, and says it has "a few chunks of solid, political wisdom":

"Senator Ingalls was a remarkable man in many respects, but in my opinion should have remained an author. Had he done so, I believe that as a writer he would have achieved permanent and enduring fame, equaling, and possibly excelling, that attained by Washington Irving. As a politician he was, in my judgment, a failure. He was singularly destitute of tact and discretion. For the sake of giving utterance to some stinging, brilliant epigram, he was willing and ready at any time to wreck a campaign. Then his entire political career, as I view it, shows that he would bear and retain malice. That will never do. You know what Mr. Lincoln said on that head—that he believed in short statutes of limitation in politics. The man who is fighting you to-day bitterly and earnestly, if you will only give him a chance and not shoot poisoned bullets into him to rankle him as long as he lives, in a very few years will likely be for you and making the welkin ring in your behalf."

Along about 1907 circumstances caused Greene to move to Portland, Ore. Later he lived at Hood River. He had reached that age when the mind is retroactive. His life in Kansas engrossed his time and attention. How his remembrances of the state flowed in and flooded his soul! He longed to return, if even but for a time. In fact, this became a passion with him. But fate was kind to him and thwarted his supreme desire. It were better that he never again see Kansas. For the Kansas borne in his mind, and for which he longed, did no longer exist. It was gone. To him the Kansas he would have found would have been a delusion, a disappointment, and his home-coming a tragedy. The men he would have found here would not have remembered him; that is, most of them would not. Some would have said, "Hello, Al! where have you been so long?" and with a few commonplace observations would have passed by. We are so soon forgotten. And so few ever treasure the real things in life. And with so many friendship is so fickle and fleeting. And for the multitude the petty things, of no sort of importance, make up the sum and total of life. So it were better that this brave and genial old Kansan should die in a strange land with his soul filled with recollections of that golden Kansas of his youth and the days of his strength, but which have passed, as he was passing, and which, let us hope, he found waiting his coming on an eternal shore.

MAJOR GENERAL JAMES GUTHRIE HARBORD: AN APPRECIATION.¹

By I. D. GRAHAM,² of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

For half a hundred years or more,
She's wrought with main and might,
Making men of Kansas farm boys,
Making women true and bright;
Making soldiers for the nation,
Bravest heroes 'neath the sun,
For she glories in her "Harbord"
And the victory that he won.

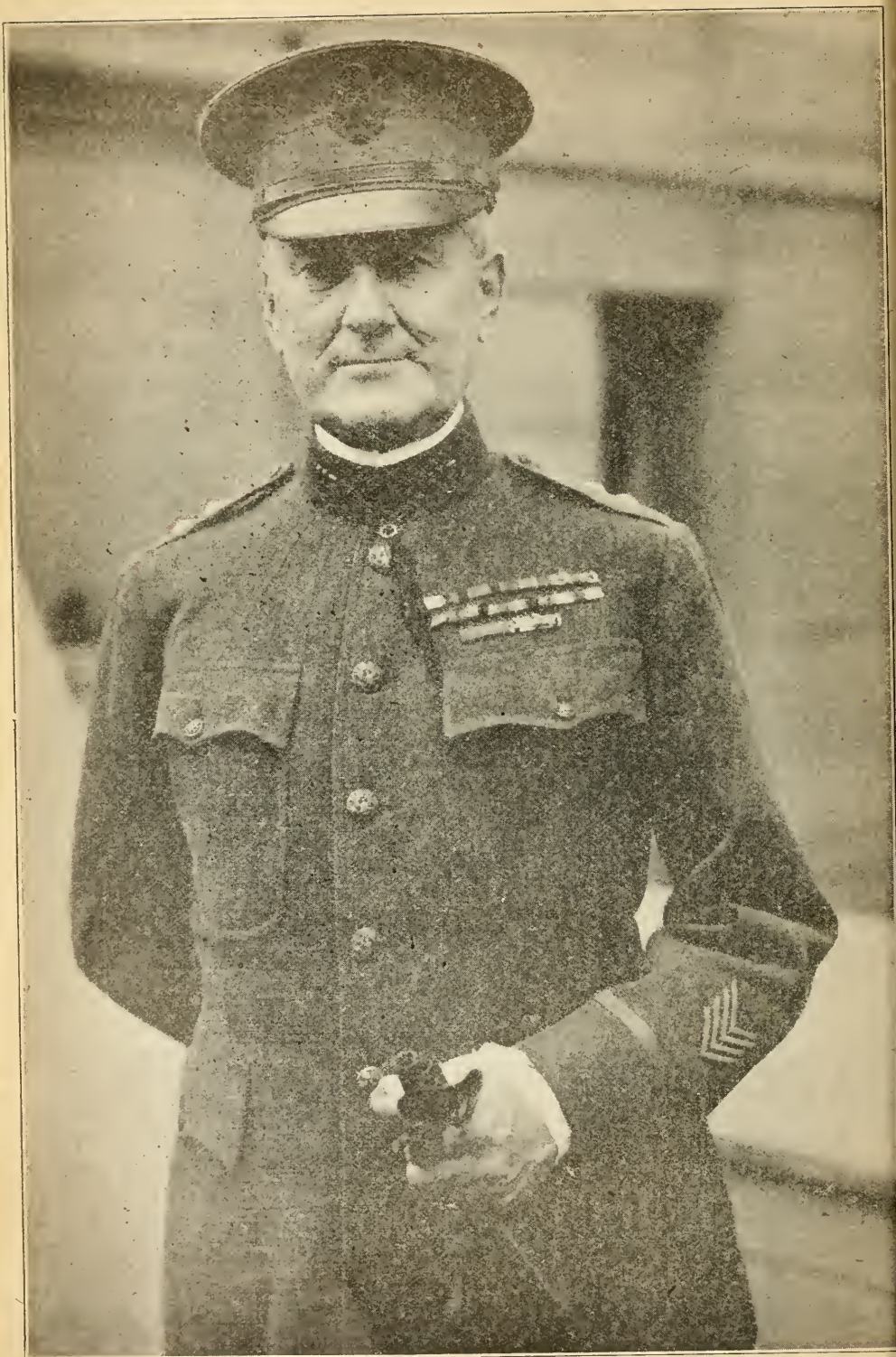
AS WE SPEND our days in the home community the boys and girls grow about us as a matter of course and without special notice. It is only when these same youth have accomplished something to distinguish them from the common herd that we remember those peculiarities of character or disposition which became the foundation for a later fame. Now that Maj. Gen. James Guthrie Harbord, U. S. A., has become a world figure, with a record of unequalled accomplishment and with the vigor and years for great future deeds, it is easy to remember some of those traits of character which were unnoticed in his youth but from which have developed the qualities that have added another conspicuous figure to the panorama of history.

General Harbord is a Kansas man. He grew to manhood in this state, received practically all of his training in its schools, absorbed and assimilated the Kansas spirit, graduated from one of its chief educational institutions, and has always been loyal to the state of his adoption.

The son of George W. and Effie Gault Harbord, he was born in Bloomington, Ill., on March 21, 1866. At the age of four years he was taken by his parents to their new home in Missouri, where they resided for eight years, except that young Harbord spent his eleventh to thirteenth years with an aunt in Bloomington, where he attended the city schools. Moving with his parents to Lyon county, Kansas, in 1879, he entered the Kansas State Agricultural College in 1882 and graduated in 1886 in what was then the largest class in the history of that institution. On graduation he secured the position of assistant

1. This article, which was prepared especially for the Historical Society, was first printed in a small pamphlet to be used as "Reverberations of the Class of '86," on class day at Kansas State Agricultural College, May, 1921. It was fitting that General Harbord, as the most illustrious of the class of '86, should be honored as the "Big Gun." The article was prefaced by the following lines from the pen of David G. Robertson, class of '86:

2. Ira Day Graham was born on August 29, 1856, in Vinton, Iowa, the son of David Nelson and Clarissa Chase Graham. He grew to manhood in Knox county, Illinois, near Abingdon, where he had been taken by his parents when but two years old. After attending the common schools the usual time he entered Abingdon College, from which he received the degree of bachelor of arts and was later given the master's degree in science by Eureka College (Illinois.) Mr. Graham came to Kansas in 1876, and after some farming and teaching in the schools of Chase county was elected to the faculty of the Kansas State Agricultural College, where he served as instructor and professor for nineteen years. He was editor of the *Kansas Farmer* for thirteen years and then served as assistant and acting chief of the department of live stock of the Panama Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco for three years as the only Kansan officially connected with the exposition. He served one year as editor of the *Rural Spirit* (live stock) of Portland, Ore. Mr. Graham served as secretary of the Kansas Improved Stock Breeders' Association, the Kansas State Swine Breeders' Association, the Kansas State Dairy Association and the Shawnee Alfalfa Club (the first of its kind in the world), all of which he helped to organize. He was married on June 12, 1883, to Miss Mary E. McConnell, of Shawnee county, Kansas. They have three children, all living: Mrs. Agnes G. Kelley and Ardi McConnell Graham, of Topeka, and Lloyd McConnell Graham, of Seattle, Wash. Mr. Graham is a Knight Templar, a Shriner, a thirty-second-degree Mason, and a member of the Christian Church.



MAJ. GEN. JAMES G. HARBORD.

principal of the schools in Leon, Butler county, Kansas, where he worked with success for one year and was then called to his alma mater as assistant to the writer of this sketch, who was then in charge of one of the departments of the College.

In the latter capacity he remained until January, 1889, when he resigned to enlist in the regular army to take advantage of a law, enacted by congress in 1879, which provided for the granting of commissions to enlisted men of suitable qualifications.

It was during his four years as a student and two years as an assistant in the College that I came to know him well, perhaps better than most, because our association with each other was a most intimate one. I cannot say that he attracted no attention by reason of his abilities, because he became my friend, and one of the warmest I ever had, by reason of them. I can say, however, that there was nothing in his daily walk and conversation which forecast those abilities which placed him in command of the troops which first stopped the German onrush toward Paris, or those business abilities by which he organized and conducted to the end that marvelous Service of Supply.

He came to the College as a green country boy, but with a bright intellect and an abundance of boyish spirit. If he did not excel others in his classes, he did not permit others to excel him. He was a good student, well above the average of the College in those days, but he did not have to work hard at his studies. He assimilated his lessons and his lectures with an enviable ease, but unlike most students so endowed, he did not easily forget. He did not work hard at study, because it was unnecessary for him to do so, but he did work hard at play, and in the games of boyhood and youth he went in to win.

Young Harbord showed a wonderfully even temper, although his classmates called him red-headed. He was not red-headed, though he did have an abundant growth of what one of his classmates called "osborn" hair. I never saw him when he showed anger, no matter what the provocation. Knowing his intense vitality as I did, I have always believed that his seemingly equable temper was the result of self-control and not that he was incapable of passion. This trait always kept him cool-headed. He never got rattled, and this is the one trait, more than any other, which he had in youth that must have been a large factor in the success of his later life.

He had courage, and of this he had abundant need as he faced the trials and difficulties of those early days of the state, of the College and of his own life. I do not mean to say that nothing ever daunted him—he would not be human else—but I do mean to say that if he were ever daunted nobody knew it. He was never a prodigy; nothing like that. He was just a clean, wholesome, likable American boy, endowed with an alert mind, a retentive memory, a fair share of courage, and a remarkably level head. These traits, coupled with the sterling qualities of the boy and developed by the discipline of military life, have produced the man who made good in a terrible emergency without parallel in human history.

Many a boy has come home from France the better for his contact with General Harbord. Adhering strictly to military regulations, he was never a martinet. He knew the ethics of army life and practiced them. The rawest doughboy could always get a hearing with General Harbord, not alone because of the democratic spirit which he always had, but because of his eth-

ical belief that the general good of the army can only be attained through the individual good of the soldier.

General Harbord's army experience reads like a romance. Enlisted as a buck private in January, 1889, he was appointed corporal in April and sergeant in December of the same year, and immediately made post sergeant major, in which capacity he served till December, 1890, when he was made quartermaster sergeant of the Fourth infantry, then at Fort Sherman, Idaho.

In February, 1891, he was recommended by his colonel for a commission as second lieutenant, and for this he qualified by examination at Vancouver Barracks in April of that year, with an average standing of 99.61. His final examination for his commission took place at Fortress Monroe, and his commission was dated July 31, 1891, when because of his high standing he was assigned to the cavalry branch of the service, which accorded with his own preference.

His life as second lieutenant was occupied with military routine in various posts, mostly in Texas, until 1893, when he was assigned to duty as a student in the Infantry and Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth until 1895. During the years spent in the military posts in Texas he learned the Spanish language, which was of great value to him in his later service in Cuba and the Philippines.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he was still a second lieutenant. He was promoted to be a first lieutenant on July 1, 1898, being at that time a major in the Second volunteer regiment of Rough Riders, on leave of absence from the regular army.

In 1899 he was ordered to Cuba with the army of occupation, where he served under Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood during twenty-five months of the reconstruction period, in which time he won his promotion as captain. Previous to his service in Cuba, on January 21, 1899, to be exact, Lieutenant Harbord was married to Miss Emma Ovenshine, the daughter of Brigadier General Ovenshine, of the regular army.

At the close of his service in Cuba he was ordered to Fort Myer in the spring of 1901, where he remained only a few weeks, and was then ordered to the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington, where he remained until January, 1902, in the only office job he ever had. At this time his regiment was ordered to the Philippines, and at his own request he accompanied it.

During his twelve years of service in the Islands he helped to organize the Philippine constabulary, and for the greater part of that period was assistant chief with the temporary rank of colonel. He saw much active service in the various uprisings of that turbulent time and did not leave the Islands until they were entirely pacified.

On his return to the States in January, 1914, he was assigned to the First cavalry at the Presidio of Monterey, Cal., and again assumed his regular rank of captain. He served on the Mexican border during the summer of 1914, and was then sent with a squadron of his regiment for military participation in the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 at San Francisco.

The writer of this sketch was in charge of the department of live stock in this exposition, as the only Kansan officially connected with this great exhibit of the world's activities, and he desires to make acknowledgment of the obligations under which he was placed by Captain Harbord, not only in the displays

and social functions of the occasion, but especially in the arrangement of details of the international army polo games, the cavalry endurance races, the riding contests and other events in which the army or army officers participated. Following the exposition Captain Harbord was again ordered to the Mexican border with station at Douglas, Ariz. In the fall of 1916 he was ordered to the War College at Washington, D.C., where he remained until the United States entered the World War in the spring of 1917.

Captain Harbord had been made a major in December, 1914, and upon the selection of General Pershing as commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, Major Harbord was promoted, May 15, 1917, to the rank of lieutenant colonel and designated as chief of staff. He sailed for France with General Pershing on May 28, 1917, and was thus instrumental in the organization of the American forces, and was in a large way responsible for the enormous preparations that were needed there. These services were officially recognized in his promotion to the rank of colonel during that summer and to the rank of brigadier general in October of the same year.

After serving one year as chief of staff, General Harbord asked to be given an active command in the field. Acceeding to his request, General Pershing placed him in command of the Marine Brigade, with which he first stopped the Germans at Chateau-Thierry in June, 1918, when their victorious advance upon Paris seemed assured. Because of his splendid service in first stopping the German onslaught and in the crucial events immediately following, he was made a major general in the national army and assigned to command the Second division in the great offensive of the summer of 1918.

In August, 1918, the necessity for greater efficiency in the moving of men and supplies to the front became apparent, and General Harbord was recalled from the front with orders to organize and conduct the Service of Supply.

This Service of Supply was probably the largest business undertaking that was ever conducted by one man in the history of the human race. With hundreds of thousands of men pouring into France each month and with hundreds of thousands already there, it was the duty of the Service of Supply to dock and unload all vessels and transport their contents in arms, munitions, food, clothing, camp and hospital equipment and everything else needed by more than two millions of men at the front, and do it with absolute certainty and in a perfect frenzy of haste.

There could be no delay and no mistakes. The work had to be done. Not only did the lives of thousands of American soldiers depend upon the certainty and celerity of the work of the Service of Supply, but the very existence of America was at stake. This work had to be done, and it was done by a Kansas man. General Harbord remained in command until the American forces were practically all returned, when he was again made chief of staff.

In August, 1919, General Harbord was appointed by the President to head a very difficult and somewhat dangerous mission to investigate the conditions in Armenia and the Near East, including Transcaucasia, the reports of which and the results obtained have been published, both officially and in the public press.

On his return to the States, and in recognition of his important services, General Harbord was commissioned a major general in the regular army and

again assigned to command the Second division, with headquarters at Camp Travis, Tex.

Honors have been showered upon General Harbord by his own and other nations. The most highly prized of these is the distinguished-service medal conferred upon him by authority of congress. The decorations of which the writer has knowledge are: Distinguished-service medal (United States); commander, Legion of Honor (France); knight commander, St. Michael & St. George (Great Britain); grand officer, Order of the Crown (Belgium); *croix de guerre* with palms (France); commander, Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus (Italy); Order of Prince Danilo (Montenegro); allied victory medal with three bronze stars (United States); distinguished-service medal of the navy (United States); Order, *La Solidaridad*, *segunda clase* (Republic of Panama). And last but not least in his estimation, he was given the honorary degree of doctor of laws by his alma mater, the Kansas State Agricultural College, at a special convocation assembled for the purpose.

From a "doughboy," with no prestige and no "pull," to become a major general in the United States army in the short space of thirty years is a record that has rarely been equaled and perhaps never excelled. It is a splendid demonstration of the possibilities ahead of every American boy, reared in a country where even the humblest citizen may become the highest in rank upon merit alone.

But the merit must be there. When General Harbord arrived with his brigade of marines near Chateau-Thierry he commanded a forlorn hope. It was the last resort. The armies of France and England could do no more. They were fighting gloriously and desperately, but there was a thin spot in the line. The Germans had found it and were crowding through with every appearance of success. Marshal Foch feared lest he might see the Germans in Paris in a few days.

General Harbord was plunged into this gap with only 8,000 marines. He stopped the Germans, but he came out of the conflict with less than 4,000 men. Surely all America can share with General Harbord the vast pride he feels in these splendid marines and what they did. It was America's first real baptism of fire, and these men showed to the world not only their fighting quality, not only the aggressive spirit of their homeland which carried them far beyond their objective, not only the bulldog tenacity which never knows defeat, but they showed what it means to be an American accustomed to win.

Brilliant as were the services of General Harbord near Chateau-Thierry and in the great aggressive following, to my mind his work in the Service of Supply was even more valuable. It was a herculean task to be charged with the full duty and responsibility of seeing that the necessary supplies were delivered on time; the food, clothing, ammunition, tents, blankets, shoes, cannon, rifles, and even razors—everything that a great army could need. To secure the necessary ships; the transportation to points of use or storage of the enormous daily tonnage; the building of docks and warehouses at ports of entry; the building of 1,000 miles of railroad; the procuring of locomotives and cars; the placing of skilled men to run the trains and repair shops—in short, to supply everything from an aeroplane to an ax, from a cannon to a candle, from a ship to a safety pin, that our over two millions of soldiers might need or want, and know that these things would be delivered on time—was the work of a real

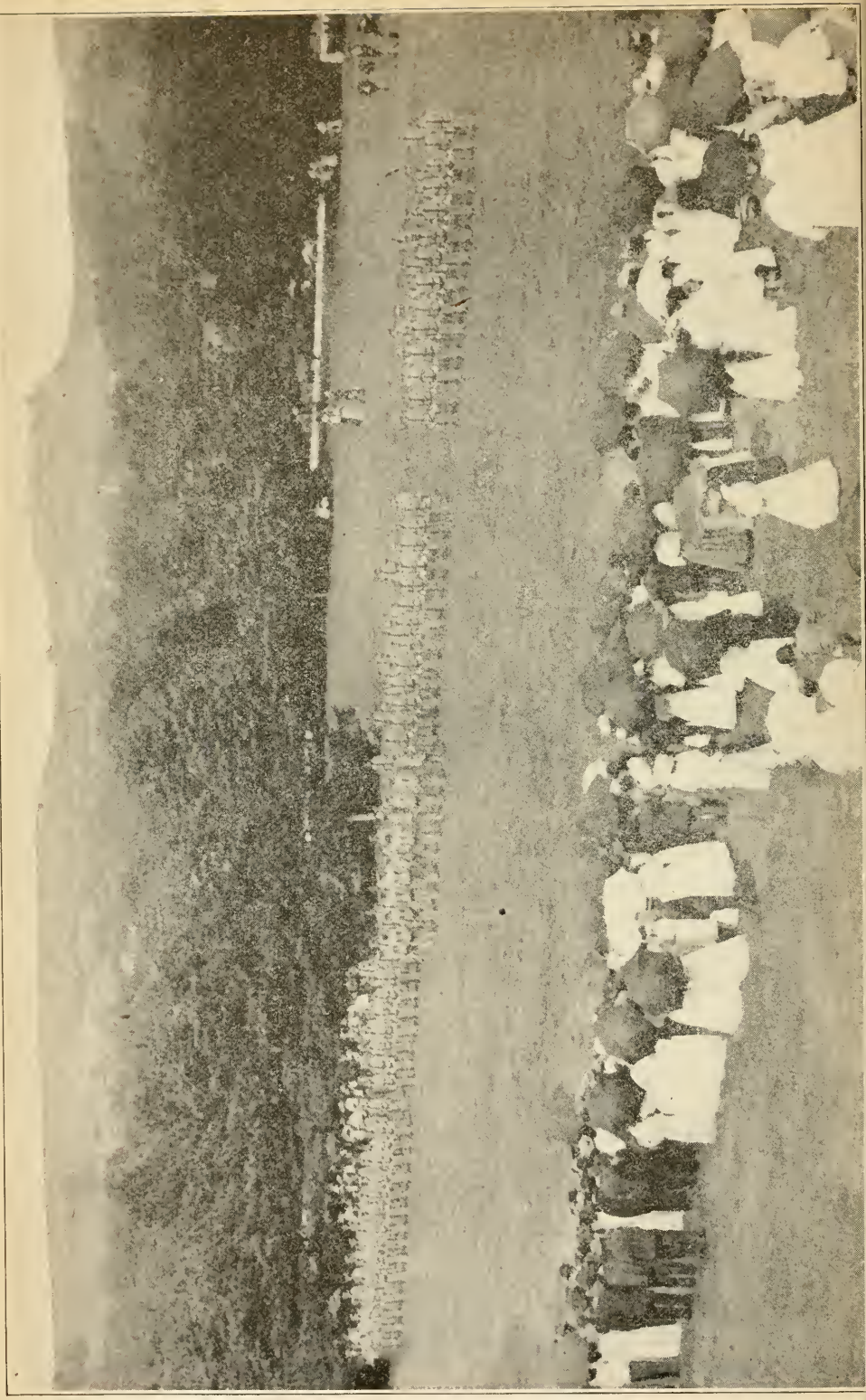
man! And it had to be done *right now*." There could be no hitch, no procrastination. More depended upon the efficiency of the Service of Supply than ever depended upon any other one thing. Failure or delay meant disaster, therefore, difficulty was not acknowledged and the impossible was not allowed to exist. If a ship was torpedoed its contents had to be duplicated from another source. If a railroad wreck occurred on the way to the front a track was laid around it and another train sent on in an incredibly short time. If a motor lorry was disabled it was dumped by the roadside and another took its place. If a shell tore up the roadway it was repaired instanter while the forward traffic crossed the fields. Nothing was allowed to *just happen*. Everything was done by design and through the exercise of an indomitable will power, and it was done *at once*.

General Harbord had a large sign placed over the clock in his office, which read, "Hurry up—c'est la guerre."

Nothing herein must be taken as even a slight derogation of the service of General Pershing. For his great ability I have the most profound respect and admiration. But I do rank the younger General Harbord as a strong second in achievement, and first in my personal regard, because I knew and loved the boy of whom the general was made.

In this picture, the firm mouth, the strong jaws, the square chin indicate the character which dominates, the spirit which wins. But the picture does not show the sparkle of the kindly blue eyes which see humor in adversity, bring comfort to the homesick doughboy, and into which a fond old mother looks with infinite love and pride.

In that broad democracy which meets the lowly with the same consideration given to the mighty, which welcomes adversity with the joy of conquest, meets emergency as an ordinary event, and makes of success a habit, General Harbord is typical of Kansas, the state which is his home.



KANSAS AS A STATE OF EXTREMES, AND ITS ATTITUDE DURING THIS WORLD WAR.

Address by the president, GEORGE P. MOREHOUSE,¹ before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its forty-third annual meeting, October 15, 1918.

"Avoid extremes and shun the faults of such,
Who still are pleased too little or too much."—POPE.

IT HAS BEEN the custom, upon occasions such as this, for the retiring president of the Kansas State Historical Society to be eulogistic of the state and her citizens and only to dwell upon pleasant things.

Thinking that a little introspection, with the searchlight of honest criticism, may be both interesting and useful, I desire to depart from this custom and mention some of the freakish extremes which have made us famous, if not notorious; and, if possible, draw some lessons for our consideration, during these trying and momentous times, which appear to be the closing months of the great World War, in which Kansas has had such an erratic and peculiar part.

"Avoid extremes" is an admonition which Kansans have never followed in the past, do not accept at present and probably will never obey in the future. Why is this so? Simply because we are a state of extremists and never take a conservative view of anything. Of course, we often deny the allegation, but

1. George Pierson Morehouse, son of Horace and Lavinia F. (Strong) Morehouse, came from Illinois with his parents in 1872, the family settling at Diamond Springs, Morris county, on the Old Santa Fe Trail. There, where the range was unlimited, they opened up a stock ranch, where the family lived until 1886, and then moved to Council Grove, the county seat. There were three other brothers—Charles H., Robert H. and James H.

The subject of this sketch spent several years in the state of New York, during which time he graduated from the Albion Academy and also received a diploma from the University of New York. Returning to Kansas, he was admitted to the bar and practiced law at Council Grove for many years, serving six years as city attorney and county attorney. For over twenty years, 1894 to 1915, he was the local district attorney in Morris county of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company.

He was active in Republican politics for many years as a campaign speaker, and often either chairman or secretary of the county or congressional central committees and of the Republican state committee.

In 1900 he was elected to the Kansas state senate from the Morris, Marion and Chase district, and served as chairman of the congressional apportionment committee and was an active member of the judiciary, education, public health, and election committees. He drafted and secured the passage of the first automobile laws in the West and the law making the sunflower the floral emblem of Kansas.

In 1906 Mr. Morehouse was married to Mrs. Louise (Thorne) Hull, of Topeka, and since that time he has resided in Topeka, but he still owns and operates the same stock farm at Diamond Springs, where the Morehouse family settled fifty years ago.

* Mr. Morehouse has always taken a keen interest in military matters, and in 1903 was commissioned a lieutenant in the Kansas National Guard. The World War opened up a wider field in that line and he was among the first to organize and muster in the Kansas State Guard, which during the war took the place of the National Guard and performed much military service. Active in the organization of the four companies at Topeka, he was commissioned captain of Company B, Ninth battalion, serving for two years, and helped train over 300 men for United States Military World War Service. He was mustered out with his company November 11, 1919, one year after the armistice, when the Kansas National Guard had been reorganized.

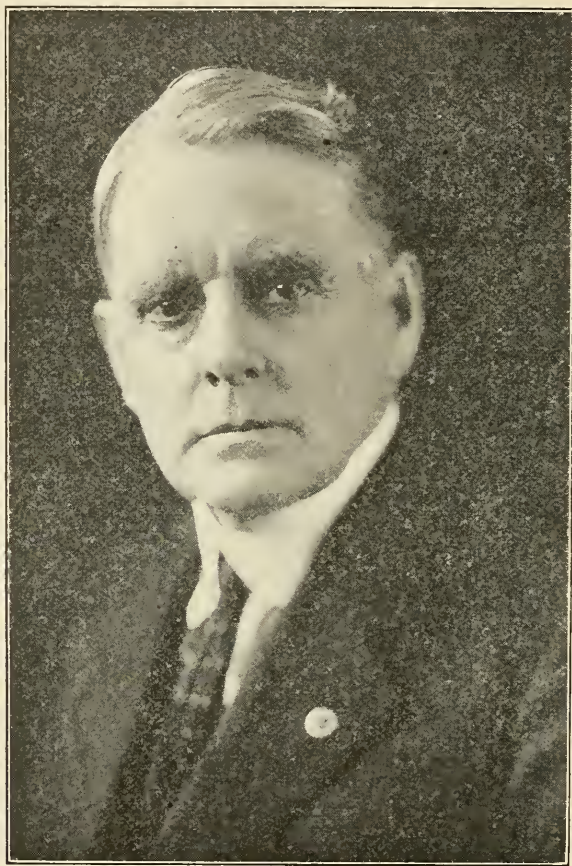
In the summer of 1918 Captain Morehouse went to the military training camp at Camp Steever, Lake Geneva, Wis. There he completed the intensive course in infantry work, machine-gun and trench warfare under the regular United States army and Royal British army officers and received the military diploma. This camp was conducted to practically train officers for mid-western troops in the latest methods of warfare.

For many years he has been a life member and director of the Kansas State Historical Society and was its president for the year beginning October, 1917. For ten years he has been secretary of the Kansas Authors' Club, and is one of the ex-presidents of that organization.

He is an authority on the language, legends and history of the Kansa or Kaw Indians, and wrote a history of the tribe, and was elected its official historian and keeper of its ancient charts and relics. He is the author of numerous articles and addresses in historical publications upon famous old trails, early Spanish explorations, Kansa Indian affairs and folk lore, and western archaeology. For other biographical data see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 137.

usually glory in the fact, and for our justification claim that it requires an extremist to accomplish results and that most machines are run by "cranks."

But why is the average Kansan an extremist in whatever view he takes of a question; and why does Kansas, like the pendulum, swing so regularly from one side to another? That is a question easy to ask, but difficult to answer. Some attribute it to our excitable, strenuous and uncertain early history, while



GEORGE PIERSON MOREHOUSE.

others think that the climate and our extremes of heat and cold have something to do with it.

At several periods of our history Kansas has been so sharply ridiculed that her people, when visiting other states, have denied their citizenship and registered at the hotel as from other parts of the United States. Why was this? Simply because they were ashamed of the foolish ghost dances into which they had been led by political fakers and unwise extremists. During our saner moments, when we were not attracting the attention of the world, we may deny

the charge, but the record has been made and it is against us in black and white.

However, whether we admit it or not, the people outside of Kansas know that we are extremists, laugh at our eccentricities and criticise us unmercifully. They claim that as a state and people we are fickle, erratic, inconsistent, and even unreliable, and when we take a sober, dispassionate view of ourselves we have to admit that there is something to their charge.

But, after all, when we delve into the past history of Kansas, either politically or scientifically; when we open up and explore the deep and mysterious caverns and strata of prehistoric ages which ground under, mixed, molded, shaped and heaved up that 200- by 400-mile parallelogram of the earth's surface now known as Kansas, should there be any wonder that we are a state of variable extremists at the present time?

PREHISTORIC EXTREMES.

The antics of nature have gone and still go to great extremes in Kansas. What was once a very wet region has become very, very dry—and I do not refer to our prohibition proclivities.

Once the briny deep rolled over quite a part of central and western Kansas, some of which is now 3,000 feet above sea level. In this great inland sea there lived such prehistoric monsters as the ichthyosaurus, pterodactyl, and large sharks and fishes, while gigantic land animals like the mastodon and megatherium roamed among and fed upon the luxuriant vegetation which flourished in the morasses along the shores. We still find their enormous teeth, bones and skeletal remains, but the tropical verdure and animal life have passed away. The bed of that sea has been thrown up and become the high table-land levels of the great plains, where they have baked and hardened beneath the summer suns of thousands of years. Instead of the sea we find the plain; instead of land and water monsters we have prairie dogs and jack rabbits on land and a few catfish and sun perch in the scanty streams; instead of treelike ferns and foliage we have short grass and stunted weeds; and instead of the murky, moist atmosphere, rains and floods of that period, we have the hot winds, drought and brazen skies of a semiarid region. How could nature have acted to more opposite extremes than in these regions?

Our Kansas historians have been extremists of a marked type. The earlier ones who assumed to record our history said, in a satisfied way, that Kansas could not boast of remote antiquity and that her soil never became the scenes of stirring events until its settlement by the whites, in the memory of man; while latter-day historians and archæologists seem to prove that prehistoric man lived and flourished within our borders thousands of years ago, as demonstrated by such relics as the "Lansing man" and the artifacts which have been thrown up from deep excavations.

I think that it can be proven that the prehistoric Kansan was an extremist.

Among the thousands of flint specimens dug up at the numerous prehistoric town sites we find widely separated types of warlike and domestic articles. At some places the arrow and spear points, knives, hammers, and so forth, are of the roughest character and crudest workmanship, while at other places the specimens are regular in form, sharp and keen of edge and point, and they evince the highest artistic skill on the part of the maker. This shows that some

of these ancient Kansans were extremists of the most pronounced character, some being skilled artists and others careless botches.

At some of these sites we find nothing but implements of warfare and the chase and evidences of murder and greed, proving the owners to have been warlike, savage meat eaters, ever fighting and burning and always ready to pounce upon and destroy their neighbors—cruel extremists of barbaric type. At other places we find hoes, spades, milling stones, mortars and pestles, bowls, pots and kettles, besides decorated pottery and basketry—all of which shows that they cultivated the soil, ate cooked grains and vegetables, were given to domestic pursuits, stayed at home and attended to their own business.

It is generally admitted that the first white settlers and founders of our commonwealth were extremists of the most radical type. Coming from two different civilizations, the Pilgrim and Cavalier, with opposite views regarding labor, the slavery question and a supreme national government, it was natural that they became radical in their views and actions. It was from our territorial and Civil War pioneers that Kansas derived its general proclivities for taking extreme views and measures upon all public questions.

ADVERTISERS OF FEAST OR FAMINE.

And then what extremists we have been as advertisers! and in this kind Nature has stepped in and helped us along. For a time after the Civil War the small part of cultivated Kansas produced wonderful crops, and this fact was advertised to the world. Our state became the promised land to which myriads of expectant settlers flocked, thinking they were coming to a land of milk and honey and where the slightest industry would bring wealth and opulence. As Kansans we became self-centered, proud, boastful, and even looked upon our former homes back East as "sleepy hollows," "back numbers," "worn out," and so forth, when in fact most of them at that very time were far more productive and inviting as either fields of investment or for homes than "the wind-swept Kansas plains." But what of that—we were extremists following after an ideal; loved the adventure and danger of pioneer life and have never regretted that we came.

But our pride soon took a fall, and instead of seasonable rains and luxuriant crops we were scourged with seasons of drought and hot winds, and the grasshopper became a plague in the land. Our pride and boasting, for a time, went a-glimmering with our crops and scanty resources. We were humbled, and even went so far as to send silver-tongued solicitors to our old homes "back East" to picture our dilemma and to solicit aid and comfort from our eastern cousins and from "wife's folks." That was in 1860 and 1874, and there was much suffering, and we barely skimmed through upon short rations and the gifts of philanthropists and the aid from our friends and the relatives east of the Mississippi.

But during subsequent years the pendulum of luck swung the other way and Kansas astonished the world by its prize-winning exhibits of grain and grasses, fruits and flowers, such as it made at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. That was the best advertising stunt we ever conducted, and it doubled our population within a few years. However, it never quite equaled the reputation we acquired by so eloquently advertising our previous years of stress and poverty; for during that time we received the name of "Droughty Kansas," "Hot

Wind and Grasshopper State"—terms which even the floods and bounty of many subsequent prosperous years have never fully washed out.

How often a 200-million-bushel corn crop and a 100-million-bushel wheat crop would be followed by a scanty yield and real destitution in parts of the state. Kansas can truly join St. Paul in saying: "I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound; to be full and to be hungry; both to abound and to suffer need." These incidents should not be forgotten, for they show to what extremes our people have gone to advertise both poverty and prosperity. In this peculiarity, not especially to be admired, we sometimes enter the plea that nature helps us both ways, and there may be some truth to the claim that our climate and extremes of heat and cold are responsible for our radicalism and variableness upon public questions.

POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY.

In politics, to what ridiculous extremes we have gone during our entire history; and with what lightning changes our politicians and people can adjust themselves to the whims and winds of public opinion—or what is supposed to be public opinion. One year we have been going along in the even tenor of our way with an 80,000 Republican majority; and because of fifteen-cent corn and thirty-cent wheat or some other available political slogan, the voters would rise in their wrath and swat the G.O.P. with a mighty swat, and that party would take a seat away back in state and legislative counsels. The extremists were getting in their work.

Farmers' Alliance advocates from the sunny South would invade our borders, and by clever preachments, that would deceive the very elect, lead a majority away from the true path of political common sense into a fairyland of the wildest utopianism. In this crusade of discord and despair we worshiped at the shrines of these political "snake doctors" and became devoted devotees at the ghost dances of reform which they so skillfully conducted. During this spell of strange infatuation for something new, many of the high priests and would-be high priests of this patented Populism let their hair grow long and their whiskers wave in the wind, *a la* "Pefferian." They attired themselves in somber habiliments of sackcloth and ashes, criticised the government, cursed the "money power," railed at the "octopus" (whatever it was), threatened to tear up the railroads, and preached from platform, picnic and press that pleasant, satisfying and applauded doctrine, "Raise less of corn and more of hell."

This advice was followed and for a time apparently enjoyed, but after two years of such strenuous diversion the people recovered their normal faculties, sat clothed and in their right minds, turned the snake doctors out, got down to a basis of sensible business, and seemed to forget all about it.

How often Kansas voters have held the party in power responsible for hot winds, droughts, floods and crop failures; and if the crops were abundant, for the low prices received! Yes, many an election has been influenced by some extreme freak of nature.

FINANCE AND FAILURE.

At other times, a year or two of rain in the semiarid parts of the state, or a hankering after some get-rich-quick scheme would cause these eras of impetuosity and extreme acting to lead us away into the windy wilderness of the wildest speculation.

Our people would go crazy over wildcat railroad building, land puffing, town-site development, county-seat and courthouse fights, oil and gas leasing, "gold-bearing shales" without any gold, and all the usual accompanying orgies of stock jobbing, bond voting and mortgaging. Those were the days of railroads without trains or passengers, irrigation ditches and waterworks without water, incorporated towns and cities without inhabitants, courthouses without courts or litigants, schools and colleges without students, churches without worshipers, and all kinds of public improvements without a use—all promoted in some semiwilderness region during the inflation of that well-known commercial gas bag commonly known as a "boom."

Then the boom would burst. Pastures which should never have been plowed and additions which should never have been platted grew to weeds or returned to cattle ranges; buildings and costly improvements would go to wrack or be torn down; and even the names of some of these town sites were forgotten as the coyote, prairie dog and jack rabbit returned and possessed the land.

Then followed distress and failure, tax deeds and titles, mortgage foreclosures and bankruptcy and a general exodus of the victims to more favorable fields of endeavor.

KANSAS EXTREMES DURING THE WORLD WAR.

The tendency of our state to go to extremes along political and other lines was fully demonstrated during the present World War. From a condition of German worship and apology for its early warlike acts, Kansas passed into such a strong opposition to any form of war preparedness that it seemed that Teuton propagandists had our schools, press, public men and churches completely under their direction. From that ridiculous and un-Kansan position the people suddenly changed to a wonderful enthusiasm for a vigorous war policy, such as we are now so earnestly supporting.

We have almost forgotten, and even try to conceal the fact, that Kansas started off on the wrong foot in this grand march for the renovation of the world from the curse of kaiserism. We are now really ashamed of our tardiness in getting into this war game against the unspeakable Hun and are trying with all our might to work overtime in order to blot out our halting, inexcusable and flabby delinquency.

In times past Kansas had established a reputation for being a vigorous and militant commonwealth, and the country as a whole was shocked at our weak and unusual stand and criticized us severely. To many it appeared that we had gone back upon our cherished ideals, such as,

"John Brown of Kansas, he dared begin;
He lost, but losing, won,"

and had returned to that period of narrowness existing when a Kansas Populist congressman once said, in opposition to a navy appropriation bill, "What do we want of battleships? they can't plow corn."

It was recalled that Kansas had never ceased to boast of its prowess and victories during the border warfare with old Missouri and the other forces during the fifties and sixties in that attempt to force slavery upon this free territory. Our orators, from the high-school graduates to our governors and senators, never tire, and still ring the changes, of that threadbare boast that "Kansas furnished more soldiers in the Civil War, in proportion to her pop-

ulation, than any other state; and that she had more soldiers than voters in that conflict." Some of them would almost lead you to believe that Kansas won that war without assistance. And then after the Civil War it was known that we became "The Soldier State"; so many of the veterans became honored citizens and always leaders in all movements for right, justice and humanity. It was generally supposed that to be a Kansan was to be a fighter "with his hat always in the ring."

And then how extremely militant we were in the Spanish-American trouble of 1898-'99. We would have gladly furnished many times the quota of troops allotted to the state. Why, most Kansas schoolboys, and some older ones, are still quite certain that their state won that war alone; for many Kansans were Rough Riders with Roosevelt in Cuba, and everybody knows that Funston and the Twentieth Kansas swam the Bagbag river and captured Aguinaldo. And so when the World War started it was confidently presumed that Kansas would be "Johnny on the spot," militant, eager to stand for civilization, and also for the protection of American honor and interests which were so shamelessly attacked at the very beginning by Germany in its attempt to rule the World.

PEACE-AT-ANY-PRICE PACIFISTS.

But no; it so happened that Kansas had just swung to the opposite extreme and had become a sort of protracted campmeeting ground; an all-year, high-browed reform chautauqua assembly, where German propaganda was dispensed in large doses by peace-at-any-price pacifists. They not only opposed war from a theoretical standpoint, but also stirred up the people to oppose common-sense preparedness or any strengthening of the army or navy to protect our shores at home or our honor and interests abroad.

In this western country, and in no place more than in Kansas, the Quaker doctrine of nonresistance was preached in its purity. While many of those pacifists who mussed up things during the early days of our entrance into this great war were honest theorists, a lot of them were nothing more than sneaking German sympathizers and should have been jailed or run out of the country. They were hiding their disloyalty under the cloak of an alleged moral issue. It is now known that some of those antiwar and peace organizations which flourished when the World War started were financed by German gold and organized under the direction of crafty German agents right in our midst. From platform, press and pulpit for weeks and months we heard nothing of that old-time American patriotism; that unusual keen Kansas zeal for standing up for American interests; that former helping-hand sentiment for the suffering of those under the iron heel of oppression. But instead we had to listen to a bloodless, spineless, cringing drivel of "turning the other cheek" sentimentalism which issued from the addresses, editorials and sermons of that period. If there is any special period of Kansas history which stands out as weak, foolish and even cowardly, of which we should be ashamed, and the like of which we should shun like poison, it is this era of lost manhood, lost "pep" and patriotism into which we drifted during the early days of this World War.

As soon as the war started, in 1914, most Kansas papers and public men and women became leaders in all kinds of visionary and ill-advised peace movements and followers of milk-and-water enthusiasts of the Henry Ford school. Peace leagues and kindred organizations were formed all over the

state, where doctrines of such ridiculous pacifism were advocated that we became the objects of jest and ridicule by the more militant parts of America. Neutrality of the most abject and technical kind was demanded. We were told not to think war, not to talk war, not to take sides between the belligerents, and even not to condemn the Germans for their beastly cruelty and devilish acts in Belgium and northern France.

Crafty German propagandists had the right of way in many of our papers and filled them with letters and articles in praise of German things and efficiency, and either denied the stories of their brutish acts of frightfulness or justified them as unavoidable war measures, while those of us who thought otherwise were often denied the publication of our replies.

The year 1915 came with the horror of the *Lusitania's* sinking and many other insults to the rights and honor of our country, and yet Kansas and her citizens dallied with the dastardly Hun, and some of her most prominent public men even justified that act, condemned Americans who traveled abroad, and had no word of pity when they were drowned like rats on merchant ships by the deadly torpedo fired from cowardly submarines.

During 1916 even the little patriotic enthusiasm we experienced when the Kansas National Guard went to the Mexican border to protect American interests was neutralized by the activity of the peace-league movement, which condemned any form of military preparedness. The Kansas pulpit, press, public men advocated a "peace-at-any-price policy," and even Kansas educational institutions hindered National Guard recruiting by advising the students not to enlist. These agencies of pacifism which then advocated the policy of nonresistance and opposed an enlarged army and navy did not realize that they were following out a German propaganda plan especially designed to keep America in a weak and uncertain condition while the Huns plundered the world.

THE HIGH TIDE OF PACIFISM.

But nothing better illustrates the extreme position Kansas people took at that time than the resolutions and speeches of the state meeting of the Kansas Peace and Equity League, held on the 30th day of January, 1916, in the city of Topeka. Although that meeting was largely attended by delegates from all over the state, among them some of the leading editors and public men of Kansas, it marked the lowest ebb to which red-blooded American patriotism ever receded in our commonwealth. If the false and visionary doctrines advocated there had not been challenged within a few days by the President of the United States and some subsequent eye-opening events, it is doubtful to what extremes they would have led. At the present time such a gathering would be classed as an unpatriotic and dangerous assembly.

While these remarks will be unpleasant to some, I feel it my duty at this time to enter a final condemnation of that meeting and its objects, that this glaring and recent proof of Kansas being a state of extremes may be made a matter of historic record.

At that most peculiar gathering not a remark was made that embraced a feasible way out of the maze of dangers surrounding our nation on account of its admitted unpreparedness.

The main thought seemed to be pride in being nonresistant dreamers hoping for a time when such a cult would increase sufficiently to carry a "refuse-to-

fight" program through, which was of about the same tenor of inefficiency as that advocated by the Russian bolsheviki. The speakers included the governor, the chancellor of the State University, the great preacher and author of "In His Steps," the most popular editor, the two or three Kansas well-known women leaders. They all seemed vexed that the President of the United States was then on his way to Kansas to profess his change of heart upon war preparedness and to warn Kansas to get right. It seems that the meeting was held just three days before Mr. Wilson came, in order to fortify against his arguments. In this phase this Peace and Equity meeting believed in preparedness.

All persons who believed in the adequate preparedness of a strong army and navy were classed as "jingoists," "dollar patriots," "war barons," and one of the speakers claimed that there was no patriotic war sentiment in America except what had been started and was being kept up by the great "war plunderbund" and interests which expected war profits.

They seemed to be oblivious to any sentiment and dream of a people ready and willing to make sacrifice to fight and die in a war for humanity and that democracy might live on the earth. In proof that a nonresistant nation could survive for thousands of years, China was cited, and it was thought that the experiment of unpreparedness was worth trying. There was of course the usual talk of "not raising boys to be soldiers," and that it would be better to endure all kinds of insults from foreign powers, "rather than sacrifice the life of one American boy."

One of the speakers said that "if the Wilson plan of preparedness is carried out the United States will go down in dishonor as a militaristic monarchy. Democracy, and human liberty are at stake and the plans of preparedness mean the sweeping away of both of these."

They forgot themselves by such rash statements, and really slandered the President's patriotism, for he had already gone so far in his peace efforts that the name "American citizen" in most foreign lands had become a byword of reproach instead of being a term of the highest honor. The utterances of that meeting resembled the political platitudes heard at the ghost dances of Kansas Populism; or rather of the Democratic party in 1864, when it proclaimed that the reelection of Lincoln "would cause Americans to meet as slaves amidst the crumbling ruins of liberty and the shattered fragments of the constitution."

I hold no brief to exploit the interests of the President, for I think that he should have acted against German cruelty and arrogance two or three years before he did. It is my belief this would have brought the war to an end at least a year sooner and saved a million lives. President Wilson, with all of his errors during the early stages of the war, at least got right long before Kansas awakened and about-faced from her utopian dreams of a warless world.

It was especially unfortunate and inexcusable that Kansas should hold such a state gathering right on the eve of the President's visit, for it placed our people in a ridiculous and unpatriotic position, when a more militant support of the national government should have been the watchword of the hour.

The resolutions adopted expressed many facts and fancies regarding war. They also included a lot of sentiment so visionary and tame that it seemed impossible to have emanated from a Kansas audience. In that meeting there was advice to mothers not to bear sons to enter an army and be tortured and

killed. Arguments were launched against any training of youth in military matters, for the reason that it would influence them to thoughts of war instead of peace, and that especially "at this time we oppose any plan for national action which will increase or foster a warlike spirit or a military program."

If the advice of that meeting were followed, the Boy Scout movement and all military drilling at schools, colleges and universities would be disbanded. States would refuse to support a National Guard. Children would not be permitted to have wooden guns, drums, tin swords and soldiers. It would be out of place to unfurl the Stars and Stripes at our churches, schools and public places. Pictures and stories of soldiers, battles and all war events would be torn from our books, and the youth of our land would be trained only in the "sissy" amusements of the society circle. That such a movement should have been started somewhere in our country, fostered by some scheming, hyphenated Americans, would not be so strange; but that it should have taken root in Kansas—sunny, liberty-loving Kansas—only shows the extremes to which our people may go.

While that peace meeting was largely attended, it seemed cold and pessimistic, and not a flag was displayed to warm its somber atmosphere. In the choir were twenty young folks from the Colored Institute east of Topeka. They seemed to feel out of place and their songs were not sung or received with much fervor. Possibly they remembered that if the same peace ideals and antiwar sentiments had prevailed during the Civil War, instead of their present liberties and advantages, they would have been ignorant and debased chattel slaves. Those colored singers were not wanted in that pacifist push, and really I was sorry for them; they had no music for such an occasion. But could they have heard one word of true-blue American eloquence—one plea for patriotic preparedness that this nation might be ready to fly to the succor of the weak and oppressed and be in a position to protect our own interests—the lofty arches of that solid stone church which curved above those dusky singers would have echoed and reechoed with the lusty fervor of genuine patriotism.

And this Peace and Equity meeting was held and these expressions made right in the shadow of the dome of the capitol of Kansas—free fighting, fearless Kansas, the soldier state of former days. Is it any wonder that the President of the United States was shocked when he arrived three days after and faced such a condition? Is it strange that he said: "What! Kansas not willing to prepare to fight! I do not believe what some papers tell of the feeling of Kansas against preparedness; for if Kansas will not fight, who will?"

One of the most distinguished speakers of that noted meeting dwelt upon the ten causes of war and mentioned the chief cause as that of "the unregenerative heart of man, which would not allow a universal brotherhood." Thus he admitted a condition which requires the very war preparedness the meeting so severely condemned.²

It is true that the majority of men are selfish and do not favor a universal brotherhood, and as long as that condition exists they must be held in check by government with its agency of force—its military and police power. A government without the means of protecting its life and its decrees is only a

2. For newspaper report of the meeting of the Kansas Peace and Equity League, see *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 31, 1916, p. 1.

government in name. This nation is large, prosperous and virile, but if it neglects to protect the rights of citizens at home and abroad; if it refrains from the task and expense, no matter how great, of providing the means of holding an honorable and powerful influence among nations of the world, it cannot and should not exist; and sooner or later it will become either the rich prey for more vigorous nations from without, or be torn to pieces by unchecked dissensions from within.

Three days after this peace rally the President arrived and frankly announced his conversion to a wise policy of preparedness and an increased army and a very large navy. He spoke with knowledge of the dangerous condition and peril in which our country stood, and not regarding theories of government and morality; but he found Kansas hostile to his plans.

In Kansas monster crowds greeted him, but with silence and opposition to his views. The delegates of the Kansas division of the Farmers Educational and Coöperative Union, then in session in Topeka, sat stolid and unsympathetic, while he pleaded for a broader Americanism; and it even went so far as to pass resolutions against his ideas of war preparation.³ Many Kansas newspapers opposed his reasonable plans and changed views, which, from present surroundings, were modest and reasonable indeed.

This extreme antiwar, antipreparedness condition continued in Kansas during all of 1916; and the state was pivotal, reëlecting President Wilson. The women turned the election, voting for the first time on the presidency, and they followed the catchy campaign slogan, "He has kept the country out of war."

In the spring of 1917, when war did come for America, Kansas had to re-adjust herself to its demands, and it was no easy task. Many of her public men and papers still claimed that it would be wrong to fight Germany unless she actually invaded our shores. Many people strenuously opposed the plan of conscription and foolishly thought that volunteers would furnish enough troops. At first young men were very slow to enlist in the army and National Guard, and some even hesitated to join the Kansas State Guard, which was thought by some to be a cute way of railroading them into the United States army. The national government was forced to adopt the conscription plan, which, after all, is the only equitable and democratic plan of raising an army of all classes. Hindrances to the draft sprang up in various places in Kansas and had to be checked by the strong arm of the law.

Now what caused this hesitation, this lack of war sentiment among our people, so different from what it was when McKinley called them to American ideals of humanity against Spanish cruelty and oppression? It came as the legitimate fruit of the Peace League organizations in Kansas. They had advocated the false and dangerous doctrine that in some utopian way governmental authority could be established and maintained without force. That doctrine had been promulgated in our schools and colleges, sounded through the public press, from the pulpit and by many of our writers and publicists. An ideal state had been pictured, and the catchy terms "universal peace," "brotherhood of man," "peace at any price," "there will never be another war." "I am a pacifist and too proud to fight," "I did not raise my boy to be a

3. See *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 4, p. 1.

soldier," "cannon fodder," etc., had been sung long and loud and had deadened the patriotism and former virility of the people—and in no place with greater effect than right here in Kansas.

KANSAS AWAKENS AND FIGHTS.

But, thank God, our people have at last changed and are now shouting overtime, "Down with the Hun!" "To hell with the kaiser!" "On to Berlin!" From expressions we now hear, no state in the Union is more afraid that the war may stop, through unwise negotiation, before the Kansas boys will have an opportunity to sweep in triumph across the Rhine, march through the streets of the German capital, and sing as they go the stirring strains of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "John Brown's Body."

It has been my privilege for over a year past to have been connected with the reserve militia, and as a captain of the Kansas State Guard to drill a great many men in infantry tactics, quite a number of whom are now in United States military service. A few days ago I returned from Camp Steever, Lake Geneva, Wis., having completed there the course of intensive infantry, machine-gun and trench-warfare training. At that camp I met many young men, just a trifle too young to get into the United States army, and many men like myself—too old, under present rulings, for such service. These militant, khaki-clad comrades, with whom I have camped, bunked, messed, drilled, marched, hiked and skirmished under the direction of United States and British army officers, are ready for more active service at any time and form a large reserve army during these days of uncertainty.

These boys and men came from all over the central west—from West Virginia to Kansas, from Minnesota to Kentucky. They came in all seriousness, not as pacifists, but patriots, and many of them will serve on foreign battle fields if the war lasts. Our Kansas State Guard, now organized in every locality numbers more trained troops than Kansas had in the Civil War. It has done a vast amount of guard duty, been active in every war-work movement, and been a mighty military training school for thousands of young men who are now fighting upon the fair fields of heroic France. I mention these organized efforts, for they mark the return to a safe policy of preparedness and show that Kansas has swung entirely away from its silly pacifism of two years ago, when it shouted from the housetops, "Too proud to fight."

For the past year and a half Kansas has been like an armed camp of regulars. Thousands of troops have been mustered in, equipped and efficiently drilled, and division after division have been mobilized at our training camp and sent overseas. The Red Cross, Young Men's Christian Association, Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus and other war-relief agencies have received liberal support from our citizens. Our people have subscribed and oversubscribed to the very limit for all of the Liberty loan propositions. And while we have been doing this we have been glad to forget those dangerous days when we listened to the siren songs of the peace-patching pacifists and were lulled into a dreamy and stubborn stupor so difficult to shake off. But it has been shaken off, and our good old fighting Kansas of heroic days is running true to form once more. The entire country, and Kansas in the lead, is aflame with military and patriotic enthusiasm, while—

"The mustering squadron and the clattering car
Go pouring forward with impetuous speed
And swiftly form in the ranks of war."

It is now time to shout, and to sing "The Battle Cry of Freedom" and "Rally Round the Flag," along with "Over There, Over There," and "Keep the Home Fires Burning"; for we have recently heard that the "Hindenburg line" has been broken and that Kansas troops have distinguished themselves at San Mihiel, Chateau-Thierry and in the Argonne Forest—battle fields which will be noted forever upon the pages of the world's history.

We are now quite certain that Kansas would sacrifice every life and every dollar it controls to win in this seeming conflict of the ages. What has brought about such a remarkable change of sentiment and action? What was it that finally brought sunny Kansas up to this proper war standard of united organization? Was it just a manifestation of our usual custom of swinging to the other extreme?

At the Auditorium a few days ago a record audience assembled to launch the Fourth Liberty loan. For over an hour, Trooper O'Connors, in graphic language, described in detail the skillful methods used in sticking the cold steel bayonet into the sides and through the adipose tissue of the arrogant Huns, expertly twisting the point to cut the hole larger in order to pull the blade out and be ready to brain or stick another. The mixed audience of men, women and children went wild with fervor, and entering into the spirit of his bloody talk cheered him to the echo. In that audience I noticed, as leading enthusiasts, some of our former "turn-the-other-cheek, brotherly-love, peace-at-any-price" pacifists, who had been the leaders at those Peace League meetings a year or two ago and who had advocated nonresistance and nonprepar-
edness.

I need go no further to prove "Kansas as a state of extremes." But, after all, is it not a serious commentary upon our state, and should we not seek to cultivate a more stable and steady attitude and not be carried off our feet by every passing show? Of course Kansas is a great state and Kansans are great people—we all admit that without argument—but there are others, and wisdom will not die with us. Let us not try to reform the world in everything. If we are a little less extreme we shall not have to back up so far and start again as we have had to do during the past year or two.

Yes, we all realize that war is a terrible thing, and yet we all glory in the skill and sacrifice of soldiers who fight and die for their ideals of right, even though those ideals in fact are wrong. But when they offer their services and lives in a war for humanity, with what laurels we crown their heroic actions! And, after all, war is not the most deplorable thing which nations endure. Selfishness and idolatry of material things, easy-going thrift and the cowardly disposition to crawl with spineless attitude before world powers, seeking the line of least resistance because it pays in wealth and ease—in all of which America has been guilty—are infinitely more destructive to the character of our people and the strength and influence of our nation than the most cruel and costly war.

Our entrance into this war was right; it was necessary as the only tonic to save us from moral and physical degeneracy and disintegration as a nation and a people. And now we must work overtime for our neglect in not going into the conflict four years ago.

We must not go wrong again on the war proposition, but give every reasonable support to the universal military training of our young men before the voting age. Such a training will provide for the common defense, elevate our

citizenship to a higher plane both mentally and physically, and establish a school of American patriotism, ready for any emergency and of which our nation will be proud.

Let us refrain from useless regrets about this war and from idle queries whether it was necessary. Let us cease our speculations about it being the "last war," which is a cheap excuse for being in this one; let us carry on to the very limit of our powers. It is an opportunity to make the world better; and let us permit posterity to decide the matter of future conflicts.

BENT'S OLD FORT AND ITS BUILDERS.¹

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by DR. GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL.²

BENT'S Old Fort stood for but little more than twenty years, but in those twenty years much history was made, and in shaping that history Bent's Fort played no small part. In 1832, a mere dot in an almost untrodden wilderness, it was 500 miles from the nearest settlement, an outpost on the actual confines of the United States, a stopping place where the savage might purchase guns and knives and powder and ball. After twenty years it had become the center of a vast section of our western country, a region soon to be marvelous in productiveness and astounding in wealth.

To American merchants and traders in the second quarter of the nineteenth century few names were more familiar than that of Bent's Old Fort; to-day its former existence is hardly known. Yet the place it once held, and the work it did, will not be forgotten by the historian of the Southwest.

Who were the Bents, they who founded this fort, and whence did they come?

Silas Bent was born in the colony of Massachusetts in 1768.³ Some accounts state that he took part in the Boston Tea Party, but if a Bent had a hand in that memorable event it was probably his father. About 1788 he removed to Marietta, Ohio, then went to Wheeling and studied for the bar. Some time before the year 1800 he married and went to Charleston, Va. (now in West Virginia), where he opened a store. Here his three eldest children were born: Charles, November 11, 1799; Juliannah,⁴ July 18, 1801; and John, May 31, 1803. Here in Western Virginia Silas Bent served the public in various capacities, including that of judge of the court of common pleas. In 1805 he was appointed deputy surveyor for Washington county, Ohio, and in Ohio his fourth child, Lucy, was born, March 8, 1805.

In 1806 Silas Bent was appointed principal deputy surveyor for the new ter-

1. Many of the facts given here appeared in a chapter in the volume "Beyond the Old Frontier," copyrighted in 1913, by Charles Scribner's Sons, by whose kind permission I use it here.

2. Dr. George Bird Grinnell, noted editor and author, was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., September 20, 1849. He was early interested in the study of American ethnology, and no man speaks with more authority on the American Indian. One of his early expeditions into the Indian country was in 1874, when he accompanied General Custer into the Black Hills, going as naturalist. The following year, 1875, he went in the same capacity with the William Ludlow expedition into Yellowstone park. Since that time he has traveled far and written much of American game haunts as well as of the American Indian. One of his most interesting books to Kansans is "The Fighting Cheyennes," published in 1915.

3. Missouri Historical Society Notes, apparently quoting "Bent Family in America," say Silas Bent was born in Rutland, Mass., 1786. Evidently a misprint for 1768, for farther on the same notes state he was 59 when he died in 1827—therefore born in 1768.

4. This is the Julia Ann Bent who married L. W. Boggs. After her death Boggs married Panthea Grant Boone, granddaughter of Daniel Boone. She, this second wife, was the mother of Tom Boggs.

ritory of Louisiana, and with his family he removed to St. Louis, where they arrived September 17, 1806. Here in St. Louis were born the seven children that completed Silas Bent's family of eleven sons and daughters. William Bent was born on May 23, 1809, the year in which his father was appointed presiding judge in the St. Louis court of common pleas. From 1817 to 1821 Judge Bent was on the bench of the supreme court of the territory of Missouri. He died at his home in St. Louis, November 20, 1827.⁵

Of Judge Bent's seven sons, Edward died at the age of six; John was educated for the bar and later was a prominent attorney of St. Louis; while Silas, the youngest son, became an officer in the navy. He was with Perry in Japan, and wrote a report on the Japan current which was read before St. Louis societies,⁶ and delivered addresses on meteorology in St. Louis, 1879, and on climate as affecting cattle breeding, in the year 1884. The four remaining sons, Charles, William, George and Robert, entered the Indian trade.

Under what circumstances the Bent brothers first went to the Indian country is not definitely known, nor can we fix with any certainty the dates of their first journeys. Allen H. Bent states that some of the Bents (Charles and perhaps William) had been employed by the American Fur Company in the Sioux country as early as 1823,⁷ and that about the year 1826 Charles, William, George and Robert Bent, with Ceran St. Vrain, formed a partnership and led a band of trappers from the upper Missouri across the plains to the head of the Arkansas.⁸

Testifying before the joint committee of congress which inquired into Indian affairs in the plains in 1865, William Bent stated that he first came to the upper Arkansas in 1824, and that he had made that region his home ever since. This date, 1824, for the first expedition of the Bents and St. Vrain is probably correct, although it has been generally assumed that the journey was made in 1826, and that the first stockade, above Pueblo, was built this same year. Coues, in a footnote in "Jacob Fowler," states that this first stockade was built in 1826 on the north bank of the Arkansas, about half way between the site of the present city of Pueblo and the mountains.⁹ George Bent states that there were two stockades, the first built above Pueblo about 1826, the second

5. These facts are from the Missouri Historical Society notes, made up partly from the Bent family genealogy and partly from Ray's "Bench and Bar of Missouri." Everything is right in these notes on Silas Bent, I think, except the date of his birth, "1786," clearly a mistake for 1768.

6. "Thermometric Gateways to the Pole": Address delivered before the St. Louis Historical Society, December 10, 1868; St. Louis, 1869. Address delivered before St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, January 6, 1872, upon the "Thermal Paths to the Pole, the Currents of the Ocean, and the Influence of the Latter upon the Climates of the World (with Appendix)."

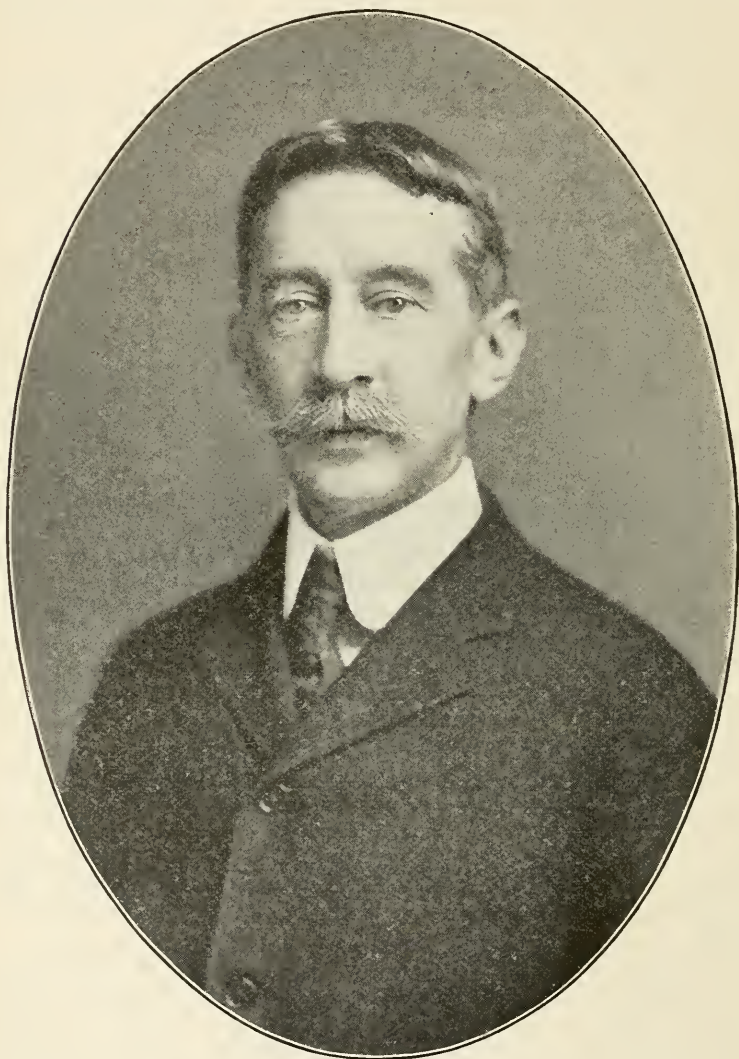
7. George Bent also told this story: He said that his father, William Bent, stated that he was in the Sioux country about 1816, but the date is clearly wrong, as William Bent was born in 1809 and was only seven in 1816. That he was up there in 1824, at the age of fifteen, we may readily believe, for in those pioneer days boys matured much earlier than they do now, and it was not uncommon for boys at the age fifteen, and even younger, to enter the fur trade, especially if they could accompany elder brothers or other relations. Charles and William Bent are said to have first met Robert Campbell in the Sioux country, and this famous St. Louis trader and merchant became their lifelong friend. William Bent could speak the Sioux language fluently, and it is said that in these early years the Sioux gave him the name of Wa-si'cha-chis-chi'la, meaning Little White Man, a name that confirms the statement that he entered the trade while still a growing boy.

8. Allen H. Bent, "The Bent Family in America." George and Robert could not have been in the Sioux country in 1826, when George was only twelve and Robert ten; nor could they have been partners in commerce at such ages.

9. Coues states in this note, p. 47, that there were three Bents along at this time. That would include George, born April 15, 1814, and then between twelve and thirteen years old. Not improbable.

near the mouth of the Purgatoire about 1828. This second stockade is perhaps the one the Bents and St. Vrain used while they were building Bent's Fort.

The leading spirit in this family of Indian traders was William Bent. He is said to have been the leader in the fur trade even during the earliest period,



GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL.

1826-1828. He was trapping in the mountains at the head of the Arkansas for some time before the first stockade was built. This was evidently in 1824 and 1825, and the statement that he was alone at the time may refer to his remaining there with part of the trappers while his brother Charles and St. Vrain were engaged in transporting furs to St. Louis and bringing out fresh supplies.

After occupying their first stockade, above Pueblo, for two or more years, the Bents and St. Vrain moved down the Arkansas and built a second stockade. Soon after this they began to build the much more ambitious post, afterwards known as Bent's, Bent's Old Fort, and Fort William.

We do not know when the Bent brothers first came in contact with the Indians on the upper Arkansas. If their first years in this region were spent in trapping, they may have avoided the Indians rather than have sought them out. We are not even certain that there were any Indians living on the upper Arkansas at this time, although war parties of many tribes were constantly passing through the country.¹⁰

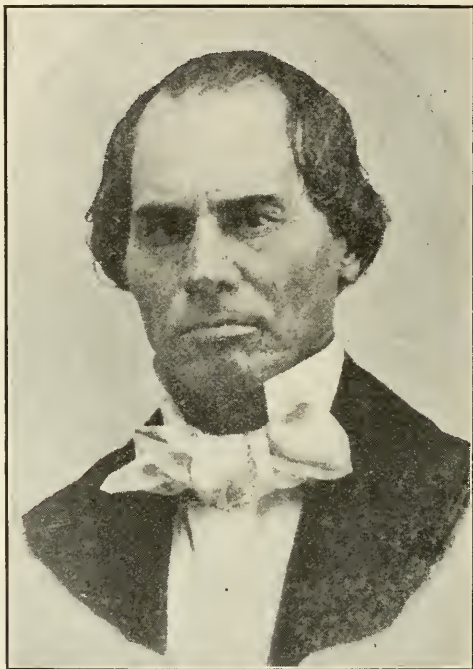
Porcupine Bull, who was the oldest man among the Southern Cheyennes at the time of his death in 1913, stated that the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and part of the Atsena and some of the Blackfeet moved south of the Platte in 1826, or about that year, and began making raids on the Kiowas and Comanches, who lived south of the Arkansas. This old man asserted that the Bents and the Cheyennes first met at the mouth of the Purgatoire river. This was soon after the Cheyennes began to move south of the Platte, probably in 1828. The Bents were encamped at the mouth of the Purgatoire, or had a stockade there, and to this place came a party of Cheyennes who had been south catching wild horses and were returning north to their camp. Porcupine Bull stated that the leaders of this party were Yellow Wolf, Little Wolf and Wolf Chief, and that it was at this meeting that Yellow Wolf made friends with the Bents and gave them names. The question of trade was also discussed, and Yellow Wolf told the Bents that a post on the Arkansas near the mountains was too far from the buffalo range for the Indians to frequent. He suggested that the Bents and St. Vrain build a post near the mouth of the Purgatoire, and said that if they would do this he would bring his band and others there to trade. It is said that Charles Bent at once accepted the chief's proposal and that this was how Bent's Fort came to be built.¹¹

The Bent brothers and Ceran St. Vrain began this large fort in 1828, but it was not completed until 1832. Four years seems a long time to be spent in the construction of such a post, but there were reasons for the delay. Charles

10. George Bent has always stated that the first Cheyennes, Arapahoes, etc., came south in 1826, or about then. Colonel Dodge, in his report, 1835, "American State Papers," VI, p. 141, states, however, that the Atsena came down to the Arkansas in 1824 and remained until 1832. We know that some of them and part of the Arapahoes were on the Arkansas, and south of it, in 1829, as shown in Major Riley's report of the attack on his men and on the Santa Fe train in that year: "American State Papers, Military Affairs," IV, p. 277. It has been generally stated that Gant was the first to make friends with the Arapahoes and that this was in 1830 or 1831. And James, in "Long," tells of Arapahoes and Cheyennes there in 1820.

11. I have had the story in detail from Porcupine Bull's own lips, and George Bent has repeated it in letters to George E. Hyde. Porcupine Bull insists that George and Robert Bent were with their elder brothers at this time, and says that at this meeting Yellow Wolf gave names to the Bents and St. Vrain. To Charles Bent he gave the name of White Hat; William Bent he called Little White Man; George Bent was named Little Beaver; and Robert Bent, Blue (or Green) Bird. Ceran St. Vrain was named Black Beard. George Bent states that in later years the Cheyennes called his father Gray Beard, and that the famous Cheyenne medicine man, Gray Beard, took his name from William Bent. The Kiowas, Comanches and Prairie Apaches called William Bent, Roman Nose. It is possible that at this date the Bents had no stockade at the mouth of the Purgatoire, but were simply in camp there when Yellow Wolf's party met them. George Bent sometimes spoke of a stockade at the mouth of Fountain creek, calling it the first stockade. He says it was to this place that Bull Hump, the Comanche, came, and that Charlie Autabee was at the stockade then, working as a beaver trapper, and used to tell the story of Bull Hump's visit. If this was the first stockade it was away above Fountain creek, half way to the mountains.

Bent was determined that the fort should be built of adobes instead of the common log construction which up to this time American fur companies had always used.¹² He knew that a fort built of adobes would be practically fire-proof, and could under no circumstances be burned by Indians from outside. Besides that, adobe buildings were more durable than those built of logs and much more comfortable—cool in summer and warm in winter. When this



WILLIAM BENT.
Builder of Bent's Fort.

question as to the method of construction had been decided, Charles Bent went down into New Mexico, and from Taos or Santa Fe sent up to the Arkansas a number of Mexican workmen to make the adobe brick and lay them. He also sent up some wagonloads of Mexican wool to mix with the clay of the brick, thus greatly lengthening the life of the adobes.

12. Porcupine Bull, who tells this story, was the son of old White Face Bull, who was a great friend and close associate of Yellow Wolf in these early days, and was with him in the Bull Hump fight. It may be that the dates are wrong, and that the meeting of Yellow Wolf and the Bents occurred before the Bull Hump affair, perhaps in 1826, assuming that the Bents first came to the upper Arkansas in 1824, which seems the correct date. The fact that Charles Bent was familiar with adobe construction at this time seems to indicate that he had visited New Mexico before 1828, and the fact that he led the caravan of 1829 suggests also that he had had experience in the Santa Fe trade at an earlier date; but we have no record of his early visits to New Mexico. We may conjecture that sometimes he went down to Taos and Santa Fe from the head of the Arkansas to sell his furs and buy supplies, instead of making the long journey to St. Louis. We are told that about 1825 American trapping parties made Taos and Santa Fe their market, bringing in their beaver for sale and buying new outfits and supplies.

A new stockade, for occupancy during its construction, was built near the site on which the new fort was to stand. This work was no doubt done by William Bent and St. Vrain while Charles Bent was in New Mexico. He was captain of a Santa Fe caravan in 1829, and spent all the summer and autumn at this work. Only a short time after the Mexican laborers reached the place chosen for the new stockade, smallpox broke out among them and the work on the fort was stopped. Some of the laborers were sent away, while those too ill to go were cared for there. Tradition among the Cheyennes asserts that William Bent, Ceran St. Vrain, Kit Carson and some other white men at the stockade caught the smallpox from the Mexicans, and though none of them died, they were so badly marked by it that some of the Indians who had known them well did not recognize them when they met again.¹³

During the prevalence of the smallpox at the stockade William Bent sent a runner—Francisco, one of the Mexican herders—north to look for the Cheyennes and to warn them not to come near the stockade. Francisco set out toward the Black Hills and on his way met a large war party of Cheyennes on their way south to visit the Bents. He told them what had happened and warned them not to come near the stockade until sent for. The Cheyennes heeded the advice and returned north. Some time later, when all at the stockade had recovered and when the temporary structure with all infected material had been burned, William Bent and St. Vrain, with a few pack mules, started North for the Black Hills to find the Cheyennes and invite them to come down to the Arkansas to trade. The year of this journey has been given me as 1831. Perhaps it may have been a year earlier.

After the smallpox had ceased, more Mexican laborers were sent for and work on the fort continued. Some years before his death Kit Carson told George Bent that at one time more than 150 Mexicans were at work on the walls, and besides the Mexicans a number of Americans were engaged in cutting and hauling timber for the building and doing other work to which the Mexicans were not accustomed.

During the construction of the fort, in the winter of 1830 or 1831, Carson and a party of the Bent employees had a fight with the Crows. Carson and his men were engaged in cutting timber for use in the construction of the post and were encamped at the mouth of a small stream which comes into the Arkansas from the north, five miles below Bent's Fort. The stream was called Short Timber creek by the Cheyennes, because of the large quantity of rather short, thick cottonwoods that grew along its banks. At this camp all of the horses and mules belonging to the company were being wintered, where they could feed on the bark of the branches of the cottonwoods which the men were felling, trimming and hewing into timbers. One night all of these animals were stolen by a war party of Indians.

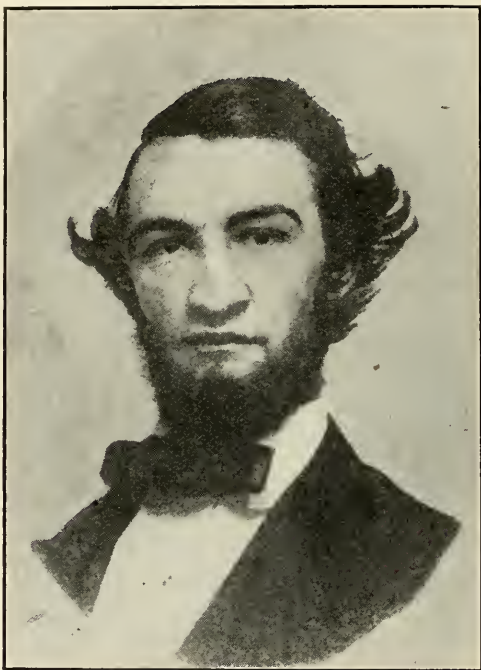
The story was related to George Bent by Kit Carson himself in 1868, and Bent had the tale also, and in much fuller detail, from one of his Cheyenne uncles, Black Whiteman, who was a young man at the time of the event.

That winter Black Whiteman was living in a Cheyenne camp on the North Platte, and there fell in love with a girl named Otter Woman. Otter Woman was married, but Black Whiteman decided to elope with her—to "steal" her.

13. The marks were evidently temporary, for the portraits of these men do not show any marks on the faces.

He and his friend Little Turtle and Otter Woman slipped out of the camp one night and started south toward the Arkansas. They intended to go to the place where Bent's Fort was being built and to remain there until the wrath of Otter Woman's husband had had time to cool. Striking the Arkansas near the Big Timbers they turned up the north bank, and at the mouth of Short Timber creek came upon Carson's camp. It was late in the day and the weather cold, and the three Cheyennes decided to remain that night at Carson's camp.

In the morning the Mexican herder went out to look up the horses and mules, which were allowed to run loose in the timber near camp. After some



CERAN ST. VRAIN,
Builder of St. Vrain's Fort.

time he returned and stated that he could find no trace of the animals. As the Mexican had no horse, Black Whiteman asked his friend Little Turtle to ride out and look for the herd, and Little Turtle mounted and rode into the timber.

Otter Woman was sitting on a log in the edge of the camp when she saw Little Turtle coming back, riding fast and appearing much excited. He dismounted near where Carson and Black Whiteman were sitting and said to them that he had found the trail of the horses and mules going up Short Timber creek and that at a place where the snow was deep he had seen many moccasin tracks going in the same direction. It looked, as he thought, as if the whole herd had been stolen by a large war party.

The seriousness of this news was obvious. Every hoof belonging to the company had been stolen, and if the animals were not recovered work on the fort would have to be discontinued until more animals were procured from New Mexico. Carson ordered his men to get ready to follow the Indians; but bullets had to be run, meat cooked and other preparations made, and it was nearly noon before the party was ready to set out. The night before Black Whiteman and Little Turtle had tied their horses to trees in the edge of the camp and thus had saved them. They now offered to accompany Carson and his party, and as they were the only men in camp who had horses, Carson gladly accepted their aid.

1214030
Carson had eleven men—Americans and a few French trappers—all armed with good rifles, pistols, hatchets and knives. Otter Woman remained in the camp, as did also the Mexican herder and cook. When the party set out the two Cheyennes rode ahead, the whites following on foot in single file. As soon as they got in among the timber the snow was deeper and the men on foot floundered along, making but slow progress. Then they struck the trail. For some miles it ran through the timber along the creek and then struck out across the open prairie. As the Cheyennes were riding on ahead of Carson's men, they found two arrows lying in the trail. They picked up the arrows, and when Carson and his men joined them a consultation was held. These were Crow arrows, and surprise was expressed that a war party of Crows should have ventured as far south as the Arkansas.

Some years later it was learned that this party of Crows had come south to visit their friends, the Kiowas, south of the Arkansas. There were sixty of them, all afoot. On discovering Carson's camp they had lurked about until after dark and had then rounded up the horses and mules in the timber and driven them off. Making northward toward home, they had traveled fast for some miles, and then thinking that they were safe—that a party of twelve whites, all on foot, would not dare to follow sixty mounted warriors—they went into camp in the midst of a large thicket on the bank of a little stream.

Twilight was falling when Carson's party, the two mounted Cheyennes still out ahead, following the trail in the snow across the prairie, saw a shower of sparks rising from a thicket some distance in front of them. The party halted and held another consultation. Black Whiteman and Little Turtle then rode off alone while Carson drew up his men in a long line, each man several paces from his neighbors on either side.

As they advanced swiftly across the snow a dog barked in the thicket, and a moment later a little ball of white steam shot up from among the willows. The Crows had put out their fire with snow. The Americans quickened their pace and had almost reached the edge of the thicket when without warning sixty Crow warriors broke out of the willows and charged them. So fierce and sudden was the attack that Carson and his men were borne back and almost surrounded; then they threw up their rifles and gave the Indians a volley.

Carson used to tell how surprised the Crows were when they charged in on his little party and were met by this stunning volley. Back into the thicket went the Crows and in after them went Carson and his men. The Indians evidently intended to mount and either run away or continue the fight on horseback, but when they reached their camp in the middle of the thicket they found that the horses and mules they had left there had disappeared. Right

at their heels came Carson's men; so without halting the Indians rushed on through the thicket and out at the far side, making off across the prairie as fast as they could go. The whites, worn out after their long march through the snow and content with the result of the fight, did not attempt to follow farther.

When Carson had started to advance toward the willows, Black Whiteman and Little Turtle had ridden off to one side, making toward one end of the thicket; then just as the Crows charged out of the bushes the two Cheyennes rode in, stampeded the horses and mules and ran them down the creek. They went a mile or two and then left the herd in the timber and hurried back to join in the fight; but when they reached the thicket they found Carson and his men resting in the Crow camp, the fight having ended as quickly as it had begun. It was dark by this time, and after resting for awhile the two Cheyennes led the whole party down to the place where they had left the horses and mules. Here a big fire was built in the timber and the tired men lay down on the snow.

In the morning Black Whiteman and Little Turtle returned to the thicket, and there found, counted coup on, and scalped two dead Crows.

The Cheyennes have always expressed surprise that in this fight Carson and his men, all well armed and excellent shots, should have killed only two Crows. What was not less surprising was that although in their first rush the Crows came almost to hand-to-hand fighting with Carson's men, not one of the whites was killed or received a serious wound.¹⁴

Carson was employed by the Bents as a hunter for a number of years. Sometimes he remained at the fort, supplying the table with meat, while at other seasons he went with the wagon train to Missouri, acting as hunter for the outfit. Just when Carson entered and left the Bent employ we do not certainly know.

The first mention of Carson is in a notice printed in the *Missouri Intelligencer* in 1826, which reads:

NOTICE.—To whom it may concern: That Christopher Carson, a boy about sixteen years, small of his age, but thick set, light hair, ran away from the subscriber, living in Franklin, Howard Co., Mo., to whom he had been bound to learn the saddler's trade, on or about the first day of September last. He is supposed to have made his way toward the upper part of the state. All persons are notified not to harbor, support or subvert said boy under penalty of the law. One cent reward will be given to any person who will bring back said boy.

DAVID WORKMAN.

FRANKLIN, Oct. 6, 1826.

The boy went to Santa Fe with a wagon train—some state with Charles Bent's train, but there appears to be no evidence on which to base this assertion. That Carson was in California with Ewing Young's trappers in 1829 or 1830 seems certain from Carson's own statements made to Fremont and

14. This account of Carson's fight with the Crows is chiefly from Black Whiteman's own version of the story. Otter Woman also told the tale, and both Black Whiteman and Little Turtle used to count coup for the two Crows killed in this fight. In the spring of 1868 George Bent left the Cheyennes in Kansas and went up the Arkansas to visit his father, then living in a stockade near the mouth of the Purgatoire. Carson was staying at Tom Boggs' ranch, on the Purgatoire, one mile up from Bent's place. Carson was ill and was anxious to sell a fine pony he had. Hearing of this, George Bent went up to Boggs' place to see the pony, and after the purchase had been made they sat about and talked of early days at Bent's Fort. During this talk Carson told the story of his fight with the Crows. Peters, in his "Life of Kit Carson," also tells this story; but says that Carson was not working for Bent & St. Vrain at the time, but for Gant & Blackwell, and that it was Gant's horses that the Crows ran off. He also fails to mention the presence of two mounted Indians with Carson's party. As has been said, Black Whiteman and Little Turtle always thereafter counted coup for the two Crows killed in this fight, and when counting coup told the story. Anyone familiar with the customs of the plains Indians will understand that these men would not have dared to tell this story and count the coups unless everything had happened just as they stated it.

quoted in Fremont's reports. Returning from California to Taos, Carson went up to the Arkansas and joined the Bent outfit, then engaged in building Bent's Fort. The statement made by Peters that Carson at this time worked for Gant & Blackwell is clearly an error.¹⁵

Carson evidently remained only a year or two with the Bents and then went north and joined the Rocky Mountain Fur Company's trapping brigade, in whose camp he was seen by the missionary, Samuel Parker, in 1835, as is shown by the entry in Mr. Parker's journal at the time. The Rocky Mountain trapping brigades broke up about 1838, part of the trappers going to Oregon and California and a large number of them drifting down to the head of the Arkansas and into New Mexico. It was probably at this time that Carson again came to Bent's Fort and was engaged as a hunter.

Sitting in the Lodge, a very old Cheyenne woman, still living in 1917, remembered Carson during this second period of employment at Bent's Fort. Several other Cheyennes, now dead, also remembered Carson and his marriage to a Cheyenne girl. Sitting in the Lodge states that this girl was named Making Out Road; that Carson married her about 1840, and by her had a daughter, who died in infancy. Carson lived with his Cheyenne wife for a short time only, and after he had left the Bent employ she married a Cheyenne man. She died of old age about 1890. Two of her daughters by her second marriage were still living among the Southern Cheyennes in 1917—Shaking Herself, then aged sixty-two, and Belle, aged fifty-three.

Carson does not appear to have worked for the Bents after he met Fremont in 1842. From that time until 1848 he was with Fremont or in government service. He was back in Taos, his home town, in 1848, prepared to settle down to a quiet life of farming and ranching, but soon was called into service again, this time in the Indian Department. He was appointed agent for the Indians near Taos, and later was given charge of other tribes. When the Civil War came on he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the First New Mexican cavalry, later becoming colonel, and was brevetted brigadier general for gallantry in the battle of Valverde against the Confederates in 1862 and for distinguished services in the Navajo and other Indian campaigns. The war ended, Colonel Carson soon tired of the routine of garrison life. He left the army, and in his last days returned to the scene of his early adventures near Bent's Old Fort on the Arkansas.

J. R. Mead thus describes Carson:

"He was short-legged, standing, I should think, about five feet five or six; stoutly built, short arms, round body, ruddy face, red eyes with rays running from the pupils like the spokes in a wheel, his silky flaxen hair reaching almost to his shoulders. He was a man of fierce, determined countenance. With a kind, reticent and unassuming disposition he combined the courage and tenacity of a bulldog. His prominent characteristics seemed to be instant decision and action. Carson and Bent were much together. The latter was a famous Indian trader, dark, almost as an Indian, with jet-black hair and eyes."¹⁶

Gen. James F. Rusling says:

"We had expected to see a small and wiry man, weather-beaten and reticent; but met a medium-sized, rather stoutish, florid and quite talkative person instead. . . . In age he seemed to be about forty-five. His head was a

15. Carson's own story of his early adventures is supposed to have been told to Peters, who put it into book form, but the book is unreliable; so much so, indeed, that Carson's latest biographer only used the Peters narrative when he had no other material to draw upon.

16. Kansas Historical Collections, X, p. 12.

remarkably good one, with the bumps of benevolence and reflection well developed. His eye was mild and blue, the very type of good nature, while his voice was as soft and sympathetic as a woman's. He impressed you at once as a man of rare kindness and charity, such as a truly brave man ought always to be." ¹⁷

THE FORTS.

Accounts of the dimensions of Fort William differ, but on certain points all agree: that it was of gray adobes, set square with the points of the compass, and on the north bank of the Arkansas river. Garrard says that the post was 100 feet square and the walls 30 feet in height, but this last refers to the towers, which in fact were 30 feet in height. Another account says that the walls ran 150 feet east and west and 100 feet north and south, and that they were 17 feet high. J. T. Hughes, however, says:

"Fort Bent is situated on the north bank of the Arkansas, 650 miles west of Fort Leavenworth, in latitude $38^{\circ} 2'$ north, and longitude $103^{\circ} 3'$ west from Greenwich. The exterior walls of this fort, whose figure is that of an oblong square, are 15 feet high and 4 feet thick. It is 180 feet long and 135 feet wide and is divided into various compartments, the whole built of adobes or sun-dried bricks."¹⁸

At the southeast and northwest corners of these walls were bastions or round towers 30 feet in height and 10 feet in diameter inside, with loopholes for muskets and openings for cannon. Garrard speaks of the bastions as hexagonal in form.

Around the walls in the second stories of the bastions hung sabers, and great, heavy lances with long, sharp blades. These were for use in case an attempt should be made to take the fort by means of ladders put up against the wall. Besides these cutting and piercing implements, the walls were hung with flint-lock muskets and pistols.

In the east wall of the fort was a wide gateway fitted with two great swinging doors of heavy planks, plated with sheet iron and studded with great nails so that they could not be burned. The same was true of the doors in the gateway of the corral, to be described farther on.

Over the main gate of the fort was a square watchtower surmounted by a belfry, from the roof of which rose a flagstaff. The watchtower contained a single room, furnished with a chair and a bed, and with windows on all sides. Here mounted on a pivot, was an old-fashioned long telescope or spyglass, and here certain members of the garrison, relieving each other at stated intervals, were constantly on the lookout. If the watchman noticed anything unusual—for example, if he saw a great dust rising over the prairie—he examined it through the glass, and if necessary notified the people below. If a suspicious-looking party of Indians was seen approaching, the watchman signaled to the herder to bring in the horses, for the stock was never turned loose to graze unguarded, but was always herded.

In the belfry, under a little roof which rose above the watchtower, hung the bell of the fort, which sounded the hours for meals. Two tame, white-headed eagles kept at the fort were sometimes confined in this belfry, or at other times were allowed to fly about free, returning at night of their own accord. One of the eagles at length disappeared, and for a long time it was not

17. "Across America," Sheldon & Co., N. Y., 1874, p. 135.

18. "Doniphan's Expedition," Cincinnati, about 1847, p. 26.

known what had become of it. Then it was learned that it had been killed for its feathers by a young Indian, at some distance from the fort.

At the back—west side—of the fort, over the gate that opened into the corral, was a second-story room rising high above the walls, as the watchtower did in front. This room, which was thirty or forty feet in length, was used as a billiard room during the later years of the post, and across one end of the room ran a counter or bar, over which drinkables were served. These luxuries were brought out by George and Robert Bent, young men who, notwithstanding some suggestions to the contrary, probably did not come out to the fort until some time after it had been constructed, and who, being city dwellers—for I find no real record of their having any early experience of frontier life—no doubt felt that they required town amusements.

The watchtower and billiard room were supported on heavy adobe walls running at right angles to the main enclosing walls of the fort, and these supporting walls formed the ends of the rooms below on either side of the gates in the outer walls.

The stores, warehouses and living rooms of the post were ranged around the walls and opened into the patio, or courtyard—the hollow square within. In some of the books dealing with these old times it is said that when the Indians entered the fort to trade, cannon were loaded and sentries patrolled the walls with loaded guns. This may have been true of the early days of the fort, but it was not true of the latter part of the decade between 1840 and 1850. At that time the Indians—at least the Cheyenne Indians—had free run of the post and were allowed to go upstairs, on the walls and into the watchtower. The various rooms about the courtyard received light and air through the doors and windows opening out into this courtyard. The court was bare and level, and the ground had been covered with gravel to prevent it from becoming muddy after rains. In the center of the court was a large brass cannon, which, together with several lighter pieces for the bastions, had been brought out from St. Louis¹⁹ soon after the fort was completed, for the purpose of impressing the Indians.

The brass piece was used for many years, but in 1846, when General Kearny's army passed by on its way to invade New Mexico and California, some enthusiastic employee charged the gun with too heavy a load of powder to salute the general, and it burst. Some time after that a large iron cannon was brought from Santa Fe, and during the day always stood outside the big gate of the fort, and often was fired in honor of some great Indian chief when he came with his camp to visit the post. The old brass gun lay about the fort for some time, and is mentioned by Garrard.

The floors of the rooms surrounding the courtyard were of beaten earth or clay, as was commonly the case in Mexican houses, and the roofs were made in the same fashion that long prevailed in the Southwest. Poles were laid from the front wall to the rear, slightly inclining toward the front. Over these poles were placed grass, twigs or brush, and over the brush clay was spread and tramped down hard. The roof was then covered with gravel. These flat roofs were used as a promenade by the men of the fort and their families in the evenings. The top of the fort walls reached about four feet above the roofs of

19. Colonel Dodge (1835) says there was one large six-pounder and several light field-pieces in the fort. "*American State Papers, Military Affairs*," vol. 6, p. 145.

the houses, or breast high of a man, and this upper portion of the walls was pierced with loopholes through which to shoot in case of attack.

On the west side of the fort, outside the main walls, was the horse corral. It was wide as the fort and deep enough to contain a large herd. The walls were of adobe, eight feet high and three feet thick at the top. The gate was in the south wall, facing the river, and, like the main gate of the fort, was plated with sheet iron and studded with great iron nails. To prevent anyone climbing in by night, the tops of the corral walls had been thickly planted with cactus—a large variety which has great fleshy leaves closely set with many sharp thorns. This plant grew so luxuriantly that in some places the leaves hung over the walls, both within and without, and gave efficient protection against any living thing that might wish to surmount the wall. Lieutenant Abert, in 1845, speaks of this cactus.

Through the main west wall of the fort a door was cut leading into the corral, by which the men might pass into the corral and get horses without going outside the fort and opening the main corral gate. This door was wide and arched at the top. It had been made so large and wide that in case of necessity, if by chance an attacking party seemed likely to capture the corral, the door could be opened and the horses and mules run inside into the courtyard of the fort.

About 200 yards west of south of the fort, and so toward the river bank, on a little mound, stood a large ice house built of adobes. In winter when the river was frozen this building was filled with ice, and in it during the summer was kept all of the surplus fresh meat—buffalo tongues, antelope, and all the bacon. At times the ice house was hung thick with fresh meat.

On hot days, with the other little children, young George Bent used to go down to the ice house and get in it to cool off. Often his father's negro cook, Andrew Green, would come down and send him and the other children away, warning them not to go in there from the hot sun, as it was too cold and they might get sick.

In the summer of 1835 Col. Henry Dodge with his dragoons encamped for several days at Bent's Fort, but his report does not describe the post in detail. In 1839 Mr. Farnham visited the fort and met there two of the Bent brothers, whose names, however, he fails to give. They were clad like trappers, in splendid deerskin hunting shirts and leggings, with long fringes on the outer seams of the arms and legs, the shirts decorated with designs worked in colored porcupine quills, and on their feet moccasins covered with quillwork and beading. The establishment, standing alone in the midst of a wilderness, greatly impressed the traveler, who had recently come from Peoria, Ill. He spoke of it as a solitary abode of men seeking wealth in the face of hardship and danger, and declared that it reared "its towers over the uncultivated wastes of nature like an old baronial castle that has withstood the wars and desolations of centuries." To him the Indian women, walking swiftly about the courtyard and on the roofs of the houses, clad in long deerskin dresses and bright moccasins, were full of interest, while the naked children, with perfect forms and the red of the Saxon blood showing through the darker hue of the mother race, excited his enthusiasm. He wondered at the novel manners and customs that he saw: at the grave bourgeois and the clerks and traders, who in time of leisure sat cross-legged under a shade smoking the long-stemmed stone Indian pipe, which they deliberately passed from hand to hand until it was smoked

out; at the simple food—dried buffalo meat and bread made from unbolted wheaten meal from Taos—with no sweets or condiments.

Here, as it seemed to him, were gathered people from the ends of the earth: old trappers whose faces were lined and leathery from long exposure to the snows of winter and the burning heats of summer; Indians, some of whom were clad like their white companions, but retained the reserve and silence of their race; Mexican servants, hardly more civilized than the Indians; and all these seated on the ground, gathered around a great dish of dried meat which constituted their only food. The prairie men who talked narrated their adventures in the North, the West, the South, and among the mountains, while others, less given to conversation, nodded or grunted in assent or comment. The talk was of where the buffalo had been or would be, of the danger from hostile tribes, of past fights, when men had been wounded or killed, and of attacks by Indians on hunters or traders who were passing through the country.

Farnham describes the opening of the gates on the winter's morning; the cautious sliding in and out of the Indians, whose tents stood around the fort, till the whole area inside was filled with people, strange with their long, hanging black locks and dark, flashing, watchful eyes; the traders and clerks busy at their work; the patrols walking the battlements with loaded muskets; the guards in the bastion standing with burning matches by the carronades; and when the sun set, the Indians retiring again to their camp outside, to talk over their newly purchased blankets and beads and to sing and drink and dance; and finally the night sentinel on the wall "that treads his weary watch away." "This," he says, "presents a tolerable view of this post in the season of business."

The German traveler, Wislizenus,²⁰ visited Bent's Fort in the same year that Farnham did. "Pen's [Bent's] Fort," says he, lies on the left bank of the Arkansas, close by the river, and is the finest and largest post which we have seen on this journey. The outer wall is built of imperfectly burnt brick; on two sides arise two little towers with loopholes. In the ample courtyard were many barnyard fowl. In addition they have cattle, sheep and goats, and three buffalo calves that peacefully graze with the rest of the herd."

Wislizenus had gone as far west as Fort Hall and had seen all of the posts on both forks of the Platte, including Fort Laramie. That Bent's Fort was the finest and largest one in the West at that date cannot be doubted. Indeed, it was the first large post and the first adobe one built in the whole mountain region, and it "served as a model for later trading posts and military posts."

Besides Bent's Fort, the Bent & St. Vrain company owned Fort St. Vrain and Adobe Fort. Fort St. Vrain, or Fort George, as it was sometimes called, was built on the South Platte some time after the completion of Bent's Fort, after 1835 and before 1839. There were no posts on the South Platte when Colonel Dodge's dragoons marched up that stream clear to the mountains in 1835, but four years later there were three posts there: Fort St. Vrain, Vasquez's Fort and Lupton's Fort.²¹ Fort St. Vrain stood on the right bank of

20. "A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839," by F. A. Wislizenus, M. D.: Missouri Historical Society, 1912, p. 141.

21. Wislizenus refers to these posts as Penn's and Savory's [Bent's and St. Vrain's], Vasquez and Sublett's and Lobdon's [Lupton's]. "There is much rivalry and enmity between the three forts" (p. 137). According to Bancroft, the second of these posts was built in 1832 by Louis Vasquez. The date is clearly wrong. He says Fort St. Vrain was built in 1838 at the junction of the Cache la Poudre with the Platte, which also seems wrong.—Bancroft, *Hist. Colo.*, p. 355.

the river, about three miles below the mouth of St. Vrain's Fork. It was a large adobe fort, intended for the trade of the northern Indians; that is, for the Sioux and the northern bands of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who seldom got down south as far as the Arkansas river and so did not often come to Bent's Fort, and indeed did much of their trading at Fort Laramie, on the Platte.

Adobe Fort was built on the South Canadian, at the request of the chiefs of the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches. Before peace was made between these tribes and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, in 1840, the three tribes that lived south of the Arkansas were usually afraid to visit Bent's Fort to trade, lest they should there meet a large camp of their enemies. William Bent and the traders were naturally especially anxious that there should be no collisions near the fort. Each tribe would expect the trader to take its part, and this could not be done without incurring the enmity of the other tribes. The trader wished to be on good terms with all, and this William Bent accomplished with singular discretion. Although he had a Cheyenne wife, he was on excellent terms, and always remained so, with the enemies of the Cheyennes.

Adobe Fort was evidently built prior to the year 1840, but the exact date has not been recorded.²² The chiefs who requested that this post be built for trade with their tribes were To'hau-sen (Little Mountain) and Eagle Tail Feathers, speaking for the Kiowa, Shaved Head for the Comanches, and Poor (Lean) Bear for the Apaches.

In their day these were men of importance. Shaved Head was a great friend of the whites and a man of much influence with his own tribe and with neighboring tribes. He signed the treaty of Fort Atkinson, 1853, as head chief of the Comanches. On this treaty his name appears as Wulea-boo (Shaved Head). He may have died before 1865, as he did not sign the treaty of that year nor the treaty of 1867.²³ Shaved Head had the left side of his head shaved close, while on the right side the hair was long, hanging down to his waist or below. His left ear had been perforated with many holes made by a blunt awl heated red hot, and was adorned with many little brass rings.

Fort St. Vrain and Adobe Fort were abandoned sometime between 1840 and 1850, the decade during which the fur trade greatly declined. Being built of adobes, they lasted for a long time and their ruins were to be seen until quite recently.

Near the ruins of Adobe Fort two important Indian fights have taken place. In November, 1864, Kit Carson, then a colonel in the army, marched from

22. Bent says that in 1912 an old Kiowa told him that Adobe Walls was built sixty-seven years before, *i. e.*, 1845; but he evidently was referring to one of the later temporary trading houses the Bent men built near Adobe Walls. William Bent returned from a visit to the Kiowa and Comanche country while Colonel Dodge was at Bent's Fort, 1835. Mooney says that in 1843-'44 a "Bent man" built a post on the South Canadian at Red Bluff near Mustang creek, "a few miles above Adobe Walls," and that in the winter of 1845-'46 the same man built another post higher up, two miles above Red Deer creek and just west of where the main trail from the Arkansas crossed the Canadian. This latter post was perhaps the one the old Kiowa had in mind when he was speaking with Bent.

23. Shaved Head and Bull Hump were important Comanches from 1830 to 1850. Neighbors, the superintendent of Indian affairs in Texas in the late fifties, mentions a Comanche named "Ohois, Naked Head, chief of the Circle band." The only sure reference to Shaved Head, however, is in the treaty of Fort Atkinson, 1853, where he is called Wulea-boo, head chief. Gunnison and Beckwith met him on the Arkansas that same summer, 1853, and give an account of him in "Pacific Railroad Surveys," vol. II, pp. 25, 26. Bull Hump was a Penatethka, according to Neighbors. He signed the treaty of Council Springs, Tex., 1846, as Poche-ha-quah Heip (Buffalo Hump). He is mentioned as the leader of a party of Comanches in "The Fighting Cheyennes," p. 36, and as one of a party sent to make peace with the Cheyennes in 1840, in "Fighting Cheyennes," p. 63. At the Little Arkansas, 1865, a Comanche signed as "Pochla-naw-quoip (Buffalo Hump), 3d chief of Penatekas." This was certainly not old Bull Hump, but perhaps a son or nephew.

Fort Bascom, N. Mex., with a force of about 400 cavalry and about 75 Ute and Jicarilla Apache scouts. On the South Canadian near the ruins of Adobe Fort he came upon the winter camps of the Kiowas, Comanches and Prairie Apaches, with whom were a few Arapahoes and Cheyennes. To'hau-sen's Kiowa camp, farthest up the river, was taken by surprise, Carson's cavalry and Indians charging into the village at dawn and driving the Kiowas down the valley. The Kiowa men fought bravely, covering the flight of the women and children. Here was killed a young Kiowa who wore an ancient Spanish coat of mail.

While Carson's men were engaged in destroying the property in the Indian camp and burning the lodges, the Kiowas, having been joined by the Comanches and Prairie Apaches from the camps farther down the river, returned and attacked the troops, and before Carson could get his men out of the captured village the Indians almost surrounded him. They fired the grass in the valley and pressed the retreating column all through the day, charging the troops repeatedly. The officers generally admitted that the Indians had beaten them in this fight, and in later years Carson told George Bent that he had been very fortunate to get his men away without great loss.

At this fight a spring wagon was found in the Kiowa camp, and its presence there has often been wondered at, as at that period Indians did not use wagons, their only vehicle being the travois, consisting of two long poles tied together over the horse's withers and dragging on the ground behind. Across these poles, behind the horse's hocks, was lashed a platform, on which a considerable burden might be transported.

That late Robert M. Peck, of Los Angeles, Cal., who was a soldier serving under Major Sedgwick, who commanded the troops along the upper Arkansas in the late fifties, not long before his death told the story of an army ambulance, or light wagon, presented to the Kiowa chief by Major Sedgwick's quartermaster, which may have been the one Carson found five years later. Mr. Peck said:

"That was before the Kiowa war broke out, in 1859. To'hau-sen was always friendly to the whites and tried to keep the Kiowas peaceable. A small party of them, his immediate followers, kept out of that war. These were mostly the old warriors, but the younger men, who constituted a majority of the tribe, went on the warpath after Lieut. George D. Bayard, of our regiment, killed one of the Kiowa chiefs, called Pawnee, near Peacock's ranch on Walnut creek.

"That summer (1859) we had been camping along the Arkansas river, moving camp occasionally up or down the river, trying to keep Satank and his turbulent followers from beginning another outbreak. Old To'hau-sen frequently came to our camp. Lieutenant McIntyre wanted to get rid of this old ambulance, which he had long had on his hands, and which in some of its parts was nearly worn out. After inducing Major Sedgwick to have it condemned as unfit for service, Lieutenant McIntyre had his blacksmith fix it up a little and presented it to the old chief. McIntyre fitted a couple of sets of old harness to a pair of To'hau-sen's ponies and had some of the soldiers break the animals to work in the ambulance. But when To'hau-sen tried to drive the team he could not learn to handle the lines. He took the reins off the harness and had a couple of Indian boys ride the horses, and they generally went at a gallop. The old chief seemed very proud of his ambulance."

The second battle of the Adobe Walls took place in June, 1874, when the Kiowas, Comanches and Cheyennes made an attack on some buffalo hunters

who had built themselves houses in the shelter of the ruins of the old fort. The purpose of the Indians was to drive these hide hunters out of the country in order to save the buffalo for themselves; but the position was a very strong one, and the well-armed hunters finally drove the Indians off with much loss. The whites then abandoned the place.

It has sometimes been stated that Gant and his partner, Blackwell, built a stockade or post on the upper Arkansas before the Bent brothers and St. Vrain came to that region, but this is clearly an error. The Bents were certainly on the upper Arkansas as early as 1826, and perhaps two years before that, in 1824, while Gant and Blackwell did not come into that country until 1830.



CHEYENNE WOMAN PUTTING UP A LODGE.

According to Peters' "Life of Kit Carson"—in the statements of which those who have an intimate knowledge of the early West and of the Indians have little confidence—Gant with a party of his trappers spent the winter of 1831-'32 on the Arkansas, somewhere near the present city of Pueblo, and at that time Carson was in Gant's employ. Peters does not mention the Bents at all, although we know that at that time they were engaged in building Bent's Fort, and it is very strange that some of Gant's party did not come in contact with the Bent men. In the spring of 1832 Blackwell joined Gant and they set out on a trapping expedition toward the north. They had little success, and, being deserted by their trappers, returned to the Arkansas in the late summer or early fall, and there built a stockade or small trading post. This establishment was on the north bank of the Arkansas, five or six miles below Fountain creek. We know very little of the history of this post or stockade. It was

perhaps intended for trade with the Arapahoes and part of the Kiowas and Comanches. Built late in 1832, the place was already in ruins when Colonel Dodge passed it in 1835. Sage noted the ruins in March, 1843, and refers to the place as "the ruins of an old fort, occupied several years since by one Captain Grant as a trading post."²⁴

Gant is remembered as the man who first made friends with the Arapahoes,²⁵ and he is also given the doubtful honor of being the first trader to induce the Cheyennes and Arapahoes to drink liquor—a feat which he accomplished by sweetening the liquor to give the Indians a taste for it.²⁶ Some years ago two or three of the oldest Cheyennes and Arapahoes—all now dead—had some recollection of Captain Gant. They remembered very little of him except that he had traded on the upper Arkansas for a short period in early years, that he had been the first to trade liquor to the Indians, and that he had a "long, lean partner (Blackwell?), who was called, by the Indians, The Crane. The Crane had two sons among the Kiowas, who grew to manhood. At the Medicine Lodge council in 1867 George Bent saw and talked with these sons of The Crane. By the Cheyennes and Arapahoes Gant was called Baldhead.

Gant does not appear to have returned to the mountains after 1835, in which year he acted as guide for Colonel Dodge. From the letter books of Gen. William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis,²⁷ we learn that in 1839 "Captain Gant" was trading among the Potawatomi Indians on the east side of the Missouri, about opposite the present city of Omaha, Neb.²⁸ In the same books is a letter dated May 11, 1839, from Joshua Pilcher to "Capt. John Gantt," at the Potawatomi village.²⁹ This is the only record we have of Gant's first name. In 1840 he is mentioned again, still among the Potawatomis, and in 1843, as agent for the trading company of Papin and Roubidoux, he was in trouble for trading without a license among the Indians in eastern Iowa.³⁰

The partners in the Bent & St. Vrain company were Charles and William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain. Benito Vasquez,³¹ and a man named Lee are said

24. "Scenes in the Rocky Mountains," etc., by a New Englander, Philadelphia, 1846, p. 247.

25. This seems to be correct, as the event is mentioned in many old books, but never with details. Sage says Gant made peace with the Arapahoes in 1832. Carson told the joint committee that investigated Indian affairs in 1865 that in 1831 or 1832 he was with a party of whites that made the first peace with the Arapahoes. This clearly refers to the Gant affair, although in Peters' "Life of Carson" this meeting with the Arapahoes is not mentioned. The journal of Dodge's expedition, 1835, also indicates that Gant was in close and friendly relations with the Arapahoes.

26. Nebraska Historical Publications, vol. IV, p. 181: "Diary of Rev. Moses Merrill," April 14, 1837.

27. These letter books are now in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, and I am indebted to Miss Clara Francis, the Society's librarian, for a number of interesting extracts from them.

28. Clark Letter Books, "Letters of Agents," p. 6.

29. Clark Letter Books, "Correspondence of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs," 1839-1846, p. 8.

30. Ibid., p. 229.

31. Bancroft says that the Vasquez who was a partner of Bent and St. Vrain in the fur trade was Louis Vasquez, an old mountain man, but I suspect that this is a mere guess. I have always believed that the partner of the Bents was Benito Vasquez, of St. Louis. The old St. Louis records show that a Benito Vasquez, born in Galicia, Spain, in 1750, was a soldier in a subordinate position in the Spanish military service. He came to St. Louis with a company of Spanish regulars in 1770 and served there for some little time. In 1774 he married Julia Papin, a Canadian girl, and had twelve children. He died in 1810. His son, Benito, jr., born at St. Louis, 1780, is believed to have been the partner of William Bent in the fur trade. A younger son of Vasquez, sr., was F. A. Baronet Vasquez, whose name is mentioned in the correspondence of General Clark as interpreter for the Wea Indians, the "Iowa Nation," the Kansas Nation, and the name of Baronet Vasquez is signed to certain papers. Baronet Vasquez appears to have died in the year 1829.

to have been partners in the company for a short time, but we do not know when these men entered the firm nor when they left it.³² The younger Bent brothers, Robert and George, do not appear to have been partners.

According to Prince's "Concise History of New Mexico," the Bent & St. Vrain company "commenced business at Taos" in 1832, following the completion of Bent's Fort.³³ Charles Bent perhaps had charge of the Taos end of the business, for after 1832 he is not often mentioned at Bent's Fort, and we know that between 1827 and 1847 he spent much of his time at Taos, at Santa Fe and on the Santa Fe Trail.

Ceran St. Vrain also spent much time at Taos, where his wife and children had their home. Like Charles Bent, he is not often mentioned as being at Bent's Fort, never as in charge of the post. His connection with Fort St. Vrain on the South Platte may have been closer, for the post bore his name and his brother Marcelline³⁴ was usually in charge there, at least during the early forties.

William Bent seems to have had charge of Bent's Fort most of the time from the day the post was completed in 1832 until he blew it up twenty years later. The other partners frequently visited Bent's Fort, and William Bent often was away on business trips to Missouri or trading journeys to the Platte and Canadian rivers; but whether at the fort or away on the trail, he directed the Indian trade. Of the three partners he was always the one in most intimate relations with the tribes, and by his fair and open dealings, by his fearless conduct and by his love of justice he won and held the respect and confidence of the Indians with whom he had to do. Among the rough fraternity of mountain trappers he was also very popular, his reputation for courage being remarkable even among that class of daring men. He was tirelessly active in prosecuting the aims of his trade, making frequent trips to the camps of the various tribes with which his company had dealings, and to the Mexican settlements in the valley of Taos, and to Santa Fe. Later, after his brother Charles was killed at Taos, he made at least one journey each year from Bent's Fort across the barren plains of Colorado and Kansas to the towns on the Missouri frontier (530 miles from Bent's Fort to Independence), often extending the journey to St. Louis by steamboat, to market his furs and purchase new stocks of goods.

William Bent was undoubtedly the first permanent white settler in what is now Colorado, and for a very long time he was not only its first settler, but remained its most important white citizen. He had a fine farm at Westport (now part of Kansas City, Mo.), purchased after the Mexican War, but his permanent home was in Colorado.

About 1835 William Bent married Owl Woman, the daughter of White Thunder,³⁵ an important man among the Cheyennes—the keeper of the med-

32. The only definite mention of Lee I have found is in Sabin. Quoting Peters, he says that Carson met Captain Lee at Taos in the fall of 1832 and went with him to the Uintah country; toward spring they turned north and met Bridger and Fitzpatrick's trapping parties at the junction of the Portneuf and Snake rivers. Here Lee traded his goods for beaver and then left, presumably returning to Bent's Fort. He is here said to have been a captain in the United States army and "a minor partner in the Bent & St. Vrain Co." (Sabin, p. 123, *et seq.*) I find little about Vasquez. He and Sublette had a post near Fort St. Vrain in 1839 for a short time. We may presume that he joined Bent & St. Vrain for a short period after his partnership with Sublette ended.

33. Prince, p. 154.

34. Spelled Marcelline, Marcellus (Garrard), etc.; "Marsalina" in Sage.

35. Also translated Gray or Painted Thunder.

icine arrows until he was killed in 1840. Four children, all born at Bent's Fort, were the results of this marriage. They were Mary, born January 22, 1838; Robert, generally supposed to have been born in 1839, but according to his own statement born in 1841; George, born in July, 1843; and Julia, "the baby," born in 1847.³⁶

Owl Woman died at Julia's birth, and her husband afterward married her sister, Yellow Woman. Charles Bent was the only child of this second marriage. In the fall of 1846 Garrard met Owl Woman with her mother and the children in three lodges on their way from the Cheyenne village to Bent's Fort. William Bent's family often spent the summer in this way among the camps, moving about from place to place and in autumn returning to the fort. In the summer of 1849 they went with a Cheyenne camp to visit the Kiowas, who were to hold a medicine lodge on Bluff creek, south of the present Dodge City, Kan. This was a great gathering of Indians. There were Kiowas, Comanches, Prairie Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and a large camp of Osages. The Osages had recently made peace with the Kiowas and at this time had come to the Kiowa camp to visit and trade. George Bent's family still has a small iron kettle which his stepmother, Yellow Woman, procured from the Osages on this occasion.

One day while all of the Indians were watching the Kiowa dancers in the medicine lodge an Osage man in the audience fell down with the "cramps"—cholera—and died in a few minutes. White Face Bull, a Cheyenne chief, who was standing in the crowd with his son, Porcupine Bull, was the first to realize what was wrong with the Osage man. He at once shouted out that it was "cramps" and that all should take down their lodges and run. In a few minutes the plain was covered with bands of Indians fleeing in every direction.

Yellow Woman and her mother, Tail Woman, packed up as quickly as they could, and putting little George and baby Charlie in a travois attached to a big mule, they followed the rest of the Cheyennes. The Osages set out for their own land in the Northeast, but most of the plains Indians fled south and southwest toward the Cimarron. The Cheyennes and part of the Arapahoes reached the Cimarron toward noon. On the way people had died of cholera, and no sooner had camp been reached than others began to die. Tail Woman, the wife of White Thunder and mother of Yellow Woman, was one of the first of these. The people were in a panic. Little Old Man, a Cheyenne, and one of the bravest men in the tribe, rode through the camp in full war dress. He wore a scalp shirt and war bonnet, carried a lance and shield, and about his horse's neck was a stuffed moleskin collar—a charm to ward off arrows and bullets in battle. As he rode up and down and saw people dying all about him, he shouted out, in his helplessness, that if he knew where this thing was that was killing the people—where it could be found—he would go there and fight it; and while he was riding through the camp thus defying the cholera, it came to him. He rode slowly back to where his family had camped, got off his horse, and in a few minutes lay dead in his wife's arms.

36. The Bent genealogy does not give the date of birth of the children, except in the case of Mary. The dates are as given by George Bent. Robert gave his birth as 1841 in testifying before the Sand Creek Commission in 1865. Mary died May 6, 1878. She married, April 3, 1860, Judge R. M. Moore, and had six children—four girls and two boys. Robert married a Cheyenne girl. He died in Indian Territory in April, 1889. George died among the Cheyennes, May 19, 1919. Julia married Edmund Guerrier and is still living with the Cheyennes. Charles died among the Indians on the Kansas border in 1868. A picture printed in *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1868, is not Charles Bent. The old Indians thought it looked like a young Arapahoe whose picture was made in 1867 by a traveling artist.

After the death of Little Old Man the Cheyennes and Arapahoes fell into another panic, and breaking camp they left their dead on the ground and all that night fled northward through the big sand hills, reaching the Arkansas toward morning. Here Yellow Woman left the camp and took her children up the river to Bent's Fort. Meantime the cholera had broken out in other Cheyenne camps north of the Arkansas, and these people fleeing south in little bands and family groups met the fugitives from the Kiowa camp. Old people say that half or almost half of the Cheyenne tribe died that summer. Some bands were nearly wiped out, the few individuals remaining joining themselves to other bands.

Charles Bent was a close rival to his brother William in the esteem of his fellow traders and the trappers and Indians of the upper Arkansas. Almost from the first, however, he seems to have taken the most active part in the Santa Fe and Taos trade of the company, leaving the Indian trade to the other partners. Among the traders and teamsters of the Santa Fe caravans he was as much liked as was William Bent among the trappers and Indians; indeed as early as 1829 he was elected captain of a caravan and conducted it safely to Santa Fe, although south of the Arkansas it was attacked by hostile Indians. He also captained caravans in 1832 and 1833. The caravans of the Missouri traders were richly laden in those days. The outfit of 1832 brought back from New Mexico \$100,000 in specie (mainly Mexican dollars) and \$90,000 in Mexican goods and mules. It was from this trade with New Mexico that Missouri became the famous mule market that it remains even to-day. The caravan of 1833, with Charles Bent as captain, assembled at Diamond Grove on the Missouri frontier. There were 184 men, with 93 heavy wagons loaded with goods. On the return trip this train brought back \$100,000 in money and much other property.³⁷

Charles Bent married Maria Ignacia Jaramillo at Taos, some time prior to 1836. The bride belonged to one of the leading families of New Mexico. Her younger sister, Josefa, later became the wife of Kit Carson. Charles Bent's home was in the little Mexican town of San Fernando, in the valley of Taos, and here his three children were born: Alfred in 1836, Estafina and Terisna (or Teresina?) some years later.³⁸ Charles Bent's later career in New Mexico and his tragic death at the hands of the revolted Pueblo Indians during the uprising of 1847 will be spoken of farther on.

Ceran St. Vrain was a partner in the Bent & St. Vrain company for over twenty-five years. Very little is known of his early career. His father, James de St. Vrain, was a native of French Flanders, and came to Louisiana in 1794 and settled at St. Louis, where he died in 1818, leaving five sons. Of these sons, Ceran and his younger brother, Marcelline, or Marcellus, entered the Indian trade and eventually became well-known traders in Colorado and New Mexico.

Ceran St. Vrain was with the Bents when they made their first expedition to the upper Arkansas in 1824, and remained a partner in the company until

37. "Niles' Register," vol. 44, p. 374, says the caravan of 1833, ninety-three wagons, Chas. Bent, captain, was escorted by a company of mounted rangers. Quoted by Bancroft, in "History of New Mexico."

38. The Bent family book does not give the date of Charles Bent's marriage nor the dates of the births of his daughters; but judging from the date of his first child's birth, he must have been married before 1836. The Bent family book gives his wife's name as Ignacia Jaramilla. Twitchell gives it correctly, as above.

after 1850. Just what part he played in the firm's enterprises is nowhere plainly indicated. He does not seem ever to have been in charge of Bent's Fort, although he is sometimes referred to as being there, and even as giving orders to the men. He is also often mentioned as at Taos and Santa Fe; and from the fact that the company's post on the South Platte, built in 1835, bore his name, we might suppose that he had charge there, as William Bent usually had at Bent's Fort; but we do not find Ceran St. Vrain mentioned as being at St. Vrain's Fort on the Platte, although his brother Marcelline is often referred to as in charge there.

In September, 1830, Ceran St. Vrain was at Taos and wrote a letter from there to B. Pratte & Co., the well-known St. Louis merchants. From this letter it would appear that St. Vrain had bought goods from these merchants with the intention of retailing them at Santa Fe and Taos, but that upon reaching New Mexico he found conditions so bad that he had been forced to wholesale his stock at a loss. He is sending by two of his men, Andrew Carson (Kit Carson's elder brother) and Lavoise Ruel, one wagon, eleven mules, one horse, and 653 beaver skins, to be sold by B. Pratte & Co. for his account. The Bents are not mentioned in this letter, although at this date St. Vrain was a partner in their company.³⁹

On July 10, 1842, Fremont's party reached Fort St. Vrain on the South Platte, and in his journal Fremont refers to "Mr. St. Vrain," who was in charge of the post. In the following year Fremont visited this fort again, on July 4, and found "Mr. St. Vrain" there. This appears to have been Marcelline St. Vrain, who is mentioned as being in charge at this post by several travelers who stopped there in the early forties. Marcelline, or Marcellus, as his name is often given, was not a partner, but simply a trader in the company's employ. He had a Pawnee wife. Garrard met him and his wife at Bent's Fort in the fall of 1846, as did also Lieutenant Abert in the following year. Both give his name as Marcellus. George Bent, when a small boy at Bent's Fort, knew "Marcelline St. Vrain" well. His Pawnee wife was over six feet tall, very thin and raw-boned. The Cheyennes called her Tall Pawnee Woman; they did not give an Indian name to St. Vrain himself, but simply called him "Marcelline." In the late forties St. Vrain left the company's employ, possibly at the time when his brother, Ceran St. Vrain, ceased to be a partner in the firm, and settled on a ranch at the mouth of Fountain creek, on the site of the present city of Pueblo. Here George Bent visited him in 1851, going with his stepmother, Yellow Woman, who was a friend of St. Vrain's Pawnee wife. This Pawnee woman was a fine gardener and raised large quantities of corn, pumpkins and melons at St. Vrain's place. The couple had two sons and a daughter; the sons were grown men when George Bent saw them in 1851 and were reputed to be very good hunters. When George Bent returned to Colorado, in 1863, Marcelline St. Vrain and his family had disappeared and he could not learn anything about them.⁴⁰

39. "Chittenden's Fur Trade," II, p. 520. In Bancroft's "History of New Mexico," St. Vrain is referred to as a "pioneer of 1827," meaning that he had first come to New Mexico in that year. In the letter mentioned above (1830) he speaks of this trip as his "last arrival" in New Mexico, indicating he had been there before. It is possible that he and Charles Bent relieved each other in taking charge of the company's Santa Fe trade, Charles Bent taking the trip in 1829, St. Vrain in 1830, but I do not get a definite line on their methods or movements.

40. Sage mentions finding St. Vrain in charge at Fort St. Vrain in 1842, and calls him "Marsalina."

Sage states that in April, 1844, he met "Messrs. Bent and St. Vrain and three or four Spanish companies," in all 50 wagons and 100 men, on the Arkansas at Pawnee Fork.⁴¹ They were going east. This was no doubt Ceran St. Vrain. The train of wagons with which Garrard made the journey out to Bent's Fort in the fall of 1846 was commanded by Ceran St. Vrain, and Thomas O. Boggs, who was employed at Bent's Fort for some years from 1844 onward, also speaks of St. Vrain being there, sometimes in charge of the fort. "Captain St. Vrain," writes W. M. Boggs, in his manuscript notes⁴² of those early days, "was extremely kind to all with whom he came in contact, exceedingly hospitable, and was beloved by all." Garrard also speaks very highly of St. Vrain, as do, indeed, all those who met him in those early days. His enterprise, courage, honorable dealing and frank hospitality rendered him a worthy companion for Charles and William Bent.

Like Charles Bent, Ceran St. Vrain had married the daughter of one of the leading families of Taos.⁴³ He is mentioned as a partner in the Bent company as late as 1850, but seems to have withdrawn soon after that date. During the fifties and early sixties St. Vrain was very active in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, where he engaged in merchandizing, flour milling, ranching and land speculation. During the Civil War he supplied the Union armies in the Southwest with huge quantities of flour and meal from his mills near Taos. In the fifties he was also prominent in politics, vigorously opposing the intrigues of the southerners who were attempting at that time to bring New Mexico into the Union as a slave state.⁴⁴

As has been said, little is known of Lee and Vasquez, who are said to have been partners in the Bent & St. Vrain company for a short time in early years. The younger Bent brothers, George and Robert, do not appear to have been partners, although George was sometimes left in charge of Bent's Fort. Thus on July 1, 1844, Fremont's exploring expedition, returning from California, reached Bent's Fort, and George Bent, who was in charge of the post, had the flag displayed and fired several cannon as Fremont rode up to the gate.⁴⁵

In the Bent family genealogy it is stated that George and Robert were with William and Charles Bent during their first expedition to the upper Arkansas, namely, in 1824; but as at that time George was only ten years old and Robert only eight, this story is clearly incorrect. Farnham, who visited

41. "Scenes in the Rocky Mountains," etc., Philadelphia, 1846, p. 294.

42. The Boggs manuscript consists of fifty-three pages of letter paper in longhand, written on thin glazed paper and signed W. M. Boggs. A pencil note on page 53, lower lefthand corner, says, "Written about 1905." The manuscript belongs to the Colorado State Historical Society, in whose custody it now is, and I owe the privilege of seeing it to Mr. Jerome C. Smiley, to whom I am indebted also for a multitude of other kindnesses in connection with Colorado historical matters. W. M. Boggs, the author, spent some time at Bent's Fort about 1844. He was a brother of Thomas O. Boggs, so well known in connection with Bent's Fort and the Southwest. The father, L. W. Boggs, first married Julia Ann Bent, daughter of Judge Silas and sister of Charles and W. W. Bent. She had two children—Angus L. and Henry C. Boggs. She died, and L. W. Boggs married Panthea Grant Boone, granddaughter of Daniel Boone. She had ten children, of whom W. M. Boggs was one.

43. St. Vrain and Maxwell married sisters, the daughters of Judge Beaubien, just as Charles Bent and Kit Carson married the Jaramillo sisters. These men all had homes in San Fernando, the little Mexican town in the valley of Taos.

44. The report of the joint committee that investigated Indian affairs in 1865 prints a number of army contracts showing St. Vrain's activities as a miller during the war. Mention of his political activities is made in "Calhoun's Letters," and Bancroft's "History of New Mexico." Ceran St. Vrain was colonel of the First New Mexican cavalry at the time the regiment was raised, but because of ill health he resigned in September, 1861, and Kit Carson became colonel.

45. "Fremont's Report," Washington, 1845, p. 288.

Bent's Fort in 1839, states that the post is owned by three brothers, who were there at the time of his visit. At that time George Bent was twenty-five and Robert twenty-three, so perhaps they were there when Farnham arrived; on the other hand, the men Farnham saw may have been Charles and William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain, who were the real partners.

Nothing is known of Robert Bent's life in the Indian country. He was born February 23, 1816, at St. Louis, and it is usually said that he died at Bent's Fort, October 20, 1841.⁴⁶ This is not the fact. He was killed by Comanches on Pawnee Fork.⁴⁷ He does not appear to have married.

Some time after Robert's death George Bent went down into Mexico on a trading trip, and while there married a Mexican girl. Two children were born of this marriage, a son and a daughter. The son, Robert, was later sent to St. Louis to school. George Bent was a great friend of Frank P. Blair, whom he named as guardian for his children. George Bent died at Bent's Fort, of consumption, the date of his death being October 23, 1846, according to the Bent family genealogy. The English traveler, Ruxton, however, states that when he reached Bent's Fort in the spring of 1847, "the Messrs. Bent themselves were absent at Santa Fe." As Ruxton mentions here the murder of Charles Bent at Taos, he must have been referring here to William and George Bent.

Robert and George Bent were buried in the little graveyard just outside Bent's Fort.⁴⁸ The old Frenchman who was tailor at the fort afterward planted cactus on George Bent's grave to protect it from wolves and coyotes. The remains of these brothers were later removed to the family plot in the cemetery at St. Louis.

The employees at Bent's Fort were divided into classes, to each of which special duties were assigned. Certain men remained always at the fort, guarding it, trading with Indians and trappers, and keeping the books. These we may call clerks, storekeepers and mechanics. Another group looked after the live stock, herding and caring for the horses, mules and oxen; while still others had charge of the wagon train that hauled the furs to the states and brought back new stocks of goods to the fort. Other men, led by veteran traders, visited the Indian camps at a distance from the post to barter for their peltries.

Except in summer, when the train was absent on its way to Westport, Mo., the population at the fort was a large one. In its best days about 100 men were employed by the company, which did almost the largest business of any of the trading companies, being surpassed in volume of trade only by John Jacob Astor's great American Fur Company.

The traders, clerks, mechanics, trappers, hunters, teamsters and common laborers at Bent's Fort were of many races. Most of the traders, clerks and mechanics were Americans, with a few Frenchmen. The hunters and trappers were Americans, Frenchmen and eastern Indians, particularly Delawares and Shawnees. Black Beaver, the Delaware, was one of the most famous of the

46. These dates are from the Bent family genealogy, "The Bent Family in America."

47. George Bent wrote me October 15, 1913: "Robert Bent, my father's brother, was killed by Comanches near Pawnee Fork. He was with train going back to Missouri when killed. He went out to shoot a buffalo bull, when Comanches charged on him and killed him."

48. I find little mention of Robert or George Bent. The Boggs manuscript does not mention either. Fremont, 1844, is the only one to mention George by name. On the 6th of February, 1843, George Bent was present at Kit Carson's marriage at Taos and signed the register as a witness.

Bent hunters. The teamsters were mostly Americans, with some Frenchmen from Missouri, while the herders and common laborers were usually Mexicans. There were also two or three negroes at Bent's Fort—Dick Green and his brother Andrew, the servants of Charles and William Bent, and, according to some authorities, Charlotta, a negress, was also employed at the fort. Most of the men at the old fort had taken Indian wives from one tribe or another, and the post was plentifully peopled with women and children as well as men.

During the summer season matters were often very quiet about the fort. In April, just about the time that the Indians set out on their summer buffalo hunt, the wagon train started for Missouri with the furs that had been collected during the winter. The train was always under the personal conduct of one of the partners—usually William Bent, who, however, was often accompanied by one of his brothers or by St. Vrain—but the wagon master had direct charge of and was responsible for the train. With the train went most of the teamsters and herders and some of the laborers from the fort. The journey usually lasted about six months, the distance covered being something over 500 miles each way. The heavy wagons, drawn by six yoke of oxen, were mostly loaded with bales of buffalo robes. A few of the teamsters were Delaware or Shawnee Indians, the rest white men. With the train went large herds of horses and mules, to be sold at the settlements. Agent Fitzpatrick in one of his reports states that the Cheyennes often moved with the train as far as Pawnee Fork and then scattered out on their hunt.

Travel was slow, for the teams made but ten or twelve miles a day, and the wagons were often held in camp by swollen streams. In April, 1844, Sage found the Bent wagons, together with three or four small Mexican parties, encamped on the west bank of Pawnee Fork. They had been held here for some time by high water, and did not get across until May 21. On the 24th of May they reached Walnut creek, and on June 17 Sage left them, still waiting to cross this stream, while he and a few others went on eastward on horseback.

In the early years there was not a house between Bent's Fort and the Missouri frontier; but to the men who accompanied the wagon train the 500 miles of trail were as well known as is the main street to the people of a little town. There were landmarks all along the trail, and even along the driest stretches, in what is now western Kansas, where the country was then almost a desert, there were good camping places ten or fifteen miles apart. The wagons always halted at these camps for the night, the wagon master timing the movement of his train so as to make the night camp at one of these places, with good water, grass, and if possible wood.

When camp was reached late in the day the wagons were corralled and the "bulls" freed from the yokes and driven off to the best grass available. Here they grazed and rested during the night under the charge of the night herders. The horse and mule herd was taken off in another direction and held during the night by the horse guards. Within the great corral of wagons the fires were kindled and the mess cooks prepared the simple meal of bread, already cooked, and coffee. At daylight in the morning the herds were driven into the corral, the oxen yoked up, the blankets rolled and tied up and thrown into

the wagons, and before the sun appeared the train was in motion. During the day the night herders slept in the wagons.

The halt for noon was usually made at ten or eleven o'clock, the time depending largely on the weather and the length of the day's march planned by the wagon master. If the day was hot and the next good camping place only ten or twelve miles away, the noon halt was made early and the men were permitted to rest until the middle of the afternoon. At this noon camp the wagons were corralled and the animals turned out the same way as at the night camp. On reaching the noon grounds the men had a light meal, which was termed breakfast, and just before breaking camp, at about two or three in the afternoon, the principal meal of the day was served. This was called dinner, and included cooked meat and fresh-baked pan or skillet bread. Usually during the morning the hunters had killed a buffalo or antelope, and the men had this fresh meat for dinner, but along some stretches of the trail little game was to be found, and the men then lived on dried meat, of which there was always an abundance.

The men were organized into messes. Colonel Bent and members of his family, or any guests who were traveling with the train, messed together, the white teamsters and the Mexicans also messed together while the Delawares and Shawnees, by preference, formed a separate mess of their own. Each man had his own quart cup and tin plate and carried his own knife in a sheath. Forks and spoons were not known. Each man marked his cup and plate, usually by scratching his initials or "mark" on them. The men of each mess chose a cook from among their own number, and after each meal every man washed his own cup and plate. The food, though simple, was wholesome and abundant. Meat was the staple, but they also had bread and plenty of coffee, and occasionally boiled dried apples and rice. Usually there was brown sugar, though sometimes they had to depend on the old-fashioned "long sweetening"; that is, New Orleans molasses, which was brought out to the fort in hogsheads for trade with the Indians.

At two or three o'clock the herds were brought in and the train was set in motion, the journey often continuing until dark or after. So day after day the quiet routine of the march was kept up until the settlements were reached.

The whole train was managed by the wagon master, who was its absolute governing head. He fixed the length of the march, the time for starting and halting. If a difficult stream was to be crossed he rode ahead of the train to examine the ground, and then directed the crossing of the teams, not leaving the spot until the last wagon was safely over. Besides looking after a multitude of details, such as the shoeing of the oxen, the greasing of the wagons, which took place every two or three days, and inspecting the animals, yokes and harness, he issued rations to the men, and was, in fact, the fountain of all authority. With the cavallard⁴⁹ was also driven a number of loose work oxen, and if an animal in the yoke was injured or became lame or footsore, he ordered it turned into the herd and replaced it with a fresh ox.

When the axles of the wagons were to be greased, the wheels were lifted from the ground by means of a very long lever, on the end of which several men threw their weight to raise the heavy wagon so that the wheel could be

49. Spanish, *caballada*—literally, a herd of horses; more broadly, a herd of horses and work cattle. Also pronounced "cavaya," and spelled in a variety of ways.

taken off. If one of the teamsters became sick or was disabled, the wagon master himself often drove the leading team.

The Bent train usually consisted of from twenty to thirty wagons, most of them, in early years, loaded on the down trip with bales of buffalo robes and on the up trip with trade goods and supplies for the fort. The front end of the wagon inclined somewhat forward like the square bow of a flatboat, and about halfway down the front board was a box secured by a lock, in which the teamster kept the spare keys for his oxbows, various other tools, and some of his own small personal belongings.

Two hunters, one a white man and the other either a Mexican or an Indian, accompanied the train, and each morning as soon as the wagons were ready to start they set out to look for game. Usually when the train reached the appointed camping place for the night the hunters were found there resting in the shade with a horseload of fresh meat. Sometimes, if they killed an animal close to the road they brought it to the trail, where it could be thrown into a wagon when the train came along. The Delawares and Shawnees were great hunters, and almost always when the train stopped to noon and their cattle had been turned out and the meal eaten, these Indian teamsters were to be seen striding off over the prairie, each with a long rifle over his shoulder.

Ocasiónally the train was attacked by Indians, but they were always beaten off. In 1848 the Comanches attacked the wagons at Pawnee Fork, but were repulsed, and Red Arm, their leader, was killed. The fork is called by the Indians Red Arm creek in remembrance of this affair. Mr. Charles Hallock, who made the journey with one of the Bent trains, wrote an account of an attack by Comanches, which was printed in *Harper's Magazine* in 1857.

On reaching Westport the bales of robes were unloaded on the levee and the train then pulled out into the country and went into camp. This was necessary, as there was little grass and water near the town. The usual camping ground for trains waiting over at Westport was about six miles southwest of the town. George Bent said that he had seen as many as thirty trains in camp here at one time, most of them small Mexican trains. About two miles south of Westport, on the traders' road, was a saloon and dance hall called the Last Chance, where the bull whackers or drivers belonging to passing trains and to the trains that were waiting in the camp for loads did their drinking and dancing. This typical frontier amusement resort was outside the town limits and the local officials had no authority either to close or to regulate the place.

While the train waited in camp near Westport, William Bent went down to St. Louis by steamboat with the robes. He usually sold his furs to Robert Campbell, the famous trader and merchant, who was a lifelong friend of William Bent and of his brothers. In the late fifties, when William's son George was attending school at St. Louis, Robert Campbell acted as guardian for the boy. William Bent, after selling his furs, laid in the stock of trade goods and supplies required for the fort, and much of this stock was bought from Robert Campbell. The bales, bags and cases were loaded upon the steamboat and William Bent returned to Westport. Here the wagons were loaded at the levee, and the train pulled out. A brief halt was made

at the Last Chance, and then the wagons moved out on their long return journey to Bent's Fort.

When the fort was reached, in autumn, the oxen were turned out into the post herd, the wagons were ranged about outside of the corral, and the yokes and chains for each bull team were put away by the driver of that team. Usually they were carried into the fort and piled up in a shady place. The keys for the bows were tied to the yokes and the chains lay close to them.

Rarely a few oxbows were lost by being taken by the Indians, who greatly coveted the seasoned hickory wood for use in the manufacture of bows. There was no hickory nearer than Council Grove, over 400 miles away, and if an Indian could secure an oxbow he steamed and straightened it and from it made a strong bow.

SUMMER AT THE POST.

Only a few men remained at the fort during the summer—the clerks, a trader or two, and a few laborers and herders. There were frequent calls there by Indians, chiefly war parties stopping for supplies of arms and ammunition. Hunting parties occasionally called to procure ordinary trade goods; parties of white travelers came and stayed for a day or two and then went on again. During this time, which was the season for the war parties to rove the country, especial precautions were taken against trouble with the Indians. At night the post was closed early, and sometimes conditions arose under which admission to the fort might be refused by the trader in charge. This watchfulness, which was never relaxed, was not caused by any special fear of Indian attacks, but was merely one of those measures of prudence which Colonel Bent had always practiced and which he had so thoroughly inculcated in his men that they had become fixed habits.

The Cheyenne Indians usually had free access to the fort and were allowed to wander through it more or less at will. They might go up on the roof or into the watchtower, but were warned by the chiefs not to touch anything. They might go about and look, and, if they wished, ask questions; but they must not take things in their hands. Toward the close of the day as the sun got low, a chief or principal man went through the fort and said to the young men who were lounging here and there, "Now, soon these people will wish to close the gates of this house, and you had better now go and return to your camps." When this was said the young men always obeyed, for in those days the chiefs controlled their young men, who listened to what was said to them, and obeyed.

On one occasion a war party of Shoshoni came down from the mountains and visited Bent's Fort, and when refused admittance insisted on coming in. When the trader in charge, probably Murray, declined to let them enter, they endeavored to force their way into the post, and he killed one of them. The others then went away. The Indian's body was buried at a little distance from the fort and his scalp afterward given to a war party of Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

WINTER SCENES.

In winter the fort harbored a much larger population and was an active, busy place. All the employees were there except the few traders, teamsters and laborers, who might be out visiting the different Indian camps. These

men were constantly going and returning, engaged in the winter robe trade. The greater part of the teamsters and laborers had little or nothing to do and spent most of the winter in idleness, lounging about the fort, or occasionally going off on hunting trips. In addition to the regular inhabitants there were many visitors. Hunters and trappers from the mountains came in, often with their Indian wives and children, to purchase supplies and to outfit for their spring trapping expeditions, or to visit friends at the fort, after which they returned to their mountain camps. All visitors were welcome, and it was understood that they should stay as long as they pleased.

Though the fort was full of idle men, nevertheless time did not hang heavy on their hands. There were amusements of various sorts—hunting parties, games, and not infrequent dances in which the moccasined trappers, in their fringed and beaded or porcupine-quilled buckskin garments, swung merry-faced, laughing Indian women in the rough and hearty dances of the frontier. On holidays, such as Christmas and the Fourth of July, balls were often held at the fort, in which the travelers present, the trappers, employees, Indians, Indian women and Mexican women all took part. Employed about the post there was always a Frenchman or two who could play the violin and guitar. On one occasion Frank P. Blair,⁵⁰ then twenty-three years old, afterward a general in the Union army, vice-presidential candidate, and United States senator, played the banjo all night at a ball at the fort.

Just before each Fourth of July a party was always sent up into the mountains at the head of the Purgatoire river to gather wild mint for mint juleps to be drunk in honor of the day. For mixing these ice was brought from the ice house. In those days this drink was called "hailstorm." To the employees of the fort liquor was ever dealt out with a very sparing hand, and there is no memory of drink ever causing any trouble among the people at the fort. In 1844 a Frenchman named Tesson who was employed at the fort shot at the negro blacksmith, because he had been charivariated the night before by a party of men, among whom was the blacksmith. "He missed the negro," writes W. M. Boggs in his reminiscences of these early days at the old fort, "and because he was a passionate and dangerous man Captain St. Vrain gave him an outfit and sent him away from the fort."⁵¹ This was probably the same Baptiste Tesson who was with Fremont in 1843 and who guided Colonel Harney's troops during the Ash Hollow campaign.

SOME OF THE TRADERS.

Perhaps the most important persons at the fort, after its directing head, were the traders who dealt out goods to the Indians when they visited the post, and received their furs in payment, and who were often sent off to distant camps with loads of trade goods, to gather from the Indians the robes which they had prepared, and to buy horses and mules.

Of these traders there were seven or eight, of whom the following are remembered: Murray, an Irishman, known to the Indians as Pāu-ě-sīh', Flat Nose; Fisher, an American, Nō-mā-nī', Fish; Hatcher, a Kentuckian, Hē-hīm'nī-hō-nāh', Freckled hand; Thomas O. Boggs, a Missourian, Wōhk'po-

50. Appointed attorney-general of New Mexico by General Kearny in 1846. Blair was a friend of George Bent. He came out to Bent's Fort for his health and was there during the winter of 1846-'47.

51. Boggs' manuscript, p. 49.

hūm', White Horse; John Smith, a Missourian, Pō-ō-ōm'māts, Gray Blanket;⁵² Kit Carson, a Kentuckian, Vi-hiu-nīs', Little Chief; Charles Davis, a Missourian, Ho-nih', Wolf; and Marcelline St. Vrain, whom the Cheyennes called Marcelline.

Lucien Maxwell, Wō-wihph'pai-i-sih', Big Nostrils, was the superintendent or foreman at the fort for some time; he looked after the herds and the laborers and had general charge at the fort. Maxwell was a Frenchman from Kaskaskia. In 1842 he accompanied Fremont as a hunter, and Fremont states that Maxwell had been employed on the South Platte at or near Fort St. Vrain for some years prior to 1842, and that he was on good terms with the Arapahoes. Francis Parkman met Maxwell in an Arapahoe camp on the Arkansas, below Sand creek, in 1847.⁵³ As already said, Maxwell married one of the daughters of Judge Beaubien, of Taos. Ceran St. Vrain had married another of the Beaubien girls; and he and Maxwell, Charles Bent and Kit Carson all had their homes at Taos. In later years Maxwell gained control of the huge Beaubien and Miranda Spanish land grant; he also engaged in cattle ranching on a large scale and was one of the wealthiest men in the Southwest. It was on Maxwell's ranch at the Little Cimarron that his friend Kit Carson organized his expedition against the plains tribes in the winter of 1864-'65. At one time Maxwell employed on his great ranch 500 men, mostly Mexican herders, and had 1,000 horses, 10,000 cattle and 40,000 sheep.⁵⁴

Murray, who was a good hunter and trapper and a brave man, was one of the two most important men among these traders. He usually remained at the fort, and in later years was almost always left in charge when William Bent went with the wagon train to the states.

Hatcher, however, was perhaps the best trader, and the most valuable of the seven. He ranged far afield, sometimes going down into Old Mexico to buy horses, and acting as guide for government exploring parties and military columns. In 1845 he accompanied Lieutenant Abert's party on an expedition from Bent's Fort through the country south of the Arkansas, acting as hunter and guide. In 1850 he served as guide for Colonel Collier's party in New Mexico, and in 1851 he gave much information to Lieutenant Parke, who was compiling a map of the little-known country south of the Arkansas.⁵⁵

There is a round, green valley, shut in on all sides by the mountains, at the head of the San Carlos, between Pueblo and Taos. The name of this valley, Fisher's Hole, is seemingly the only permanent record left by any of the Bent company of traders in the land where they were once such important men.⁵⁶

52. Garrard says the Cheyenne erier called out that Blackfoot (Smith) had come to trade in the camp. He also says Smith had spent a winter among the Blackfeet before joining the Cheyennes, whence perhaps the name Blackfoot. There may be a reference to the Blackfeet in the name Gray Blanket, for the Blackfeet received from the British traders white and gray blankets.

53. Parkman says Maxwell had to talk to the Arapahoes in signs, as no white man had ever learned their language. Fremont in 1842, however, says Maxwell called out to the Arapahoes in the Indian language. He says Maxwell had been trading among these Arapahoes a year or two before 1842.—"Fremont Exploring Expedition," Washington, 1845, p. 28.

54. Prince, "Concise History of New Mexico," p. 154.

55. See Abert's Journal; map by Lieutenant Parke (No. 3 of the Calhoun maps), "Calhoun Letters," p. 100. Also Garrard, who gives a good account of Hatcher.

56. Fisher's Hole is described by Sage, about 1843, and by Ruxton, 1846. Fisher was living in northern New Mexico in 1849-1850. He and Leroux guided Major Grier's troops in their pursuit of the Apaches, from Taos to the upper Canadian river, October, 1849. The following spring Fisher was with Carson on the Rayado, east of Taos, and in April he and Carson guided a detachment of troops which was hunting for the Apaches. (Sabin, "Kit Carson days," pp. 345-348 and p. 352.) Fisher's Peak in the Raton mountains, near the old Bent's Fort trail, was probably named after this man. It bore the name as early as 1851. See Bartlett's map, 1854.

Each of these traders had especially friendly relations with some particular tribe of Indians, and each was naturally sent to the tribe that he knew best. Besides this, often when villages of Indians came and camped somewhere near the post, the chiefs would ask that a particular man be sent to their village to trade with them. Sometimes to a very large village two or three traders might be sent, the work being more than one man could handle in a short period of time. Maxwell seems to have traded most frequently with the Arapahoes, while John Smith was usually sent to the Cheyenne camps, as he is said to have understood and spoken the Cheyenne language better than any of the other traders. Smith was a tailor from St. Louis, according to Garrard. Testifying before the joint committee which investigated Indian affairs in 1865, he gave his name as John S. Smith, stated that he was born in 1810, and first came to the upper Arkansas in 1830. When the little town of Denver was established, in 1858, Smith was sent there with a load of trade goods and opened one of the first stores in town. He continued to trade with the Indians until after 1865, also acting as government interpreter. He was in the Cheyenne camp at the Sand creek massacre, November, 1864, and his son was murdered there.

When it was determined that a trader should go out, he and the chief clerk talked over the trip. The trader enumerated the goods required, and these were laid out, charged to him, and then packed for transportation to the Indian camp. If the journey was to be over fairly level prairie, the goods were carried in wagons, but if through rough country, pack mules were employed. If on arrival at the camp the trader found that trade was likely to be large and that he would require more goods, he sent back to the fort a wagon or some of his pack animals for additional supplies. When he returned from his trip and turned in his robes he was credited with these and with any other articles he had traded for. The trade in robes ended in the spring, and during the summer the traders often went to the different Indian villages to barter for horses and mules.

When the trader reached an Indian camp he went to the lodge of a chief or principal man, with whom he stayed and under whose protection he placed his goods. Soon after his arrival the crier went about the camp calling out the news of the trader's arrival, announcing what goods he had brought and what he wished to trade for. Thus when Garrard visited the Cheyenne camp with Smith, the crier called out that Smith had come to trade for mules, and had brought tobacco, blue blankets, black (deep blue) blankets, white blankets, coffee, etc. Besides these articles, W. M. Boggs mentions the following trade goods that were kept at Bent's Fort about 1844: red cloth, beads (white, blue and red), brass wire, hoop iron—from which the Indians made their arrow heads—butcher knives, small axes, vermilion, powder and ball, and abalone shells, which were highly prized by the Indians. One shell was given for four dressed buffalo robes.

A certain proportion of the trade with the Indians was in spirits, but this proportion was small. The Indians demanded liquor, and though, like all reputable traders, Colonel Bent was strongly opposed to giving it to them, he knew very well that whisky peddlers from Taos would come into the territory to gratify the Indians' longing for drink, and at the same time take

away the trade from the fort.⁵⁷ Two or three times a year, therefore, after many visits from the chiefs, asking for liquor, promising to take charge of it and see to its distribution and to be responsible that payment should be made for it, a lot of liquor would be sent out to a camp. A trader coming into the village deposited the kegs, of various sizes, at the lodge of a chief. The Indians then came to the lodge and offered what they had to trade, and each man was assigned a keg of a certain size, according to the number of robes or the horses or mules he had offered to trade. Each Indian then tied to his keg a piece of cloth or a string to mark it as his, and it was left in the chief's lodge, unopened, for the present. When the trade had been completed the trader left the village, and not until he had gone some distance did the chief permit the Indians to take their kegs of liquor and open them. Sometimes when the traders were in a camp with ordinary goods a party of Mexicans from Taos or Santa Fe would slip into camp with a few kegs of liquor, trade them and slip away again before the regular traders learned of their presence. When this happened there was an end to all legitimate business until the Indians had become intoxicated, emptied the kegs and become sober again. No trader wished to have whisky in a camp where he was working. The presence of liquor in the camp not only ended all trade, but often endangered the trader's life.

Nearly all of the whisky that reached the Indians in the country south of the Platte came from New Mexico. The Mexicans peddled the liquor among the Indians themselves when they dared, but when this was too dangerous they sold the stuff to lawless Americans, who took it to the Indian camps. In 1835 Colonel Dodge found Mexicans from Taos on the Mexican side of the Arkansas engaged in selling liquor to the Cheyennes.⁵⁸ Fremont states that a small keg of this liquor was traded to the Indians for the equivalent of \$36 in goods. On January 1, 1843, Bent & St. Vrain wrote a letter to the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, complaining of this trade in liquor. In this letter it is stated that a number of renegade Americans had built houses at the mouth of Fountain creek (the site of the present city of Pueblo); that these men carried on a large trade in Mexican whisky with the Indians, and that Mexican traders also made this point the headquarters for their liquor-peddling operations. The chiefs wished to have this trade broken up, and Bent & St. Vrain suggested the establishment of the military post on the upper Arkansas, near the mountains, as the only means for controlling these unlicensed traders.⁵⁹ On May 4, 1843, Charles Bent wrote a letter from Bent's Fort to the superintendent at St. Louis, in which complaint was again made against the trading of whisky to the Indians.⁶⁰ In April, 1844, Slim Face, a Cheyenne chief, went to Washington to complain of the liquor traffic. He was the first Southern Cheyenne who ever visited

57. In the Indian trade a main weapon of competition was liquor. Peddlers and new companies just entering the field employed this poison freely to win over the Indians' trade. In this traffic the Indians were not only robbed of the fruits of their robe hunt, but their ability as hunters was impaired, and the continued unrestricted use of liquor in any field for a number of years meant ruin to the trade as well as to the Indians. All of the big trading companies understood this, and except for a period in the North when competition was exceedingly keen, most of them traded liquor only when they were forced to do so to protect their trade and their Indians.

58. "American State Papers, Military Affairs," VI, p. 140.

59. Clark Letter Books, "Letters of Agents to Superintendent of Indian Affairs," 1839-1846, p. 92.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

the states. Sage met him on his way East with Bent & St. Vrain's wagon train.⁶¹

We commonly think of the trade at these old forts as wholly for furs, but at Bent's Fort this was not the case. Furs—that is to say, buffalo robes—were indeed a chief article of trade and were carried back to the states to be sold there; but a great trade went on also in horses and mules, of which the Indians possessed great numbers and of which they were always getting more. The Indians constantly paid for their goods with these animals. But this was not the only source from which horses and mules were procured. The Bent traders often brought back herds from New Mexico, and about 1845 William Bent sent his brother, George Bent, with Tom Boggs and Hatcher, down into Old Mexico to trade for horses and mules. They brought back great herds, and with them a celebrated rider known at the fort, and in later years to all of the Cheyennes, as One-eyed Juan, whose sole occupation was breaking horses—a vocation which he followed until too old to get into the saddle. It was said of him that when he wished to show off he would put a saddle on a wild horse, and placing a Mexican dollar in each of the huge wooden stirrups, would mount the horse, and no matter what the horse might do, these dollars were always found under the soles of the rider's feet when the animal stopped bucking.

While most of the horses and mules were taken to Missouri for sale, yet, on one occasion at least, Hatcher took a herd of horses, which had been bought wild from the Comanches and broken by the Mexicans at the fort, over to Taos and Santa Fe and sold them there. Occasionally they sold good broken horses back to the Indians for robes.

It must be remembered that a large proportion of the horses and mules purchased from the Indians were wild horses taken by raiders from the great herds that ran loose on the ranches in Old Mexico. Practically all of these horses bore Mexican brands.

After the emigration to California began, William Bent frequently sent herds of horses and mules up to the trail on the North Platte to be sold to emigrants on their way west. On one occasion Hatcher, with a force of Mexican herders, was sent up there with a great herd of horses and mules, and remained alongside the trail until he had disposed of all his animals. He carried back to the fort with him the gold and silver he had received for the stock, in leather panniers packed on the backs of animals.

Before starting on another similar trip, Hatcher said to Colonel Bent: "It is useless to load down our animals with sugar, coffee and flour to carry up there. We will take only enough to last us to the trail, and there we can buy all we need from the emigrants. Moreover, they have great numbers of broken-down horses, and it would be a good idea to buy these for a little or nothing and then drive them back here and let them get rested and fat, and then we can take them up there and sell them again." The wisdom of this was apparent and the suggestion was carried out.

61. Sage, "Rocky Mountain Life," 1846, p. 294.

OTHER PEOPLE.

Important members of the establishment here were Chipita,⁶² Andrew and Dick Green, the old French tailor, whose name is forgotten, and the carpenter and blacksmith.

Chipita was the housekeeper and laundress, the principal woman at the post, and the one who, on the occasion of dances or other social festivities, managed these affairs. She was a large, very good-natured and kindly woman, and is said to have been half French and half Mexican. She spoke French readily. She was married to one of the employees at the fort.⁶³

Andrew Green and his brother Dick were the servants of the Bent brothers. Andrew was William Bent's servant and Dick belonged to Charles Bent. They are said to have been slaves who were ultimately set free. Andrew was long cook at Bent's Fort and could speak some Cheyenne. He was very black, and the Indians called him Black Whiteman. One of the young Cheyennes who was with Carson in the Crow fight, about 1830, is said to have taken his name, Black Whiteman, from Andrew Green. If this be true, Andrew must have been with the Bents even before the old fort was built. George Bent remembers Andrew Green well, and says that the Cheyennes had another name for him—Turtle Shell.⁶⁴ Dick Green was in New Mexico when his old master, Charles Bent, was murdered by the Indians at Taos in 1847. He joined Colonel St. Vrain's company of trappers and traders, and is said to have fought with conspicuous bravery at the storming of the Taos pueblo, where he killed several Indians. George Bent thinks that the Green brothers died at St. Louis, where they went after being freed by William Bent.

The old French tailor had come up from New Orleans. He had a shop in one of the rooms at the fort, where he used to make and repair clothing for the men. Much of this clothing was of buckskin, which he himself dressed, for he was a good tanner.⁶⁵

In winter the teamsters and laborers commonly spent their evenings in playing cards and checkers in the quarters by the light of tallow candles, the only lights they had to burn. These candles were made at the fort by Chipita, of buffalo tallow poured into old-fashioned tin molds, perhaps a dozen to a set. The work of fixing the wicks in the molds occupied considerable time. The tallow was then melted, the refuse skimmed from it, the fluid grease poured into the molds, and the wicks, which hung from the

62. Chipita is a common name, used frequently as a term of endearment. It was Carson's pet name for his wife, whose real name was Josefa.—Sabin, p. 398.

63. Fremont speaks of a negro woman cook at Bent's Fort in July, 1844, and gives her name as Charlotte. Ruxton, the English traveler, also speaks of her, and says that she described herself as "de only lady in de whole damn Injun country." George Bent does not remember her.

64. There is a little confusion about Andrew and Dick Green, as George Bent sometimes speaks of Dick as being his father's servant who spoke Cheyenne and was called Turtle Shell; but since General Price mentions Dick by name as Charles Bent's man, Andrew must be the one who was cook at the fort. Black Whiteman is the Cheyenne term for all negroes. Turtle Shell was their particular name for Andrew Green. Black Whiteman is to-day a common Cheyenne name.

65. Buckskin tailors were not uncommon on the frontier up to about 1850. About 1840 there was one near Prairie du Chien in western Wisconsin who made clothes for the well-to-do farmers and merchants. The buckskin coats were often made for the best wear, and were cut to fit, just like broadcloth coats. Trousers were not much made of buckskin, as they shrank and when wet were very uncomfortable. One pioneer used to say that he would rather wear an Indian's G-string than buckskin trousers in wet weather. In place of trousers buckskin leggings were made by the tailor. These men used a three-cornered needle for sewing buckskin, commonly spoken of as a buckskin needle, and their thread was always sinew when this could be had.

tops of the molds, cut off with a pair of scissors. Then the molds were dipped in a barrel of water to cool the tallow, and presently the candles were quite hard and ready to be removed from the molds for use.

In the winter Chipita sometimes organized a candy-pulling frolic, in which the laborers and teamsters all took part and which was an important jollification. During the afternoon the black New Orleans molasses, used in the Indian trade, was boiled, and after supper the people gathered in one of the rooms and pulled the candy. Candy such as this was a great luxury and was eagerly eaten by those who could get it.

The work of the carpenter and blacksmith, whose shops stood at the back of the fort, was chiefly on the wagons, which they kept in good repair. For them winter was a busy season, as it was their duty to have everything in good shape and ready for the train to start out in April. The blacksmith at the fort in the early forties was a negro. In 1844 he was one of the party that charivariated Tesson, and the next morning was shot at by Tesson.

In the store of the fort—presumably for sale to trappers and travelers, and for the use of the proprietors—were to be found such unusual luxuries as butter crackers, Bent's water crackers, candies of various sorts, and, most remarkable of all, great jars of preserved ginger of the kind which fifty or sixty years ago used to be brought from China. Elderly people of the present day can remember, as children, seeing these blue china jars, which were carried by lines of vegetable rope passed around the necks of the jars, and can remember also how delicious this ginger was when they were treated to a taste of it.

At the post were some creatures that greatly astonished the Indians. On one of his trips to St. Louis, St. Vrain purchased a pair of goats, intending to have them draw a cart for some of the children. On the way across the plains, however, one of them was killed, but the one that survived lived at the fort for some years and used to clamber all over the walls and roofs. The creature was a great curiosity to the Indians, who had never before seen such an animal, and they never wearied of watching it climbing and promenading about the walls of the fort. As it grew older it became cross and seemed to take pleasure in scattering little groups of Indian children and chasing them about. The Southern Cheyennes went but little into the mountains at this time, and few of them had ever seen a mountain sheep. If they had they would not have regarded the domestic goat with so much wonder.

The post was abundantly supplied with poultry, for pigeons, chickens and turkeys had been brought out there and bred and did well. At one time George Bent brought out several peacocks, whose gay plumage and harsh voices astonished and more or less alarmed the Indians, who called them thunder birds, *nūn-ūm'a-ē-vi-kis*.

The Boggs manuscript mentions a remarkable man who was employed at Bent's Fort about 1844. This was Baptiste Charbonneau, the son of Toussaint Charbonneau and of Sacagawea (Bird Woman), who accompanied Lewis and Clark on their expedition across the continent. According to Boggs, this Charbonneau who was employed at the fort was "only a small 'papoose' at the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition, but his mother took him the entire route," carrying him most of the way on her back. "He had been

educated to some extent; he wore his hair long, that hung down to his shoulders. 'Twas said that Charbenau was the best man on foot on the plains or in the Rocky Mountains."

Sacagawea died at the Shoshoni Indian reservation, Wind River, Wyo., where her grave, marked with an appropriate inscription, may be seen. Her son died on that reservation a few years after his mother.⁶⁶ He often told his sons that his mother had carried him on her back, as a babe, when she went with "the first Washington to the great water in the West."

Boggs states positively that the man employed at Bent's Fort was named Baptiste Charbenau,⁶⁷—which was the name of Bird Woman's child as recorded in the "Journal of Lewis and Clark," and that he was the infant who was carried on that expedition.

On the return of Lewis and Clark from the Pacific in 1806, it is recorded that Sacagawea (Bird Woman) left her husband and returned to her own people, the Shoshoni. She undoubtedly kept her child with her. She died April 9, 1884.⁶⁸

Of her son, Baptiste Charbonneau, whose education General Clark offered to care for, we know nothing beyond the fact that he was a good prairie man, as shown by the brief mentions given below, which, with the Boggs notes of 1844, connect him with plains history up to and beyond the period of the Mexican War. Victor, in "The River of the West," states that Joseph Meek, while carrying express for the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, met one Cabeneau near the mouth of the Platte river in the late winter of 1831, and that this Frenchman returned with Meek to the camp of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company's trappers in the mountains in the spring of 1831. At least three of the Bent & St. Vrain employees of later years are known to have been in the employ of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company between 1830 and 1837. After the Rocky Mountain trapping brigades were broken up, about 1838, these men, with many other former trappers, drifted down to the upper Arkansas and into New Mexico. It is thus possible that the man met by Meek in 1831 was the one Boggs speaks of at Bent's Fort in 1844.

On July 9, 1842, Fremont met a party of Bent & St. Vrain's men encamped on a small island in the South Platte, ten miles above Bijou's Fork. These men were taking furs from Fort St. Vrain down the Platte in bull boats, but had been stopped at this point by low water. Most of the men were Mexicans, but the man in charge of the party was one Charbonard, a gentleman of excellent education, according to Fremont, and evidently a witty man, as he had named the little isle on which the low water had imprisoned him "St. Helena."⁶⁹

Sage⁷⁰ states that he met Charbonard in 1843 on the South Platte trading for Bent & St. Vrain. Sage goes further than Fremont, stating that Charbonard had lived for years in Europe and had a fine classical education, speaking several languages. Boggs, on the other hand, states that Charbenau was employed as a hunter at Bent's Fort about 1844, and that he "had been educated to some extent."

66. Letter from Rev. J. Roberts, October, 1917.

67. The different spellings of the name are attempts to follow spellings of different writers.

68. "Handbook of Indian Tribes," II, p. 401.

69. "Fremont," London edition, p. 31.

70. "Scenes in the Rocky Mountains," etc., by a New Englander; Philadelphia, 1846, p. 158.

Lieutenant Abert saw Charbonard at Bent's Fort in the following year, 1845.⁷¹

In Emory's "Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, . . . San Diego, . . . 1846-'47," it is stated that Chaboneau joined General Kearny's column as a guide, apparently at Santa Fe. On page 52 Emory describes how Chaboneau discovered Apaches near the camp, and farther on says that on October 14 several intelligent guides were assigned by General Kearny to guide Cooke's Mormon battalion via the Gila route.

In Colonel Cooke's "Conquest of New Mexico and California"⁷² we find Charboneaux, one of the guides, mentioned several times. On page 105 he is spoken of as a half-breed guide. On page 108 he searches for water. On page 126 he reports a route through the mountains. On page 131 he kills his mule, which had run away from him, ostensibly to save his saddle and arms. On page 134 it is told with some detail how he killed a grizzly bear, and on page 189 he returned to camp from San Diego, whither he had accompanied Leroux and Hall, two other guides. Other references to Charboneau are: Victor, "River of the West," page 97; "Fremont Report," London edition, page 31.

In a rather scarce book, Tyler's "Concise History of the Mormon Battalion, 1846-1847," printed in 1881, Charboneaux is mentioned, and some of the same instances related by Colonel Cooke are given; that is to say, how he killed his mule and a grizzly bear, and finally how he returned from San Diego and rejoined the Mormons.

All this is interesting, and while it is true that in no place is Charboneau's first name mentioned, nor have we any description of his personal appearance or early life, still the fact that he is alluded to as a half-breed, that the statements of Fremont, Boggs and Sage all agree, and that the time fits perfectly, I believe that this man was the son of Bird Woman, who died not very long after 1884 on the Wind River Indian reservation.

Hawkins was another of the Bent employees. He was an old Rocky Mountain Fur Company trapper, who entered the Bent employ about 1840. Ruxton met him living at Pueblo in 1846. He had a Mexican wife, who had been captured by Comanches in Durango and who had later been bought from the Kiowas at Bent's Fort.⁷³

William Guerrier ("Old Bill Gary") was another famous frontiersman who at one time worked at Bent's Fort. He is mentioned in the Boggs manuscript. He was wholly without education, and in counting was compelled to make straight marks, dividing them into fives, like an Indian. He was a first-class man, however, and was employed for many years by William Bent as a trader.

In the cold weather he usually wore a white blanket coat, with a hood or capote, such as the northern Indians wear in winter, and such as Cheyennes often wore on war journeys in winter. With this coat he wore over his trousers leggings of white blankets.

In those old times many of the white men on the plains dressed like Indians; many of them wore fur caps and all wore moccasins. Bill Gary used to tell

71. Senate Doc. 438, p. 4, 29th Congress, 1st session; Washington, 1846.

72. Putnam, N. Y., 1878.

73. Ruxton, p. 389.

the Indians that he wore this "warpath coat" because his name in French meant warrior.

William Guerrier was the father of Ed. Guerrier, sometimes called Ed. Gary, now, or recently, living at Geary, Okla. William Guerrier married a Cheyenne woman, whose son Ed. Gary was, and later he married a Brulé Sioux woman, the mother of Henry Guerrier.

Henry F. Mayer, Ed. Gary's guardian, stated in 1865 that Ed. was born about 1840, and that his father, William Guerrier, died (evidently at or near Fort Laramie) in February, 1858. "Edmond has been with me most of the time since. I know him to be an upright, intelligent, correct young man. He is entirely reliable; I trust every word he says." Mayer gave the boy's name as Edmond G. Guerrier.⁷⁴ Ed. Guerrier married Julia Bent, William Bent's youngest daughter.

Tim Goodale was another of the Bent employees. George Bent remembers him as a trader who often accompanied Hatcher, Fisher and Tom Boggs on their trading trips into Mexico and up to the Oregon trail on the North Platte. Goodale is highly spoken of by P. G. Lowe.⁷⁵ Sabin⁷⁶ states that in the spring of 1850 "Tim Goodell" joined Carson on the Rayado, east of Taos, and they drove a band of horses up to the Platte and sold them to emigrants. Goodell was then smitten with the gold fever, left Carson and went on to California. This is the last we hear of him.

George Bent when he was a small boy at the old fort knew most of these men, and he remembers seeing them come in after a trip into Mexico, with herds of cattle, horses and mules, and wagons loaded with Mexican silver and Mexican and Pueblo blankets. These brightly colored blankets were highly prized by the Indians, who often gave as much as ten buffalo robes for a good blanket. They bought the blankets for their young daughters.

After 1850 the Bent traders brought back to the fort from their trading trips to the Platte considerable quantities of gold received in payment for animals and supplies which they sold to men returning to the states from California. Much of the gold was in the form of small ingots and slugs, which at that time were being coined by the private mints in California.⁷⁷

Charles Autobee was employed by the Bents as a beaver trapper in the years prior to the building of Bent's Fort. He once told George Bent that he was in the Bent stockade on the day when Bull Hump visited the place

74. Sworn statement of Henry F. Mayer: "Report of the Joint Special Committee which Investigated Indian Affairs in 1865," p. 67.

75. "Five Years a Dragoon," p. 284.

76. "Kit Carson Days," p. 352.

77. At the time of the discovery of gold practically the only currency in California was Mexican money, together with the small quantity of United States coins brought in by emigrants from the East. The amount of this coin and paper was so trifling that when the rush of gold seekers came in 1849 gold dust was immediately pressed into general use as a medium of exchange. There was no fixed value for this dust, and although its average worth was about eighteen dollars an ounce, people who had articles for sale frequently put their own value on the gold and gave as little as six or eight dollars an ounce in trade. There was also a good deal of fraud practiced in weighing the dust. To offset these unfair practices private mints were established, to which men might bring their gold dust, have it assayed and run into small ingots and slugs, which were stamped with the names of the persons who had brought the gold and with the weight and fineness of the metal. Besides the private mints, the state assay office and the United States assay office for a time minted gold. Part of this private coinage was in the form of ingots and slugs, some with a value of \$50, while part was in the form of gold coins, some of which were octagonal instead of round. All these old-time coins long ago passed out of circulation, and the few that have not been melted up are now the treasures of numismatists.

searching for the Cheyennes. This was in 1828. Autobee seems to have been a Frenchman. He married a Mexican wife and settled down in New Mexico after the American occupation of that territory. He signed his name as Charles Ortebees.⁷⁸ During the Civil War he still had a ranch somewhere near the site of Bent's Fort, and in 1863 the Arapahoes raided his place and ran off his stock. His sons were with the New Mexican scouts at Sand creek in 1864 and are said to have assisted in saving the life of Charles Bent (William Bent's youngest son), whom the troops had captured and wished to shoot in cold blood, as they actually did shoot Jack Smith, old John Smith's half-breed son.

Charles Ortebee had also a Cheyenne wife, Picking Bones Woman, by whom he had a son, John Ortebee, or Otterby, who now or recently was living at Colony, Okla., where at times he has been in the Indian service.



Cheyenne woman fleshing a hide.

There was no surgeon at the fort and Colonel Bent usually did his own doctoring. He possessed an ample medicine chest, which he replenished on his trips to Westport and St. Louis. The Westport firm which refilled it was Scott & Boggs. This Doctor Boggs was not the father of Tom Boggs and William Boggs, but was a relative. Colonel Bent had a number of medical books, and no doubt these and such practical experience as came to him with the years made him reasonably skillful in the rough medicine and surgery that he practiced. With the train he carried a small medicine chest which occasionally came in play.

In the manuscript notes left by W. M. Boggs the following curious story is recorded (p. 51):

"William Bent had contracted a severe cold and sore throat—putrid sore throat—and it became so bad that he had ceased to swallow and could only talk in a whisper, until his throat closed and his wife fed him with broth . . .

78. "Calhoun Correspondence," p. 231. Petition for protection from Apache raids, signed at Taos by Ortebees, Carson and others. The *Fort Pierre Journal* for 1832 mentions one Pierre Ortubize who was hunter at that post and who was perhaps a brother or cousin of Charles Autobee. See Chittenden, "American Fur Trade," p. 978 and pp. 980, 981.

through a quill which she passed down his throat. I went into his lodge to see how he was, and he told me, by writing on a piece of slate that he had with him, that if he did not get relief in a very short time that he was bound to die, and that he had sent for an Indian doctor called 'Lawyer,' and was expecting him every hour. The Indian came while I was there, a plain-looking Indian without any show or ornamentation about him. He proceeded at once to examine Bent's throat by pressing the handle of a large spoon on his tongue just as any doctor would do, and on looking into Bent's throat he shook his head, got up and went out of the lodge and returned very soon with a handful of small sand burs. They were about the size of a large marrowfat pea, with barbs all around, as sharp as fishhooks and turned up one way. They were so sharp that by pressing them they would stick to one's fingers. He called for a piece of sinew and a lump of marrow grease. He made five or six threads of the sinew and tied a knot in one end of each, took an awl and pierced a hole through each bur and ran the sinew through it down to the knot, then rolled the bur in marrow grease until it was completely covered over the barbs of the bur; took a small, flat stick about like a China chopstick, cut a notch in one end, wrapped one end of the sinew around his finger and placed the notched stick against the bur, and made Bent open his mouth, and he forced that bur or ball down Bent's throat the length of the stick and drew it out the throat and repeated that three or four times, drawing out [on the barbs] all the dry and corrupt matter each time and opened the throat passage so that Bent could swallow soup, and in a day or two was well enough to eat food. And he told me that he certainly would of [have] died if that Indian had not come to his relief. . . .

"The Indian was laughing while he performed the operation. . . . He was the most unassuming Indian I saw among the Cheyennes, but was considered by all the whites that knew him the shrewdest doctor belonging to the tribe. No medicine would of [have] had any effect in removing these obstructions in Bent's throat. It had become as dry as the bark on a tree, and but for this simple remedy Bent would of [have] died. No one but an Indian would ever of [have] thought of resorting to such a remedy."

When beaver trapping ceased to be profitable, about 1838, a number of American and French trappers left the mountains and settled near the upper Arkansas, some on American soil and others south of the river, in Mexican territory. These men usually formed little colonies, which were often enlarged by the coming of a few Mexican families. Those trappers who did not already have Indian wives married Mexican girls. Some of the men attempted a little rude agriculture, but more often they left this work to their wives and devoted most of their time to hunting.

The first of these little colonies of which we find any record was founded some time prior to the year 1839. Farnham mentions it under the name of "El Puebla"—which is bad Spanish and leaves us in some doubt as to whether the little place was feminine or masculine. Wislizenus also mentions the place. It stood on the north bank of the river, four or five miles above Bent's Fort, a mile or two below the present town of La Junta, and was occupied by a little group of ex-trappers and Mexicans. This colony was evidently soon broken up, for we do not find it mentioned after 1840.

Another settlement, also called Pueblo (Sp., town), was founded in the summer of 1842 on the site of the present city of Pueblo, Colo., seventy miles above Bent's Fort. Sage visited the place soon after it was established and says it was occupied by ten or twelve Americans with their Mexican wives. Ruxton describes it in 1846 as a square adobe fort with round bastions at the corners, standing on the north bank of the Arkansas about 100 yards west of Fountain creek. The walls were eight feet high, and the fort within was

divided into a half dozen rooms, each occupied by an American trapper or trader and his family. The people lived chiefly on game, which, however, was scarce in the immediate vicinity, and the men had to go to South Park, among the mountains, for buffalo.

When the Mormon battalion started for California, the women and children and over 100 men who were not strong enough to undergo the march across the Arizona desert were sent to Pueblo, where they built huts and spent the winter of 1846-'47. Pueblo was still occupied when gold was discovered in 1858, but the old settlers seem to have moved away when the rush of gold hunters began.

Sometime between 1840 and 1844 an association of traders was formed for the purpose of establishing a colony on the upper Arkansas. Judge Beaubien, of Taos, was the head of this company, and William Bent, Ceran St. Vrain, Maxwell and Lupton all joined in the venture. A grant of land was obtained from the Mexican government, the Mexican colonists were brought up from Santa Fe and Taos and settled on Adobe creek on the south side of the Arkansas west of Pueblo. The venture did not prove successful. The Mexican colonists were indolent, the Indians troublesome, and from these causes and others the colony broke up in 1846.

At about this time Vigil and St. Vrain secured another grant of land from the Mexican government. This was known as the Las Animas grant. It lay along the south side of the Arkansas, from the Purgatoire (Rio de las Animas) west to the Rio San Carlos. The present town Rocky Ford, famous for its melons, lay within the borders of this grant, as did also much of the rich irrigable lands of the Arkansas valley, which are now worth millions of dollars. The only attempt to colonize this grant of which we have any record was made by James Bonney, who in 1843 founded the town of La Junta on the south side of the river a few miles above Bent's Fort, but after a short stay Bonney abandoned the place.

Of all of these New Mexican land grants the most famous was the Beaubien and Miranda grant,⁷⁹ later known as the Maxwell grant. This grant consisted of over a million acres in northeastern New Mexico, including rich coal lands, grazing lands, timbered areas and strips of irrigable land in the valleys. The lands are estimated to be worth to-day over fifty millions of dollars. Judge Beaubien bought out Miranda's interest, and when he died in 1864 the grant passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Lucien B. Maxwell. Employing hundreds of cowboys and Mexican servants, Maxwell lived here like a prince. He had several ranch houses scattered far and near over his ranges, and at Cimarron a sort of palace, where he entertained large numbers of friends and visitors from all parts of the country. He sold his lands in the early seventies for \$750,000, the purchasers reselling soon afterward to an English syndicate for \$1,300,000. Like most of the mountain men, Maxwell could not keep money. Beginning life as a simple trapper in the early thirties, he became a millionaire, and then lost all, dying in 1875 at Fort Sumner in comparative poverty.

At the time of the building of Bent's Fort the upper Arkansas river was not only the boundary between the United States and Mexico, but was also

⁷⁹. Reference on land grants: Twitchell; Bancroft, "History of New Mexico" and "History of Colorado."

the dividing line between two hostile groups of plains tribes. To the south of the river lived the Kiowas, Comanches and Prairie Apaches; to the north were the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes; and for many years these two groups were actively at war with each other.

During the early thirties none of these tribes appear to have considered the valley of the Arkansas its home. The river and its valley was a danger zone constantly being crossed by war parties. At that period the Southern Cheyennes were newcomers in the southern country which lay between the South Platte and the Arkansas, and they did not often move their camps down to the Arkansas until after the completion of Bent's Fort. In August many of them were accustomed to go east as far as the upper valley of the Republican for the purpose of gathering and drying winter supplies of choke cherries and plums.⁸⁰ In the autumn the Suhtai and the Hill People (His-si-o-mé'ta-nē) went up west into the foothills of the mountains to kill mule deer, which were plentiful there, and at that season fat. All the different bands of Cheyennes made annual trips to the mountains for the purpose of securing lodgepoles. A cedar which grows there was much employed in the manufacture of bows.

The Southern Arapahoes ranged more or less with the Cheyennes, but seem to have kept nearer the mountains. Their kinsmen from the far North, the Gros Ventres of the Prairies, or Atsena, often came down and lived with them for three or four years at a time.

At this time the range of the Kiowas was from the Cimarron south to Red river on the Texan frontier, on the ridge of the Staked Plains. The little tribe of Kiowa-Apaches usually ranged with the Kiowas, as did also certain bands of Comanches, and sometimes the Prairie (Jicarilla) Apaches. The home country of all these bands was in what was then Mexican territory, and they usually kept well south of the Arkansas in order to avoid, as far as possible, the raiding parties of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who were constantly trying to take horses from them. In the thirties, and for a long time after that, the Kiowas used to make occasional trips north to visit their old friends and neighbors, the Crows, but when they did this they kept away to the westward, close to the mountains, in order to avoid the camps of the Cheyennes. Nevertheless, such traveling parties were sometimes discovered by the Cheyennes and Arapahoes and fights occurred. It was in such a fight between the Cheyennes and Kiowas in the sand hills east of where Denver now stands that a child, later known as White Cow Woman, was captured by the Cheyennes. She was a little girl, taken from the whites during a raid by the Kiowas when she was two or three years old, and a year or two later, in 1835, captured by the Cheyennes from the Kiowas. In 1908 she was still living with the Cheyennes, and was said to be seventy-five or seventy-six years old.

This war between the Indians north of the Arkansas and those living south of the river went on until 1840, and although Bent's Fort lay in the danger zone between the two groups and was constantly visited by the war parties of both sides, Colonel Bent kept on the best of terms with all of the tribes during the entire period of the war.

80. The choke cherries were pounded up, stones and all, made into small cakes and dried in the sun. These cakes were about a quarter of an inch thick and of a reddish-brown, or sometimes black, color.

The animals belonging to the fort were a constant temptation to the young men of the tribes to the south. The post stood in the open plain by the riverside, and there was an abundance of good grass close at hand, so that the herd was usually grazed within sight of the walls. Even so, however, the Indians on one or two occasions swept off the stock, as in 1839, when a party of Comanches hid in the bushes on the river bank and ran off every hoof belonging to the post. Farnham gives this account of the affair:

"About the middle of June, 1839, a band of sixty of them (Comanche), under cover of night, crossed the river and concealed themselves among the bushes that grow thickly on the bank near the place where the animals of the establishment feed during the day. No sentinel being on duty at the time, their presence was unobserved, and when morning came the Mexican horse guard mounted his horse, and with the noise and shouting usual with that class of servants when so employed, rushed his charge out of the fort, and riding rapidly from side to side of the rear of the band, urged them on and soon had them nibbling the short, dry grass in a little vale within grapeshot distance of the guns of the bastion. It is customary for a guard of animals about these trading posts to take his station beyond his charge, and if they stray from each other or attempt to stroll too far he drives them together, and thus keeps them in the best possible situation to be driven hastily to the corral should the Indians or other evil persons swoop down upon them. And as there is constant danger of this, his horse is held by a long rope and grazes around him, that he may be mounted quickly at the first alarm for a retreat within the walls. The faithful guard at Bent's on the morning of the disaster I am relating had dismounted after driving out his animals, and sat on the ground watching with the greatest fidelity for every call of duty, when these fifty or sixty Indians sprang from their hiding places, ran upon the animals, yelling horribly, and attempted to drive them across the river. The guard, however, nothing daunted, mounted quickly and drove his horse at full speed among them. The mules and horses hearing his voice amidst the frightening yells of the savages, immediately started at a lively pace for the fort, but the Indians were on all sides and bewildered them. The guard still pressed them onward and called for help, and on they rushed despite the efforts of the Indians to the contrary. The battlements were covered with men. They shouted encouragement to the brave guard, 'Onward! onward!' and the injunction was obeyed. He spurred his horse to his greatest speed from side to side and whipped the hindermost of the band with his leading rope. He had saved every animal. He was within twenty yards of the open gate. He fell; three arrows from the bows of the Comanches had cloven his heart, and, relieved of him, the lords of the quiver gathered their prey and drove them to the borders of Texas without injury to life or limb. I saw the faithful guard's grave. He had been buried a few days. The wolves had been digging into it. Thus forty or fifty mules and horses and their best servant's life were lost to the Messrs. Bent in a single day."

H. H. Bancroft states, in his "History of Colorado," on the authority of a pioneer manuscript, that Bent's Fort was once captured by the Indians and the garrison slaughtered. This, of course, is not true.

When the great peace was made between the tribes in 1840 the Indians met on the Arkansas below Bent's Fort, and then the two great camps moved up the river, where the Cheyennes and Arapahoes encamped on the north bank, with the camps of the Kiowas, Prairie Apaches and Comanches opposite on the south bank. It was a great gathering of Indians, and feasting, singing, dancing and drumming went on day and night. Though peace had just been made, there was danger that some of the old ill feeling that had so long existed between the tribes might still remain, and Colonel Bent, with his usual

wisdom, warned his employees that to these camps no spirits whatever should be traded. He recognized that if the Indians got drunk they would very likely begin to quarrel again, and a collision between members of tribes formerly hostile might lead to the breaking of the newly made peace. This was perhaps the greatest gathering of Indians ever held at Bent's Fort. How many were there will never be known. The peace that was made on this occasion has lasted until the present day.⁸¹

After this peace had been made, Bent's Fort was more than ever the gathering point for the tribes of the southern plains, and in the early forties, when an agent was appointed for these tribes, this post came to be considered a sort of headquarters for the agent, who came out there to meet the chiefs, and sometimes stored his annuity goods at the fort. When Thomas Fitzpatrick was agent he sometimes spent several months at Bent's. There was no government agency in those early days, and the agent merely traveled through the country visiting the tribes, giving them their presents, and then returning to St. Louis to make his report.

Up to the time of the Civil War there was not, perhaps, a year in which the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches did not make extended raids into Old Mexico, returning with large herds of stolen horses and mules. They also brought back numbers of peon captives, mostly women and children. From their frequent raids into Texas they brought white women and children, but the number of these white captives in the Indian camps was never large. On the other hand, the captive peons among these tribes were so numerous that it has been said that in some camps, particularly among the Comanches, almost every family had one or two Mexican boys to act as herders for the horses and a Mexican girl as servant in the lodge. These prisoners were usually well treated, and after a few years they became reconciled to their lot and married into the tribe, so that when, as sometimes happened, a white trader offered to ransom them and send them home they often refused to leave the Indians.

In those days the ransoming of peon captives held by the Indians was a recognized part of the duties of all Indian agents in the Southwest. In the Calhoun correspondence we have a number of interesting records concerning the peons ransomed by Agent Calhoun. Mexican traders usually ransomed these prisoners and brought them in to the agent's office, where the traders were paid for their services. The following is a record of two of these transactions, made by Agent Calhoun in 1850:

"Refugio Picaros, about twelve years of age, was taken from a rancho called Papascal, near St. Jago, state of Durango, Mexico, two years ago, by the Comanches, who immediately sold him to the Apaches, and with them he lived and roamed, on both sides of the Rio del Norte, until January last, when he was *bought* by Jose Francisco Lucero, a Mexican residing at the Mora, in this territory. He says the purchase was made at the Coro Carmel, about two days' travel east of the Rio del Norte, and four knives, one plug of tobacco, two fanegas of corn, four blankets, and six yards of red Indian cloth were paid for him. He has no father or mother alive, but has brothers and sisters."

"Teodora Martel, ten or twelve years of age, was taken from the service of Jose Alvarado, at La Popes, near Saltillo, Mexico, by Apaches two years ago, and has remained the greater portion of the time on the west side of the Rio del Norte. He was bought by Fowler (? Paulo) Sandoval, who also

81. For detail of this meeting see "The Fighting Cheyennes," p. 60.

resides at the Mora, from the Apaches at Ague Asule, near the Pecos river, in this territory, in February last. The payment for him was one mare, one rifle, one shirt, one pair of drawers, thirty small packages of powder, some bullets, and one buffalo robe. The boy was claimed by Diego Sandoval, from whom I received him. He knows of no relations."

Mexicans who had had members of their families carried off by the Indians sometimes came up to Bent's Fort, all the way from Durango and other points in Old Mexico, and remained at the fort for weeks or months, hoping for an opportunity to open communication with the Indians and to ransom their wives or children.⁸² One of these poor Mexicans who came up to the Arkansas about 1846 found on his arrival that his wife had been ransomed at Bent's Fort and had married an American trapper. The woman refused to leave her new husband, and the unfortunate Mexican family returned home alone.

In those early days Colonel Bent ransomed a number of these peon captives, some of whom returned to their homes in Old Mexico, but most of them, after remaining at the fort for a time, returned to the Indian camps. One of these peons who was ransomed in the late forties from the Kiowas by Colonel Bent later rejoined that tribe, and he was still living with them some years ago, aged eighty-two years.

Some of these peons, it is said, became famous warriors among the Comanches and Kiowas and led war parties into Old Mexico. They were reported to keep up communication with the peons near their old homes, and from them to learn of the movements of the Mexican troops, which ranches were unguarded, and where the largest herds and the most plunder were to be secured.

The early attempts made by the republic of Texas to attack Santa Fe kept the Indians near the upper Arkansas stirred up, and to some extent interfered with the trade of Bent & St. Vrain.

At the close of the year 1842 a Texas colonel named Warfield came up to the Arkansas and began boldly recruiting American citizens on American soil for a raid into New Mexico. He seems to have been at Bent's Fort or somewhere near by for some time, and in February, 1843, he went up to the South Platte and began recruiting at the trading posts. Sage saw him up there at Fort Lancaster, and says that he had a battle-scarred Texan flag which had been carried in the battle of Corpus Christi. He recruited twelve or fifteen men, mostly ex-trappers, at Lancaster.

Early in the spring Warfield assembled his men at a camp below Bent's Fort, at the mouth of the Purgatoire. From here the "Texans" marched into New Mexico and attacked the little frontier village of Mora, where they killed several men and ran off a number of horses. Soon after this, however, they were surprised in their camp by a force of Mexicans, who not only recovered the animals taken from Mora, but also stampeded all of Warfield's own horses. The Texans then burned their saddles and walked back to Bent's Fort, a weary way, where most of the men decided that they had had enough of "the war" and left the party.

In April of this same year Don Antonio Jose Chavez, a wealthy citizen of New Mexico, was captured on the Little Arkansas, about 100 miles from the

⁸². I have known several of these captives taken by Cheyennes or Kiowas. A book, "Andele, the Mexican Kiowa Captive," has been written about Andres Martinez, Louisville, 1899.

Missouri settlements, by a band of cutthroats who had been recruited in Missouri by a man named McDaniel, who claimed to hold a colonel's commission in the Texan army. Chavez was on his way to Missouri with a few servants and one wagon loaded with goods, some furs, and ten or twelve thousand dollars in gold and silver. After being robbed he was murdered in cold blood. Ten of the murderers were later caught and put on trial at St. Louis. McDaniel and his brother were sentenced to be hung, while the remaining eight men were given prison sentences.

Meantime a third Texas colonel, one Snively, with 180 real Texans, was marching northward through what is now western Oklahoma, with the object of attacking Mexican trains on the Santa Fe Trail. He reached the Arkansas May 24, forty miles below the Cimarron crossing, and went into camp on the south bank of the river, in what he claimed was Texas territory.

Here on the Arkansas, according to Yoakum's "History of Texas," a party of Bent's employees visited Snively and informed him that a large Mexican train was expected to reach the Cimarron crossing in a short time, on their return from Missouri to New Mexico, and that a body of 500 Mexican troops was encamped south of the crossing waiting to escort the wagons to Santa Fe. Yoakum then makes the strange statement that the leader of the Bent party offered to join Snively with forty of Bent's employees, and later to bring in forty more of Bent's men, making eighty in all, the combined forces to attack and plunder the Mexican train and divide the money and goods "*pro rata*." Later the leader of the Bent party sent word to Snively that it would be impossible for him to carry out this agreement.⁸³ Snively was now joined by a remnant of Warfield's party.

General Armijo with several hundred Mexican soldiers was encamped at Cold Springs, south of the Arkansas. In June he sent a force of his troops up toward Cimarron crossing, and on June 19 Snively came upon this party in the sand hills and attacked it, killing eighteen Mexicans and wounding and capturing a number of others. When Armijo heard of this affair he promptly broke camp and fled to Santa Fe, although his force greatly outnumbered that of Snively.⁸⁴

Soon after these events the Mexican caravan reached the crossing, escorted by Colonel Cooke with 200 United States dragoons. The Mexicans were afraid to cross the Arkansas. Colonel Cooke now went up the river, and some miles below the Caches he found Snively and Warfield with about 100 men encamped on the south bank of the river. Cooke crossed the river into Mexican territory and disarmed the Texans, part of whom, however,⁸⁵ saved their rifles by concealing them and handing over to the dragoons the old firelocks and *escopetas* they had captured from the Mexicans. Part of Snively's force, greatly discouraged, decided to return to Missouri with Colonel Cooke; but some three score of the Texans still had plenty of fight left in them, and

83. Yoakum's "History of Texas," reprinted in "Comprehensive History of Texas," vol. 1, pp. 412, 413.

84. It is said that this advance party of Armijo's force was made up mostly of Pueblo Indians, and that the killing of their men by the Texans on this occasion caused all whites to be bitterly hated by the Pueblos of eastern New Mexico and was a prime cause in the murder of Charles Bent and many other Americans who were killed during the insurrection of 1847 at Taos and elsewhere in northern New Mexico.

85. See Capt. P. St. G. Cooke's "A Day's Work of a Captain of Dragoons," *Army and Navy Journal*, 1882; also footnotes under "Westport and the Santa Fe Trade," Kansas Historical Collections, vol. IX, pp. 553-556.

led by Warfield they started in pursuit of the Mexican caravan, which by this time had crossed the Arkansas and was hurrying toward Santa Fe. The caravan succeeded in escaping the Texans, and Warfield presently gave up the chase and led his little band back to Texas through the heart of the hostile Kiowa and Comanche country.

These Texan expeditions during the years 1842 and 1843 caused a great stir along the upper Arkansas and in New Mexico. Because of these troubles Santa Ana issued a decree at Tacubaya, August 7, 1843, forbidding all trade between New Mexico and the United States, but even before this decree was issued all trade between Santa Fe and the Arkansas had been stopped and the lives of Americans residing in New Mexico had been threatened by mobs.

In connection with these Texan operations near the Arkansas, it may be noted that the statement made in the "Calhoun Correspondence" (p. 211), that in 1843 President Houston, of Texas, visited Bent's Fort and there signed a treaty of peace with the Comanche Indians, is an error. This treaty was really made on August 9, 1843, at *Bird's Fort* (the present Fort Worth) on the Trinity river, Texas. No government treaty with the Indians was ever signed at Bent's Old Fort.

At the time of the Texan raids our government began to take a new interest in New Mexico and California and sent out exploring expeditions to examine the country near the Mexican boundary, and beyond it, for the leaders of these expeditions often exhibited a strange disregard for boundary lines. Of these official explorers Fremont was the first on the scene. Coming down from the Platte, he reached Pueblo on the Arkansas in July, 1843, just after the Snively and Warfield raids. Here at Pueblo he learned of the bitter feeling against all Americans engendered by the Texan attacks; and finding it was not safe to send men into New Mexico, he sent Maxwell down to Bent's Fort for mules and supplies and then turned back toward the Platte. From there he went on west to California. On July 1, 1844, he reached Bent's Fort on his return homeward from the West, and here Carson, Walker and two more of his men left him.

On his third expedition Fremont reached Bent's Fort August 2, 1845, with a strong party. Here he left Lieutenant Abert⁸⁶ and Peck, who were to explore the country south of the Arkansas (Mexican territory), with a party of armed Americans. Having been joined at Bent's by Carson, Fremont left the post August 16 and pushed on toward California.

These exploring expeditions were soon followed by the outbreak of war between Mexico and the United States and by the march of General Kearny's army of the West across the plains to Bent's Fort. Kearny's force was a very small one—1,700 men, cavalry and artillery—which was to be followed by a reserve column of 1,800, commanded by Col. Sterling Price. The troops crossed the plains in detachments and assembled in a camp on the Arkansas nine miles below Bent's Fort. Here were found in camp a number of Santa Fe trains, 414 wagons in all, which feared to venture across into Mexican territory until the troops had cleared the way. The camp below Bent's Fort must have been a strange sight for the time. Including the Santa Fe traders, there were not far from 3,000 white men in the camp. The plains about it were covered by grazing herds, for besides the animals belonging to the

86. Abert Report, Senate Doc. 438, Washington, 1846.

traders, Kearny had a large train of his own with 1,000 mules, and there were about 3,000 cavalry and battery horses. Large camps of Indians had assembled to watch this gathering of whites, and some of the Cheyennes said they never supposed there were as many men in the "whole white tribe" as they now saw assembled in this one camp.

On July 31 General Kearny, at Bent's Fort, issued a proclamation to the people of New Mexico. He then sent Lieutenant De Courcay with twenty men to Taos, to discover the attitude of the people in that region with reference to the American invasion. On August 2 the army left its camp below Bent's Fort and began the march toward Santa Fe. Hughes, in his "Doniphan's Expedition," describes the march past Bent's Fort:

"The march upon Santa Fe was resumed August 2, 1846, after a respite of three days in the neighborhood of Fort Bent. As we passed the fort the American flag was raised in compliment to our troops, and, in concert with our own, streamed most animatingly on the gale that swept from the desert, while the tops of the houses were crowded with Mexican girls and Indian squaws, intently beholding the American army."

That day the fort was filled to overflowing with people—soldiers and officers, white trappers, Indian trappers, Santa Fe traders and teamsters, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas, and Indian women, the wives of trappers from the far-away Columbia and St. Lawrence. Everyone was busy talking, a babel of tongues and jargons. The employees with their wives and children had gathered on the flat roofs to witness the wonderful spectacle, while in a securely hidden nook one of the partners was rejoicing the souls of a few of his army friends with the contents of "a pitcher covered with the dew of promise." Magoffin was circulating through the crowd, greeting old friends and making the final preparations for his mysterious journey to Santa Fe and thence to Chihuahua, where he was to be locked up as an American spy and was later to regain his freedom by giving champagne suppers for his captors. Some 3,300 bottles of wine were consumed and charged to the account of the Department of State before Magoffin won his way free of the *calabozo*.⁸⁷

A cloud of dust moving up the road, at the rate of a horse walking fast, had heralded the advance of the army toward the fort. General Kearny rode at the head of the column; behind him came the old First dragoons on their big American horses; behind the dragoons Doniphan's regiment of Missouri cavalry, the two batteries of artillery, two companies of infantry and the wagon train. As the column drew near the fort it swung to the left and forded the river to the Mexican bank. That night the army camped on the Timpas, twenty miles away.

The statement has frequently been made that William Bent was given the honorary title of "colonel" as a reward for guiding Price's Missouri regiment across the plains in the wake of Kearny's army. This assertion seems to have originated in some old and unreliable account of Bent's Fort and of William Bent, and it has been repeated by all writers who have since dealt with these subjects. Colonel Bent really won his title by leading General

87. It is of official record that Magoffin put in a claim with our State Department for \$10,000 expended for champagne which was consumed by his Chihuahua captors, and that the State Department paid the bill. To this day no one knows what Magoffin's mission really was. [Upon Magoffin's mission Benton has something to say in his "Thirty Years' View," 1856, p. 683. See, also, Connelley's "Kansas and Kansans," p. 123 *et seq.*—Ed.]

Kearny's advance upon Santa Fe, as is clearly shown in Lieutenant Emory's journal of the march. "Yesterday," writes Emory on August 5, "William Bent and six others, forming a spy guard, were sent forward to reconnoiter the mountain passes. In this company was Mr. F. P. Blair, junior, who had been in this country some months for the benefit of his health.⁸⁸ Price's regiment was on that day two weeks' march in rear of Kearny's column.

The troops crossed the Raton pass, and on August 10 Bent's spy guard rode into camp on the Little Cimarron with five Mexican prisoners. The Americans thronged out to see these first specimens of the enemy they had crossed 700 miles of wilderness to meet in battle, and beheld five miserable peons, who, with grins of good nature on their swarthy faces, rode by mounted upon diminutive donkeys. The men were seated far back upon the rumps of the little animals, which they guided by tapping them on the sides with large clubs, for they had no bridles or reins. The American dragoons, all big men mounted on big horses, seemed to tower over the prisoners. Noting the expression of chagrin that settled on the faces of the dragoons when they beheld these samples of Mexican soldiery, Fitzpatrick, the guide, who was rarely seen to smile, burst suddenly into roars of laughter.

On the next day eight or ten more prisoners were brought in, evidently all captured by Bent's spy guard, and on the 13th Bent himself came into camp with four prisoners. On the 16th, near San Miguel, two Pueblo Indian scouts came in and reported that General Armijo with a large force of Mexicans was fortifying the canyon, fifteen miles east of Santa Fe, where they intended to attempt to stop Kearny's advance. The American troops were greatly cheered up at the prospect of a fight, but a rumor soon reached camp that the Mexicans were quarreling among themselves and that General Armijo had taken all of his artillery and 200 Mexican regular troops and fled, leaving only the raw militia levies to face the Americans. That same day as the column was passing the ruins of Pecos Pueblo, an alcalde—a large, fat man, mounted on a little donkey—rode up to General Kearny and announced that the Mexican forces had fled and that the road to Santa Fe lay clear. On the 18th the Americans passed through the canyon without meeting a man or firing a shot. Santa Fe was reached late in the day, and as the sun was setting the American flag was raised over the governor's palace and saluted with thirteen guns.

THE KILLING OF CHARLES BENT.

Having visited some of the Indian pueblos and assured himself that the country was tranquil, on September 22 General Kearny gave out a plan for a civil government for New Mexico, at the same time announcing the appointment of Charles Bent, of Taos, as governor, and a full set of territorial officials. Frank P. Blair was made United States attorney. About half of the appointees were Mexicans who had long been known as friends of the Americans. On the 25th General Kearny marched for California with the First dragoons, taking the northern route (the old Spanish trail), while some time later he sent Captain Cooke with the Mormon battalion by the unknown

88. Emory, "A Military Reconnaissance," p. 18.

southern route.⁸⁹ Doniphan's Missouri regiment was left in New Mexico to await the arrival of Price's regiment, which had not yet come up.

Hardly had the general gone when rumors began to be heard that the Mexicans and part of the Pueblo Indian population were planning a revolt against the Americans, and late in December evidence of such a plan was unearthed. These events are set forth in the following letter from Governor Bent to the Secretary of State:

"SANTA FE, N. M., Dec. 26, 1846.—*Sir*: I have been informed indirectly that Col. A. W. Doniphan, who in October last, marched with his regiment against the Navajo Indians, has made treaty of peace with them. Not having been officially notified of this treaty, I am not able to state the terms upon which it has been concluded; but, as far as I am able to learn, I have but little ground to hope that it will be permanent.

"On the 17th inst. I received information from a Mexican friendly to our government that a conspiracy was on foot among the native Mexicans, having for its object the expulsion of the United States troops and the civil authorities from the territory. I immediately brought into requisition every means in my power to ascertain who were the movers in this rebellion, and have succeeded in securing seven of the secondary conspirators. The military and civil officers are now both in pursuit of the two leaders and prime movers in the rebellion; but as several days have elapsed, I am apprehensive that they will have made their escape from the territory.

"So far as I am informed, this conspiracy is confined to the four northern counties of the territory, and the men considered as leaders in the affair cannot be said to be men of much standing.

"After obtaining the necessary information to designate and secure the persons of the participators in the conspiracy, I thought it advisable to turn them over to the military authorities in order that these persons might be dealt with more summarily and expeditiously than they could have been by the civil authorities.

"The occurrence of this conspiracy at this early period of the occupation of the territory will, I think, conclusively convince our government of the necessity of maintaining here, for several years to come, a sufficient military force. C. BENT."

Having taken measures for the arrest of the leaders of the conspiracy, Governor Bent set out from Santa Fe early in January for a few days' visit to his family at San Fernando de Taos, the little Mexican town in the valley of Taos. Some three miles from San Fernando was the pueblo of Taos, inhabited by partly Mexicanized Pueblo Indians. Three Pueblo thieves had been arrested and locked up in the San Fernando *calabozo* some time before the governor's arrival. On the 19th of January a mob of Pueblos, who had been made drunk and incited by certain Mexicans, entered the town and attempted to force the American sheriff, Lee, to give up these prisoners. Lee, being helpless to resist the Indians' demands, was on the point of releasing his prisoners when the prefect of the town, Vigil, a Mexican who had taken office under the American government, appeared among the Indians, and calling out to them in a fury that they were all thieves and scoundrels, ordered

89. The Mormons were emigrants who enlisted in order that they might reach California, where they wished to settle. The story of their march is one of the most remarkable in history. There were some 500 men in the battalion, and they were permitted to bring their families with them. They marched on foot 2,000 miles, more than half the distance being through an unknown desert country, where there was no road, often not even a trail, and where wood, water and grass were always scarce and often totally lacking. The women and children, together with some of the weaker men, were detached and sent to Pueblo above Bent's Fort, where they spent the winter of 1846-'47. See Tyler's "Concise History of the Mormon Battalion," 1881.

Lee to hold the three prisoners. Enraged at the prefect's harsh words, the Pueblos rushed upon him, killed him, cut his body into small pieces, and then, being joined by a number of Mexicans, set out to kill every American in the settlement.

Governor Bent's house was the first they visited. It was early in the morning and the governor and his family were still in bed. In the house, besides the governor, his wife and three children, were Mrs. Kit Carson (Mrs. Bent's sister), Mrs. Tom Boggs, and a Mexican woman servant.⁹⁰ Aroused by the noise of the approaching mob, Governor Bent ran to a window, and when the Indians came up he attempted to parley with them, reminding them of the many kindnesses he had done for them during the twenty years he had made Taos his home; but the Indians were all drunk on the wine and whisky given them by the Mexicans, and they replied to Bent's words with furious yells and began attacking the house. Some of them climbed up on the flat roof and started to break a hole through it. Mrs. Bent brought her husband's pistols to him and entreated him to defend himself, but he knew that if he fired on the Indians they would kill everyone in the house, and he refused to take the pistols.

In an adjoining room the women were breaking a hole through the adobe wall into the next house, which was occupied by a Canadian Frenchman and his Mexican wife. This woman aided them from the other side of the wall, and the hole was finished before the Indians succeeded in breaking into the Bent house. Some accounts state that Governor Bent was wounded before the hole in the wall was finished, the Indians firing at him through the small window and the hole in the roof.

Through the hole in the wall the women and children escaped into the adjoining house. Governor Bent seemed unwilling to follow them, but the pleading of his wife and children finally induced him to do so. "He retreated to a room," says Garrard, "but seeing no way of escaping from the infuriated assailants who fired upon him through a window, he spoke to his weeping wife and trembling children clinging to him with all the tenacity of love and despair, and taking paper from his pocket endeavored to write, but, fast losing strength, he commended them to God and his brothers and fell pierced by a Pueblo's ball."

The Indians now broke into the house and rushed upon the fallen man. They shot him with arrows and with his own pistols, and then tearing off his scalp they stretched it on a board with brass-headed tacks and paraded with it through the streets of the little town.

Besides Governor Bent, the Indians killed at Taos the sheriff, the prefect the district attorney; N. Beaubien, a son of Judge Beaubien; and Pablo Jaramillo, the brother of Mrs. Bent and Mrs. Carson. Mrs. Carson and Mrs. Boggs were rescued by an old Mexican, who disguised them as squaws and set them to grinding corn in his kitchen. Mrs. Bent and her children were kept shut up in the house with the dead body of the governor for a day and a night before the Indians would permit friendly Mexicans to bring them food and clothing.

The news of the murder of Charles Bent was brought to Bent's Fort by

90. Carson was at this time in California; Boggs was on the plains, carrying the government mails.

Charlie Autabee, and created great excitement and anger both among the whites and the Indians, for Charles Bent was exceedingly popular among all these people. The Cheyennes proposed to send a large war party to Taos, but this William Bent would not permit. He collected a party of white trappers and employees and set out for Taos, but on the way a messenger met the party with the news that Colonel Price had taken the Taos pueblo by storm and had killed about 200 Indians and Mexicans.

During this insurrection the Pueblos attacked a party of Americans at Turley's mill on the Arroyo Hondo. Ruxton says:.

"There were in the house at the time of the attack, eight white men, including Americans, French Canadians and one or two Englishmen, with plenty of arms and ammunition. Turley had been warned of the intended insurrection, but had treated the report with indifference and neglect, until one morning a man named Otterbees (Charles Autabee), in the employ of Turley, and who had been dispatched to Santa Fe with several mule loads of whisky a few days before, made his appearance at the gate on horseback, and hastily informing the inmates of the mill that the New Mexicans had risen and massacred Governor Bent and other Americans, galloped off. Even then Turley felt assured that he would not be molested, but at the solicitations of his men he agreed to close the gate of the yard, around which were the buildings of a mill and distillery, and make preparations for defense.

"A few hours after a large crowd of Mexican and Pueblo Indians made their appearance, all well armed with guns and bows and arrows, and advanced with a white flag and summoned Turley to surrender his house and the Americans in it, guaranteeing that his own life should be saved, but that every other American in the valley of Taos had to be destroyed; that the governor and all the Americans at Fernandez and the rancho had been killed, and that not one was to be left alive in all New Mexico.

"To this summons Turley answered that he would never surrender his house or his men, and that if they wanted it or them 'they must take them.'

"The enemy then drew off, and after a short consultation commenced the attack. The first day they numbered about 500, but the crowd was hourly augmented by the arrival of parties of Indians from the more distant Pueblos and of New Mexicans from Fernandez, La Cañada and other places.

"The buildings lay at the foot of a gradual slope in the Sierra, which was covered with cedar bushes. In front ran the stream of the Arroyo Hondo, about twenty yards from one side of the square, and on the other side was broken ground, which rose abruptly and formed the bank of the ravine. In rear and behind the stillhouse was some garden ground inclosed by a small fence and into which a small wicket gate opened from the corral.

"As soon as the attack was determined upon the assailants broke, and scattering, concealed themselves under the cover of the rocks and bushes that surrounded the house.

"From these they kept up an incessant fire upon every exposed portion of the building where they saw the Americans preparing for defense.

"They, on their part, were not idle. Not a man but was an old mountaineer, and each had his trusty rifle with a good store of ammunition. Wherever one of these assailants exposed a hand's breadth of his person there whistled a ball from an unerring barrel. The windows had been blockaded, loopholes being left to fire through, and through these a lively fire was maintained. Already several of the enemy had bitten the dust, and parties were constantly seen bearing off the wounded up the banks of the Cañada. Darkness came on, and during the night a constant fire was kept up on the mill, while its defenders, reserving their ammunition, kept their posts with stern and silent determination. The night was spent in running balls, cutting patches, and completing the defenses of the building. In the morning the fight was renewed, and it was found that the Mexicans had effected a lodgement in a part of the stables which were separated from the other portions of the building and between which was an open space of a few feet. The assailants during the

night had sought to break down the wall and thus enter the main building, but the strength of the adobes and logs of which it was composed resisted effectually all of their attempts.

"Those in the stable seemed anxious to regain the outside, for their position was unavailable as a means of annoyance to the besieged, and several had darted across the narrow space which divided it from the other part of the buildings and which slightly projected, and behind which they were out of the line of fire. As soon, however, as the attention of the defenders was called to this point, the first man who attempted to cross, and who happened to be a Pueblo chief, was dropped on the instant and fell dead in the center of the intervening space. It appeared an object to recover the body, for an Indian immediately dashed out to the fallen chief and attempted to drag him within the cover of the wall. The rifle which covered the spot again poured forth its deadly contents, and the Indian, springing into the air, fell over the body of his chief, struck to the heart. Another and another met with a similar fate, and at last three rushed the spot, and seizing the body by the legs and head had already lifted it from the ground, when three puffs of smoke blew from the barricaded window, followed by the sharp crack of as many rifles, and the three daring Indians added their number to the pile of corpses which now covered the body of the dead chief.

"As yet the besieged had met with no casualties, but after the fall of the seven Indians in the manner above described, the whole body of assailants with a shout of rage poured in a rattling volley and two of the defenders of the mill fell mortally wounded. One shot through the loins suffered great agony, and was removed to the stillhouse, where he was laid upon a large pile of grain, as being the softest bed to be found.

"In the middle of the day the assailants renewed the attack more fiercely than before, their baffled attempts adding to their furious rage. The little garrison bravely stood to the defense of the mill, never throwing away a shot, but firing coolly and only when a fair mark was presented to their unerring aim. Their ammunition, however, was fast failing, and to add to the danger of their situation, the enemy set fire to the mill, which blazed fiercely and threatened destruction to the whole building. Twice they succeeded in overcoming the flames, and taking advantage of their being thus occupied, the Mexicans and Indians charged into the corral, which was full of hogs and sheep, and vented their cowardly rage upon the animals, spearing and shooting all that came in their way. No sooner, however, were the flames extinguished in one place than they broke out more fiercely in another, and as a successful defense was perfectly hopeless, and the numbers of the assailants increased every moment, a council of war was held by the survivors of the little garrison, when it was determined, as soon as night approached, that every one should attempt to escape as best he might, and in the meantime the defense of the mill was to be continued.

"Just at dusk Albert and another man ran to the wicket gate, which opened into a kind of inclosed space and in which was a number of armed Mexicans. They both rushed out at the same moment, discharging their rifles full in the faces of the crowd. Albert in the confusion threw himself under the fence, whence he saw his companion shot down immediately and heard his cries for mercy mingled with shrieks of pain and anguish as the cowards pierced him with knives and lances. Lying without motion under the fence, as soon as it was quite dark he crept over the logs and ran up the mountain, traveled day and night, and scarcely stopping or resting, reached the Greenhorn almost dead with hunger and fatigue. Turley himself succeeded in escaping from the mill and in reaching the mountain unseen. Here he met a Mexican, mounted on a horse, who had been a most intimate friend of the unfortunate man for many years. To this man Turley offered his watch (which was treble its worth) for the use of his horse, but was refused. The inhuman wretch, however, affected pity and commiseration for the fugitive, and advised him to go to a certain place, where he would bring or send him assistance, but on reaching the mill, which was now a mass of fire, he immediately informed the Mexicans of his place of concealment, whither a large party instantly proceeded and shot him to death.

"Two others escaped and reached Santa Fe in safety. The mill and Turley's house were sacked and gutted, and all his hard-earned savings, which were considerable, and concealed in gold about the house, were discovered, and, of course, seized upon by the victorious Mexicans.

"The Indians, however, met a few days after with a severe retribution. The troops marched out of Santa Fe, attacked their Pueblo and leveled it to the ground, killing many hundreds of its defenders and taking many prisoners, most of whom were hanged."

On February 13, 1847, the funerals of Governor Bent and of Captain Burgwin, killed in the storming of the Taos pueblo, were held at Santa Fe. The body of the officer was later removed to his home in the States, but here at Santa Fe, in the national cemetery, Charles Bent still lies at rest.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD FORT.

After the death of Charles Bent, in 1847, William Bent continued the business of Bent & St. Vrain. We do not know just when St. Vrain left the firm. Bancroft informs us that in 1847 Bent & St. Vrain drove several thousand head of New Mexican cattle up to the Arkansas and wintered them near Bent's Fort.⁹¹ In October, 1849, Agent Calhoun in one of his reports referred to William Bent as one of the owners of Bent's Fort, which would imply that St. Vrain was still a partner at that date. Even as late as 1850 Agent Fitzpatrick speaks of Bent's Fort as "Messrs. Bent and St. Vrain's post."⁹²

At this period the business of Bent & St. Vrain began to decline, as did also that of all the other large companies engaged in the Indian trade. The late thirties had witnessed the decline of the beaver trade and the breaking up of the old trapping brigades, and now in the late forties the Indian trade was falling off to such an extent that each year it became more evident that the days of the large trading post with its hundred or more employees were numbered. Such a post could no longer be operated profitably with a full complement of men, and the companies that owned large posts now began to consider how they might best dispose of them. At this time the government was beginning to establish lines of military posts for the protection of the overland routes, and wherever the trading companies had established large posts at convenient points on these routes the War Department showed a disposition to buy the posts. Fort Laramie was thus purchased and turned into a military post in 1849, and about the same time Colonel Bent opened negotiations with the War Department looking toward the sale of Bent's Fort. Just what price Bent asked for the post we do not know;⁹³ but whatever the sum named was, the War Department thought it too high and declined

91. Bancroft, "History of Colorado," p. 543, footnote.

92. At this time St. Vrain was actively engaged in business and politics in New Mexico. After Charles Bent's death, Vigil became acting governor. He wished to resign in St. Vrain's favor, but St. Vrain refused to accept the office. When he learned, however, that a pro-slavery plot was on foot and that an attempt was to be made to force New Mexico into the Union as a slave state, St. Vrain at once took up the fight against slavery. He was elected delegate from Taos to the territorial convention in 1849 and in the following year ran for lieutenant-governor on the antislavery ticket. The slave party won the election by an overwhelming vote and at once attempted to organize a state government, but the military authorities stepped in and put a stop to their proceedings. We do not find St. Vrain again referred to in connection with affairs north of the Arkansas until 1858-1859, when, after the discovery of gold in Colorado, he and St. James sent a wagon train of goods up to the new town of Denver and opened a store there.

93. The price asked is given variously as \$12,000, \$16,000, and Twitchell places it as high as \$50,000, but it was probably much less than that.

to purchase. Colonel Bent felt this action of the officials to be unjust and unfriendly, and resented it. He had always welcomed government explorers and military parties at the fort and assisted them in every way that lay in his power. During the critical months of 1846 and 1847 he had freely given the government the use of his fort as a supply depot for the army in the Southwest; all of the sick had also been left at Bent's Fort and rooms had been provided for hospital purposes. Considering all these things, it is easy to understand that Colonel Bent considered that the War Department was treating him badly, and rather than sell the fort at what he believed to be an unfair price he determined to blow it up.⁹⁴

It was in the fall of 1852 that Colonel Bent destroyed the old fort, which had been completed just twenty years before. One morning he loaded all his goods upon his twenty large wagons, each drawn by six yoke of oxen, and moved down the river to Short Timber creek, five miles below the fort, where he camped for the night. The next morning Bent rode up the river alone and set fire to the fort. Those who were with the wagons heard the report of the distant explosion as the powder magazine blew up. Colonel Bent then rejoined the train and they moved down to the Big Timbers, where they spent the winter trading with the Indians. That winter Bent also had an outfit at Fort St. Vrain, on the South Platte, trading with the northern bands.⁹⁵

The Big Timbers of the Arkansas was one of the most famous places in the whole plains region in early days. From the vicinity of Council Grove, in eastern Kansas, to the mountains the old trail up the Arkansas was practically treeless except at this one point. Pike, in 1806, was the first to note the groves at the Big Timbers, and here he noted signs of Indians, for even at that early period the place was probably a favorite wintering ground for the peoples of the plains.

There is reason to believe that in early years the Big Timbers extended over thirty miles along the river. The trees were very large cottonwoods standing in open groves, without underbrush, on the bottom lands and also up the numerous small islands in the river. As the years went by more and more of these great trees were cut down or otherwise destroyed, and the last of them disappeared about 1863.⁹⁶ George Bent states that about 1853 the Big Timbers were only about five miles long and two miles broad, occupying a fine bottom some miles above Bent's New Fort. His description probably applies only to the main grove, where the trees stood thickest. In that year, 1853, Gunnison and Beckwith passed up the Arkansas, and in their journal they describe the Big Timbers as follows:

94. Bent's reasons for blowing up the fort were mixed. He said at the time he could not live in the place any longer; that two of his brothers and his wife had died there, and that the memories the sight of the old rooms continually evoked saddened him. This was what he said to his second wife, Yellow Woman, on the day he destroyed the fort. His resentment at the War Department's action was no doubt another reason.

95. Calhoun reported from Santa Fe, October 5, 1849, that Bent's Fort had been abandoned and burned. Gunnison and Beckwith state in their journal that Bent abandoned and destroyed the fort about 1849. These statements are certainly incorrect. Agent Fitzpatrick states in his official reports that he was at Bent's Fort from December, 1849, to February, 1850. Carvalho says that the Indians sacked and destroyed the post in 1852. This also is incorrect. George Bent was with the train when his father destroyed the post, and he is quite certain this occurred in the fall of 1852. He should know, for that is the year he was sent to school.

96. The commandant at Fort Lyon complains in 1864 that the whole country about the post is now entirely bare of timber and that fuel is only obtainable at great distances from the place.

"JULY 26.—Seven miles from camp we reached what is called the Big Timbers, a section of the river about twenty-four miles in length, on the islands and banks of which more than the usual amount of cottonwood grows. It deserves the name, however, only when compared with this river as I have described it a few days back. The trees are scattered over the bottom in numbers not unlike those [left standing] in the new cotton fields of Georgia and Alabama, with inviting shades; but they are not thick enough to obstruct the view, and the opposite bank of the river discovers the same dry hills as heretofore. . . .

"JULY 27.—A dense fog hanging over the valley until ten o'clock concealed the sterile hills of the opposite side of the river, and, leaving in view only the line of timber as we rode near it, awakened remembrances of the beautiful forests which sometimes skirt the western prairies. A mile from camp we passed two or three log houses occupied as a trading station by Mr. William Bent during the past winter, but now left vacant, and as yet undestroyed by the Indians. . . . Thirteen miles brought us to the termination of the Big Timber, where the argillaceous sandstone hills again approach the river, and the road passes quite frequently over these small spurs."⁹⁷

From this it would appear that George Bent was right, and that the Big Timbers in 1853 were only about five miles long, although there were thin lines of timber all along the river at this place, and the points still known as the upper and lower end of the Big Timbers were about twenty-five miles apart.

The trees at the Big Timbers were very large and tall, probably as large as the cottonwoods Captain Marcy saw on the Canadian, one of which measured nineteen and a half feet in circumference. On warm winter days the Indian women often worked on the sunny side of the big tree trunks. Buffalo were usually plentiful near the Big Timbers in winter and the women had large numbers of robes to dress.

The Big Timbers of the Arkansas were called the Tall Timbers by the Cheyennes in early days, but after 1833 they often called the grove, or the upper end of it, "Red Shin's Standing-ground." This name, however, should more properly be applied only to a stone knob or point of bluff that stood out in the valley at the upper end of the grove. In 1833 a camp of Cheyennes was wintering here, and Red Shin and another man in this camp had a quarrel over a woman, and Red Shin had rather the better of it until the other man called on his brothers for aid and they all ran for their arms. Red Shin then went to his lodge and got two flint-lock muskets, one bow, one quiver of arrows, two butcher knives, one tomahawk. Carrying this small arsenal he ran to a stone knob about twenty-five feet high standing out in the open valley, and from the top of this knob he called out in a loud voice and challenged his enemies to come and fight. These men quickly made their appearance and advanced to the attack. Bull-cannot-rise was one of them. He told George Bent years ago that when he and his companions started toward the stone knob Red Shin began shooting arrows at them. One arrow went right through Bull-cannot-rise's hair, and the other attackers also had very narrow escapes. The affair did not last long, for the attackers soon sought cover, and before the fight could be resumed friends of both sides interfered and persuaded the belligerents to arbitrate. The Cheyennes, how-

97. "Pacific Railroad Surveys," vol. 2, pp. 27, 28.

ever, were greatly impressed by Red Shin's warlike demonstration, and they always afterward spoke of this place as Red Shin's Standing-ground.⁹⁸

William Bent had built trading houses at the Big Timbers long before 1852; in fact, Boggs says that Bent had a trading house there as early as 1844. Another trader named Thorpe also had a trading house there about 1846. He is mentioned in the Boggs manuscript and also by Ruxton, who met him at Pueblo in the winter of 1846-'47. While taking his robes to Westport in the following spring, Thorpe left his train to go out alone after buffalo and was killed by a passing war party, probably of Pawnees.

After destroying Bent's Fort in the fall of 1852, William Bent sent some of his men with trade goods up to the Platte, where they traded that winter at old Fort St. Vrain.⁹⁹ With the rest of the wagons Bent moved down below the Big Timbers and built three trading houses on the plot where later old Fort Lyon was built. These log houses were built in the valley, which is narrow at this point, and under the shelter of a high bluff. The houses formed three sides of a square, with the open side facing the river enclosed with pickets.

Young George Bent was at the trading houses that winter and saw many strange sights. Buffalo were plentiful near the Big Timbers and the Indians had gathered there in great force. A big camp of Cheyennes had pitched their lodges near the log houses; two miles below, on the north side of the river, was the Arapahoe village; on the south bank, opposite the trading houses, were the camps of the Kiowas and Prairie Apaches, while farther down on the south side the northern bands of Comanches had gone into winter camp. At night when the soldier societies were giving dances you could hear the drums beating in the camps all night long. In the daytime the trading houses were crowded with Indians bringing in their robes to trade. The Cheyenne and Arapahoe women brought in their robes on their own backs, but the women from the camps on the other side of the river brought theirs on the backs of mules and horses.

During the winter a war party of nine Pawnees stole some horses from the camp of Thunder Bull's band of Arapahoes, but on their way home the Pawnees were surprised by a party of Cheyennes and all were killed. This was on the Smoky Hill fork. The Cheyennes brought the Pawnee scalps to the camps at the Big Timbers and a big scalp dance was held in front of Bent's houses. At about this time another war party came in with some Pueblo scalps.

In the spring of 1853 Colonel Bent loaded his wagons and set out for Westport, taking his family with him. He had now made up his mind to build a new fort at the place where he had spent the winter. Here at the Big Timbers he would be in much closer touch with the tribes than he had been at the old fort and it would be easier for him to control their trade. The new post was to be built of stone and was to be much smaller than Bent's Old

98. Letter from George Bent to G. E. Hyde, February 4, 1913. This Red-Skin is not the Red Skin who went to Washington after the Horse creek council near Fort Laramie in 1851.

99. Whether Fort St. Vrain was still standing at this time we do not know; but William Bent kept several men at that point each winter to trade with the Indians. He also had a trading house on what the Indians called Scout creek, east of where Denver now stands. These trading houses were occupied only in winter and were always located near where large bodies of Indians were wintering.

Fort. At Westport, therefore, Colonel Bent hired a number of workmen, including masons and carpenters. One of the latter, a Frenchman named David Trampe, or Trampeau, George Bent remembers very well. All the hardware and most of the woodwork, such as doors and windows, needed for the building were bought at Westport.

At this time Colonel Bent had a contract for freighting government supplies from Westport to Santa Fe. He loaded most of his wagons with these supplies, the rest with the materials required for the building of his new fort, and then set out from Westport. Arriving at Aubrey's crossing on the Arkansas, the train was divided; the wagons loaded with materials for the new post went on up to the Big Timbers—Colonel Bent's wife drove the leading wagon and had the children in the wagon with her—while most of the wagons, loaded with government supplies, with Bent himself in charge, went on to Santa Fe. Colonel Bent on this trip used the new trail which had been opened by Aubrey in 1852.¹⁰⁰ Unloading his wagons at Santa Fe, Bent took the old Bent's Fort trail from Santa Fe to the Arkansas and went down to the Big Timbers, where the men were already at work on the new fort. The wagons were all set to hauling stone, abundance of which was to be found near by, and the building was far enough along to be occupied before winter set in.¹⁰¹

Bent's New Fort stood on the north bank of the Arkansas, about thirty-eight miles below the old fort, and just about opposite the present town of Prowers, Colo.¹⁰² We have no detailed description of the building. It was built of stone and the interior was divided into a number of rooms. Although much smaller than the old fort, it was large enough for Colonel Bent's purposes. That winter, 1853-'54, the Indians again gathered at the Big Timbers in large numbers. Later in the winter smallpox broke out in the camp of the Prairie Apaches on the south bank of the river, opposite the fort. A large number of these people died and the bodies were placed in crevices and holes in a big stone bluff on the south side of the river, about four miles below Boggy creek. This bluff, "the place where the Apaches lay in holes," is remembered as a landmark by the older Cheyennes even to-day. In the following spring, 1854, a war party of Cheyennes visited a Kiowa camp in which smallpox had broken out and brought the infection to a small Cheyenne camp near Bent's New Fort. Colonel Bent promptly took steps to isolate this camp, warning all the other Indians to keep away, with the result that it is said that only one person died—a man who had brought an infected blanket from the Kiowa camp. The Cheyennes have often told me that this

100. Aubrey's crossing was about seventy miles above the usual crossing for Santa Fe trains—the old Cimarron crossing. Aubrey was a freighter who had large wagon trains running between Missouri and Santa Fe. His famous ride from Santa Fe to the Missouri river was made in 1852. In 1854 he made another ride, on a wager, from Independence to Santa Fe, in which town he was stabbed to death in a quarrel with Major Weightman shortly after his arrival, August 18, 1854. See Major's "Seventy Years on the Frontier," Chicago, 1893, p. 186; Root's "Overland stage to California," Topeka, 1901, pp. 54, 425.

101. This is George Bent's recollection. Our printed accounts of the building of the new fort are meager and conflicting. One of them states that the fort was begun in the spring of 1853, but Gunnison and Beckwith passed the site in July of that year and found no one there and no signs of a building under construction.

102. It is impossible to give the distances exactly, as we do not know the distances by the old trail then in use. Bent's New Fort is shown on the Wheeler survey map No. 62 D, made in 1875-1877. On this map the fort is shown about due north of the Prowers post office and one mile east of Old Fort Lyon, which agrees exactly with George Bent's location of the post, made from memory.

was the only occasion on which they had smallpox, though several times they had measles, which to them was very fatal.

From 1854 onward Colonel Bent continued to trade with the Indians. He also hauled government supplies almost every year from 1852 to 1862. He used to say that for making one trip with his train the government paid him enough to enable him to purchase all the Indian goods he needed for a whole year's trade. During this period the government often stored the Indian



THREE FINGERS,

Former chief of Southern Cheyennes; in conversation with the Indian agent.

annuities at Bent's New Fort, and the agent for the upper Arkansas tribes made the post his headquarters.

In 1857 the Cheyennes had their first serious trouble with the whites, and Colonel Sumner made a campaign against them. While Sumner was trailing the Indians on the plains of western Kansas the Indian agent suddenly arrived at Bent's Fort with the annuity goods and asked permission to store them in the fort as usual. Colonel Bent was unwilling to permit this, as the Indians were very angry and he was afraid they might attempt to seize the annuities and so attack the fort. Yellow Wolf's band of Cheyennes was

encamped one mile east of the fort and the Arapahoes had their camp one mile west, on the site of the old log trading houses. These Indians had just received news that Sumner had attacked the Cheyennes on Solomon's fork of the Kansas river. William Bent and Agent Miller¹⁰³ sat up all night talking the matter over, and toward morning Bent proposed that he should move out with his men and goods and turn over the fort to the agent, who could then store the annuities in the buildings. Miller agreed to this, and before day Bent had loaded his wagons and abandoned the fort. Soon after this Colonel Sumner made a forced march up the Arkansas and seized the Cheyenne annuities at Bent's Fort. Part of the goods he gave to his troops, the rest to the Arapahoes.

In 1858 a party of gold seekers came up the Arkansas to Bent's Fort and examined the country from there north to beyond the Platte. They found a little gold, and the following year there was a great rush of gold hunters to the "Pike's Peak country," as the region was then known. One hundred thousand men are said to have gone to Colorado that year, of whom about 50,000 remained in the mountains.

In 1859 Colonel Bent leased Bent's New Fort to the War Department, and the place was at once garrisoned. The post was at first called Fort Fautleroy, after the colonel of the old First dragoons, but the name was soon changed to Fort Wise, in honor of the governor of Virginia. In the summer of 1860 the troops began to build a new post one mile west of Bent's stone fort and on the exact site of Bent's log houses which he had occupied during the winter of 1852-'53. When the Civil War began Governor Wise joined the Confederates, and Fort Wise had to be renamed, this time in honor of General Lyon, killed at Wilson's creek, Missouri, and the first Union general to fall in the war. During the war more buildings were put up at Fort Lyon, and Bent's stone building was used only as a commissary and as a place for holding councils with the Indians. In 1866 the river began cutting away the bank and threatened to destroy Fort Lyon, and the place was abandoned and New Fort Lyon was built twenty miles farther up the river, two miles below the mouth of the Purgatoire.

Meantime, in 1859, William Bent had built a stockade on the west bank of the Purgatoire, one hundred yards south of the Arkansas. Here he continued to trade with the Indians, who often visited the stockade in considerable numbers even during the troublous times that followed the outbreak of the Civil War. William Bent also went to trade in the camps and sent out parties of men to trade for him. In 1859 he was appointed agent for the upper Arkansas tribes, but resigned after serving for one year. When the Indian war began in the spring of 1864, Colonel Bent was employed by the government to visit the Indian camps and to attempt to localize the troubles; but with the troops roving the country, attacking Indians wherever found, no one could control the tribes. In the late fall of that year the massacre of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Sand creek put an end to the old life on the upper Arkansas. Even after peace was made in 1865, the Indians did not venture into Colorado, and three years later they were forced down into what is now Oklahoma and

103. George Bent often saw Agent Miller at Westport about 1856-1858. He was a good-looking man about thirty years old. He affected the frontier fashions, wearing buckskins, letting his hair hang down to his shoulders and parting it in the middle. He had been a sailor and had a ship tattooed on his arm.

put upon a reservation. Thus in his last years William Bent was separated from the Indians among whom he had lived for over forty years.

Colonel Bent, however, was not without friends and companions in his last days. His daughter Mary had become the wife of Judge Moore, who had a ranch on the Arkansas below the mouth of the Purgatoire, and other old friends had ranches in the same neighborhood. In 1867 Tom Boggs established a little settlement, called Boggsville, near the mouth of the Purgatoire, and in the spring of 1868 Carson came here to live, bringing his wife and children with him. Carson had recently resigned his commission as colonel in the army; he was almost without means and in very poor health, suffering from the effects of a fall from his horse in 1860. In March, 1868, he went East with a delegation of Utes, returning to Colorado toward the end of that month, very ill. Hardly had he reached home when his wife died, and shortly afterward he took to his bed. On May 14 he was removed across the river to Fort Lyon, where he could be constantly under the care of the post surgeon, and there he died, May 23, just one month after his wife's death. William Bent died at his ranch on the Purgatoire, May 19, 1869. On October 29, 1870, Ceran St. Vrain died at his son's ranch at Mora, N. Mex.

Such is the story of Bent's Old Fort and of the men who built it. Unless some manuscript, the existence of which is now unknown, should hereafter be discovered, it is not likely that we shall ever know much more of this frontier trading post that once played such an important part in the settlement and holding of the old Southwest.

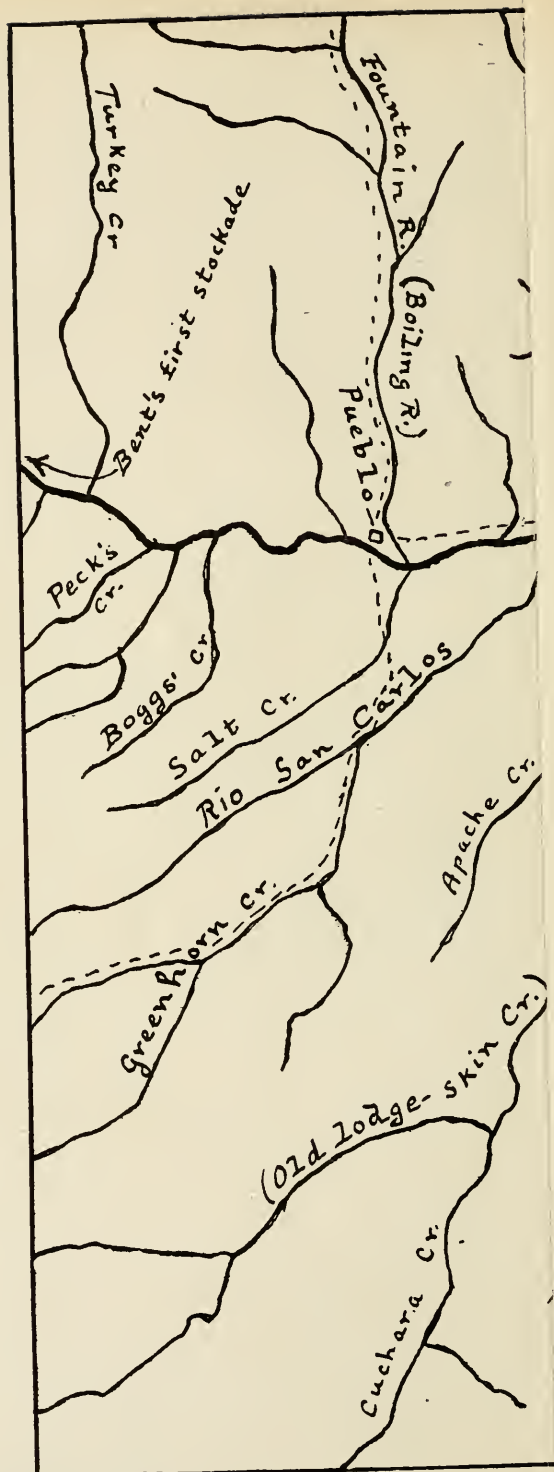
3
e
3
f
l
;
e
s
-
3.
of
;
[t
n
is
of

put upon a reservation. Thus in his last years William Bent was separated from the Indians among whom he had lived for over forty years.

Colonel Bent, however, was not without friends and companions in his last days. His daughter Mary had become the wife of Judge Moore, who had a ranch on the Arkansas below the mouth of the Purgatoire, and other old friends had ranches in the same neighborhood. In 1867 Tom Boggs established a little settlement, called Boggsville, near the mouth of the Purgatoire, and in the spring of 1868 Carson came here to live, bringing his wife and children with him. Carson had recently resigned his commission as colonel in the army; he was almost without means and in very poor health, suffering from the effects of a fall from his horse in 1860. In March, 1868, he went East with a delegation of Utes, returning to Colorado toward the end of that month, very ill. Hardly had he reached home when his wife died, and shortly afterward he took to his bed. On May 14 he was removed across the river to Fort Lyon, where he could be constantly under the care of the post surgeon, and there he died, May 23, just one month after his wife's death. William Bent died at his ranch on the Purgatoire, May 19, 1869. On October 29, 1870, Ceran St. Vrain died at his son's ranch at Mora, N. Mex.

Such is the story of Bent's Old Fort and of the men who built it. Unless some manuscript, the existence of which is now unknown, should hereafter be discovered, it is not likely that we shall ever know much more of this frontier trading post that once played such an important part in the settlement and holding of the old Southwest.





NOTES ON A MAP OF THE UPPER ARKANSAS.

[It should be remembered that all of the streams east of Fountain river, except three or four of the larger ones, are mere dry beds the greater part of the year.]

Bent's first stockade, built in 1824 (or 1826?) was on the north bank of the river above Pueblo; some say twenty miles above Fountain river.

Pike's stockade, or redoubt, built in the winter of 1806-'07 was on the south side of the Arkansas about opposite the mouth of Fountain river.

Pueblo was established in 1843 on the west side of Fountain river and the north bank of the Arkansas. On map No. 3 which accompanies the volume of "Calhoun's correspondence," this place is set down as "Pueblo de San Carlos."

Fountain river was called by the Spaniards Rio Almagre (Red Ochre or Red Earth river) and Boiling river by the Cheyennes. The old mountain trail from the Platte came down the valley of this stream, crossed the river at Pueblo and went on south to Taos. There seem to have been several branches of this trail. One passed south via the San Carlos and Greenhorn, joining the old Ute trail. From the upper valley of Fountain river a trail struck westward into the South Park. This was the war trail of the Utes, Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

Gant & Blackwell's post, built in 1832, abandoned before 1835, was on the north bank of the Arkansas about six miles below Fountain river. (See "Col. Henry Dodge's Report," 1835.)

Rio San Carlos, or Rio Don Carlos, as it was termed in the original Spanish land grant, comes in from the south, about opposite Gant & Blackwell's post. The eastern branch of this stream is the Greenhorn, named for the famous Comanche chief, Cuernoverde, who thrived early in the 18th century.

Black Squirrel creek comes in from the north, about ten miles below the San Carlos. The stream is sometimes called Chico, a name also given to another creek on the south side of the river at this place. A trail led up Black Squirrel creek, across the divide and down Cherry creek to the South Platte. The name Black Squirrel creek dates back from the early forties, but no clue is given as to how the name originated. This stream seems to be the one that is marked on Lieutenant Parke's map (No. 3 in the "Calhoun Correspondence") as "Sage creek."

Apache creek comes in from the south, a little above Black Squirrel creek. Called Apache creek in Sage (1843); to-day usually set down as Chico creek.

Booneville, established by Col. A. G. Boone, a son or nephew of Daniel Boone and a close friend of William Bent, stood on the north bank of the Arkansas about six miles below Black Squirrel creek. The place became a stage station during the Civil War, but did not grow and seems to have been abandoned soon after the war. Booneville is shown on the Wheeler Survey map No. 62 A.

Wolf's Den creek, so called in Sage, 1843, comes in from the north, about ten miles below Black Squirrel creek and about opposite the mouth of the Rio Huerfano. The stream is now known as Haynes creek, probably for Mr. Haynes who had the contract for building the Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency at Point of Rocks in 1864.

Rio Huerfano (often pronounced "wofano" by the American trappers and traders) comes in from the south about opposite Wolf's Den or Haynes creek. The Cheyennes called the Huerfano "Old Lodge Skin creek," because of the butte near the stream which from a distance resembled an old dilapidated Indian lodge. (Information of George Bent, May 3, 1917.)

Pawnee Hills was the name given by the Cheyennes to the bluffs along the north side of the Arkansas opposite the mouth of the Huerfano. Here about 1833 the Cheyennes and Arapahoes attacked and exterminated a large war party of Pawnees.

Leaving the South Platte near where Denver now stands, a trail struck up Cherry creek, across the ridge, down Black Squirrel creek, crossed the Arkansas near the mouth of the Huerfano, and then ran about south across the head of the Apishapa, joining the Bent's Fort trail in the upper valley of the Purgatory. This trail is marked on the map accompanying Chittenden's "Fur Trade." It is mentioned by Sage, Fremont and other early travelers.

Old Fort Reynolds stood on the south bank of the Arkansas a little above the mouth of the Huerfano. It is shown on the Wheeler map No. 62 A, and is mentioned in some old books; but when it was built and when abandoned we do not know.

Camp Fillmore stood on the north bank of the Arkansas, ten miles below Booneville. It was garrisoned by Colorado cavalry during the Civil War and there was also a stage station there.

Apishapa creek comes in from the south about twenty miles below the Huerfano. This stream was called Quarreling creek by the Cheyennes. "Many years ago a village of

Indians encamped there began to quarrel among themselves. Both men and women took part in the dispute. They did not fight; merely talked at each other—scolded." George Bent states that this was a Cheyenne village and that the quarrel arose during the selection of new chiefs to take the place of the old ones.

Spring Bottom was the name of a camping place on the north side of the Arkansas. George Bent states that this place was about twenty miles above Bent's Old Fort, which agrees with Colonel Leavenworth's statement that it was twenty miles below Camp Fillmore. Spring Bottom was therefore at or just below the mouth of Bob creek and some miles above Rocky Ford.

Patterson's creek, about opposite Spring Bottom, was probably named for an early trapper or trader. Sage mentions Patterson's creek in 1843.

Timpas Arroya, or *Dry Arroya*, comes in from the south about ten miles below Patterson's creek. The Arkansas valley along this stretch from Spring Bottom to Bent's Fort was very arid and very sterile. There was no wood and very little good grass.

Bent's Old Fort, or *Fort William*, stood on the north bank of the Arkansas 300 yards from the river. The exact site as fixed by modern surveys was in Otero county, just west of the Otero-Bent county line, latitude $38^{\circ} 3'$, longitude $103^{\circ} 25'$. (From United States Geological Survey map; Las Animas sheet map of Colorado.)

As many incorrect statements have been made as to distances to and from Bent's Fort, the following distances are given as approximately correct: Pueblo (mouth of Fountain river) to Bent's Fort, 70 miles; Bent's Fort to the mouth of Purgatory river, by the old trail, 15 miles; Bent's Fort to the upper end of the Big Timbers (as fixed by Gunnison and Beckwith), about 28 miles; Bent's Old Fort to Bent's New Fort, about 38 miles; Bent's Old Fort to the Cimarron crossing of the Arkansas, about 140 miles; Bent's Old Fort to Independence, Mo., 530 miles.

The Bent's Fort trail, or Mountain branch of the Santa Fe Trail, crossed the Arkansas at the ford at Bent's Fort and ran southwest, joining the main Santa Fe Trail at the crossing of the Mora; fifteen miles south of Ocató creek a trail branched off from the Bent's Fort trail and ran due west, crossing the mountains, to Taos.

The adobe walls of Bent's Old Fort stood for many years after the destruction of the fort in 1852. Part of the old walls were utilized in the building of a ranch house, which was later turned into a stage station and eating house. The place was abandoned after the railroad came in, in the seventies. In 1912 parts of the adobe walls were still about four feet high, but in most places they had crumbled into mere low mounds of earth. A granite monument has now been erected inside the old walls, and Mr. A. E. Reynolds, of Denver, who owned the ground, has presented the site to the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, to be used as a park for the people of Bent and Otero counties, Colorado.

Point of Rocks was twenty miles below Spring Bottom, and therefore not far below Bent's Old Fort. There was a ranch at this point in 1864. Another Point of Rocks farther down the river, about opposite Bent's New Fort, was where the Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency was being established in 1864, while a third Point of Rocks was on the north side of the Arkansas about twelve miles above Cimarron crossing, near Pierceville, Kan.

Short Timber creek was the Cheyenne name for a creek that comes in from the north between five and six miles below Bent's Fort. The stream is now known as Horse, or Wild Horse, creek, and its upper branch as Pond creek. It was at the mouth of this stream that Kit Carson and the Bent employees had their camp in 1831. Francis Parkman camped at the mouth of this creek on the evening after he left Bent's Fort in 1847. On Lieutenant Parke's map (map No. 3 in the "Calhoun Correspondence") this stream is called Upper Dry creek.

Skunk creek, so called by the Cheyennes, comes from the north just below Short Timber creek. On Lieutenant Parke's map (1851) it is marked Lower Dry creek; on the Wheeler Survey map No. 62 D it is marked Coffee creek, while on modern maps it is set down as Adobe creek. Its western branch is sometimes known as Wild Horse creek.

Purgatory river comes from the south about fifteen miles below Bent's Old Fort. This is the most important tributary of the upper Arkansas. The Spanish name for the stream was Rio de Las Animas Perdidas; the French form was Purgatoire; the Americans often pronounced the name Picketwire. The Cheyennes gave to this stream the name of Difficult River to Cross, because of its perpendicular banks and the deep canyons through which its upper waters flow; to one of the branches of the river they gave the name of Yellow Paint river, because of the yellow clay found along its banks. Bent's canyon is on the upper waters of this stream. Here was a ranch known as Bent's in the seventies, and also a station marked Bent's Canyon P. O. on the Wheeler map.

Bent's stockade, or ranch, stood on the west side of the Purgatory, 100 yards south of the Arkansas. It was established by William Bent after he abandoned Bent's New Fort, evidently in 1859. About one mile west of the Purgatory and one mile south of the Arkansas was Boggsville, later known as West Las Animas, established by Tom Boggs in 1867. Here the house in which Kit Carson spent his last days and in which his wife died is still standing.

New Fort Lyon is on the north bank of the Arkansas, about two miles below the mouth of the Purgatory. This post was established in 1867.

Rule creek comes in from the south, about eight miles below the Purgatory. Nothing seems to be known of the naming of this stream.

Upper End of the Big Timbers, as set down by Gunnison and Beckwith in 1853, was about thirteen miles, by the old trail, below the mouth of the Purgatory, and therefore about opposite the mouth of Caddo creek. Near here, according to George Bent, was the stone bluff or knob known to the Cheyennes as Red Shin's Standing-ground.

Caddo creek was named for the Caddo Indians. Early in the Civil War, fearing to be attacked by the Texans, this tribe and the Wichitas fled north and took refuge in Union territory. In the winter of 1863-'64 they were living near the mouth of Caddo creek in a destitute condition and almost starving. George Bent states that the Wichitas built a village of their typical grass houses on Caddo creek. In 1864 these Indians moved down into Kansas, the Wichitas building a new village on the site of the present town of Wichita, Kan. [This site was in fact one of their old homes, for Coronado found them there in 1541.] For some reason modern map makers prefer the name "Caddoa creek." If the Wichitas had left their name there the stream would perhaps be "Wichitahoa creek" to-day. Plain Indian names are going out of fashion.

Mud creek, called Miry creek by the Cheyennes because of its low, marshy banks, comes in from the south about four miles below Caddo creek.

Bent's log houses, built in the fall of 1852, were on the north bank of the Arkansas, four miles below Mud creek.

Old Fort Lyon, built in 1860, stood on the site of these log houses.

Apache Stone Bluff, where the Apaches were buried in holes in 1854, was on the south side of the river, four miles below Mud creek and opposite the log houses. Point of Rocks, perhaps identical with the Apache Stone Bluff, was also on the south side of the river in this vicinity. Here at Point of Rocks the government was establishing the Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency in 1864. A stone building was put up and irrigation ditches dug, but in the spring of 1864 war broke out and the Arapahoes made a raid on the agency, ran off the stock belonging to Mr. Haynes, the contractor, and stopped all work on the agency.

Bent's New Fort, built in 1853, was on the north bank of the Arkansas, just one mile below the log houses and five miles below Mud creek. Distances from Bent's New Fort and Fort Lyon: to the mouth of the Purgatory, about 24 miles; to Bent's Old Fort, about 38 miles; to Pueblo, 108 or 110 miles. Bent's New Fort to Sand creek, 15 miles; to Fort Larned, Kan., 140 miles.

An Indian trail ran from Bent's New Fort in a northeasterly direction to the head of the Smoky Hill river, crossing Sand creek thirty miles from the fort. This was the trail the troops followed on their march to Sand creek in November, 1864, and it is seemingly the same trail indicated on Lieutenant Parke's map, 1851. He shows the trail coming from Sand creek to the Big Timbers, then crossing the Arkansas and striking southeast across Two Butte creek above the forks, and to the Middle Spring on the Cimarron. There were many other trails leaving the river at the Big Timbers.

Lower End of the Big Timbers, as set down by Gunnison and Beckwith, was just above the mouth of Sand creek.

Sand creek, or Big Sandy creek, called Dry creek by the Cheyennes, comes in from the north fifteen miles below Bent's New Fort. The mouth of this stream was a regular camping place for wagon trains and traveling parties going up or down the river. None of our accounts give any description of the camp ground here, but as the mouth of Sand creek was a mere dry bed of sand without any timber, parties probably camped a mile or two above or below Sand creek. Gunnison and Beckwith seem to have camped at Cottonwood creek, about two miles below Sand creek.

Big Salt Bottom was the next camping place on the trail, and is usually placed twenty miles below Sand creek. The Cheyennes called this place Red Willow Bottom, or Red Willow creek. The place seems to have been just above Wild Horse creek, where there is a large island in the river to-day. Great quantities of red willow (*Cornus stolonifera*), which the Indians mixed with their tobacco, grew at this place in early days.

Just below the mouth of a tiny dry arroyo called Cheyenne creek the old trail crosses the present border lines into the state of Kansas.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF THE MODERN HURONS.

By WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY, Secretary State Historical Society.

A paper read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its fifteenth annual meeting, Iowa City, May 11, 1922.

THE Hurons are a very ancient branch of the Iroquois linguistic family of North American Indians. They were found by the French in 1615 living about Lake Simcoe and the Georgian bay of Lake Huron. The name "Huron" was imposed on them by the French. Why they were thus called is not entirely clear. One given reason is that the French who first saw them were impressed with their stiff, erect hair, which resembled that of the wild boars of Europe. From this they were called "Hures" or Hurons—from *hure*, "bristly," as applied to the rough hair of the head of man or beast. It has been suggested that it meant, as applied to these Indians, "a bristly savage."

The Jesuits were early among the Hurons. They set up a Mission with stations in the principal villages of this barbarous people. The "Relations" of the Jesuit priests or missionaries make up a collection embracing many volumes—one of the great authorities on the North American Indians. These priests relate that the Hurons were a confederation of four tribes—the Attigneaouanton, or Bear People; the Attigneenongnahac, or Cord People; the Arendahronon, or Rock People; and the Tohontaenrat, or Deer People. There were a number of dependent villages or small tribes attached to the confederation. The name of the confederacy, in the Huron tongue, was Wën'dōöt, supposed to signify "islanders," or a people dwelling in the vicinity of bays and inlets of a large body of water. The Bear People and the Cord People claimed to have been the original settlers in this prehistoric seat of the Huron stock. They affirmed that they had dwelt there at least 200 years when the Rock People appeared in the country and were made a part of the confederacy. Twenty years later the Deer People applied for admission and were adopted into the confederacy. The Jesuits were told that the Rock People came into Huronia about the year 1590, and that the Deer People arrived some twenty years afterwards. It is believed that the Rock and Deer People came from the upper St. Lawrence valley, as the result of wars with other tribes there; that is, that they were expelled—driven out. Their enemies must have been other Iroquoian tribes. The later-day Hurons have a tradition that they and the Senecas were formerly one people, and there are different accounts of the separation and its causes.

To the south of the Hurons dwelt their kindred, the Tionontati, and the Neutral Nation. East of these lived other related tribes, which occupied most of the valley of the St. Lawrence and the present state of New York. Those on the south side of the St. Lawrence formed the Iroquoian League about 1570 and became known as the Five Nations—and, with the addition of the Tuscarora, the Six Nations. The people embraced in this league came to be known as the Iroquois—an Algonquin term meaning "enemies" or "snakes," the word "snake" being very frequently used in describing enemies by Algonquins.

The league was a superior political organization and it entered actively

upon the conquest of surrounding territory. It conquered many kindred tribes, as well as Algonquin tribes, extending its domain finally to the Mississippi. In this war of imperialism the Hurons were early involved and their confederacy destroyed. The fragments of the broken tribes fled westward along the Great Lakes, and after generations of wandering grouped themselves about the remnant of the Tionontati, whose social system had survived in a form somewhat resembling that of the days of its power. A homogeneous people finally emerged from the ruin of the Hurons. They retained to a remarkable degree the religious conceptions of the old Hurons, and the ancient name Wēn'dōōt became the name of the new tribe. The name went through various forms and ended as "Wyandot." This is the origin of the Wyandots of historic times. They were finally seated in the Sandusky country in northern Ohio. Some of them retained a slight attachment to the Roman Church, but the majority had relapsed into paganism. In the year 1816 John Stewart, a free negro, appeared among them as a volunteer missionary of the Methodist Church. He founded at Upper Sandusky the Wyandot Mission, the first mission ever established in the world by the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1843 the Wyandots, having sold their possessions in Ohio, moved to the forks of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, settling on lands they purchased from the Delawares, in what is now Wyandotte county, Kansas. In 1855 they dissolved their tribal government and became citizens of the United States. They took their lands in severalty. Many of them were not competent to battle successfully in that fierce competition which civilization imposes on individuals. After the Civil War the majority of the members of the tribe went to the Indian territory, now Oklahoma, where they secured by purchase a reservation of 20,000 acres near Seneca, Mo., and there they may be found to this day. They number now about 300. There is not a full-blood among them. Indeed, there was never a Wyandot of pure blood even in Kansas. In 1843, when the tribe came west, the last Wyandot of full blood had been dead twenty-three years and had lived and died in Canada, opposite Detroit.

In April, 1881, I arrived at the little whistling station of Tiblow, sixteen miles up the Kansas river from Kansas City. This village was in Wyandotte county, Kansas. In November, 1883, I was elected county clerk of Wyandotte county. In the discharge of the duties of that office I found that the absentee Wyandots were being rapidly divested of their lands through the tax laws. While the process was legal, it was nevertheless the rankest sort of fraud. Whatever I could do through my office to help these Indians I always did. On one occasion I saved Matthias Splitlog the sum of \$45,000. The attorneys for the Missouri Pacific Railroad had planned to take fifty-five acres of his land for use as the present cypress yards for \$10,000. Through my action the road paid him \$55,000. The Indian retains yet that fine quality now almost lost to civilized people—gratitude. Mr. Splitlog never forgot this favor. I was pressed to visit his home on the Cowskin, a beautiful stream in the Ozarks. He was the famous "millionaire Indian." He was a good business man and a mechanic of remarkable ability. He built a steamboat for operation on the Missouri river in the Civil War. He made the engine for this boat, and while it was admitted that it was an engine of great power, none but Splitlog could operate it. He finally sold the boat,

but the purchasers were compelled to stipulate for his services as engineer. There were new principles in the construction of that engine which Splitlog never revealed. When they are rediscovered steam will perform many times its present work in industry, and engines of other types may be rendered more efficient.

Splitlog was a thorough pagan, though I believe he belonged to some church—perhaps he was a Methodist. Through his influence I saw the pagan ceremonies at that time observed by some of the Wyandots, though they were for the most part concealed from Christians. I began to study the Wyandot language, and I made an effort to discover all that remained of the ancient Huron cosmology and religious system. I continued in this work long after Splitlog's death. It is the object of this paper to set out this old Huron system as I found it in the Indian territory more than 200 years after the destruction of the Huron confederacy. It is not to be expected that it will conform to what the Jesuits recorded of the Huron beliefs in the days of their missions. There will appear innovations made by the Christian religion, for any institution can produce some such modifications by the constant effort of two centuries. And this is not to be taken to mean that there were not devout Christians among the Wyandots, for there were many such. These gave up the old system entirely, though in most instances the Indian, when converted, does not abandon his old belief; he takes on another belief. The splendid ritual of the Roman Church appealed to him, and it had many adherents. There were a few Catholics yet among the Wyandots when I was engaged in my work there. But in general that creed did not take permanent root in the nation of the Hurons.¹

I found that some knowledge of the Huron cosmology remained with most of the Wyandots, but to a few only could I go with confidence that what I should obtain would prove of value. Splitlog himself knew much, especially of the doings of the Great Council composed of what I have called the Minor Gods. The sage of the Wyandots, however, was George Wright. He was versed in Indian philosophy, law, customs, tradition, history, and the cosmology of the Hurons as it existed at the time of my investigations among the Wyandots. He knew the languages of the Wyandots, the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Shawnees, the Quapaws, and of minor tribes in the northeast part of the Indian territory. For years he was an interpreter at the Quapaw agency. From him I secured most that I learned of the religious conceptions of the latter-day Hurons. Wright was of the Wolf clan of the Wyandot tribe, and his name—Hä-shē'trä—signifies "the footprint of the Wolf."

My work extended intermittently over a period of about twenty years. I was given the name Dē'hēn-yān'tēh by an intelligent and prominent member of the Snake clan. Later I was formally adopted into the family of Allen Johnson, or Mrs. Allen Johnson, as in the Wyandot nation the wife is the head of the family. This adoption made me a member of the Deer clan, and I was named Tōō-dā'rē-zhū, the name of the full-grown male deer. As applied to me it meant Great Deer, as I was "raised up" to fill the place of the Half-King, the head chief of the Wyandots at upper Sandusky in the

1. Religion in the abstract, is an evolution toward truth, even from the first dim and obscure conceptions of it by a people. In most systems there are found contradictions. These come from the retention of conceptions after they have been superseded by others coming in as the result of knowledge and experience, or of necessity.

time of the Revolutionary War. Mrs. Johnson was of his family, and was also of the Deer clan. And I had conferred on me the royal title of the Half-King, whose clan name I had just been given. He had borne that rarely revived office of *Sār'stār-rā'tsē*, the highest known to the Wyandot political system, and coming down, possibly, from the supreme federal official of the old Huron confederacy. I was the first to be invested with it after the death of the Half-King, who died at Detroit about 1780.

John Cleves Symms must have secured his ideas of the universe from the Wyandots, for by their plan the various worlds with which mortals have had to do, or shall have to do, lie one above the other, numbering four altogether. The one we inhabit is called the Lower World. It was often spoken of as the Great Island, though in fact the Wyandots recognized that the Great Island was but a part of the Lower World. The one immediately above us, and above the sky, is the Upper World. The world above that is also called the Upper World, but in speaking of it it is distinguished from the first of that name, and I have called it the second Upper World. The world beneath us is called the Land of the Little People. It is a part of the Lower World, the Mud Turtle having made it while digging the hole through the Great Island for use of the sun in returning from west to east during the night to rise again in the east on the morrow. But it was spoken of always as a lower world when the whole system of worlds was under consideration.

The Wyandots begin their story of the creation with the Lower World and the two Upper Worlds already in existence.² They say that down to a

2. The principal characters in the creation were:

(1) *Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh'*, the ruler of the Upper World and the second Upper World. The Lower World was also a part of his realm.

(2) The wife of *Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh'*, the Woman who fell down from heaven, and mother of the Twin Sons—the Terrestrial Gods.

(3) The Great Council. This was composed of the totemic animals of the Wyandots. The sessions of the body were attended by the other animals and birds.

(4) The Twin Sons born on the Great Island of the miraculous conception of the Woman when she ate the flowers plucked from the tree of light.

Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh' and his wife I have called the Celestial Gods. I have called the Twins the Terrestrial Gods, and the totemic animals composing the Great Council I have called the Minor Gods. This is my own designation of these primal beings, and the terms are of my own making. They were determined on for convenience, and are in no sense to be taken as of Wyandot origin.

In the Lower World the Twin Brothers were troubled by the monsters inhabiting it before they were born into it. These are referred to as serpents. They are spoken of as serpents even when possessing the forms of different animals. The snakes or serpents dwelt in the Great Lakes. They were of immense size, some of them hundreds of feet long and proportionately large. The rivers connecting the lakes are but the channels worn by them in crawling from lake to lake. They never were exterminated, though many of them were slain. They were malevolent gods and they did not hesitate to oppose even *Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh'*.

Any animal, object or force which exerted magic power was termed a *hōō'ki* by the Wyandots. Or, if a female, it was an *ōō'ki*. The monsters were *hōō'kies* and *ōō'kies*, as they were male or female. The priests or medicine men were *hōō'kies*, as were their magic preparations. The earth was filled with evil spirits. In summer they were always more plentiful and more potent than in winter. By the Wyandots I heard them spoken of as *Hōō'kies* and *ōō'kies*. Even the souls of the dead were sometimes so called, and feared.

The first time I went to see George Wright I carried a present for him in the way of flour, meat, and other food, for he was blind and unable to work. It was June. He talked freely until he supposed he had said enough to offset in value the food I had brought him. Then he closed up as tight as a clam. I had my friends inquire the cause for this action. He said it was summer and the air was full of spirits which listened to what he was saying. Among these were souls of ancient Wyandots, he had no doubt. If these should hear him make any mistakes in reciting the ancient stories they would be offended and might do him harm. "Tell the gentleman to come back next winter. These souls do not like cold and are absent in winter. They are uncomfortable and go away to find a pleasant country. Next winter I will tell the gentleman anything I know." Thereafter I visited Mr. Wright only in the winter, when critical and eavesdropping souls could not trouble us.

certain period there was no death in the Upper World, though it finally became possible to secure a separation of the soul and body. This was a voluntary action. Those so transformed might go into the second Upper World. The people in the Upper World were little different from what the Wyandots were before the coming of the white man. They were believed to have had the same social and political systems found among the primitive Wyandots. The head chief of that land was Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh'. It was impossible to get an exact translation of this term, but it means "big man" or "big chief," or it might mean, also, "mighty ruler." The idea of "greatness" is absent from his name, the word *zhu* being the word for great. "Wā-nēh'" means "big" in various Iroquoian dialects—as Cä-rōn'dä-wā-nēh' (Big Tree), a name for men in some tribes.

The Upper World had no sun or moon, nor any stars, for it had no need for any of these. It was lighted by an immense tree bearing a great profusion of yellow flowers. These flowers were large and pendent, and composed of innumerable small flowers.³ The first people in the Upper World to undergo death were a man and his wife. They chose this process, believing they might obtain entrance to the second Upper World, and in this they were right. But they found themselves still under the rule of Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh'. They found too, in that world, a different tree of light. There were forests of this tree in that land. Some of the trees bore yellow blossoms and some bore white ones. When the leaves of these trees fell off and were dried they were smoked in pipes by the people there. These were tobacco trees, the progenitors of our tobacco. Those persons who first tasted death had a daughter who is now spoken of as having been beautiful of form and countenance and having a great supernatural power. She was taken to wife by Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh'. They had no children. The tree of light was a sacred object. No one was permitted to touch it except the priests, who on proper occasion and with due ceremonies might lay hands on it. One day when Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh' was away hunting, his wife plucked and ate some of the flowers of the tree of light. Its luster was immediately dimmed. And conception was immediately caused in the Woman. She was frightened and she fled. A great sickness fell on her. Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh', with the priests, attempted to restore the tree, but without success. He had the Woman brought to the tree, for he wished to have her healed of her sickness. The priests said that by digging among the roots of the tree a medicine would be found which would restore her to health. They brought her and placed her on a mat where the priests were digging. While they dug there the tree suddenly sank down and fell into the Lower World, and in falling its branches caught and dragged the Woman through the break in the Upper World. In the Lower World there was only water, with a little base and sterile land where animals lived in darkness, want and discomfort. The Woman appeared in the rent in the Upper World with her arms spread above her head. She was as tall as the tallest tree, and she glowed with a light equal to that of the sun. Heno, the thunder god, was sent by her husband to protect her, and he broke over the Lower World with such crashes as to startle all dwelling there. This was the first thunder heard in the Lower World.

3. See pamphlet by J. N. B. Hewitt, the greatest authority on the Iroquois. The story told by the Wyandots is much like that of Mr. Hewitt, but there are marked differences.

Two swans—yōō-hě'rā—were swimming in this Great Water. They were very large—half a tree tall. They saw the Woman falling down from heaven. One said to the other:

"What shall we do with this Woman?"

"Throw our bodies together and receive her on our backs," the other replied.

This they did. Having done so, the swan who had spoken first inquired:

"What shall we do with this Woman? We can not forever bear her up."

"Call a council of all the swimmers and water tribes," replied the other swan.

This they did. Thus was convoked the first session of the Great Council.⁴

The Big Turtle presided over the Great Council, which did not know at first what action to take. But it desired to provide a place where the Woman, who had fallen down from heaven, could live. The Big Turtle said that if some of the earth which fell down with the tree of light could be obtained he would see what he could do with it. This earth and the tree lay on the bottom under the great water and shone with a brilliancy which made them plainly visible. One animal after another of those who were spectators dived into the great deep to get some of the earth, but they were unsuccessful and came up lifeless. The toad then said she would try. She was gone long, but at last floated up to the surface, dead. There was a little of the sacred earth in her mouth. This the Little Turtle spread upon the back of the Big Turtle, when, lo, there immediately grew there the Great Island, as the Wyandots called North America. And it rests yet upon the Big Turtle's back. He stands upon the bottom, under the Great Water, to bear it up. When he is wearied by his immense burden and shifts about to rest himself a little the Great Island shakes, and the Wyandots cry out, "He moves his feet! He moves his feet!" Thus they account for the earthquake.

4. The totemic animals of the Wyandots were those standing at the heads of the clans of the tribe. There were twelve clans, some of which are now extinct. These animals are:

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Big Turtle. | (5) Bear. | (9) Striped Turtle. |
| (2) Little Turtle. | (6) Beaver. | (10) Highland Turtle. |
| (3) Mud Turtle. | (7) Deer. | (11) Snake. |
| (4) Wolf. | (8) Porcupine. | (12) Hawk. |

The clans themselves were called:

(1) Tēhn-gow-wish-hī-yōō-wā-nēh'rō-nō, the People of the Big Turtle, or the clan which bears up the earth or Great Island.

(2) Tēhn-yēh-rō-nō, the People of the Little Turtle, or the clan which keeps the heavens.

(3) Yā-nēs-tē-rō-nō, the People of the Mud Turtle, or the clan which digs through the earth.

(4) Tēhn-ä-rē-squā-rō-nō, the People of the Wolf, or the clan which snells a bone.

(5) Tēhn-yō-yēnk-rō-nō, the People of the Bear, or the clan of the claws.

(6) Tsōō-tī-hā-tē-zhā-tōō-tē-rō-nō, the People of the Beaver, or the clan of the house builders.

(7) Tēhn-dā-ä-rā-rō-nō, the People of the Deer, or the clan of the horns.

(8) Yē-rē-hě-sē-rō-nō, the People of the Porcupine, or the clan of the quills.

(9) Mā-nō-hōō-kā-shē-rō-nō, the People of the Striped Turtle, or the clan which carries the stripes or colors.

(10) Yē-tō-zhū-rō-nō, the People of the Highland Turtle, or the clan which carried the house.

(11) Tēhn-gōnt-rō-nō, the People of the Snake, or the clan which carries the trail. As this clan was an offshoot of the Deer clan, it is sometimes called the little clan of the horns.

(12) Tēhn-dē-sō-rō-nō, the People of the Hawk, or the clan of the wings—sometimes, the clan of the feathers.

In gratitude for the sacrifice and achievement of the toad, the Wyandots call her Mä'shōō-tä'äh—our Grandmother—and hold her in reverence to this day.

And the Woman arose from the backs of the swans and dwelt upon the Great Island. One of these swans lives now in the Gulf of Mexico and the other lives in the Arctic ocean, guarding the two extremities of the Great Island.⁵

When the Woman went to dwell in the Great Island she was in despair. Told to go in a certain direction, she saw from the summit of a hill a lodge far down a stream. Smoke was rising from the lodge. Coming near it, she sat upon a stone a little apart from the door. There came out a woman, or the form of one, from the lodge. It was the soul of her mother sent by her husband to comfort her. In some versions of the story, this was the soul of her grandmother. And she entered the lodge and lived in it. When she went inside there was no light left on the outside, for she had become the source of light for the Lower World. Until she came all had been a misty twilight approaching darkness. Having seen the light, the Great Council desired that the Lower World have it constantly. It assembled to devise a light. The Little Turtle said:

"Let me go into the sky. I will put a light there that will shine in the absence of the Woman who fell down from the Upper World."

This was agreed to. A great cloud was called down. Heno rode in it. Thunder rolled through it and red lightning broke from its borders. It rolled over the Great Water. In it were bushes, trees and streams of water. The Little Turtle went into these streams and was carried into the sky. There, from the lightning, she kindled a flame which surged and burned and rose to an immense height. Its light did not reach the bounds of the Lower World. At the hut of the Woman the heat from this flame was intolerable. This Sun was not satisfactory, and the Great Council called down the Little Turtle to attend its session convened to make some modification of it. It was then determined to make the Sun a person; that is, to give it life, set a circuit for it and make it run about the sky. The Mud Turtle was directed to dig a hole or passageway through the Lower World under the Great Island for the use of the Sun in going back to rise in the east every morning. The Sun in the use of this subterranean way was sometimes unmindful of his duty, loitering therein to the discomfort of the Lower World. The

5. In 1899 I published my "Wyandott Folk Lore." I did not use this version of the creation myth in that work. The Wyandots had many myths of which various versions are told. This resulted from the manner of the formation of the tribe. Each remnant brought into the tribe the version of a common cosmic story held by its tribe before the great dispersion. This enriched the lore of the Wyandots beyond that of any other Iroquoian people. There were several other forms of this creation concept in the Wyandott nation. Some are of such nature that they could not be published. In one very fine version the condition of the Woman came about in the ordinary course of wedlock. The monsters of the Lower World were aware of it at once and endeavored to prevent its fruition, knowing by their supernatural powers that the children to be born of it would destroy them. They invaded the Upper World and made war on Hōō-nā'yōō-wā-nēh'. In the battle which raged there the tree of light was uprooted and the Woman was cast into the hole from which it had been torn. The tree was then pushed back over her. But the monsters knew not that the roots of the tree had penetrated the whole distance through the Upper World, and that the pit left by uprooting it extended entirely to the under side. Both the Woman and the tree fell through this rent into the Lower World. In one form of the concept the tree of light was pushed down upon the Woman with such force that the Upper World was rent by the impact and both Woman and tree fell into the Lower World. The reception of the Woman by the Swans is practically the same in all the Wyandott versions, as is the formation and action of the Great Council.

Great Council then directed that the Little Turtle make the Moon, to be a wife for the Sun. The Sun became cruel to his wife, the Moon, though she bore him myriads of children—all the stars which have courses in the sky. He drew her into the passage under the Great Island and would have slain her but for the interference of the Little Turtle. The New Moon was all that was left of the Moon when plucked from the burning fury of her lord. Gradually she recovered her original form. When she had attained this, however, she sickened and decayed, diminishing daily until she finally disappeared. When next seen she was a curve of burnished silver lying just above the western horizon. She increased in effulgence and regained her former fullness and beauty, hoping once more to come into favor with her husband. Failing in this, she again wasted away. This process has been repeated to this day and must continue until the end of time.

Because of her labors in the sky, the Little Turtle was called *Wä-trôn'yō-nō'nēh*—the Keeper of the Heavens. Her cloud is the great comet, sometimes visible to the people of the Lower World.⁶

In her work of digging this underworld passage for the nocturnal use of the Sun, the Mud Turtle turned aside long enough to fashion, under the Great Island, a delightful country of vast extent. It was made for the use of the Wyandots, whom she knew would inhabit the Lower World after their lives ended here. To it the souls of all animals fit for food went also after death. To care for this land of souls the Mud Turtle created the Little People. They are very diminutive—not above two feet in height. They are born in pairs, and they work in pairs, two of them being a force sufficient to accomplish any purpose. They come up to the surface of the Lower World through the “living rock”; that is, through native cliffs and masses of stone extending far down into the earth. They assisted the Wyandots in their struggles against the monsters encountered in the Lower World. They exterminated the witch buffaloes formerly living about the Big Bone Licks, in Kentucky. These monsters preyed on the animals visiting the licks, and two of the Little People were sent there to clear them away. They slew all the monsters but one, which by a mighty leap bounded into the north, the realm of eternal snows, and he lives there solitary and alone to this day. The bones of the others were plainly to be seen for ages lying about the Big Bone Licks. Even the white people saw some of them there. The Mud Turtle lives now in the Land of the Little People.

The birth of the Terrestrial Gods was on this wise. For having eaten of the forbidden flowers the Twins were born of the Woman who fell down from Heaven. They were born in the lodge of her mother. The firstborn was Good. The second was Bad. In his birth he purposely and with malice killed his mother, but her soul remained with her firstborn to help him. *Hōō-mä'yōō-wä-nēh'* directed how the Twins should be named. The first-born was called *Tsē'stä*, *Tsē'sēh-howngk*, or *Tsē'sēh-how'ōongk*, the Man of Fire. The second one was called *Tä'wē-skä'rēh*, or *Tä'wē-skä'rōongk*, the Man of Flint. They were the Terrestrial Gods. The Flint did evil continually, though in the olden time there was no moral good and evil among

6. Once Mr. Splitlog and I were out at night. It must have been in 1883 or 1884. Just before daylight a great comet became visible, flaming far across the heavens. He exclaimed, “The Chariot of our Grandmother, the Little Turtle!” Then he told me the story of the work of the Little Turtle.

the Hurons. Whatever benefited them as a people was good. Anything which worked them harm was evil. In the days when these stories were gathered the good and evil done by these brothers had assumed a moral significance. The Man of Fire could prevail over the Evil One, but he disliked to be forever striving with him. In hope of peace it was agreed to divide the Lower World, each brother to have a half which he might fashion to suit himself and create therein whatever he had in mind. The Wyandots came to believe the Mississippi river had been the dividing line. The Man of Fire had the eastern part. In it he made everything good and useful for the coming people. Even the rivers had two currents, one flowing up and the other down, so the future Wyandot could travel upstream without having to paddle his canoe. In his portion the Flint made everything bad—very bad. Icicles miles long hung from rugged rocks which towered almost to the sky. Mosquitoes as large as hawks rose by millions from fetid swamps. Monsters crawled and walked and flew. No article of food was provided for a human being.

There was a condition to this partition of the Lower World. When the respective creations had been completed each brother might go over the land of the other and modify the creations he found there, but neither could destroy wholly any work of the other. The Evil One reduced the corn from bearing a hundred ears down to producing only one or two ears, and these much smaller than they had been originally made. The bean, the squash, the fruits were all reduced in size and made difficult to produce. The river made to give the coming man so much pleasure particularly displeased the Evil One. He thrust his great hand into this water and gave it a mighty swish. The currents mixed and ever afterward flowed in but one direction. The Good One made such modifications as he could of the works he found so bad, but despite his utmost, much to vex mankind remained in the Lower World.

The Minor Gods were much offended at the course of the Evil One, and eventually they left the Lower World to go and dwell with the Little Turtle in the Skyland. The Deer was the first to go. He induced the Rainbow to build for him the beautiful Way or Path of Burning Colors, and along its enchanting course he passed into the sky. The Bear went up to force the Deer to come down. The battle they fought convulsed the universe. The Wolf was sent up to make them desist. This he did. But the blood of the conflict fell down upon the trees of the Great Island, making them all the colors they show in the autumn. Every year at the time when this battle occurred the trees take on the wonderful colors.

Not until the Minor Gods had left the Lower World did the Terrestrial Gods concern themselves in peopling the Great Island. Then they presented themselves before Hōō-mā'yōō-wā-nēh' and asked for people. The Man of Fire was given the Wyandots, and these he led into the Lower World. The Man of Flint was given other tribes, some good and some bad, and these he brought into his part of the Lower World. All these peoples increased, and divisions took place among them. Nations arose and tongues were multiplied. Wars resulted. Bad people were led by Tā'wě-skā'rēh against Tsē'stā and the Wyandots. He even invaded the sky to make war on the Minor Gods. All nature implored the Good One to go into the sky and

bring back the Minor Gods. He consented to go and make the effort. He took the down from the breasts of the two swans to scatter along his path so he could find his way back. But the Minor Gods did not need him. They would not come. He returned in sorrow. But the swans' down which he scattered in his travels through the heavens remains there to this day, and is the Milky Way.

Seeing that nothing else would avail, Tsé'stä made war upon Evil. One day it was found that no water was in the springs, and none could be found in the lakes or streams. Tsé'stä led his people along the Way of Burning Colors. From there, looking into the sky, he saw the Evil One holding a great bag of skin into which he had gathered all the water of the springs, the lakes and the streams. Against his adversary did Tsé'stä then bend his mighty bow. He shot an arrow—the shaft of a towering pine—into the bag held by Tä'wě-skä'rěh. The bag was rent and torn. The water escaped and deluged the Lower World. Creation was destroyed. But Tsé'stä led his people into the mysterious forest, through which passed the Way of Burning Colors, though it was forbidden to mortals. They dwelt there and escaped destruction. When the waters had subsided he resolved to slay his brother Tä'wě-skä'rěh. He followed him into the heavens. He was armed with the horns of the deer. Tä'wě-skä'rěh was armed with blades of the swamp flag, but he could not stand before his brother. He was pursued through the sky. He ran into the Lower World. When struck by the horns his blood flowed out. It congealed into sharp flints to impede the pursuit of the Good One. They ran through all the Great Island, but finally the Evil One was beaten down and slain.⁷

The war between the Terrestrial Gods destroyed life in this Lower World. Flood, Fire, and the North Wind consumed all life. Trees nor animals, streams nor fishes, fruits nor flowers remained.

Tsé'stä saw that it was necessary to reproduce the creations of his hand. And not that alone, for life for all the regions of Tä'wě-skä'rěh he found it his duty to re-create.

The first requirement was to find a place of refuge for the Wyandots, or Hurons. For it was not possible for them to remain in the mysterious forest beside the Beautiful Way of the Rainbow. Far to the north Tsé'stä did build a city underground, and he called the city Yōō'wä-tä'yō. Into this subterranean dwelling place he brought the Wyandots. There they were thrown into a torpid state. The functions of life were suspended. Time did not count, and they did not grow old. Of the things that transpired they knew nothing. They were attended by the Woman who fell down from heaven. And for light she had a flaming torch made of the fires of Heno. It was a weapon, and with it she beat back the monsters which would have devoured her helpless children.

In the re-creation of the life forms of this Lower World Tsé'stä was bound to conform to the creation and modification as worked out by his brother and himself in the beginning. But it was not ordained that he should reproduce all the old forms. Many of the monsters made by Tä'wě-skä'rěh were not brought again to life.

7. The Wyandots in the Indian territory came to believe the last battle had been fought in the Ozark mountains. There is an abundance of broken chert there, and some of them believed the small, sharp stones only the congealed blood of Tä'wě-skä'rěh.

The work of re-creation engaged Tsē'stä for an immense period of time. In this labor he found another people. Whether they were of this world or another we cannot say. They had harnessed the stag to the sledge. Three of these stags did Tsē'stä compel to draw his sledge as he replaced life in the polar lands.

When at last his work was done Tsē'stä came again to the Yōō'wä-tä'yō. There he rested from his labors. A gleam of light broke into the subterranean city. Through the opening at which it entered Tsē'stä looked out over the world. For it was for ages too primitive to sustain a people.

After the lapse of a long time the earth was ready for the use of man and able to sustain him. One day in spring Tsē'stä went forth to view his creations, and he saw that the works of his hands had ripened and matured. The Lower World was again ready to receive his people. Nature called to him and required their presence.

The Woman who fell down from heaven said to Tsē'stä:

"Lead my children forth. Scatter them abroad in the Lower World. I will remain in this city. At death each Wyandot shall pass through the Yōō'wä-tä'yō on the way to the Land of the Little People, there to remain forever."

Then Heno shook the world. He rolled over the Great Water. And the Yōō'wä-tä'yō was rent asunder. The sun shone in. The Wyandots revived. They stood up. A nation stood marshaled to pass into a new world waiting for it. All the re-creation chanted a song of welcome. The world was decked with flowers. And man, upon his entrance into this new world, was greeted with hosannas of joy.

ADE FO

The work of re-creation engaged Tsē'stä for an immense period of time. In this labor he found another people. Whether they were of this world or another we cannot say. They had harnessed the stag to the sledge. Three of these stags did Tsē'stä compel to draw his sledge as he replaced life in the polar lands.

When at last his work was done Tsē'stä came again to the Yōō'wä-tä'yō. There he rested from his labors. A gleam of light broke into the subterranean city. Through the opening at which it entered Tsē'stä looked out over the world. For it was for ages too primitive to sustain a people.

After the lapse of a long time the earth was ready for the use of man and able to sustain him. One day in spring Tsē'stä went forth to view his creations, and he saw that the works of his hands had ripened and matured. The Lower World was again ready to receive his people. Nature called to him and required their presence.

The Woman who fell down from heaven said to Tsē'stä:

"Lead my children forth. Scatter them abroad in the Lower World. I will remain in this city. At death each Wyandot shall pass through the Yōō'wä-tä'yō on the way to the Land of the Little People, there to remain forever."

Then Heno shook the world. He rolled over the Great Water. And the Yōō'wä-tä'yō was rent asunder. The sun shone in. The Wyandots revived. They stood up. A nation stood marshaled to pass into a new world waiting for it. All the re-creation chanted a song of welcome. The world was decked with flowers. And man, upon his entrance into this new world, was greeted with hosannas of joy.

MAP SHOWING ALLOTMENTS
TO THE
WYANDOTTE INDIANS IN THAT PART OF THE WYANDOTTE RESERVATION
NORTH OF THE SECOND STANDARD PARALLEL
WYANDOTTE COUNTY, KANSAS.

TREATY OF 1855.

DRAWN FROM THE OFFICIAL RECORDS IN THE
PRIVATE LIBRARY OF WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY.

T. 10 SOUTH

R. 24 EAST

STANDARD

R. 25 EAST



WYANDOT AND SHAWNEE INDIAN LANDS IN
WYANDOTTE COUNTY, KANSAS.

THE basis of the titles to land in that part of Wyandotte county purchased by the Wyandot Indians from the Delawares rests on the treaty concluded at Washington, D. C., January 31, 1855, between the United States and the representatives of the Wyandot tribe. By the terms of this treaty the Wyandots dissolved their tribal government and became citizens. Their reservation was allotted to them in severalty. These allotments were patented to the individuals to whom they had been made under the treaty. All titles begin with these patents. That the patents might carry a title in fee without question, the reservation had been ceded to the United States in the treaty. This made the conveyance by the government to the individual Wyandots an absolute title to the tracts of land allotted to them.

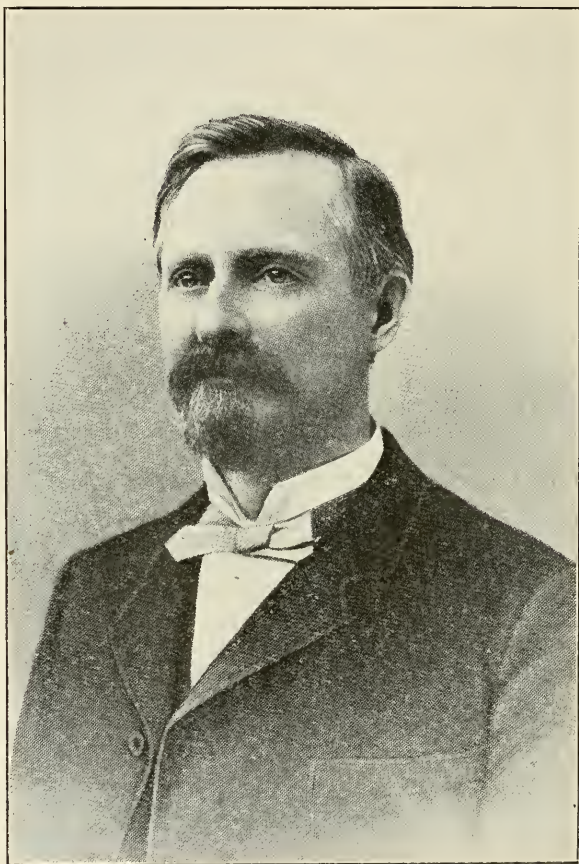
The land had been owned by Spain and France and was a part of Louisiana. France sold Louisiana to the United States in 1803. Wyandotte county was then owned by the Kansas Indians. The government made a treaty with the Kansas Indians June 3, 1825, by which it secured all the Kansas Indian lands. A reservation was provided for the Indians.

On the 3d of October, 1818, the Delaware Indians living on White river in Indiana ceded their lands there for a home in the West which was not described. These Delawares then joined the other part of their tribe, which then lived on the White river in Missouri. On the 24th of September, 1829, at Camp Council, on the James Fork of the White river, a supplementary article was added to the treaty of 1818, by which the Missouri reservation was given up. In exchange for it and the home promised by the treaty of 1818, the Delawares were given the land in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers. They immediately settled on this reservation, which extended far up the Kansas river.

The Wyandot Indians came to what was the Indian country, now Kansas, from Ohio in 1843. They stopped at the mouth of the Kansas river, encamping on the south side of the river on lands reserved for military and other purposes. This tract was afterwards old Kansas City, Kan., and the Armstrong Float. The Wyandots had been given a tract of 148,000 acres, to be located on the Neosho. After an examination of this tract it was reported as unsatisfactory. To provide themselves a temporary home while the matter of the 148,000-acre reservation was settled, the Wyandots purchased from the Delawares the land immediately in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers. The Delawares gave them three sections of land and sold them thirty-six sections. The tract included all the land between the rivers west to a line drawn from near the village of Muncie north. This was known as the Wyandot purchase. The Wyandots paid the Delawares \$46,080 for the land. This purchase of the Wyandots from the Delawares was approved by the United States July 25, 1848, and is the land allotted to Wyandots in severalty under the treaty of 1855. A copy of the official plat of these allotments is reproduced as a part of this article.

The lands in Wyandotte county south of the Kansas river were also a part of the Kansas Indian cession of 1825. In the same year a treaty was made with the Shawnee Indians, who had resided at Cape Girardeau, by which they

relinquished their lands there for other lands. The first tract examined was Osage land in what is now Oklahoma, but it was rejected by the tribe. The land immediately south of the Kansas river had not then been assigned, and the Shawnees selected it. The reservation contained 1,600,000 acres, and extended up the Kansas river to the new Kansas Indian reservation, as did that



NICHOLAS McALPINE.

One of the builders of Kansas City, Kan.

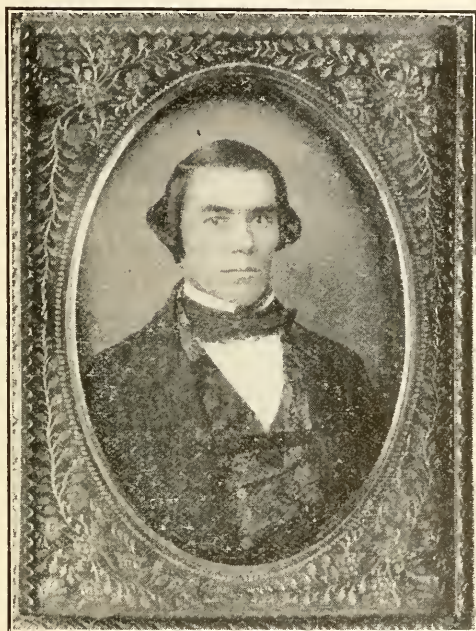
Married Maria, daughter of Joel Walker, a Wyandot and brother of Gov. William Walker.

of the Delawares. It is one of the most beautiful and fertile tracts of land in America. The Shawnees began to settle on it in 1828. Perhaps a few Shawnees had lived about the mouth of the Kansas river for some years before the treaty of 1825. In 1854 the Shawnees, by treaty, ceded this fine reservation to the United States, and accepted a diminished reservation of 200,000 acres bounded by the Kansas river and the Missouri state line. By the terms of the treaty, the Shawnees were permitted to take the lands of this diminished reser-

vation in severalty, 200 acres to the individual. These allotments were made in the manner and at the time indicated in the following records. The plat shows the identical tract assigned to each individual:

This article does not deal with the Delaware lands in Wyandotte county west of the Wyandot purchase, mostly included in Delaware and Prairie townships.

To be able to trace the title to the land back to the beginning is a matter of



SILAS ARMSTRONG.

historical importance. Title succession is being studied by the United States, by each state, and by historical societies. The Kansas State Historical Society has but commenced this work, the lands of the Prairie band of Pottawatomies only having been mapped heretofore.

The lands of the Wyandots and Shawnees in Wyandotte county are the most valuable in Kansas, being largely occupied by the city of Kansas City, Kan., and are to become immensely more valuable than they are at the present time. All the activities of a country are based on the land in one way or another, and the people are entitled to an accurate historical account of their holdings. That is the reason for this particular work of the Society.

REPORT OF THE WYANDOTT COMMISSIONERS

Treaty of January 31st 1855

Wyandott Kansas

February 1859

We the undersigned Commissioners appointed to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of January 31, A.D. 1855, between the United States and the Wyandott Tribe of Indians, do hereby certify that the following papers are a correct exhibit of the results of our proceedings under the Treaty:—that the lists truly and faithfully represent all the persons and families decided by us to be members of the Wyandott Tribe of Indians, at the date of the Ratification of the Treaty, and in the cases where the persons are unknown to us, the classifications required by the 3rd article have been made on the testimony of the Wyandott Council and prominent members of the Wyandott Nation

The Schedule gives descriptions of family tracts and Individual allotments, of a fair and just division and distribution of the lands among all the individual members of the Wyandott Tribe, so that those assigned by us, to or for each, is nearly as possible equal in value irrespective of the improvements thereon, and is made to include the houses and as far as practicable the other improvements of each person or family. In consequence of the close proximity in which families reside, we have found it impracticable in some localities to make the assignment of the land belonging to the members of each family "All Alltogether"—and as we have respected the families to their improvements, the outline of some of the tracts are irregular, in appearance and the arrangements do not present compact form. Where no individual or family improvements belong to the parties, the representatives of incompetent persons, and the guardians of orphans have been permitted to select the locations of the allotments assigned to their wards.

The lands reserved by the 2nd article of the Treaty have been disposed of in accordance with its provisions

B. F. ROBINSON

Commissioner for the United States

J. C. MCCOY

WILLIAM MILLAR

Commissioners for the Wyandotts

Wyandott City Kansas

February 22, 1859

LISTS

OF ALL THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE WYANDOTT TRIBE

Those of each separate family being arranged together as per 3rd article of Treaty.

(FIRST)

List of Members of Families arranged under their Heads and of Persons without Families of the Competent Class.

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
1	1	Arms John.....	45
2		“ Joseph.....	14
3		“ Elizabeth.....	9
4		“ Abraham.....	6
5	2	Arms Eliza.....	20
6	3	Armstrong Hannah.....	51
7		“ John M.....	11
8	4	Armstrong James.....	21
9		“ Rebecca.....	18
10	5	Armstrong Martha.....	19
11	6	Armstrong Sarah now Mrs. Johnson.....	15
12	7	Armstrong Silas.....	45
13		“ Zelinda.....	33
14		“ Caroline.....	18
15		“ Winfield S.....	15
16		“ Silas Junr.....	13
17		“ Catharine.....	12
18		“ Manor.....	9
19		“ McIntyre.....	3
20		“ Elizabeth.....	1
21	8	Armstrong Tabitha (Now Mrs. Vedder).....	21
22	9	Armstrong Robert.....	20
23	10	Armstrong Lucinda (Now Mrs. Forsyth).....	21
24	11	Armstrong Lucy B.....	37
25		“ Ethan.....	16
26		“ Caroline A.....	14
27		“ Russell B.....	12
28		“ Henry J.....	9
29		“ Ellen C. G.....	7
30	12	Barnett Mathew.....	40
31		“ Margaret.....	30

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
32	13	Barnett James.....	29
33		“ Jane.....	28
34		“ Theresa.....	5
35		“ Martha.....	3
36		“ Henry.....	1
37		“ Silas A.....	Infant
38	14	Barnett John.....	23
39	15	Barnett Louis.....	23
40	16	William Barnett.....	20
41	17	Barbee Sarah.....	21
42	18	Beaver John.....	40
43		“ Susan.....	30
44		“ Hannah.....	8
45		“ Susan Jr.....	4
46		“ John Jr.....	1
47	19	Bearskin John L.....	39
48		“ Sarah.....	35
49		“ William.....	16
50		“ Francis.....	15
51		“ Oliver.....	17
52		“ Lucinda.....	5
53		“ George.....	2
54		“ Margaret.....	12
55		“ Elizabeth.....	Infant
56	20	Bearskin Peter.....	29
57	21	Bearskin Mary.....	26
58		“ Joseph Peacock.....	9
59	22	Bigsnew Samuel.....	26
60		“ Clarisa.....	26
61	23	Bigtree James.....	60
62	24	Bigtree Sarah.....	57
63	25	Bigtree Isaac.....	19
64	26	Bigarms Ethan.....	21
65	27	Bigarms Martin.....	24
66	28	Black Sheep.....	50
67	29	Blacksheep William.....	22

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
68	30	Bostwick Shadrach.....	40
69		“ Mary.....	50
70		“ Theresa.....	15
71		“ Isaac.....	13
72	31	Brown Isaac W.....	29
73		“ Eliza.....	25
74	32	Brown Adam.....	56
75	33	Brown Mathew.....	35
76	34	Brown Catharine G.....	45
77	35	Brown Mary.....	18
78		“ Elizabeth.....	1
79	36	Brown Harriet.....	16
80	37	Brown John D.....	45
81		“ Theresa.....	40
82		“ Hezekiah.....	17
83		“ Leander.....	15
84		“ Eliza Ann.....	12
85		“ Rebecca.....	8
86		“ John D. Jr.....	7
87		“ Lucinda.....	1
88	38	Bullhead Captain.....	70
89	39	Cherloe Margaret.....	75
90	40	Cherloe Amelia.....	34
91	41	Cherloe Lucy Ann (now Mrs. Splitlog).....	14
92	42	Cherloe Margaret (Cayundiswa-or Cherloes Daughter).....	74
93	43	Cherloe Mary J. (Makoma).....	30
94	44	Choplog Ruma.....	27
95	45	Clark George I.....	52
96		“ Catharine.....	47
97		“ Richard W.....	18
98		“ Harriet.....	15
99		“ Mary J.....	13
100	46	Clark Peter D.....	35
101		“ Sebra.....	19
102	47	Clement Sophia.....	24
103		“ Inez Theresa.....	Infant
104	48	Cooke George.....	28

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
105	49	Coon Sarah.....	40
106		“ Thomas.....	11
107		“ Mary.....	9
108		“ Joseph.....	7
109		“ Henry.....	6
110		“ William.....	9 months
111	50	Coon George.....	21
112	51	Coonhawk Thomas.....	23
113	52	Coonhawk Mary.....	18
114		“ Henry C. G.....	Infant
115	53	Cornstalk John B.....	35
116		“ Sarah.....	—
117	54	Cotter Nicholas.....	33
118		“ Caroline E.....	6
119	55	Cotter John.....	31
120	56	Cotter Hiram.....	20
121	57	Cotter Francis.....	36
122		“ Elizabeth.....	31
123		“ Bernard.....	9
124		“ James W.....	6
125		“ Cassils.....	4
126	58	Curleyhead John B.....	55
127		“ William.....	16
128	59	Curleyhead Mary.....	23
129	60	Curleyhead Nancy.....	19
130		“ Nancy Jr.....	8 months
131	61	Dawson Jared S.....	47
132		“ Catharine L.....	38
133		“ Eudora W.....	15
134		“ Robert A.....	14
135		“ Jordania.....	13
136		“ Catharine F.....	10
137		“ Oella Z.....	5
138	62	Driver Isaac P.....	47
139	63	Driver Catharine.....	46
140	64	Driver Susan.....	18
141	65	Driver Sarah.....	19
142	66	Fighter Harriet S.....	38

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
143	67	Fighter Hannah.....	18
144	68	Frost Michael.....	31
145		“ Hannah.....	31
146		“ Eady.....	7
147	69	Garrett Charles B.....	61
148		“ Maria.....	48
149	70	Garrett Russell.....	26
150	71	Garrett Cyrus.....	24
151	72	Garrett Henry.....	22
152	73	Garrett Nancy.....	50
153		“ Nancy Jr.....	16
154	74	Garrett Theodore F.....	27
155	75	Edward Garrett.....	24
156	76	Garrett Mary.....	21
157	77	Garrett Joel W.....	29
158		“ Eliza J.....	26
159	78	Garrett Mary Ann.....	29
160		“ Byron.....	8
161	79	Gayamee Jessee.....	28
162		“ Betsey.....	25
163		“ James.....	Infant
164	80	Gibson John.....	46
165		“ Marissa.....	45
166		“ Joseph.....	17
167		“ Mary.....	13
168		“ Jane.....	8
169		“ Henry.....	6
170		“ Matilda.....	4
171	81	Gibson William.....	25
172	82	Gibson Catharine.....	18
173	83	Greyeyes Squire.....	60
174		“ Eliza.....	35
175	84	Greyeyes Silas M.....	19
176	85	Greyeyes John W.....	34
177		“ Catharine.....	33
178		“ Guy W.....	10

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
179	86	Guthrie Abelard.....	41
180		“ Nancy.....	35
181		“ Abelura.....	10
182		“ Morsona.....	8
183		“ James.....	5
184		“ Jacob.....	3
185	87	Half John Sarah.....	25
186	88	Hat John (Tauromee).....	45
187		“ Mary.....	36
188		“ Anthony.....	18
189		“ John Jr.....	3
190		“ Sarah.....	2
191	89	Hicks John.....	53
192		“ Mary.....	40
193		“ William.....	19
194		“ Henry.....	9
195		“ Matilda.....	7
196		“ Virginia.....	5
197		“ Francis.....	4
198	90	Hicks James.....	21
199	91	Hicks Betsey.....	22
200	92	Hicks Francis A.....	50
201	93	Hicks Matilda.....	50
202	94	Hicks Jane.....	20
203	95	Hicks Catharine.....	72
204	96	Hicks Maria.....	18
205		“ Philip B.....	1
206	97	Hill Thomas.....	53
207		“ Mary.....	16
208		“ Sarah.....	13
209	98	Hill Susan.....	20
210	99	Hooper Rebecca.....	26
211		“ Mary.....	10
212		“ Peter.....	7
213	100	Hooper Jacob.....	22
214	101	Hooper Rebecca.....	22
215	102	Hunt Adam.....	30
216	103	Jonathan Margaret.....	65

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
217	104	Johnson William.....	35
218		“ Catharine.....	35
219		“ Ellen.....	15
220		“ William Jr.....	13
221		“ Richard.....	9
222		“ Job.....	4
223		“ Alexander.....	8 months
224	105	Kayrahoo Milton.....	25
225	106	Kayrahoo Jane (now Mrs. Pipe).....	26
226	107	Kayrahoo Solomon.....	44
227		“ Solomon Jr.....	16
228	108	Kayrahoo Mary.....	50
229		“ John.....	18
230		“ Mary Jr.....	12
231	109	Kayrahoo Mary.....	22
232		“ Caroline.....	3
233	110	Lewis John (Coon).....	36
234		“ Jane.....	36
235		“ David.....	13
236		“ John Jr.....	7
237		“ William.....	2
238	111	Little Chief Christopher.....	62
239		“ John.....	18
240		“ Isaac.....	8
241	112	Littlechief Mary.....	20
242	113	Long Henry C.....	31
243		“ Martha M.....	21
244		“ Elizabeth C.....	Infant
245	114	Long Irwin P.....	38
246	115	Long Ethan A.....	35
247	116	Long Isaac Z.....	26
248	117	James M Long.....	24
249	118	Lumpy Theresa.....	54
250	119	Lumpy Louis.....	32
251	120	Lumpy Rebecca.....	23
252	121	Monture Philip.....	24
253		“ Mary.....	25
254	122	Mononcue Thomas.....	30

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
255	123	Mudeater Mathew.....	38
256		“ Nancy.....	37
257		“ Susannah.....	14
258		“ Dawson.....	12
259		“ Zalinda.....	10
260		“ Mary.....	8
261		“ Irvin.....	6
262		“ Benjamin.....	4
263		“ Alfred.....	2
264		“ Mathew Jr.....	1
265	124	Muir Mary.....	27
266		“ Mathew W.....	2
267	125	Nicholas Smith.....	24
268		“ Margaret.....	25
269		“ Caroline.....	4
270	126	Northrop Hiram M.....	37
271		“ Margaret.....	27
272		“ Milton.....	9
273		“ Andrew.....	6
274		“ Thomas.....	4
275		“ McHenry.....	10 months
276	127	Norton Henry C.....	25
277		“ Hannah.....	21
278	128	Peacock George.....	30
279	129	Peacock Granville.....	21
280	130	Peacock Boyd.....	21
281	131	Peacock Sarah.....	
282		“ Rosannah.....	6
283		“ Samuel.....	9 months
284	132	Pipe John.....	31
285		“ Mary.....	17
286		“ Maria.....	10
287		“ Winfield.....	8
288	133	Pipe Thomas.....	35
289		“ Margaret.....	35
290		“ Mary.....	10
291		“ Hannah.....	1

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
292	134	Porcupine Betsy.....	50
293		“ John.....	16
294	135	Punch Margaret.....	23
295		“ Thomas.....	7
296		“ Margaret Jr.....	9
297		“ Elliott.....	3
298	136	Rankin Elizabeth.....	58
299		“ Isaac.....	13
300	137	Rankin Samuel.....	29
301	138	Rankin Hannah.....	18
302	139	Robitaille Robert.....	50
303		“ Robert Wolford.....	17
304		“ Rosalie.....	15
305		“ Elizabeth.....	13
306		“ James.....	10
307		“ Mary Ann.....	7
308	140	Sarahass John.....	35
309		“ Susan.....	35
310		“ Jane.....	13
311		“ Thomas.....	9
312		“ Wesley.....	7
313		“ Lucy.....	4
314		“ Richard.....	2
315		“ Margaret.....	1
316	141	St. Peter Mary.....	70
317	142	Solomon John.....	21
318	143	Solomon Mary.....	22
319	144	Solomon Sarah (now Mrs. Brown).....	18
320	145	Splitlog Mathias.....	35
321		“ Eliza.....	25
322		“ Richard.....	6
323		“ Felix.....	5
324		“ Sarah.....	3
325		“ Eliza.....	1
326	146	Splitlog Lucinda.....	30
327		“ Thomas.....	13
328		“ Susan.....	10
329		“ Margaret.....	8

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
330		Splitlog Mary.....	6
331		“ Martha.....	5
332		“ John.....	9 months
333	147	Solomon Margaret.....	50
334		“ Theresa.....	17
335		“ John.....	12
336	148	Solomon Peter.....	19
337	149	Solomon John.....	45
338		“ Sarah.....	21
339		“ Eliza.....	12
340	150	Spybuck George.....	38
341		“ Mary.....	28
342		“ Margaret.....	6
343		“ Virginia.....	2
344		“ James.....	14
345	151	Steel George.....	32
346		“ Mary.....	24
347		“ Matilda.....	3
348	152	Summonduwo: Mary.....	40
349		“ Eliza Mononeue.....	7
350	153	Squeendechtee John.....	40
351	154	Stone Rosannah.....	23
352		“ Martha Driver.....	7
353	155	Tallman Charlotte.....	90
354	156	Tallcharles.....	50
355		“ Theresse.....	35
356		“ Theresse Jr.....	15
357		“ John.....	17
358		“ Mary.....	8
359		“ Susan.....	5
360	157	Van Meter Thomas.....	24
361		“ Sarah.....	20
362		“ Hannah.....	2
363	158	Walker William.....	55
364		“ Hannah.....	55
365	159	Walker Martha R.....	29
366	160	Walker Harriet P (now Mrs. Mullen).....	22

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
367	161	Walker Mathew R.....	45
368		“ Lydia B.....	38
369		“ Adaline.....	14
370		“ Sarah L.....	12
371		“ Thomas G.....	10
372		“ Malcolm.....	8
373		“ Percy L.....	6
374		“ Clarence P.....	4
375		“ Lillian.....	1
376	162	Walker Joel.....	41
377		“ Mary.....	34
378		“ Maria.....	8
379		“ Justin.....	6
380		“ Ida C.....	4
381		“ Everett.....	2
382	163	Walker Isaiah.....	29
383		“ Mary.....	25
384		“ Emma.....	1½
385		“ Alice.....	Infant
386	164	Wasp John.....	60
387	165	Warpole John.....	30
388		“ Catharine.....	26
389		“ Mary.....	7
390		“ James.....	5
391		“ David.....	7 months
392	166	Warpole Catharine W.....	35
393		“ Francis Whitewing.....	15
394		“ Sarah Whitewing.....	13
395		“ Mary Whitewing.....	6
396		“ Henry.....	5 months
397	167	White crow Jacob.....	42
398		“ Therese.....	40
399		“ Jacob Jr.....	18
400		“ Leander.....	16
401		“ Betsey.....	12
402		“ James.....	10
403		“ Joseph.....	8
404		“ Sarah.....	4
405		“ Lucinda.....	4

COMPETENT CLASS—CONTINUED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
406	168	Whitewing Betsey	45
407		“ Eliza	13
408	169	Whitewing John Sr	70
409	170	Whitewing John Jr	35
410	171	Whitewing Jacob	23
411	172	White Susan	50
412	173	White Joseph	25
413	174	White Jane (now Mrs. Cotter)	16
414	175	Williams John	38
415		“ Margaret	36
416		“ Sarah	15
417		“ Mary Jane	5
418	176	Williams Charlotte	70
419	177	Williams Isaac	90
420		“ Susan	90
421	178	Williams Daniel	30
422	179	Williams Joseph	38
423		“ Mary	40
424		“ Margaret	6
425	180	Young Margaret	34
426		“ Elizabeth	12
427		“ Martha B.	6
428	181	Young Catharine	21
429	182	Young Jacob	45
430		“ Eliza	16
431		“ Hiram S.	8
432		“ Peter	6
433		“ Adam	4
434	183	Zane Hannah	73
435	184	Zane Isaac W.	39
436	185	Zane Susannah D.	37
437		“ Mary E.	3
438		“ Eldridge B.	10
439		“ Sarah R.	11 months
440	186	Zane Isaiah	23
441		“ Elizabeth	18
442	187	Zane Ebenezer O.	31
443		“ Rebecca	28

COMPETENT CLASS—CONCLUDED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
444		Zane Hannah E.....	9
445		“ Isaac O.....	7
446		“ Joseph C.....	5
447		“ Irvin P.....	3
448		“ Lawrence G.....	9 months
449	188	Zane Hannah Jr.....	19
450	189	Zane Sarah.....	35
451	190	Zane Isaac R.....	29
452	191	Zane Hannah Sr.....	60
453		“ Eliza.....	17
454		“ Eli Leslie.....	15
455		“ William.....	13
456	192	Zane James C.....	23
457	193	Zane Ebenezer Jr.....	23
458		“ Susannah.....	23
459		“ Isaac.....	6
460	194	Zane Noah.....	37
461		“ Tabitha.....	28
462		“ Ethan.....	9
463		“ Amanda.....	5
464		“ Alonzo.....	3
465		“ (Infant).....	8 months
466	195	Zane Jane S.....	35
467		“ Alexander H.....	—
468		“ Julia C.....	—
469		“ Elizabeth Rebecca.....	—

We certify that the foregoing is a correct list of individuals and of families, the head of which we are satisfied are sufficiently intelligent, competent and prudent, to control and manage their affairs and interests

B. F. ROBINSON

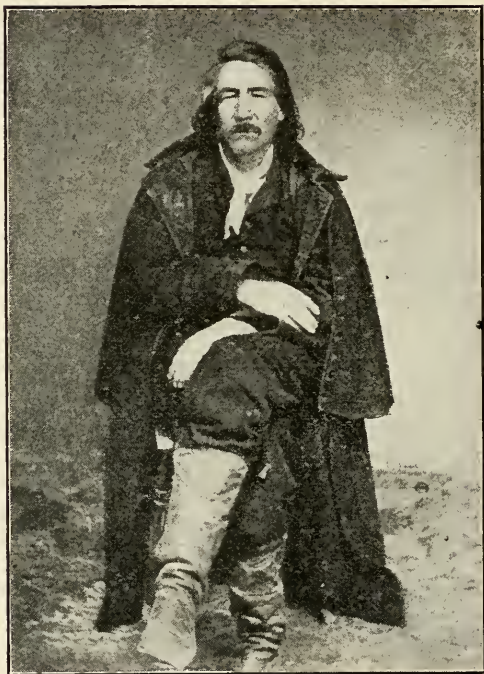
Commissioner for the United States

J. C. MCCOY

WILLIAM MILLAR

Commissioners for the Wyandotts

Wyandott City Kansas
February 22 1859



JOHN W. GREYEVES



KATE GREYEVES

(SECOND)

List of Families and Individuals of the Incompetent Class

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
1	196	Bearskin James.....	25
2	197	“ Eliza.....	27
3	198	“ George.....	7
4	199	“ Joseph.....	4
5	200	“ Catharine.....	9
6	201	Bigarms John.....	30
7	202	Bigtown Baptiste.....	48
8	203	“ Sally.....	56
9	204	“ William B.....	9
10	205	Bigtree John.....	28
11	206	“ Mary.....	25
12	207	“ Catharine.....	1
13	208	Brown Margaret.....	21
14	209	Coon Harley.....	23
15	210	Elliott Mary.....	25
16	211	“ Jacob.....	5
17	212	“ Hannah.....	8 months
18	213	Hicks Susan.....	40
19	214	“ Mary Coonhawk.....	13
20	215	Longhouse Zachariah.....	26
21	216	Monture James.....	30
22	217	Nofat Susan.....	18
23	218	Peacock Moses.....	41
24	219	Peacock Daniel.....	38
25	220	“ James.....	18
26	221	Punch Margaret B.....	40
27	222	Punch Eliza.....	20
28	223	Punch John.....	21
29	224	Standing Stone John H.....	—
30	225	Spybuck John.....	45
		This individual is to be transferred from this to the list of Competent Wyandotts, as per Supplementary report herewith of the Wyandott Commissioners	
31	226	Stookey Jacob.....	60
32	227	Spybuck Mary B.....	25

INCOMPETENT CLASS—CONCLUDED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
33	228	Whitewing James.....	25
34	229	“ Mary.....	35
35	230	“ Mary Jr.....	3
		This family is to be transferred from this list to that of competent Wyandotts as per Wyandott Commissioners supplementary report of March 7, 1859 herewith	
36	231	Washington Widow George.....	80
37	232		
“	“	Washington Sarah J.....	55
38	233	Williams Abraham.....	35
		This individual is to be transferred from this list to that of the Competent Wyandotts, as per Wyandott Commissioners Supplementary report March 7, 1859 herewith	
39	234	Williams Sarah D.....	46
40	235	“ Mary D.....	17
41	236	Zane John.....	43
42	237	“ Theresa.....	33
43	238	“ Jefferson.....	12
44	239	“ Louiza.....	10
45	240	“ Margaret.....	6

We certify that the foregoing is a true and correct list of the Individuals, and of families the heads of which we have decided are not competent and proper persons, to be entrusted with the control and management of their affairs and interests .

B. F. ROBINSON
Commissioner for the United States

J. C. MCCOY and
WILLIAM MILLAR
Commissioners for the Wyandotts

Wyandott City Kansas
February 22 1859

(THIRD)

List of Orphans

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
1	241	Armstrong Eliza.....	17
2	242	Armstrong Mary.....	13
3	243	Bigelow Jacob.....	15
4	244	Bigtree Eliza.....	17
5	245	Boyd Washington.....	3
6	246	Cherloe Joseph.....	18
7	247	Cherloe Mary.....	13
8	248	Cherloe George.....	8
9	249	Cherloe David.....	7
10	250	Cherloe Henry.....	2
11	251	Cherloe Elizabeth.....	6
12	252	Cherloe Peter.....	14
13	253	Clark Charlotte.....	14
14	254	Collier Mary.....	14
15	255	Collier Sarah.....	12
16	256	Coon George.....	7
17	257	Coon Josiah Scott.....	6
18	258	Coon Francis.....	19
19	259	Coon Mary.....	17
20	260	Coon Hannah.....	13
21	261	Coon Catharine.....	9
22	262	Cotter Amos.....	18
23	263	Curlyhead Mary Jr.....	Infant
24	264	Curlyhead Jacob.....	17
25	265	Driver William A.....	17
26	266	Driver Caroline.....	12
27	267	Hicks Sarah.....	16
28	268	Greyeyes Henry C.....	19
29	269	Jonathan Margaret Jr.....	11
30	270	Kayrahoo John.....	7
31	271	Long William.....	17
32	272	McKenzie Livery B.....	17
33	273	McKenzie Russell.....	11
34	274	McKee Mary.....	15

LIST OF ORPHANS—CONCLUDED

No. on List	No. on Plat and Schedule	Names	Age at date of Ratification of Treaty
35	275	Monture Mary.....	16
36	276	Peacock Elizabeth.....	15
37	277	Peacock Isaac Jr.....	3
38	278	Rodgers Cary (male).....	10
39	279	Whitewing George.....	17
40	280	Wright David.....	16
41	281	Williams Mary L.....	8

We certify that the foregoing is a true and correct list of all the orphans—minor persons whom we have adjudged to be such—and that there are no idiots or insane persons belonging to the Wyandott Tribe of Indians

B. F. ROBINSON

Commissioner for the United States

J. C. MCCOY and

WILLIAM MILLAR

Commissioners for the Wyandotts

Wyandott City Kansas
February 22 1859

List of Persons and Families Who Have Applied to be Temporarily Exempted from Citizenship, as per 1st and 3rd Articles of Treaty Between the United States and Wyandott Indians of January 31, 1855.

No.	NAMES	No.	NAMES
1	Armstrong James	28	Gibson Matilda
2	" Rebecca	29	" William
3	Bearskin Peter	30	Hat John (Tauromee)
4	Bearskin John L	31	" Mary
5	" Sarah	32	" Anthony
6	" William	33	" John Jr.
7	" Francis	34	" Sarah
8	" Oliver	35	Hicks James
9	" Lucinda	36	Kayrahoo Mary
10	" George	37	" John
11	" Margaret	38	" Mary Jr.
12	" Elizabeth	39	Kayrahoo Jane
13	Bigsnew Samuel	40	Longhouse Zachariah
14	" Clarissa	41	Monture James
	The names of this family at the request of the head thereof are to be considered as erased and taken from this list as per Supplementary report of March 7, 1859 herewith	42	Peacock Daniel
15	Bigarms Ethan	43	" James
16	Bigtown Baptist	44	Punch Margaret
17	" Sally	45	" Thomas
18	" William B	46	" Margaret Jr.
19	Barnett Mathew	47	" Elliott
20	" Margaret	48	Splitlog Lucinda
21	Coon George	49	" Thomas
22	Gibson John	50	" Susan
23	" Marissa	51	" Margaret
24	" Joseph	52	" Mary
25	" Mary	53	" Martha
26	" Jane	54	" John
27	" Henry		At the request of the head of this family their names are to be considered as erased and taken from this list as per Supplementary report of March 7, 1859 herewith

No.	NAMES	No.	NAMES
55	Squeendechtee John	63	Warpole John
56	Stookey Jacob	64	" Catharine
57	Spybuck John	65	" Mary
58	Van Meter Thomas	66	" James
59	" Sarah	67	" David
60	" Hannah	68	Williams Isaac
61	Whitewing Jacob	69	" Susan
62	Whitewing John Sr.		

We certify that the foregoing is a true and correct list of families, the heads of which have applied to be temporarily exempted from citizenship and also of persons without families who have applied in like manner-

B. F. ROBINSON
Commissioner for the U. S.

J. C. McCoy
WILLIAM MILLAR
Commissioners for the Wyandotte

Wyandott City Kansas
February 22 1859



ISAAC BROWN AND WIFE

Descriptions of the several allotments of Land as made by the Commissioners Appointed under the provisions of the 3rd Article of the Treaty made on the 31st day of January 1855 to the Individuals and Families composing the Wyandott Tribe of Indians of Kansas Territory

Filed March 6th 1860.

M. P. NEWMAN *County Clerk.*

List of Members of the Wyandott Tribe of Indians who have applied to the Commissioners to be Temporarily exempted from Citizenship as provided for by the 1st and 3rd Arts. of the Treaty of January 31st 1855 between the United States and said tribe

1 Mathew Barnett	15 Abraham Williams
2 John Gibson	16 Daniel Peacock
3 Peter Bearskin	17 Isaac Williams
4 John Warpole	18 Thomas Van Meter
5 Baptiste Bigtown	19 George Coon
6 John Squeendechtee	20 Lucinda Splitlog
7 Jacob Whitewing	21 Margaret Punch
8 John Spybuck	22 William Gibson
9 Samuel Bigsinev	23 Jacob Stookey
10 Ethan Biganus	24 James Monteur
11 John S. Bearskin	25 James Armstrong
12 John Hat (Tauromee)	26 Zachariah Longhouse
13 Mary Kayrahoo	27 John Whitewing
14 Jane Kayrahoo	28 James Hicks

[Allotments.]

No.

- 1 ARMS JOHN Commencing at the N. W. Corner of Sec. 27 T. 10 S. R. 25 E.
 ARMS JOSEPH thence South 96 poles, thence East 160 poles, thence North to
 ARMS ELIZA the South bank of the Missouri River, thence up the same to a
 ARMS ABRAHAM point due North of beginning, thence South to the beginning—
 Containing 80³⁶ acres.

Also commencing 33½ poles East of the S. W. corner of Sec. 33 same T. and Range,
 thence East 145½ poles, thence North 80 poles thence West 145½ poles, thence South
 80 poles to the beginning, Containing 72⁷⁵ acres, and in all 153⁷⁰ acres.

- 2 ELIZA ARMS Commencing at the S. W. Corner of the S E ¼ of the N. E. frac-
 tional ¼ of Section 4 T. 11 R. 25 E. thence East 48 poles thence
 North 98 poles and 16 links then West 48 poles thence South 34 poles 18½ links thence
 E. 17 poles 22½ links, thence South 17 poles 22½ links thence West 17 poles 22½
 links thence North 52 poles and 16 links, thence West 24 poles, thence South 98 poles
 16 links, thence East 24 poles to the beginning—Containing 42³⁹ acres.

- 3 ARMSTRONG HANNAH Commencing at the S. E. corner of Section 16 T. 11 S. R.
 ARMSTRONG JOHN M. 25 E. thence South 30 poles, thence West 40 poles thence
 North 60 poles, then West 40 poles, thence North 140
 poles, thence East 80 poles thence South 170 poles, to beginning, containing 85 acres.

- 4 ARMSTRONG JAMES Commencing at the N. E. corner of Sec. 7 T. 11 R. 25
 ARMSTRONG REBECCA E. thence West 136 poles thence S. 80 poles thence East
 136 poles, thence North 80 poles to beginning, Contain-
 ing 68 acres.

- 5 ARMSTRONG MARTHA Commencing at the N. E. corner of the N. W. ¼ of Sec-
 tion 10 T. 11 S. R. 24 E, thence West 92 poles thence
 South 80 poles, thence East 92 poles, thence North 80 poles to beginning, Containing
 46 acres.

- 6 ARMSTRONG SARAH Commencing at the N E cor. of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec.
(Now Mrs. Johnson) 9 T. 11 S R. 25 E. thence North 12 poles then West 40
poles, thence N 68 poles thence East 60 poles, thence South
80 poles thence, thence West 20 poles to beginning, Containing 27 acres
-
- 7 ARMSTRONG SILAS Commencing at the S E. corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of
ARMSTRONG WINFIELD S. the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 T. 11 R. 25 E. thence West
ARMSTRONG ZALINDA 68 poles, then North 18 poles, then West 15 poles,
ARMSTRONG SILAS JR. then North 98 poles then East 23 poles, then
ARMSTRONG CATHARINE North 44 poles, then E. 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles then S. 80
ARMSTRONG MANOR poles, then West 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence South 44 poles,
ARMSTRONG McINTIRE 20 links, thence East 43 poles, thence South 35
ARMSTRONG ELIZABETH poles and 5 links to beginning- Containing 55⁵⁰
ARMSTRONG CAROLINE acres.
- Also Commencing at the N W. corner of Section
16 Same T. and R. thence East 160 poles thence South 80 poles thence West 80 poles
thence South 240 poles thence West 80 poles thence North 320 poles to beginning,
Containing 200 acres
- And Also the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 same T. and R. Containing 40 acres
and in the aggregate Containing 295⁵⁰ acres.
-
- 8 ARMSTRONG TABITHA Commencing 3 poles West of the N E corner of the
(Now Mrs. Vedder) N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 T. 11 S. R. 25 E. thence South 62
poles thence West 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence North 98 poles
thence East 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence South 36 poles to the beginning, Containing 18⁰⁰ acres.
-
- 9 ARMSTRONG ROBERT Commencing 20 poles East of the N. W. corner of the
N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3. T. 11 S. R. 25 E. thence
East 60 poles thence South 60 poles, thence West 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence South 20 poles
thence West 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 80 poles to beginning, Containing 28¹⁹ acres.
-
- 10 ARMSTRONG LUCINDA Commencing at the S. W. corner of the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
(Now Mrs. Forsyth) N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 36 T. 10 S. R. 24 E. thence North 80
poles thence East 62 poles, thence South 80 poles thence
West 62 poles to beginning—containing 31 acres.
-
- 11 ARMSTRONG LUCY B. Commencing at the N E. corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of
ARMSTRONG ETHAN Sec. 3. T. 11 R. 25 E. thence East 20 poles thence
ARMSTRONG CAROLINE A. South 124 poles thence West 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence
ARMSTRONG RUSSELL B. South 36 poles, thence West 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence
ARMSTRONG HENRY G. North 80 poles, thence East 28 poles, thence
ARMSTRONG ELLEN C. G. North 80 poles, thence East 52 poles to beginning,
Containing 74¹⁵ acres
- Also commencing at the N. W. corner of Section 22 T. 11 R. 25 E. thence East 80
poles thence S. 48 poles thence East 16 poles, thence South 112 poles, thence West 96
poles, thence North 160 poles to beginning, containing in all 165³⁵ acres
-
- 12 BARNETT JAMES Commencing at the N. W. corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W
BARNETT JANE of Sec. 10 T. 11 S. R. 25 E. thence S. 400 poles thence
BARNETT THERESA East 80 poles thence North 52 poles thence East 23 poles
BARNETT MARTHA thence North 108 poles thence West 23 poles thence North
BARNETT HENRY 160 poles, thence East 28 poles thence North 80 poles
BARNETT SILAS thence West 108 poles to the beginning, containing 229⁵²
acres.

- 12 MATHEW BARNETT Commencing at the N. E. corner of S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 9 Tp.
MATHEW MARGARET 11 Rg. 25 E. thence E 62 poles thence South 80 poles thence
West 80 poles thence South 6 poles thence West 80 poles
thence North 86 poles thence East 80 poles to beginning, Containing 74 acres
-
- 14 BARNETT JOHN Commencing at the North West corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section
16 T. 11 S. R. 25 E., thence North 20 poles, thence East 80 poles
thence South 80 poles thence West 80 poles thence North 60 poles to the beginning,
containing 40 acres.
-
- 15 BARNETT LOUIS Commencing at the S W. corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$
of Sec. 16 T. 11 R S 25 E. thence S. 50 poles, thence E. 80
poles, thence N. 70 poles thence W. 80 poles thence S. 20 poles to beginning, Con-
taining 35 acres.
-
- 16 BARNETT WILLIAM Commencing 10 poles North of the N E. corner of the S W
 $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 21 T. 11 S. R. 25 E. thence
West 28 poles thence North 100 poles thence East 68 poles thence South 60 poles
thence West 40 poles thence South 40 poles to beginning Containing 32⁵⁰ acres
-
- 17 BARBEE SARAH Commencing at the S W. corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 9
T. 11 S R. 25 E., thence East 80 poles thence North 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles,
thence West 80 poles thence South 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles to the beginning, containing 23²⁵ acres
-
- 18 BEAVER JOHN Commencing at the S. E. corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 4 T.
BEAVER SUSAN 11 S. R. 25 East, thence West 112 poles, thence North 38
BEAVER HANNAH poles thence East 112 poles thence South 38 poles to be-
BEAVER SUSAN JR. ginning, containing 26⁶⁰ acres.
BEAVER JOHN JR. Also the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 9 T. 11 S. R. 25
E. containing 40 acres.
Also commencing at the S E corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 14 T. 10 S R 24 E. thence West 240 poles thence North to the
South bank of the Missouri River, thence down the same with the meanderings
thereof to a point due north of the beginning, thence South to the beginning, Con-
taining in all 236⁶³ acres.
-
- 19 BEARSKIN JOHN S. Commencing at the N E corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec.
BEARSKIN SARAH 5 T. 11 R. 25 E. thence North 20 poles, thence West
BEARSKIN WILLIAM 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence East 91 $\frac{1}{2}$
BEARSKIN FRANCIS poles, thence South 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence East 80 poles
BEARSKIN OLIVER thence North 20 poles thence East 48 poles, thence
BEARSKIN LUCINDA North 60 poles, thence West 48 poles to beginning,
BEARSKIN GEORGE Containing 110⁶⁰ acres.
BEARSKIN MARGARET Also commencing at the N W corner of Section 26
BEARSKIN ELIZABETH T. 10 S. R. 24 E. thence S. 50 poles thence East 160
poles, thence North-50 poles thence East 80 poles,
thence North 80 poles thence West 160 poles, thence South 19 poles thence West 80
poles thence South 61 poles to beginning containing 160⁵⁰ Acres
And also commencing at the S E corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 14 T 10 S R 24 E.
thence West 80 poles thence North to the South Bank of the Missouri River thence down
along the same with the meanders thereof, to a point due North of the beginning,
thence South to the beginning containing 96 acres and in the aggregate containing
367¹⁰ acres.
-
- 20 BEARSKIN PETER The North $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ and the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$
of Section 11 T. 11 S R 24 E. Containing together 120 acres.
-
- 21 BEARSKIN MARY The South $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 2 and the
BEARSKIN JOSEPH PEACOCK N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of of Sec. 11 T. 11 S. R. 24 E. con-
taining together 240 acres.

- 22 BIGSINEW SAMUEL Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 24 T. 10 S R 24 E.
BIGSINEW CLARISSA thence East 50 poles, thence South 80 poles thence East
110 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles,
thence North 160 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 160 poles to beginning,
containing 135 acres.
-
- 23 BIGTREE JAMES Commencing at the N E corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10
S R 24 E. thence West 135 poles, thence S. 60 poles, thence E.
135 poles thence North 60 poles to beginning containing 50⁶² acres.
-
- 24 SARAH BIGTREE Commencing at the S E corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T.
10 S R 24 E thence West 160 poles thence North 40 poles
thence East 160 poles thence South 40 poles to beginning Containing 40 acres.
-
- 25 BIGTREE ISAAC Commencing at the S W corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 36 T
10 S R 24 E. thence West 18 poles thence North 80 poles thence
East 62 poles, thence South 72 poles, thence West 44 poles, thence South 8 poles to
beginning, containing 28⁸⁰ acres.
-
- 26 BIGARMS ETHAN Commencing at the S W corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$
of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R 25 E. thence East 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence
North 80 poles thence West 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 13 poles to
the beginning Containing 23²⁸ acres
-
- 27 BIGARMS MARTIN Commencing at the S E corner of Section 6 T. 11 S R 25 E.
thence West 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East
46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence South 80 poles to beginning Containing 23²⁸ acres
-
- 28 BLACKSHEEP ——— Commencing at the S E corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$
of Section 24 T. 10 S R 24, thence North 24 poles thence
West 80 poles thence South 94 poles thence East to the West bank of the Missouri
River, thence up along said bank with the meanders thereof to a point due east
of the beginning, thence West to the beginning, containing 72⁷⁰ acres
-
- 29 BLACKSHEEP WILLIAM Commencing at the S E corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 24 T. 10 S. R. 24 E., thence North
80 poles thence West 20 poles thence North 80 poles, thence East to the West bank of
the Missouri River, thence down along the same with the meanders thereof to a point
due east of the beginning, thence West to the beginning Containing 56⁹⁰ acres
-
- 30 BOSTWICK SHADRACK Commencing at the N. W. corner of Sec. 32 T 10 S. R
BOSTWICK MARY 25 E., thence West 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 160 poles
BOSTWICK THERESSA thence East 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence North 54 poles, thence
BOSTWICK ISAAC East 74 poles thence North 106 poles, thence West 74
poles to beginning, containing 71⁵⁰ acres
Also the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11. S R 24 containing 40 acres, and
in the aggregate containing 111⁵⁰ acres.
-
- 31 BROWN ISAAC W. Commencing at the N E corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E
BROWN ELIZA fractional $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 10 T. 11 S R 25 E., thence West 43
poles, thence South 44 poles and 20 links, thence East 43 poles
thence South 35 poles and 5 links, thence West 46 poles, thence South 38 poles, thence
East 34 poles to the west bank of the Kansas River, thence down the same North 34°
E. 23 poles and 6 links thence West 9 poles and 6 links, thence North 30° 80 poles,
thence East 9 poles, 6 links to the West bank of the Kansas River, thence down the
same with the meanders thereof to a point due east of the beginning, thence West to
the beginning, containing 37⁵⁰ acres

- 32 BROWN ADAM Commencing at the S E corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 8 T. 11 S R 25 E., thence North 80 poles thence West 60 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 60 poles, to the beginning containing 30 acres
-
- 33 BROWN MATHEW Commencing at the N E corner of the North West $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T. 10 S R 25 E. thence South 121 poles, thence West 80 poles thence North 121 poles, thence East 80 poles to the beginning, containing 60⁵⁰ acres
-
- 34 BROWN CATHARINE G. Commencing at the N E. corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T. 10 S R 24 E., thence North 16 poles thence West 80 poles, thence South 56 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 40 poles to the beginning, containing 28 acres
-
- 35 BROWN MARY Commencing at the S W corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 8 T.
BROWN ELIZABETH 11 S. R 25 E. thence East 100 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 150 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 50 poles to beginning, containing 75 acres
-
- 36 BROWN HARRIET Commencing at the S W corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 7 T. 11 S R 25 E., thence East 110 poles thence North 80 poles thence West 110 poles thence South 80 poles to the beginning, Containing 55 acres.
-
- 37 BROWN JOHN D. Commencing at the S W corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 8 T.
BROWN THERESA 11 S R 25 E., thence North 80 poles, thence West 106 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence North 80 poles, thence East 115 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles,
BROWN HEZEKIAH thence South 20 poles, thence East 60 poles thence South
BROWN LEANDER 60 poles, thence East 11 poles, thence South 80 poles,
BROWN ELIZA ANN thence West 80 poles to beginning, containing 100 acres
BROWN REBECCA Also commencing at the N W. corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$
BROWN JOHN D. JR of same Sec. T and R., thence East 80 poles thence South
BROWN LUCINDA 96 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 96 poles, to beginning, containing 48 acres.
- And also commencing at the S W corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 17 T. 11 S R 25 E. thence East 80 poles, thence North 38 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 202 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 16 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 64 poles, thence South to the North bank of the Kansas River, thence down the same to a point due south of beginning, thence North to the beginning, containing 166³⁰ acres and in all 314³⁰ acres.
-
- 38 BULLHEAD CAPTAIN Commencing at the N E. corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S R 24 E., thence West 160 poles, thence South 40 poles, thence East 160 poles thence North 40 poles to the beginning, containing 40 acres.
-
- 39 MARGARET CHARLOE Commencing at the N E corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22 T 11 S R 25 E., thence North 52 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 100 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 48 poles to the beginning, Containing 50 acres.
-
- 40 CHERLOE AMELIA Commencing at the N W corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T. 10 S R 25 E., thence S. 122 poles, thence East 80 poles thence North to the South Bank of the Missouri River, thence up the same with the meanders thereof to a point due east of beginning, thence West to the beginning, containing 59 acres.

- 41 LUCY ANN CHERLOE Commencing at the S W corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of
(now Mrs. Splitlog) Sec. 4 T. 11 S. R. 25 E., thence East 80 poles thence
North 74 poles and 16 links, thence West 80 poles thence
South 74 poles and 16 links, to the beginning containing 37⁶⁴ acres
-
- 42 CHERLOE MARGARET C Commencing at the S E cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 27
CAYUNDISWAY T. 10 S. R. 25 E, Thence West 160 poles, thence
North 64 poles, thence East 160 poles thence South
64 poles to beginning, Containing 64 acres.
-
- 43 CHERLOE MARY I. Commencing at the S W cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 T.
MAKOMA 11 S. R. 24 E. thence North 160 poles thence East 80 poles
thence South 80 poles thence East 30 poles, thence South 80
poles, thence West 110 poles to beginning, containing 95⁶⁴ acres
-
- 44 CHOPLOG RUSSIA Commencing 12 poles North of the N E corner of the S W
 $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26 T. 10 S. R 24 E. thence North 98 poles thence
West 80 poles, thence South 130, thence East 30 poles thence North 32 poles, thence
East 50 poles to the beginning, containing 55 acres
-
- 45 CLARK GEORGE I. Commencing at the N W corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32
CLARK CATHARINE T. 10 S. R. 25 thence West 22 poles, thence South 140
CLARK RICHARD W. poles, thence East 102 poles, thence North 380 poles to
CLARK HARRIET the S. bank of the Missouri River thence up along the
CLARK MARY J. same with the meanders thereof to a point due North of
the beginning thence South to the beginning, Containing
216⁸⁵ acres
-
- 46 CLARK PETER D. Commencing at the N E corner of Sec. 32 T. 10 S R 25 E.
CLARK SEBRA thence South 44 poles, thence West 35 poles thence South
36 poles, thence West 45 poles, thence North 210 poles,
thence East 80 poles, thence South 130 poles to the beginning containing 97¹² acres
-
- 47 CLEMENT SOPHIA Commencing at the N W cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec.
CLEMENT INEZ THERESSA 34 T 10 S. R. 25 E. thence East 143 poles, thence
South 80 poles, thence West 143 poles, thence North
80 poles to the beginning, Containing 71⁶⁰ acres
-
- 48 COOK GEORGE Commencing 10 poles East of the Northwest corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$
of Sec. 1 T. 11 S. R. 24 E, thence East 120 poles, thence South
80 poles thence West 120 poles thence North 80 poles to beginning, Containing 60 acres
-
- 49 COON SARAH Commencing at the N W corner of Sec. 23 T. 10 S. R. 24 E,
COON THOMAS thence East 80 poles, thence North 160 poles thence East 80
COON MARY poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 80 poles thence South
COON JOSEPH 260 poles thence West 80 poles thence South 120 poles, thence
COON HENRY West 80 poles, thence North 40 poles, thence West 80 poles
COON WILLIAM thence North 200 poles to beginning Containing 400 acres
Also commencing at the S E corner of same Sec. T. and R.
thence North 112 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 112 poles thence East 80
poles to the beginning, containing 56 acres and in the aggregate containing 456 acres.
-
- 50 COON GEORGE Commencing at the South west corner of Sec. 32 T. 10 S. R. 25
E., thence West 80 poles, thence North 40 poles, thence East
116 poles, thence South 40 poles, thence West 36 poles to the beginning, containing
29 acres.

- 51 COONHAWK THOMAS Commencing at the N W cor of Sec. 21. T. 11 S. R. 25 E.
thence South 69 poles 18 links, thence East 80 poles thence
North 69 poles 18 links, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, containing 34⁸⁶ acres
-
- 52 COONHAWK MARY Commencing at the S E. cor. of Sec. 35 T. 10 S. R.
COONHAWK HENRY C. G. 24 E., thence West 240 poles, thence North 100
poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 44 poles,
thence East 160 poles, thence South 56 poles to beginning, containing 106 acres.
-
- 53 CORNSTALK JNO B. Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 30 T. 10 S. R. 25 E.
CORNSTALK SARAH thence West 40 poles, thence North 80 poles thence East
120 poles thence South 80 poles thence West 80 poles to be-
ginning, containing also
Commencing at the N E cor, of the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25 T 10 S. R. 24 E., thence
North 80 poles thence East 160 poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 50 poles,
thence South 14 poles thence West 110 poles, thence North 14 poles to beginning,
containing 89⁶² acres and in all 149⁶² acres.
-
- 54 COTTER NICHOLAS The S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ and the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
COTTER CAROLINE E. S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T. 10 S. R. 24 E containing to-
gether 80 acres.
-
- 55 COTTER JOHN Commencing at the S E cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of
Sec. 36 T. 10 S R 24 E., thence East 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence North
80 poles, thence West 97 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence South 80 poles thence East 80 poles to
beginning, containing 48⁷⁵ acres.
-
- 56 COTTER HIRAM Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T. 10
S R 25 E., thence East 80 poles thence North 50 poles thence
West 80 poles thence South 50 poles to beginning, containing 25 acres.
-
- 57 COTTER FRANCIS Commencing 26 poles West of the S E corner of Sec 26
COTTER ELIZABETH T. 10 S R 24 E. thence North 80 poles thence west 62
COTTER BERNARD poles thence North 160 poles thence West 72 poles thence
COTTER JAMES W. S 320 poles, thence East 160 poles, thence North 80 poles,
COTTER CASSILS thence W 26 poles to the beginning, containing 219 acres
-
- 58 CURLEYHEAD JOHN B. Commencing at the N W corner of Sec. 30 T. 10 S.
CURLEYHEAD WILLIAM R 25, thence South 99 poles, thence East 80 poles,
thence North 99 poles, thence East to the South bank
of the Missouri River, thence up along same to a point due North of Beginning,
thence South to beginning containing 93⁶⁰ acres
Also Commencing at the N W. corner of Sec. 34 T. 10 S. R. 24 E. thence East
80 poles thence South 65 poles thence thence West 90 poles, thence North 65 poles thence
East 10 poles to beginning containing 36⁵⁰ acres and in the aggregate containing
130¹⁶ acres
-
- 59 CURLEYHEAD MARY Commencing at the S E cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 27,
T. 10 S R 25 E. thence North 98 poles, thence West 148
poles, thence South 18 poles, thence East 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles, thence
East 130 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles to the beginning containing 81⁰⁰ acres

- 60 CURLEYHEAD NANCY Commencing at the S. W. corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of
CURLEYHEAD NANCY JR. Sec. 22 T. 11 S. R. 25 E. thence North 142 poles
thence East to the West bank of the Kansas River,
thence up the same with the meanders thereof to a point due south of beginning,
thence North to the beginning, containing 127 acres
Also commencing at the S E corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21
Tp. 11 S R 25 E. thence West 28 poles thence North 69 poles thence West 52 poles
thence South 69 poles thence West 80 poles thence North 80 poles thence West
80 poles thence South to the North bank of the Kansas River, thence down the same
to a point due south of beginning, thence North to the beginning containing 135⁹⁰ acres
and in all 262⁹⁰ acres.
-
- 61 DAWSON JARED S. Commencing at the N E corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec.
DAWSON CATHARINE L. 32 Tp. 10 S R. 25 E., thence North 7 poles, thence
DAWSON EUDORA W. West 80 poles thence South 60 poles, thence West 80
DAWSON ROBERT A. poles, thence South 51 poles, thence East 80 poles,
DAWSON JARDINIA thence South 10 poles thence East 80 poles, thence
DAWSON OELLA Z. South 46 poles thence East 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence thence
North 80 poles, thence East 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence North 80
poles thence West 144 poles to the beginning containing 174²⁵ acres
-
- 62 ISAAC P. DRIVER Commencing at the N E corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 4 Tp 11 S R 25 E., thence South 80 poles,
thence West 70 poles thence North 80 poles, thence East 70 poles to beginning, con-
taining 35 acres
-
- 63 DRIVER CATHARINE The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 8 Tp. 11 S. R.
25 E. Containing 40 acres
-
- 64 DRIVER SUSAN S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 8. tp 11 S R. 25 containing 40 acres
65 DRIVER SARAH Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of
Sec. 33 Tp 10 S R 25. thence West 24 poles, thence north 64 poles,
thence East 60 poles, thence South 64 poles thence West 36 poles to beginning, Containing
24 acres
-
- 66 FIGHTER HARRIET S Commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 34 Tp. 10 S R 25 E. thence West 18
poles thence North 160 poles, thence East 88 poles thence South 80 poles thence West
56 poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 14 poles to beginning Containing 60 acres.
-
- 67 FIGHTER HANNAH Commencing at the N E cor of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R 24 E
thence West 80 poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 100
poles, thence North 80 poles thence West 20 poles to the beginning, containing
50 acres
-
- 68 FROST MICHAEL Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 6 T. 11 S. R. 25,
FROST HANNAH thence East 160 poles, thence S. 80 poles, thence West 160
FROST CADY poles thence North 80 poles to beginning, Containing 80 acres
-
- 69 GARRETT CHARLES B. Commencing at the S E. cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
GARRETT MARIA N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 T. 11 S. R. 25 E. thence East 15 $\frac{1}{2}$
poles thence N. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° E 100 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles., thence West 94
poles, thence S. 98 poles 19 links thence East 59 poles to the beginning Containing
51⁹⁰ acres.

- 70 GARRETT RUSSELL Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 Tp. 10 S R 25 E. thence East 50 poles thence North 67 poles thence West 14 poles, thence North 13 poles thence West $48\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East $12\frac{1}{2}$ poles to beginning Containing 30^{10} acres.
-
- 71 GARRETT CYRUS Commencing at the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 4 T. 11 S R 25, thence West 32 poles thence North 98 poles and 16 links, thence East 53 poles, thence South 98 poles and 19 links, thence West 21 poles to the beginning Containing 32^{16} acres
-
- 72 GARRETT HENRY Commencing at the South East Corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Tp. 11 S R 25 E. thence West $46\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence North 80 poles thence East $46\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles to the beginning, Containing 23^{26} acres.
-
- 73 GARRETT NANCY Commencing at the S W. corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22
GARRETT NANCY JR. Tp. 11 S R 24, thence North 44 poles, thence East 115 poles thence North 62 poles thence West 115 poles thence North 62 poles thence West 115 poles, thence South 6 poles, thence West 51 poles and 15 links, thence South to the North bank of the Kansas River, thence down along the same with the meanders thereof to a point due south of beginning thence north to beginning, Containing 89 acres.
-
- 74 GARRETT THEODORE F. Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 22 T 11 S R. 24, thence West 51 poles 15 links, thence South 60 poles, thence East 51 poles 15 links, thence North 6 poles thence East 115 poles thence North 54 poles thence West 115 poles to beginning Containing 58^{16} acres.
-
- 75 GARRETT EDWARD Commencing at the S W corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22 Tp 11, S. R. 24 E, thence North 44 poles, thence East 115 poles, thence South to the North bank of the Kansas River, thence up along the same with the meanders thereof to a point due South of the beginning, thence North to the beginning, Containing 50 acres
-
- 76 GARRETT MARY Commencing $12\frac{1}{2}$ poles West of the Southeast Cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R. 25 thence North 80 poles, thence West $48\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles thence East $48\frac{1}{2}$ poles to beginning Containing 24^{25} acres
-
- 77 GARRETT JOEL W. Commencing at the N E. Cor. of Sec. 25 T. 10 S R 24 E.,
GARRETT ELIZA thence South 80 poles, thence West 160 poles, thence North 170 poles thence East to the S W. Bank of the Missouri River, thence down along same with the meanders thereof to a point due north of the beginning, thence South to the beginning containing 170 acres
-
- 78 GARRETT MARY ANN Commencing at the North East Corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of
GARRETT BYRON Section 36 T. 10 S R 24 E. thence West 80 poles thence South 80 poles thence East 80 poles, thence North 32 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 56 poles, thence West 80 poles thence South 8 poles to beginning, Containing 68 acres.
-
- 79 GAYAMME JESSEE Commencing at the S W cor of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R 25 thence
GAYAMME BETSEY West 130, thence North 80 poles, thence East 210 poles,
GAYAMME JAMES thence South 80 poles thence West 80 poles to beginning Containing 105 acres

- 80 GIBSON JOHN The N W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22 T. 10 S. R. 24. containing 59³⁵
 GIBSON MARISSA acres.
 GIBSON JOSEPH Also the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the same Section T & R containing
 GIBSON MARY 160 acres.
 GIBSON JANE Also the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 21 same T & R
 GIBSON HENRY containing 40 acres, and in the aggrate containing 259³⁵
 GIBSON MATILDA acres.
-
- * 81 GIBSON WILLIAM Commencing at the N E cor. of the N. W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 27 T 10
 S R. 24 E, thence South 98 poles thence West 56 poles thence
 North 98 poles, thence East 58 poles to beginning Containing 35⁵² acres.
-
- 82 GIBSON CATHARINE The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ and the S E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E
 $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 Tp. 10 S R 24 E. containing together 71
 acres
-
- 83 GREYEVES SQUIRE Commencing at the S E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 Tp.
 GREYEVES ELIZA 10 S R 25 E. thence North 39 poles thence West 80 poles,
 thence N 22 poles, thence West 80 poles thence South 61-
 poles, thence West 50 poles, thence South 80 poles thence East 130 poles, thence North
 80 poles Thence East 80 poles to beginning, Containing 115 acres
-
- 84 GREYEVES SILAS M. Commencing at the Northwest corner of Sec. 13 T 10 S R
 24 E. thence South 50 poles thence East 80 poles, thence
 North to the South bank of the Missouri River, thence up along the same with the
 meanders thereof to a point due north of beginning thence South to the beginning, Con-
 taining 40^{75/100} acres
-
- 85 GREYEVES JOHN W. Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W
 GREYEVES CATHARINE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 5 T. 11 S R 25 E thence West 21 poles
 GREYEVES GUY W. thence North 99 poles thence East 89 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence
 South 99 poles thence West 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles to the begin-
 ning containing 55^{70/100} acres.
 Also commencing at the N. W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 4 Same
 Tp. & R. thence East 70 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 70 poles thence
 North 80 poles to beginning, containing 35 acres and in all 90⁷⁰ acres
-
- 86 GUTHRIE ABELARD Commencing at the S W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T. 10
 GUTHRIE NANCY S R. 25 E., thence East 80 poles thence North 123 poles,
 GUTHRIE ABELURA thence East 80 poles thence South 61 poles, thence West 20
 GUTHRIE MORSONA poles Thence South 62 poles thence West 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence
 GUTHRIE JAMES South 160 poles, thence West 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence North 63
 GUTHRIE JACOB poles, thence West 42 poles, thence North 17 poles, thence
 West 38 poles, thence North 80 poles to beginning, con-
 taining 150⁷¹ acres.
-
- 87 HALF JOHN SARAH Commencing at the N W. cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T.
 10 S R 25 E., thence West 10 poles, thence South 80 poles,
 thence East to the West bank of the Missouri River, thence up the same with the
 meanders thereof to a point due North of beginning, thence South to the beginning,
 Containing 183⁵⁰ acres.
-
- 88 HAT JOHN (TAUROMEE) Commencing at the S E cor. of Sec. 27 T. 10 S R 24
 HAT MARY E. thence North 270 poles thence West 80 poles thence
 HAT ANTHONY South 300 poles thence East 80 poles thence North 30
 HAT JOHN JR. poles to the beginning containing 150 acres.
 HAT SARAH

- 89 HICKS JOHN Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32. T. 10 S R 25 thence East 58 poles thence South 133 poles thence East 22 poles thence South 77 poles and 15 links thence West 80 poles thence North 74 poles and 15 links thence West 40 poles, thence North 56 poles, thence West 40 poles, thence North 54 poles, thence East 74 poles thence North 26 poles, thence East 6 poles to the beginning, containing 129 acres.
Also commencing 8 poles East of the Northwest corner of the Southeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 15 Tp. 11 S R 25 E., thence South 80 poles, thence West 8 poles, thence South 16 poles, thence East to the West bank of the Kansas river, thence down the same to a point due East of beginning, thence West to the beginning, containing 80 acres
Also commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R 24 E., thence North 96 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 96 poles, thence East 80 poles to beginning, containing 48 acres, and in all 257 acres.
-
- 90 HICKS JAMES Commencing at the S E cor. of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R 25 E. thence South 18 poles thence W. 80 poles, thence North 98 poles thence East $109\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West $29\frac{1}{2}$ poles to the beginning containing $63\frac{75}{100}$ acres
-
- 91 HICKS BETSEY Commencing at the N E cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 28 T 10 S R 25 thence North 24 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 104 poles thence East 92 thence North 80 poles thence West 12 poles to beginning- Containing 58 acres
-
- 92 HICKS FRANCIS A. Commencing at the N E. cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 28 T 10 R 25 thence West 80 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 80 poles thence North 62 poles, thence West 80 poles to beginning, Containing 71 acres
-
- 93 HICKS MATILDA Commencing at the North West corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 Tp 10 S R 25 E, thence West 16 poles thence North 54 poles, thence East 72 poles, thence South 54 poles, thence West 56 poles to beginning- Containing $24\frac{56}{100}$ acres
-
- 94 HICKS JANE Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T 10 S R 25 E thence North 50 poles thence East 80 poles thence South 50 poles thence West 24 poles thence South 38 poles thence West 72 poles thence North 38 poles thence East 16 poles to beginning Containing $42\frac{10}{100}$ acres
-
- 95 HICKS CATHARINE Commencing at the N W. cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence West 6 poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 64 poles thence North 80 poles, thence West 58 poles to the beginning containing 32 acres.
-
- 96 HICKS MARIA Commencing at the N E. cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22 T. 11 S. R. 24 E. thence West 125 poles, thence HICKS PHILLIP B. South to the North bank of the Kansas, thence down along same with the meanders thereof to a point due South of the beginning, thence North to the beginning, containing $148\frac{50}{100}$ acres
-
- 97 HILL THOMAS Commencing at the Northeast corner of Sec. 20 T. 11 S. R. 25 E. HILL MARY thence North 80 poles thence West 34 poles thence South 80 poles, HILL SARAH thence West to the N. E. bank of the Kansas River, thence down along the same to a point due South of the beginning thence North to the beginning, Containing $88\frac{50}{100}$ acres
Also commencing at the S E. cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 14 T. 11 S R 24, thence North 160 poles thence West 80 poles, thence North 270 poles thence East

80 poles, thence South 190 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South to the N W bank of the Kansas River, thence up along the same with the meanders thereof, to a point due east of beginning thence West to beginning, containing 227⁸⁵ acres and in the aggregate containing 316⁸⁵ acres.

-
- 98 HILL SUSAN Commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 27 T 10 S R 24 thence East 45 poles thence South 80 poles thence West 45 poles thence North 80 poles to the beginning containing 22⁵⁰ acres.
-
- 99 HOOPER REBECCA Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 T. 11
 HOOPER MARY S R 25 thence North 90 poles and 7 links, thence East 80
 HOOPER PETER poles thence South to the North bank of the Kansas River,
 thence up along the same with the meanders thereof to a
 point due South of the beginning thence North to the beginning, Containing 84³² acres
 Also Commencing at the S W cor of Sec 26. T. 10 S R. 24 E thence North 58 poles
 thence East 80 poles, thence South 58 poles thence West 80 poles to the beginning,
 Containing 29 acres
 Also commencing at the S E. Cor. of Sec. 10 T. 11 S R. 24 E. thence West 80 poles,
 thence North 160 poles thence East 30 poles thence North 80 poles, thence East 50
 poles thence South 240 poles to the beginning, containing 105 acres and in all 218² acres.
-
- 100 HOOPER JACOB Commencing at the N W cor of Sec. 25 T 10 S R. 24 E. thence
 East 50 poles thence South 80 poles thence West 100 poles
 thence North 80 poles, thence East 50 poles to the beginning, Containing 50 acres
-
- 101 HOOPER REBECCA The S. W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 2 T 11 S R 24 E containing 160 acres.
-
- 102 HUNT ADAM Commencing at the S W cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T 10 S R
 25 E. thence West 44 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East 106
 poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 62 poles to beginning containing 53 acres
-
- 103 JONATHAN MARGARET SR. Commencing at the N E cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of
 Sec. 1 T. 11 S. R. 24 E. thence South 21 poles,
 thence East 50 poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 99 poles, thence North 101 $\frac{1}{2}$
 poles, thence East 49 poles to the beginning, containing 56 acres
-
- 104 JOHNSON WILLIAM Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 4.
 JOHNSON CATHARINE T. 11 S R 25 E. thence West 112 poles thence South
 JOHNSON ELLEN 122 poles thence East 112 poles, thence South 38 poles
 JOHNSON WILLIAM JR. thence East 73 poles, thence thence North 80 poles
 JOHNSON RICHARD thence West 63 poles thence North 80 poles thence
 JOHNSON JOB West 10 poles to the beginning, Containing 126³⁰
 JOHNSON ALEXANDER Also the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 16 Same T
 & R. containing 80 acres.
 Also the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Same Sec. T. & R. containing 40 acres and in
 the aggregate containing 246^{30/100} acres
-
- 105 KAYRAHOO MILTON Commencing at the N W cor of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 T. 11 S
 R 24 E. thence East 40 poles, thence North 98 poles and
 14 links, thence West 93 poles 12 links, thence South 178 poles and 14 links, thence
 East 49 poles and 17 links, thence North 80 poles to the beginning, containing 82²² acres.
-
- 106 KAYRAHOO JANE Commencing 10 poles west of the N E Cor. of Sec. 33 T. 10
 (Now Mrs. Pipe) S. R. 24 E. thence South 65 poles thence East 10 poles thence
 South 15 poles thence West 80 poles thence North 80 poles,
 thence East 70 poles to the beginning Containing 35^{34/100} acres.

- 107 KAYRAHOO SOLOMON Commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec.
KAYRAHOO SOLOMON JR. 18 T 11 S R 25 E. thence East 160 poles thence
South 80 poles, thence West 47 poles thence South
tp the North bank of the Kansas River thence up along same with the meanders thereof
to a point due South of beginning, thence North to the beginning containing 95¹⁵ acres
Also commencing at the South west corner of Sec. 1 T. 11 S. R 24 E thence North
80 poles, thence East 110 poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 110 poles to the
beginning Containing 55 acres and in all 150¹⁵ acres
-
- 108 KAYRAHOO MARY Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W
KAYRAHOO JOHN $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6 T. 11 S. R. 25 E thence East 147 poles,
KAYRAHOO MARY JR. thence South 80 poles, thence West 43 poles, thence
South 20 poles thence West 104 poles, thence North 100
poles to the beginning, containing 86⁵⁰ acres.
-
- 109 KAYRAHOO MARY Commencing at the S. E. cor. of of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec.
KAYRAHOO CAROLINE 7 T. 11 S R 25 thence West 80 poles thence North 140
poles, thence East 104 poles, thence South 60 poles,
thence West 24 poles, thence South 80 poles to the beginning containing 79 acres
-
- 110 LEWIS JOHN (deed) Coon Commencing at the N W cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 29
LEWIS JANE T. 10 S R 25, thence North 28 poles thence East 80
LEWIS DAVID poles thence South 133 poles, thence West 80 poles,
LEWIS JOHN JR. (deed) thence North 105 poles to the beginning containing 66⁵⁰
LEWIS WILLIAM acres
LEWIS SARAH Also commencing at the S E cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of
LEWIS NOAH Sec. 4 T. 11 S R 25, E. thence West 80 poles, thence
North 98 poles and 16 links thence East 136 poles,
thence South 98 poles and 16 links, thence West 56 poles to the beginning, Containing
83⁷⁵ acres
Also commencing at the South East corner of Sec. 32 T. 10 S R 25 E. thence North
46 poles thence West 80 poles, thence South 46 poles, thence East 80 poles to the be-
ginning containing 23 acres and in all 173²⁵ acres
-
- 111 LITTLE CHIEF CHRISTOPHER Commencing at the S E. cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of
LITTLE CHIEF JOHN Sec. 29 T. 10 S R 25, thence South 7 poles,
LITTLE CHIEF ISAAC thence West 80 poles thence North to the South
bank of the Missouri River thence down along
the same with the meanders thereof to a point due North of the beginning thence
South to the beginning, Containing 46³⁰ acres
Also the N W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 1 T 11 S R 24 E. containing 10⁵⁰ acres.
Also the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T 10 S R 24 E containing 40 acres
And also commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 5 T 11
S R 25 E. thence East 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence West 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles
thence North 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles to the beginning, containing 23³³ acres containing in the aggre-
gate 120¹³ acres-
-
- 112 LITTLE CHIEF MARY Commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T.
10 S. R. 24 thence West 40 poles and 8 links, thence
South 80 poles thence East 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence north 16 poles, thence East 80 poles,
thence North 64 poles, thence West 80 poles to place of beginning, containing 51⁹⁴ acres
-
- 113 LONG HENRY C. Commencing at the S W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 9
LONG MARTHA M. T. 11 S R 25 E thence South 28 poles, thence West 60
LONG ELIZABETH C. poles, thence North 28 poles, thence West 20 poles,
thence North 90 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 10
poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 42 poles, thence West 80 poles thence South
38 poles to the beginning containing 76⁵⁰ acres

- 114 IRVIN P. LONG Commencing at the S E cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 T 10 S R. 24 E. thence East 80 poles, thence North to the South bank of the Missouri River, thence up along the same with the meanders thereof to a point due north of the beginning, thence South to the beginning, containing 24⁶⁰ acres
-
- 115 LONG ETHAN A. Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T 10 S R 25 E. thence South 98 poles thence West 80 poles thence North 98 poles, thence east 80 poles to the beginning, containing 49 acres.
-
- 116 LONG ISAAC Z. Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26 T. 10 R. 24 thence South 90 poles, thence West 80 poles thence North 70 poles thence East 30 poles Thence North 32 poles thence East 50 poles thence South 12 poles to the beginning Containing 45 acres.
-
- 117 LONG JAMES M. Commencing at the S E cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T. 10 S R 25 E. thence West 80 poles thence North 62 poles, thence East 80 poles thence South 62 poles to the beginning, Containing 31 acres.
-
- 118 LUMPY THERESSA Commencing at the S E cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of of Sec. 33 T 10 S R 25 E. thence North 60 poles, thence West 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 60 poles. thence East 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, to the beginning containing 23⁴³ acres
-
- 119 LUMPY LEWIS Commencing at the S W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T 10 S R 25 E thence East 64 poles thence North 80 poles, thence West 64 poles thence South 80 poles to the beginning, containing 32 acres.
-
- 120 LUMPY REBECCA Commencing at the S W cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S R 24 E. thence East 80 poles thence North 110 poles, thence West 98 poles thence South 110 poles thence East 18 poles to beginning containing 67⁸⁸ acres.
-
- 121 MONTURE PHILIP Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 9 T. 11 S R 25 thence North 38 poles, thence East 80 poles thence MONTURE MARY South 124 poles thence West 80 poles, thence North 86 poles to place of beginning, Containing 62 acres.
-
- 122 MONONCUE THOMAS The East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 24 T 10 S R 24 E. containing 80 acres.
-
- 123 MUDEATER MATHEW Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 8 T. 11 S R 25 E. thence South 240 poles thence MUDEATER NANCY East 80 poles thence South 160 poles thence East 80 MUDEATER SUSAN poles thence North 240 poles thence East 40 poles, MUDEATER DAWSON thence North 160 poles thence West 200 poles to MUDEATER ZALINDA the beginning containing 360 acres MUDEATER MARY MUDEATER IRVIN MUDEATER BENJAMIN MUDEATER ALFRED MUDEATER MATHEW JR.
-
- 124 MUIR MARY Commencing 18 poles South of the South West cor. of the MUIR MATHEW S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T 11 S R 25 thence North 82 poles, thence East to the West bank of the Kansas River, thence up along same with the meanders thereof to a point due East of beginning, thence West to the beginning containing 78 acres

Also beginning at the S W cor. of Sec. 10 T. 11 S R 24 E. thence West 52 poles and 20 links, thence North 80 poles thence East 131 poles and 15 links thence South 80 poles. thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing 65⁵⁰ acres and altogether 143⁸⁰ acres

-
- 125 SMITH NICHOLS S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T. 10 S R 24 E. containing 40 acres.
 NICHOLS MARGARET
 NICHOLS CAROLINE Also commencing at the N E cor. of Sec. 1 T. 11 S R 24 E. thence South 21 poles thence West 30 poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 30 poles, thence South 80 poles thence West 70 poles thence North 80 poles thence West 40 poles thence North 80 poles, thence East 30 poles, thence North 21 poles thence East 80 poles to the beginning containing 85⁵⁰ acres and in all 125⁵⁰ acres.
-
- 126 NORTHRUP HIRAM M Commencing at the N W cor of Sec. 10 T. 11 S R 25, thence East 80 poles, thence South 28 poles, thence NORTHRUP MARGARET South 16° 1' West 31 poles and 15 links, thence thence NORTHRUP MILTON East 11 poles and 8 links thence North 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° E 27 NORTHRUP ANDREW poles 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ links, thence North 71° west 10 poles and 18 NORTHRUP THOMAS links, thence North 28 poles, thence East 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence NORTHRUP McHENRY thence South 80 poles, thence West 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles thence West 160 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 115 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence East 64 poles 10 links, then N 46 poles thence E 15 poles and 15 links to beginning—163⁷⁵ acres.
-
- 127 NORTON HENRY C. Commencing at the N W. cor. of Sec. 10 T 11 S R 24 E. thence West 48 poles, thence South 80 poles thence East NORTON HANNAH 117 poles and 5 links thence North 80 poles thence West 68 poles to the beginning containing 58²⁵ acres
 Also commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 5 T 11 S R 25 E, thence East 80 poles thence South 70 poles thence West 8 poles, thence thence North 70 poles to the beginning, containing 35 acres and in the aggregate 93²⁵ acres
-
- 128 PEACOCK GEORGE Commencing at the N W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T 10 S R 25 E thence South 47 poles thence East 80 poles thence North 85 poles thence West 80 poles, thence South 38 poles to the beginning containing 42⁵⁰ acres.
-
- 129 GRANVILLE PEACOCK The Southeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 T 11 S R 25 E containing 40 acres
-
- 130 PEACOCK BOYD Commencing at the N E corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T 10 S R 25 E and thence East 10 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 56 thence North 80 poles, thence East 46 poles to the beginning containing 28 acres.
-
- 131 PEACOCK SARAH S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 14 T 11 S R. 24 E. containing 40 acres
 PEACOCK ROSANNAH
 PEACOCK SAMUEL Also the S. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 Same T & R containing 80 acres
 and also the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the same Sec. T & R. containing 40 acres and in the aggregate containing 160 acres.
-
- 132 PIPE JOHN Commencing 17 poles 11 links E. of the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of of Sec. 33. T 10 S R. 24, thence North 80 poles, thence PIPE MARY West 56 poles thence South 240 poles thence East 119 poles, PIPE MARIA thence N North 160 poles, thence West 62 poles and 14 links PIPE WINFIELD to the beginning containing 147 acres.

- 133 PIPE THOMAS Commencing at the S E cor. of Sec. 28 Tp 10. S R 24 E. thence
 PIPE MARGARET North 160 poles thence West 90 poles, thence South 80 poles,
 PIPE MARY thence West 52 poles and 14 links, thence South 80 poles, thence
 PIPE HANNAH East 142 poles and 14 links to beginning Containing 116⁵⁰ acres

- 134 PORCUPINE BETSEY Commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32 T.
 PORCUPINE JOHN 10 R 25 E. thence North 29 poles 10 links, thence West 80
 poles, thence North 10 poles 15 links, thence West 44 poles,
 thence South 40 poles, thence East 124 poles to beginning, Containing 26²⁰ acres (car-
 ried forward)

Also Commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E frl. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 Tp.
 10 S. R. 24 E., thence thence South 20 poles thence West 122 poles 23 links thence
 North to the South bank of the Missouri River thence down along the same with the
 meanders thereof to a point due North of beginning, thence South to the beginning
 Containing 69⁵⁰ acres and in the aggregate containing 95⁷⁰ acres,

- 135 PUNCH MARGARET Commencing at the S E. cor. of Sec. 9 T. 11 S R 25
 PUNCH THOMAS E, thence West 80 poles thence South 54 poles and 18
 PUNCH MARGARET JR. links, thence West 80 poles, thence North 54 poles and
 PUNCH ELLIOTT 18 links, thence West 80 poles thence North 80 poles
 thence East 20 poles, thence North 52 poles, thence
 East 60 poles, thence South 58 poles, thence East 160 poles, thence South 74 poles to
 beginning, containing, 158⁸⁵ acres

- 136 RANKIN ELIZABETH Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$
 RANKIN ISAAC of Sec. 4 Tp. 11 S R 25 E. thence West 7 poles, South 64
 poles, thence East 71 poles 10 links, thence North 64 poles
 7 links thence West 64 poles 10 links, to the beginning containing 35 acres.

Also commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 15 Tp 11 S. R 24 E. thence East 80 poles,
 thence South 80 poles thence West 132 poles and 10 links, thence North 80 poles,
 thence East 52 poles, and 20 links to the beginning, containing 66⁶⁰ acres and in the
 aggregate 101⁶⁰ acres

- 137 RANKIN SAMUEL Commencing at the N E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 9 T. 11
 S R 25 E, thence South 70 poles, thence West 80 poles thence
 North 70 poles, thence East 80 poles to the beginning, containing 35 acres.

- 138 RANKIN HANNAH Commencing at the N W cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$
 of Sec. 15 tp. 11 S. R. 24 E. thence East 62 poles, thence
 South 160 poles thence West 62 poles, thence North 160 poles to the beginning, Con-
 taining 62 acres.

- 139 ROBITAILLE ROBERT Commencing at the N W cor. of the S. W $\frac{1}{4}$
 ROBITAILLE ROBERT WALFORD of Sec. 32 T. 10 S R. 25 E. thence East 40
 ROBITAILLE ROSALIE poles thence South 56 poles thence East 40
 ROBITAILLE ELIZABETH poles thence South 64 poles thence West 160
 ROBITAILLE JAMES poles thence North 40 poles, thence West 80
 ROBITAILLE MARY ANN poles thence North 80 poles, thence East 38
 poles, thence North 63 poles, thence East 42
 poles, thence South 63 poles, thence East 80 poles to beginning containing 162⁵⁰ acres.

- 140 SARAHESS JOHN Commencing at the N E cor. of Sec. 8 Tp. 11 S R 25 E.,
 SARAHESS SUSAN thence North 80 poles thence West 80 poles thence South
 SARAHESS JANE 80 poles thence West 11 poles thence South 80 poles
 SARAHESS THOMAS thence East 11 poles South 80 poles- then East 80 poles
 SARAHESS WESLEY thence North 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence East 80 poles, thence
 SARAHESS LUCY North 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning,
 SARAHESS RICHARD Containing 182²⁵ acres
 SARAHESS MARGARET

Also commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of
 Sec. 21 Same T. & R, thence South 80 poles thence East
 80 poles. thence North 110 poles thence West 110 poles, thence South 20 poles to the
 beginning, containing 50 acres and in the aggregate 232²⁵ acres.

- 141 ST. PETER MARY Commencing at the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 Tp 11 S. R. 25, thence North 60 poles, thence West 80 poles thence South 71 Poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 11 poles to the beginning Containing 35⁵⁰ acres
-
- 142 SOLOMON JOHN Commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 T. 11 S R 25 E., thence North 30 poles, thence East 52 poles thence South 100 poles thence West 52 poles thence North 70 poles to the beginning Containing 32⁵⁰ acres
-
- 143 SOLOMON MARY Commencing at the S E cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 9. T. 11 S R 25 East Thence North 92 poles, thence West 40 poles South 92 poles thence East 40 poles to beginning Containing 23 acres.
-
- 144 SARAH SOLOMON (Now Mrs. Brown) Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 8 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence South 80 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 144 poles, thence West 80 poles thence South 64 poles to the beginning, Containing 72 acres.
-
- 145 SPLITLOG MATHIAS Commencing at the S W cor of N E fractl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15
 SPLITLOG ELIZA T. 11 S R 25, thence North 160 poles, thence West 52
 SPLITLOG RICHARD poles thence North 80 poles, thence West 46 poles thence
 SPLITLOG FELIX North 80 poles thence East 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 80
 SPLITLOG SARAH poles thence East 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 18 poles, thence
 SPLITLOG ELIZA East 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 18 poles, thence East 22
 poles, thence South 38 poles, thence East 34 poles to the
 West bank of the Kansas River thence up the same with the meanders thereof to a
 point due East of the beginning, thence West to the beginning, Containing 288⁶¹ acres.
-
- 146 SPLITLOG LUCINDA Commencing at the N W. Cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E
 SPLITLOG THOMAS $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 9 Tp 11 S R 25 E. thence South 46 poles thence
 SPLITLOG SUSAN East 64 poles 10 links thence North 61 poles 18 links thence
 SPLITLOG MARGARET West 71 poles 10 links thence South 15 poles 18 links
 SPLITLOG MARY thence East 7 poles to the beginning containing 25¹⁶ acres.
 SPLITLOG MATHA Also Commencing at the N E. cor of Sec. 16 T 11 S R
 SPLITLOG JOHN 25 E thence South 150 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence
 North 10 poles, thence West 80 poles thence North 85 poles
 and 7 links thence East 80 poles thence North 54 poles and 18 links thence East 80
 poles to the beginning Containing 117⁵¹ acres
 Also Commencing at the S E cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22 Tp 11 S R 25 E. thence
 West 64 poles—thence North 112 poles, thence East 64 poles, thence South 112 poles
 to beginning, Containing 44⁸⁰ acres
 Also commencing at the N W cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T 10
 S R 25, thence South 6 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 74 poles thence West
 172 poles, thence North to the South bank of the Missouri River, thence down along
 same to a point due North of the beginning thence South to the beginning, containing
 113⁵⁰ acres, and in the aggregate 301. acres.
-
- 147 SOLOMON MARGARET Commencing at the N E cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6.
 SOLOMON THERESSA T 11 R 25 thence South 80 poles thence West 160 poles,
 SOLOMON JOHN thence North 106 poles thence East 80 poles thence South
 26 poles thence East 80 poles to the beginning, contain-
 ing 93 acres.
-
- 148 SOLOMON PETER Commencing at the S E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 24 T. 10
 S. R 24 E. thence West 160 poles, thence North 120 poles,
 thence East 80 poles, thence South 40 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 80 poles
 to the beginning containing 100 acres.

- 149 SOLOMON JOHN Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 5 T. 11 S. R. 25 E.
SOLOMON SARAH thence North 90 poles thence East 80 poles thence South 90
SOLOMON ELIZA poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning containing 45
acres.
Also commencing at the N E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 R. 25 E thence
West 70 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 70 poles, thence North 80 poles to
the beginning containing 35 acres, and in all 80 acres
-
- 150 SPYBUCK GEORGE Commencing 44 poles North of the S W corner of the
SPYBUCK MARY S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T. 10 S. R. 25 E.,
SPYBUCK MARGARET thence East 80 poles, thence South 16 poles thence East
SPYBUCK VIRGINIA 80 poles, thence North to the South bank of the Missouri
SPYBUCK JAMES River, thence up along said bank with the meanders
thereof to a point due North of the beginning, thence
South to the beginning containing 77²⁰ acres.
Also commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6. T 11 S. R. 25 E.
thence East 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 99 poles, thence West 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North
26 poles, thence West 80 poles thence North 73 poles to the beginning containing 57⁸⁰
acres
Also commencing at the N W. cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 11 Tp 11 S R 24 E.,
thence North 80 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 130 poles thence West 80
poles, thence North 50 poles to the beginning, containing 65 acres and in the aggregate
200 acres.
-
- 151 STEELE GEORGE Commencing at the S E. cor. of Sec. 36 T. 10 S R 24 E.
STEELE MARY thence West 80 poles thence North 120 poles, thence East 94
STEELE MATILDA poles thence South 120 poles, thence West 14 poles to the be-
ginning containing 70⁵⁰ acres
-
- 152 SUMMONDUWOT MARY Commencing 7 poles North of the S E.
SUMMONDUWOT ELIZA MONONCUE cor. of Sec. 22 Tp. 10 S R 24, thence
West 100 poles thence North 54 poles,
thence East 20 poles thence North 32 poles, thence East 80 poles thence North 27 poles,
thence East 80 poles, thence South 59 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 54
poles to the beginning Containing 79 acres
-
- 153 SQUEENDECHTEE JOHN The N E Fractional $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 2 tp 11 S R 24 con-
taining 101²⁰ acres
-
- 154 STONE ROSANNA Commencing at the S E. cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
STONE MARTHA DRIVER N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 T 11 S. R. 25 E. thence North 50
poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 70 poles,
thence East 80 poles, thence North 20 poles to the beginning Containing 35 acres
Also the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T 10 S. R. 24, containing 40 acres
and in all 75 acres
-
- 155 TALLMAN CHARLOTTE Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 4 Tp 11 S. R.
25 E. thence East 48 poles, thence North 100 poles,
thence West 48 poles, thence South 100 poles to the beginning Containing 30 acres.
-
- 156 TALL CHARLES Commencing at the N W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 27
T 10 S R 24 E. Thence North 110 poles, thence East 80
TALL THERESSA poles, thence South 270 poles thence West 178 poles, thence
TALL THERESSA Jr. North 40 poles, thence West 12 poles, thence North 40
TALL JOHN poles thence East 75 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence
TALL MARY East 35 poles to the beginning, Containing 204⁵⁰ acres.
TALL SUSAN

- 157 VAN METER THOMAS N E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 T. 10 S R. 24 E, containing 34 acres
 VAN METER SARAH Also commencing at the N W cor of Sec. 24 T & R
 VAN METER HANNAH thence East 160 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West
 80 poles thence North 40 poles, thence West 80 poles
 thence North 40 poles to the beginning containing 60 acres.
 Also commencing at the N W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 2 Tp 11 S R 24 E, thence
 East 170 poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 170 poles thence North 80 poles to
 beginning, containing 85 acres and in the aggregate 179 acres.
-
- 158 WALKER WILLIAM Commencing at the S E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Tp
 WALKER HANNAH 11 S R 25 E. thence North 98 poles and 2 links to the Second
 Standard Parallel thence North 67 poles, thence West 45 poles,
 thence South 67 poles, thence South $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W. $100\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence East $64\frac{1}{2}$ poles
 to the beginning, Containing 52^{50} acres.
-
- 159 WALKER MARTHA R. Commencing at the S E cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E
 $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Tp. 11 S R 25 E., thence West $14\frac{1}{2}$ poles,
 thence North 100 poles. thence East $29\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 100 poles thence West
 15 poles to the beginning Containing 18^{50} acres
-
- 160 WALKER HARRIET P. Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$
 (Now Mrs. McMullin) of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R. 25 thence South 57 poles thence
 West 65 poles thence North 57 poles thence East 65
 poles to the beginning, Containing 23^{15} acres.
-
- 161 WALKER MATHEW R. Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec.
 WALKER LYDIA B. 34 T. 10 S R 25 E. thence West 17 poles, thence South
 WALKER ADALINE 80 poles, thence West 63 poles thence South 57
 WALKER SARAH L. poles, thence west 65 poles, thence South 121 poles and
 WALKER THOMAS G. 2 links, thence East 80 poles, thence South 60 poles,
 WALKER MALCOLM thence East 80 poles, thence South to the West bank of
 WALKER PERCY L. the Missouri River, thence up along the same with the
 WALKER CLARANCE P. meanders thereof to a point due east of the beginning,
 WALKER LILLIAN thence West to the beginning Containing 289^{27} acres
-
- 162 WALKER JOEL Commencing 15 poles East of the S E. cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$
 WALKER MARY of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Tp. 11 S R 25 E., thence North
 WALKER MARIA 100 poles, thence East 65 poles, thence South to the West
 WALKER JUSTIN bank of the Missouri River thence down along the same with
 WALKER IDA C the meanders thereof, to a point due east of the beginning,
 WALKER EVERETT thence West to the beginning, containing 37 acres.
 Also commencing at the South West corner of Sec. 28, T.
 10 S R. 25 E, thence East 160 poles thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles,
 thence North 80 poles, thence West 12 poles thence North to the Missouri, thence up
 along the South bank to a point due north of beginning, thence South to the beginning,
 Containing 172^{50} acres,
 Also the N $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 7 Tp 11 S R 25 containing 80 acres, and in all
 280^{50} acres. [289^{50}]
-
- 163 WALKER ISAIAH Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 T.
 WALKER MARY 11 S R 25 E, thence West 10 poles, thence South 80 poles,
 WALKER EMMA thence West 5 poles, and 15 links, thence South 80 poles, thence
 WALKER ALICE East 49 poles, $2\frac{1}{2}$ links, thence North 80 poles, thence East
 $32\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 66 poles to the
 beginning, containing 62^{50} acres
 Also commencing at the N E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 5 T. 11 S R 25 E,
 thence West $11\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence South 79 poles, thence East 58 poles, thence North 78
 poles and 16 links, thence West $46\frac{1}{2}$ poles to beginning containing 28^{64} acres

Also the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 7 T. 11 S R 25 E, containing 40 acres and in all 131¹⁹ acres.

- 164 WASP JOHN Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 17 T. 11 S R. 25 E. thence South 122 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 122 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing 61 acres

- 165 WARPOLE JOHN Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22
WARPOLE CATHARINE T. 10 S R 24 E. thence East 160 poles, thence South 67
WARPOLE MARY poles thence West 80 poles, thence South 32 poles, thence
WARPOLE JAMES West 20 poles, thence South 54 poles, thence East 100
WARPOLE DAVID poles, thence South 57 poles, thence West 160 poles,
thence North 210 poles to the beginning, containing
160⁵⁰ acres

- 166 WARPOLE CATHARINE Commencing at the S. E. cor. of the N W
WARPOLE FRANCIS WHITEWING $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25 T. 10 S. R 24 E. thence
WARPOLE SARAH WHITEWING South 14 poles thence East 110 poles, thence
WARPOLE MARY WHITEWING South 66 poles, thence East 10 poles, thence
WARPOLE HENRY WHITEWING South 30 poles thence West 200 poles, thence
North 190 poles thence East 80 poles, thence

South 80 poles to beginning, containing 162⁸⁸ acres

Also commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 34 T 10 S R 24 E thence West 80 poles, thence South 160 poles, thence East 100 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 20 poles, thence North 80 poles to the beginning, containing 90 acres

Also commencing at the S E cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 23 T. 10 S. R 24 E. thence South 48 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 128 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 80 poles to the beginning Containing 64 acres and in the aggregate containing 316⁸⁸ acres.

- 167 WHITECROW JACOB Commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Se 5 Tp 11
[Error] S. R 25 thence West 80 poles thence North 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles,
thence E 160 poles thence South 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence West
11 poles, thence South 20 poles thence West 60 poles, thence North 20 poles, thence
West 9 poles to beginning, Containing 113 acres.

Also commencing at the S E cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 31 Tp 10 S R. 25 E, thence East 38 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 38 poles, thence North 25 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 105 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 40 poles thence East 160 poles, thence North 40 poles to the beginning, containing 111⁵⁰ acres, and in the aggregate containing 224⁵⁰ acres

- 168 WHITEWING BETSEY Commencing 34 poles West of the S E cor of Sec. 17 T.
WHITEWING ELIZA 11 S R 25 E. thence North 80 poles, thence West 126
poles thence South to the North bank of the Kansas
River, thence down along the same with the meanders thereof, to a point due West of
the beginning, thence East to the beginning containing 58²⁸ acres.

Also commencing at the N E cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 29 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence South 30 poles thence West 80 poles, thence North to the South bank of the Missouri River, thence down along the same with the meanders thereof, to a point due North of the beginning, thence South to the beginning, containing 68³⁷ acres, and in all 126³⁷ acres [126⁶⁵]

- 169 WHITEWING JOHN SR. The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 T. 10 S R 24 E
containing 40 acres-

- 170 WHITEWING JOHN JR. The S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 T. 10 S R 24 E
containing 40 acres.

- 171 WHITEWING JACOB Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 T.
10 S R 24 E., thence North 44 poles thence East to the
West bank of the Missouri River thence down along the Same with the meanders
thereof to a point due east of the beginning, thence West to the beginning, containing
31⁹⁰ acres.
-
- 172 WHITE SUSAN The Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T. 10 S R 24 E con-
taining 40 acres
-
- 173 WHITE JOSEPH Commencing 8 poles North of the N W cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence West 36 poles thence
North 72 poles, thence East 36 poles, thence South 18 poles, thence East 80 poles,
thence South 46 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 8 poles to the beginning,
containing 39²⁰ acres
-
- 174 WHITE JANE Commencing at the N E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T.
(Now Mrs. Cotter) 10 S. R. 24 E, thence West 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80
poles, thence East 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 80 poles, to the
beginning, Containing 31²⁵ acres.
-
- 175 WILLIAMS JOHN Commencing at the N E cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of N W
WILLIAMS MARGARET $\frac{1}{4}$ of 27 T 10 S R 24 E, thence East 22 poles, thence
WILLIAMS SARAH South 98 poles, thence West 22 poles, thence North 18
WILLIAMS MARY JANE poles thence West 60 poles thence North 80 poles,
thence East 60 poles to the beginning, containing 43⁴⁷
acres
- Also commencing at the S E cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 Same T & R., thence
East 80 poles, thence N 140 poles, thence West 122 poles and 22 links, thence South
140 poles, thence East 40 poles and 8 links to the beginning, containing 106²⁵ acres
- Also commencing at the S E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 23, Same T & R., thence
North 40 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 120 poles, thence West 80 poles,
thence North 80 poles to the beginning, containing 60 acres and in the aggregate con-
taining 209⁷² acres
-
- 176 WILLIAMS CHARLOTTE Commencing at the S W cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S
W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Tp 11 S R 25 E., thence East 28
poles, thence North 80 poles thence West 42 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East
14 poles to the beginning containing 21 acres.
-
- 177 WILLIAMS ISAAC Commencing at the N E cor of Sec. 5 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence
WILLIAMS SUSAN West 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 78 poles 16 links, thence East
113 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 54 poles and 16 links, thence East
80 poles thence North 24 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing 70⁶⁰
acres
-
- 178 WILLIAMS DANIEL Commencing at the S W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of
Sec. 31 T. 10 S. R. 25 E., thence West 62 poles thence
North 80 poles thence East 62 poles thence South 80 poles to the beginning contain-
ing 31 acres
-
- 179 WILLIAMS JOSEPH The N W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 18 T. 11 S R 25 E. containing
WILLIAMS MARY 22⁶⁰ acres
WILLIAMS MARGARET Also the S W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 7 Same
Tp and Range containing 38 acres
- Also the S frl $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 Tp 11 S R 24 E containing 74⁰⁶ acres
Also the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the same Sec. Tp. and Range containing 40 acres
Also the S W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of the same Sec. T & R containing 111⁸⁸ acres
And also the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Same Section Tp and Range containing
40 acres and in all 326⁵³ acres.

- 180 YOUNG MARGARET Commencing at the N W cor. of the the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the
YOUNG ELIZABETH S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 10 T. 11 S R 24 E. thence East 160 poles
YOUNG MARTHA B. thence South 210 poles thence West 98 poles thence North
50 poles, thence West 62 poles thence North 160 poles to the
beginning containing 190⁶⁰ acres
-
- 181 YOUNG CATHARINE Commencing at the S E cor of the N E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6 Tp
10 S R 25 E. thence West 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence North 99 poles,
thence East 59 $\frac{1}{2}$ thence South 99 poles, thence West 14 poles to the beginning, con-
taining 36⁸² acres
-
- 182 YOUNG JACOB The E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T 11 S. R 24 E. contain-
YOUNG ELIZA ing 80 acres
YOUNG HIRAM S. Also the S $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 7 T 11 S R 25 E. con-
YOUNG PETER taining 80 acres.
YOUNG ADAM Also commencing at the N W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec.
13 T 10 S R 24 E., thence South 63 poles thence East to the
West bank of the Missouri River thence up along the same to a point due East of the
beginning, thence West to the beginning containing 36 acres
And also commencing at the N E cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 Same Tp and Range,
thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 30 poles, thence West 80
poles, thence South 60 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 50 poles, thence East
80 poles to the beginning, containing 70 acres and in the aggregate containing 266 acres.
-
- 183 ZANE HANNAH Commencing at the S E. cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of
Sec. 32 T 10 S R 25 E, thence North 20 poles, thence West
50 poles, thence South 73 poles, thence East 50 poles, thence North 53 poles to the be-
ginning, containing 22⁵⁰ acres-
-
- 184 ISAAC W. ZANE Commencing 20 poles North of the S W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of
Sec. 32 T 10 S R. 25 E. thence West 22 poles thence South 73
poles, thence East 52 poles, thence North 73 poles, thence West 30 poles to the be-
ginning 23⁷⁵ acres
-
- 185 ZANE SUSANNAH D. Commencing 14 poles east of the South West cor. of Sec.
ZANE MARY E. 31 Tp 10 S R 25 E., thence North 120 poles, thence East
ZANE ELDRIDGE B. 146 poles thence South 40 poles, thence thence East 18
ZANE SARAH R. poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 86 poles, thence
North 26 $\frac{2}{3}$ poles, thence West 12 poles—thence south 26 $\frac{2}{3}$
poles thence West 66 poles to the beginning Containing 116⁵⁰ acres
-
- 186 ZANE ISAIAH Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$
ZANE ELIZABETH of Sec. 32 Tp 10 S R 25 E. thence East 45 poles, thence
North 36 poles thence East 35 poles, thence South 56 poles
thence East 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 60 poles thence West 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North
7 poles thence West 80 poles, thence North 73 poles to the beginning, containing 51 acres
-
- 187 ZANE EBENEZER O. Commencing 7 poles South of the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$
ZANE REBECCA of Sec 29 T 10 S R 25 E. thence South 153 poles thence
ZANE HANNAH E. West 180 poles, thence North 62 poles, thence East 20 poles
ZANE ISAAC O. thence South 7 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 98
ZANE JOSEPH C poles, thence East 80 poles, to the beginning Containing
ZANE IRVIN P. 111⁷⁵ acres.
ZANE LAWRENCE G. Also the East fractional $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec. 14 Same T. 11 and R
(24) containing 77⁹³ acres—14-11-24
Also the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 11 Same Town (11) and range (24), Containing
80 acres
Also the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 14 Same Tp (11) and Range (24) contain-
ing 40 acres and in the aggregate 468³⁹ acres
Also S E $\frac{1}{4}$ (frl) of Sec 11, 11.24=158⁷¹ acres

- 188 ZANE HANNAH JR. Commencing at the S W cor of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 31 Tp 10 S R 25 E. thence North 56 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 56 poles thence West 80 poles to the beginning, containing 28 acres
-
- 189 ZANE SARAH The N $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 14 Tp 10 S R 24 E. containing 80 acres.
-
- 190 ZANE ISAAC R. Commencing at the S. W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 31 Tp 10 S R 25 E. thence South 24 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 56 poles, thence West 86 poles, thence South 32 poles thence East 6 poles to the beginning containing 29²⁰ acres
-
- 191 ZANE HANNAH SR. Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 31 Tp 10 R 25 thence
 ZANE ELIZA East 80 poles, thence South 48 poles, thence West 86 poles,
 ZANE ELI LESLIE thence North 48 poles, thence East 6 poles to the beginning,
 ZANE WILLIAM containing 25⁸⁰ acres
 Also commencing at the N. E. cor. of Sec. 25 T. 10 S R 24 E. and thence South 80 poles, thence West 80 poles thence North 160 poles, thence East 80 poles thence North 130 poles, thence East 80 poles thence South 210 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, containing 185 acres and in all 210⁸⁰ acres.
-
- 192 ZANE JAMES C. Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T. 10 S. R. 25 E, thence North 33 poles, thence East 80 poles thence South 63 poles, thence West 80 poles thence North 30 poles to the beginning containing 31⁵⁰ acres
-
- 193 ZANE EBENEZER JR. Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25 T. 10 R 24 thence North 50 poles, thence East 200 poles thence South 50 poles, thence East 34 poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 6 poles thence South 18 poles thence West 80 poles thence North 98 poles, thence West 160 poles to beginning containing 108⁵⁰ acres.
 Also the East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 34 T. 10 S R 24 E containing 80 acres and in the aggregate 188⁵⁰ acres
-
- 194 ZANE NOAH Commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 26 T. 10 S R. 24 E. thence East 110 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence ZANE TABITHA East 130 poles, thence South 160 poles thence West 168 poles
 ZANE ETHAN thence North 160 poles, thence West 72 poles thence North 80
 ZANE AMANDA poles to the beginning, containing 223 acres
 ZANE ALONZO
 ZANE (Infant)
-
- 195 ZANE JANE S. Commencing at the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R. 24 E. thence West 80 poles
 ZANE ALEXANDER H. thence North 80 poles, thence East 160 poles,
 ZANE JULIA C. thence South 18 poles, thence East 80 poles
 ZANE ELIZABETH REBECCA thence South 62 poles, thence West 80 poles,
 thence South 80 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 80 poles to the beginning containing 151 acres
-
- 225 SPYBUCK JOHN Commencing at the N E cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 T. 10 S. R 25 thence South 37 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 81 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 44 poles to the beginning, containing 40⁵⁰ acres,
-
- 228 WHITEWING JAMES Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Tp 11 S R. 24, E. thence South 80 poles, thence West 49 poles and 17 links, thence South 80 poles, thence East 128 poles, thence North 160 poles thence West 80 poles to the beginning containing 104⁴⁰ acres

- 229 WHITEWING MARY Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R 24 E. thence North 95 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 95 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, containing 47⁵⁰ acres
-
- 230 WHITEWING MARY JR. The N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S. R 24 E. containing 40 acres
-
- 233 WILLIAMS ABRAHAM The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S. R 25 E. containing 40 acres.
-

Wyandott Reserves—Incompetent Class.

Schedule containing descriptions of the Selections and Allotments of land made for members of the Wyandott Tribe of Indians of the Incompetent Class, including the names of Orphans. Also the Reservations for the Methodist Episcopal Church, Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Reserve of 4 acres of land at or adjoining the Wyandott Ferry in accordance with the provisions of a treaty of January 31, 1855

- 196 BEARSKIN JAMES Fractional Sec. 15 T. 10 S R 24 Containing 61⁷⁵ acres.
-
- 197 BEARSKIN ELIZA The West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 14 T. 10 S R 24 E. containing 80 acres.
-
- 198 BEARSKIN GEORGE Commencing at the S W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 22 T. 10 S R 24 E. thence East 68 poles thence North 160 poles, thence West to the South bank of the Missouri River, thence up along said bank to a point due North of the beginning, thence South to the beginning containing 51³¹ acres.
-
- 199 BEARSKIN JOSEPH Commencing 46 poles West of the N E cor of Sec. 22 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence South 160 poles, thence West 46 poles, thence North 160 poles thence East 46 poles to the beginning containing 46 acres
-
- 200 BEARSKIN CATHARINE Commencing at the N E cor. of Section 22 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence South 160 poles thence West 46 poles, thence North 160 poles thence east 46 poles to the beginning containing 46 acres.
-
- 201 BIGARMS JOHN Commencing at the N W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 28 T. 10 S R 24 E thence South 40 poles, thence West 38 poles and 14 links thence South 40 poles, thence East 108 poles and 14 links, thence North 80 poles, thence West 70 poles to the beginning, Containing 44⁶⁰ acres
-
- 202 BIGTOWN BAPTIST Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6 Tp 11 S R. 25 E, thence South 80 poles thence West 40 poles thence North 99 poles, thence East 40 poles, thence South 19 poles to the beginning, containing 24⁷⁵ acres
-
- 203 BIGTOWN SALLIE Commencing at the S W cor. of of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R 25 E. thence North 99 poles, thence East 40 poles, thence South 99 poles, thence West 40 poles to the beginning, containing 24⁷⁵ acres.

- 204 BIGTOWN WILLIAM B. Commencing 21 poles South of the N W cor. of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R 25 E. thence West 30 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 30 poles, thence South 24 poles thence East 80 poles, thence North 43 poles thence West 80 poles, thence North 59 poles to the beginning, Containing 36⁵⁰ acres
-
- 205 BIGTREE JOHN The S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 Tp. 10 S R 24 E. Containing 40 acres.
-
- 206 BIGTREE MARY The West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 Tp 10 S R 24 E. containing 80 acres.
-
- 208 BROWN MARGARET Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 8 T. 11 S R 25 E. thence East 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence North 80 poles to the beginning, containing 267⁵ acres.
-
- 207 BIGTREE CATHARINE Commencing at the N W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S R 24 E. thence East 25 poles, thence South 60 poles, thence West 105 poles, thence North 60 poles, thence East 80 poles to the beginning containing 39³⁷ acres.
-
- 209 COON HARLEY The East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 and the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 T. 11 S R 24 E. containing together 120 acres
-
- 210 ELLIOTT, MARY Commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 T. 11 S R 24 E, thence East 70 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 70 poles, thence North 80 poles to the beginning containing 35 acres
-
- 211 ELLIOTT, JACOB Commencing at the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. of Sec. 12 T. 11 S R 24 E., thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 160 poles, thence East 30 poles thence North 80 poles, thence East 50 poles, to the beginning, containing 55 acres.
-
- 212 ELLIOTT HANNAH Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 7 Tp 11 S R 25 E., thence East 80 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 130 poles thence North 80 poles, thence East 50 poles to the beginning, containing 65 acres
-
- 213 HICKS SUSAN S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S R 25 E containing 40 acres
-
- 214 HICKS MARY COONHAWK Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 Tp 11 S R 25 E, thence East 8 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 8 poles thence South 28 poles, thence West 57 poles, thence North 108 poles, thence East 57 poles to the beginning, containing 42³⁰ acres
-
- 215 LONGHOUSE ZACHARIAH East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R 24 E. containing 80 acres.
-
- 216 MONTURE, JAMES Commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 24 T. 10 S R-24, thence South 136 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 56 poles, thence West 20 poles, thence North 80 poles thence West 60 poles, to the beginning, containing 58 acres
-
- 217 NOFAT SUSAN Commencing 14 poles East of the N W cor. of Sec. 5 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence East 45 poles, thence South 99 poles, thence West 45 poles thence North 99 poles to the beginning containing 27⁸⁴ acres

- 218 PEACOCK MOSES Commencing at the N E cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 Tp 11 S R. 24 E, thence West 70 poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 150 poles, thence North 80 poles thence West 80 poles to the beginning containing 75 acres.
-
- 219 PEACOCK DANIEL The S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 Tp 11 S R 24 E. containing 40 acres.
-
- 220 PEACOCK JAMES The N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 Tp 11 S R 24 E. containing 40 acres
-
- 221 PUNCH MARGARET B. The West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34. Tp 10 S R 24 containing 80 acres.
-
- 222 PUNCH ELIZA E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 7 T. 11 S. R. 25 E. containing 80 acres
-
- 223 PUNCH JOHN Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R. 25 E. thence North 56 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 56 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning containing 28 acres
-
- 224 STANDINGSTONE JOHN H. Commencing at the N E cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21, T. 11 S R 25 thence West 28 poles, thence North 69 poles, thence East 28 poles thence North 11 poles, thence East 160 poles, thence South to the North bank of the Kansas River, thence up along the same to a point due South of the beginning, thence North to the beginning, containing 98⁷² acres.
-
- 226 STOOKEY JACOB Commencing at the S E cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 18 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence East 64 poles thence North 80 poles, thence West 11 poles, thence South to the North bank of the Kansas River, thence down along the same, with the meanders thereof to a point due south of the beginning, thence North to the beginning containing 50 acres.
-
- 227 SPYBUCK MARY B. Commencing at the N E cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 Tp 10 S R 25 E, thence South 80 poles thence East 15 poles, thence South 13 poles, thence West 59 poles thence North 93 poles, thence East 44 poles to the beginning containing 26⁷⁹ acres
-
- 231 WASHINGTON (WIDOW GEORGE) Commencing at the N. W cor of Sec 33 T. 10 S R 25 E thence South 100 poles thence East 80 poles, thence North 20 poles, thence West 46 poles, thence North 80 poles thence West 34 poles, to the beginning containing 27 acres
-
- 232 WASHINGTON SARAH J. Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 1 Tp 11 S R 24 E. thence East 90 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 120 poles, thence North 80 poles thence East 30 poles to the beginning containing 60 acres.
-
- 234 WILLIAMS SARAH D. Commencing 24 poles North of the S. E. cor. of the North East $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R 25, thence West 80 poles, thence North 56 poles thence East 30 poles, thence North to the South bank of the Missouri River, thence down the same to the point due north of the beginning, thence South to the beginning, containing 58 acres.

- 235 WILLIAMS MARY D. Commencing at the S'W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R 25 E thence South 6 poles thence East 80 poles thence North 6 poles thence East 30 poles, thence North to the South bank of the Missouri River, thence up along said bank to a point due North of the beginning, thence South to the beginning, containing 55 acres
-
- 236 ZANE JOHN Commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence East 80 poles thence North 70 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 70 poles to the beginning, containing 35 acres
-
- 237 ZANE THERESSA The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T 10 S. R. 24 E. containing 40 acres
-
- 238 ZANE JEFFERSON The S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T 10 S R 24 E, containing 40 acres
-
- 239 ZANE LOUIZA The S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R. 24 E. containing 40 acres
-
- 240 ZANE MARGARET Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 1 Tp 11 S R. 24 E. thence East 111 poles, thence South 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence West 111 poles thence North 102 poles to the beginning, containing 70⁵⁰ acres
-

ORPHANS.

- 241 ARMSTRONG ELIZA Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 T. 11 S R 24 E, thence East 68 thence North 80 poles, thence West 117 poles and 5 links, thence South 80 poles, thence East 50 poles and 10 links to the beginning, containing 58⁸⁰ acres
-
- 242 ARMSTRONG MARY Commencing at the S E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 T. 11 S R 24 E. thence West 92 poles, thence north 80 poles thence East 92 poles, thence South 80 poles to the beginning containing 46 acres
-
- 243 BIGELOW JACOB Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 T 11 S R 24 E, thence West 52 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East 132 poles and 10 links, thence South 80 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning—containing 66³⁰ acres
-
- 244 BIGTREE ELIZA Commencing at the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S R. 24 E. thence South 24 poles, thence West 160 poles thence North 44 poles, thence East 160 poles thence South 20 poles to the beginning containing 44 acres.
-
- 245 BOYD WASHINGTON Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 Tp 10 S R 24 E, thence East 80 poles thence South 80 poles thence West 120 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East 39 poles to the beginning containing 64⁷⁵ acres
-
- 246 CHERLOE JOSEPH The N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 Tp 10 S R. 24 E. containing 40 acres
-
- 247 CHERLOE MARY Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26 Tp. 10 S R 24 E, thence South 22 poles thence East 80 poles, thence North 68 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 46 poles to the beginning containing 34 acres

- 248 CHERLOE GEORGE Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 26 Tp 10 S R 24 E, thence South 34 poles thence East 80 poles, thence North 66 poles thence West 80 poles thence South 32 poles to the beginning, containing 33 acres.
-
- 249 CHERLOE DAVID Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26, T. 10 S R 24 E, thence North 30 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 78 poles, thence west 80 poles, thence North 48 poles to the beginning, containing 39 acres
-
- 250 CHERLOE HENRY S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T 10 S R 24 E. containing 40 acres
-
- 251 CHERLOE ELIZABETH Commencing at the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R 24 E. thence North 40 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 200 poles thence West 60 poles, thence North 80 poles thence West 20 poles, thence North 80 poles to the beginning containing 90 acres
-
- 252 CHERLOE PETER Commencing at the S E cor. of the Sec. 16 T. 11 S R. 24 E, thence West 51 poles and 15 links, thence North 160 poles, thence East 52 poles thence South 160 poles to the beginning, containing 51⁹⁵ acres
-
- 253 CLARKE CHARLOTTE Commencing at the S E cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 Tp 10 S R 24 E, thence South 40 poles, thence West 38 poles and 14 links thence North 120 poles, thence East 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence South 80 poles to the beginning, containing 29²⁵ acres
Also commencing at the S W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 Tp 10 S R 25 E, thence West 66 poles thence North 80 poles, thence East to the West bank of the Missouri river, thence down along the Same with the Meanders thereof to a point due East of the beginning, thence West to the beginning, containing 98 acres and in the aggregate 117²⁵ acres [127²⁵]
-
- 254 COLLIER MARY Commencing at the S W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 Tp 10 S R. 24 E. thence East 80 poles thence North 56 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 56 poles to the beginning, containing 28 acres
-
- 255 COLLIER SARAH Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 36 Tp 10 S R. 24 E. thence South 24 poles thence East 80 poles—thence North 56 poles, thence West 80 poles—thence South 32 poles to the beginning—containing 28 acres.
-
- 256 COON GEORGE The E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 and the W $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Tp 11 S R 24 E. containing together 160 acres.
-
- 257 COON JOSIAH SCOTT Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 Tp 11 S R 24 E. thence East 80 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 131 poles and 15 links, thence North 80 poles, thence East 50 poles and 10 links to the beginning, containing 65²⁵ acres
-
- 258 COON FRANCIS Commencing 17 poles North of the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 Tp. 10 S R 24 E. thence South 53 poles thence East to the West bank of the Missouri River, thence up the same to a point due east of the beginning, containing 36 acres
-
- 259 COON MARY The N W $\frac{1}{4}$ frl of Sec. 2 T. 11 S R 24 E containing 101²⁰ acres
Also the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Same T and R. containing 50²⁷ acres, and in the aggregate containing 151⁴⁷ acres

- 260 COON HANNAH Commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 1 Tp 11 S R 24 E. thence East 30 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 50 poles to the beginning containing 40 acres
-
- 261 COON CATHARINE The S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 Tp 11 S R 24 E. containing 40 acres
-
- 262 COTTER AMOS, Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 25 Tp 10 S R 24 E. thence West 26 poles, thence North 80 poles thence East 106 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning containing 53 acres
-
- 263 CURLEYHEAD MARY JR. Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 27 Tp 10 S R 24 E. thence North 80 poles thence East 50 poles thence South 40 poles thence East 12 poles, thence South 40 poles, thence West 62 poles to the beginning containing 28 acres
-
- 264 CURLEYHEAD JACOB The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 Tp 10 S R 24 E containing 40 acres
-
- 265 DRIVER WILLIAM A. Commencing 16 poles West of the S W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 Tp 10 R 25 thence North 42 poles, thence East 72 poles thence South 68 poles, thence West 72 poles thence North 26 poles to the beginning, containing 30⁶⁰ acres
-
- 266 DRIVER CAROLINE Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 Tp. 10 S R 25 thence West 24 poles, thence South 96 poles thence East 60 poles, thence North 96 poles thence West 36 poles to the beginning, containing 36 acres.
-
- 267 HICKS SARAH Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R. 25 E. thence North 98 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 128 poles, thence West 80 poles thence North 30 poles to the beginning containing 64 acres.
-
- 268 GREYEVES HENRY C. Commencing at the N E cor of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R. 25 E, thence South 18 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 62 poles, thence East 142 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 62 poles to the beginning containing 62 acres
-
- 269 JONATHAN MARGARET JR. Commencing at the N E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Tp 11 S R 24 E. thence West 120 poles, thence South 98 poles and 14 links, thence East 200 poles, thence North 100 poles thence West 80 poles to the beginning, containing 124²⁵ acres—
-
- 270 KAYRAHOO JOHN The N $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 T 11 S R 24 E, containing 80 acres.
-
- 271 LONG WILLIAM Commencing at the N E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 31 Tp 10 S R 25 E, thence South 55 poles thence West 80 poles, thence North 55 poles, thence East 80 poles to the beginning, containing 27⁵⁰ acres
-
- 272 McKENZIE LIVERY B. Commencing at the S E cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence North 50 poles, thence West 80 poles thence North 30 poles, thence West 20 poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 100 poles to the beginning, Containing 35 acres

- 273 MCKENZIE RUSSELL Commencing at the N W. cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 Tp 10 S R 24 E. thence South 120 poles thence East 80 poles, thence North 40 poles, thence West 20 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 60 poles to the beginning, containing 50 acres
-
- 274 MCKEE MARY Commencing at the N W. cor. of Sec. 7 Tp 11 S R. 25 E, thence West 10 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 90 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing 45 acres
-
- 275 MONTURE MARY Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence North 10 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 70 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 60 poles to the beginning, containing 35 acres.
-
- 276 PEACOCK ELIZABETH Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T 11 S R 24 E, thence East 90 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 90 poles thence North 90 poles to the beginning containing 45 acres.
-
- 277 PEACOCK ISAAC JR. The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15. Tp. 11 S R 24 E. containing 40 acres.
-
- 278 ROGERS CAREY (Male) Commencing at the N E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 27 T. 10 S R 25 E., thence South 62 poles, thence West 148 poles, thence North 62 poles, thence East 148 poles to the beginning containing 57³⁵ acres
-
- 279 WHITEWING GEORGE Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence north 56 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 56 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, containing 28 acres
-
- 280 WRIGHT DAVID Commencing at the S E. cor of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 Tp 10 S R 24 E. thence North 80 poles, thence West 120 poles, thence South 80 poles—thence East 120 poles to the beginning containing 60 acres
-
- 281 WILLIAMS MARY S. The N W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 23 T. 11 S R 24 E. containing 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
Also the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22 Same T. & R. containing 75 acres, and in the aggregate containing 110⁵⁰ acres.
-

RESERVATIONS UNDER SECOND ARTICLE OF THE TREATY.

- 282 PUBLIC BURIAL GROUND Commencing 28 poles South of the N E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 T. 11 S R. 25 E. thence South 16° 1' West 31 poles and 15 links, thence East 11 poles and 8 links, thence North 15° 30' East 27 poles and 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ links, thence North 71° West 10 poles and 18 links to the beginning
-
- 283 METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH Commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 31 T. 10 S R 25 E. thence North 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ poles, thence East 12 poles, thence South 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ poles thence West 12 poles to the beginning, containing 2 acres
-
- 284 METHODIST EPIS. CHURCH, SOUTH Commencing 46 poles North of the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 4 T. 11 S R 25 E. thence North 17 poles 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ links, thence East 17 poles 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ links, thence South 17 poles 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ links, thence West 17 poles 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ links to the beginning Containing 2 acres.

285 WYANDOTT FERRY TRACT. Commencing $2\frac{1}{2}$ poles East of the S W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 Tp 11 S R 25 E. thence North 30° E. $59\frac{3}{4}$ poles thence East $9\frac{1}{4}$ poles to the N W bank of the Kansas river, thence up along said bank south 30° W. 80 poles to a point on a rock marked "W. F. C" (Wyandott Ferry Company) thence West $9\frac{1}{4}$ poles, thence North 30° E $20\frac{1}{4}$ poles to the beginning, Containing 4 acres

(Copy)

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS

APRIL 11, 1859

The foregoing selections and allotments of land made in conformity with the provisions of the Wyandott Treaty of January 31st 1855, are respectfully laid before the Secretary of the Interior for his approval as recommended in my letter of this date.

CHARLES E. MIX

Commissioner ad interim

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

April 13th 59

The foregoing Selections and allotments are approved as recommended by Commissioner of Indian affairs.

J. THOMPSON *Secretary*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

May 7th 1859

I Charles E. Mix, Commissioner of Indian Affairs ad. interim do hereby certify that the foregoing schedule indicating the selections and allotments of land made in behalf of the Wyandott Indians under the provisions of the treaty of January 31st, 1855 is a true and literal exemplification of the original record now in this office

CHARLES E. MIX

Commissioner ad interim

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I, Jacob Thompson Secretary of the department of the Interior do hereby certify that Charles E. Mix, whose signature is annexed to the foregoing certificate is now and was at the time of signing the same, Commissioner of Indian Affairs ad interim, and that full faith and credit are due to his official acts as such

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of said department to be affixed, this 7th day of May 1859

J. THOMPSON *Secretary*

We do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and literal copy of the original schedule reported by us to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and gives a true description of the Several allotments of land made by us to the individuals and families of the Wyandott Tribe of Indians as provided by the treaty of January 31. 1859 and which together with the plat of the same is now placed on file in the office of the County Clerk of Wyandott County Kansas Territory

B. F. ROBINSON

J. C. MCCOY

ROBERT J. LAWRENCE

Commissioners

STATE OF KANS

COUNTY OF WYANDOTT

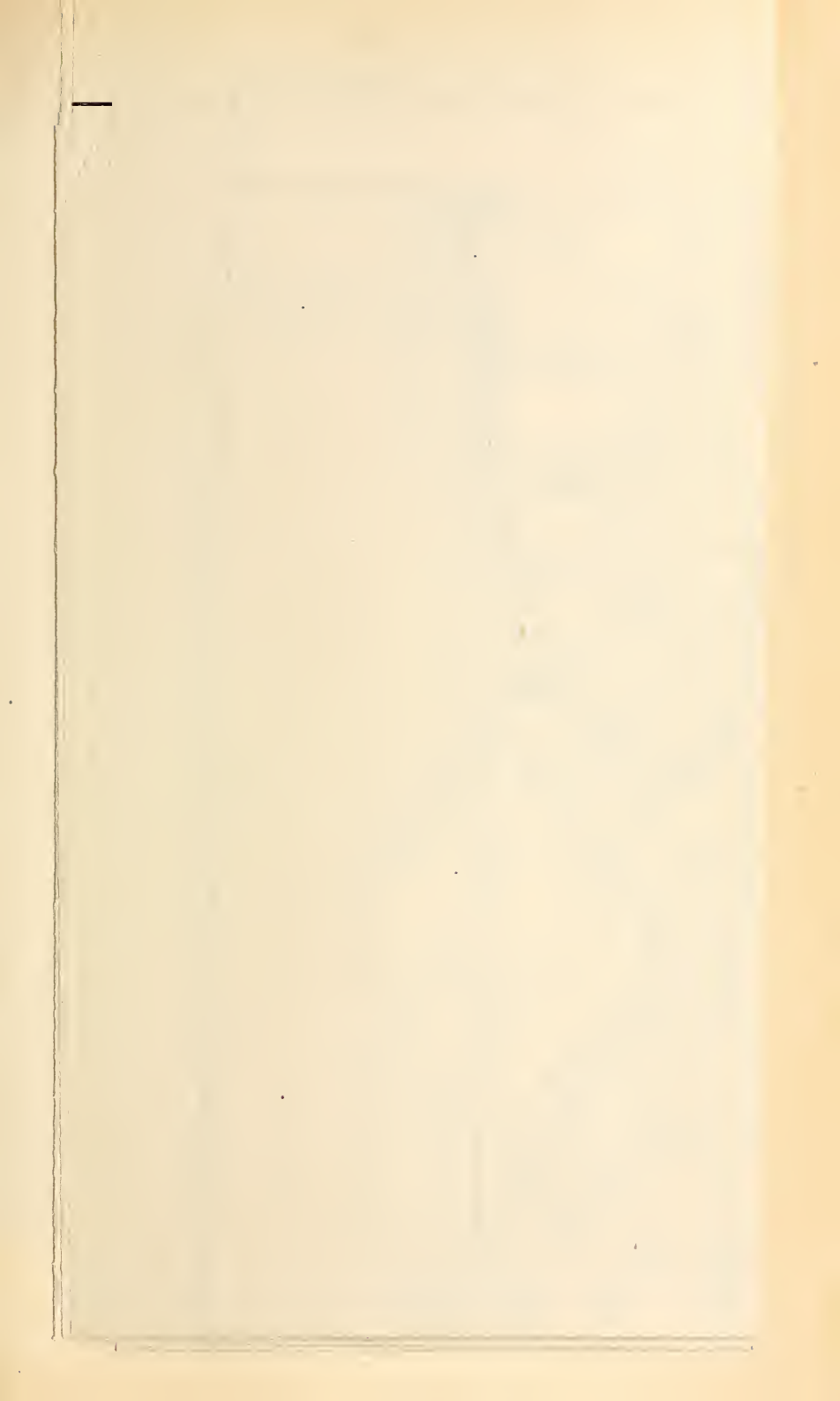
I, Jesse J. Keplinger County Clerk of said county do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a full true and correct copy of the Schedule of Allotments made the Wyandott Treaty of January 31. 1859 as the same remains on file in my office

(SEAL) Given under my hand and official seal this 19th day of October 1866

J. J. KEPLINGER *County Clerk*

Filed October 19, A. D. 1866

JAMES J. CRUISE *Register of Deeds*



285 WYANDOTT FERRY TRACT. Commencing $2\frac{1}{2}$ poles East of the S W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 Tp 11 S R 25 E. thence North 30° E. $59\frac{3}{4}$ poles thence East $9\frac{3}{4}$ poles to the N W bank of the Kansas river, thence up along said bank south 30° W. 80 poles to a point on a rock marked "W. F. C" (Wyandott Ferry Company) thence West $9\frac{3}{4}$ poles, thence North 30° E $20\frac{3}{4}$ poles to the beginning, Containing 4 acres

(Copy)

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS

APRIL 11, 1859

The foregoing selections and allotments of land made in conformity with the provisions of the Wyandott Treaty of January 31st 1855, are respectfully laid before the Secretary of the Interior for his approval as recommended in my letter of this date.

CHARLES E. MIX

Commissioner ad interim

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

April 13th 59

The foregoing Selections and allotments are approved as recommended by Commissioner of Indian affairs.

J. THOMPSON *Secretary*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

May 7th 1859

I Charles E. Mix, Commissioner of Indian Affairs ad. interim do hereby certify that the foregoing schedule indicating the selections and allotments of land made in behalf of the Wyandott Indians under the provisions of the treaty of January 31st, 1855 is a true and literal exemplification of the original record now in this office

CHARLES E. MIX

Commissioner ad interim

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I, Jacob Thompson Secretary of the department of the Interior do hereby certify that Charles E. Mix, whose signature is annexed to the foregoing certificate is now and was at the time of signing the same, Commissioner of Indian Affairs ad interim, and that full faith and credit are due to his official acts as such

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of said department to be affixed, this 7th day of May 1859

J. THOMPSON *Secretary*

We do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and literal copy of the original schedule reported by us to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and gives a true description of the Several allotments of land made by us to the individuals and families of the Wyandott Tribe of Indians as provided by the treaty of January 31. 1859 and which together with the plat of the same is now placed on file in the office of the County Clerk of Wyandott County Kansas Territory

B. F. ROBINSON

J. C. MCCOY

ROBERT J. LAWRENCE

Commissioners

STATE OF KANS

COUNTY OF WYANDOTT

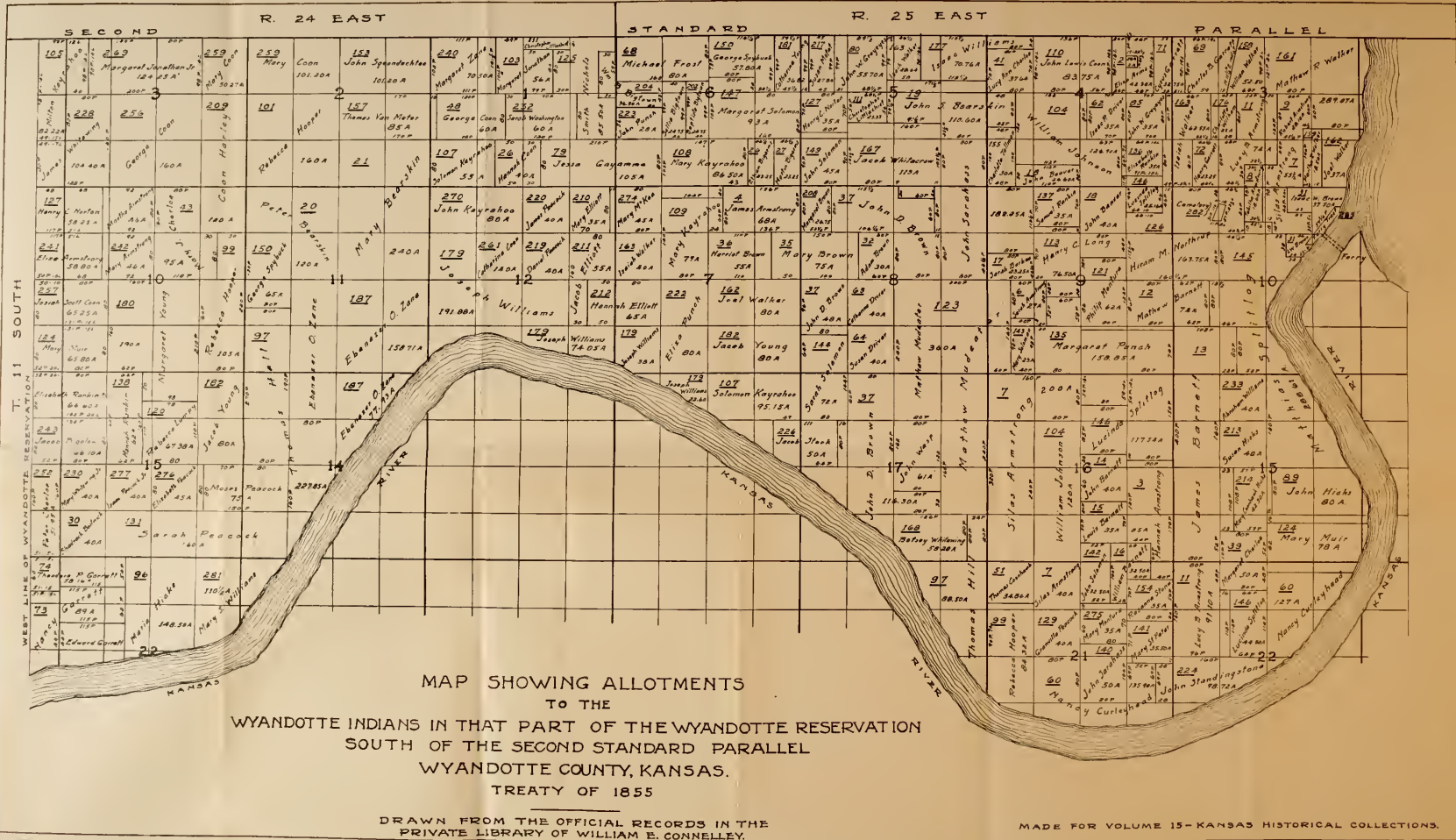
I, Jesse J. Keplinger County Clerk of said county do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a full true and correct copy of the Schedule of Allotments made the Wyandott Treaty of January 31. 1859 as the same remains on file in my office

(SEAL) Given under my hand and official seal this 19th day of October 1866

J. J. KEPLINGER *County Clerk*

Filed October 19, A. D. 1866

JAMES J. CRUISE *Register of Deeds*



l
l
l

C
l

c
l
t
r
U

c
t
d
a
s

o
a
S
W
w
tl

S
C

th
A
m
(s

WASHINGTON CITY D. C.

MARCH 7, 1859

Hon. J. W. Denver,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs
SIR,

The undersigned Commissioners acting under the provisions of Treaty Jan'y 31st 1855 between the United States and the Wyandott Tribe of Indians ask leave in presenting their final report to which this is appended, to suggest the following alterations and changes in the same, it having been unanimously decided by the Wyandott council, who are now present in Washington, as well as ourselves that these changes are necessary and proper in order to secure the ends of justice. We, as well as the members of the council are convinced, that all of the parties who are in anywise affected, or interested in the contemplated changes, desire that the same should be made, and the undersigned Commissioners would therefore respectfully ask you to cause the desired changes to be made in our report of Feby 22. 1859, as follows to wit. 1st Take from the list of incompetent Wyandotts, the names of the following persons, and place the same upon the list of Competent Wyandotts.

Whole No. on		Names	Aged	
Incompetent List	33	James Whitewing	35	} One Family
	34	Mary Whitewing	35	
	35	Mary Whitewing Jr.	3	
	38	Abraham Williams		
	30	John Spybuck		Individual

We ask that the "Schedule" attached to said Report be also amended so that the above names together with the descriptions of the land allotted to each may be transferred from the "Incompetent" to the "Competent" portion of said "Schedule"

We further ask that the names of the following persons composing two families be taken from the list of persons "Exempted from Citizenship" the heads thereof having requested us to do so. To wit:

Numbered on list of Persons and Families	No.	
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	13	Samuel Bigsinew Head of Family
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	14	Clarisa Bigsinew Wife
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	48	Lucinda Splitlog, Head of family
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	49	Thomas Splitlog child
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	50	Susan Splitlog child
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	51	Margaret Splitlog child
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	52	Mary Splitlog child
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	53	Martha Splitlog child
"Exempted from Citizenship".....	54	John Splitlog child

No alliteration is proposed or is necessary in the position or amount of land allotted by us to any of the persons above named, and the "plat" as submitted by us will require no change.

Respectfully Submitted

B. F. ROBINSON

J. C. McCoy

U. S. Commissioner Wyandott Com-

March 7 1859

Neosho Agency }
Indian Territory } Ss.

Irvin P. Long, John Sarahass and George Wright being first duly sworn according to law depose and say as follows

- 196 *James Bearskin* is dead and leaves as his sole heirs, his sons *George Bearskin* and *Joseph Bearskin*.
- 197 *Eliza Bearskin*, dead, sole heirs *George* and *Joseph Bearskin*
- 198 and
- 199 *George* and *Joseph Bearskin*, living
- 200 *Catharine Bearskin* died since treaty, and after death of her parents sole heirs *George* and *Joseph Bearskin*
- 201 *John Bigarms*, assuming that *Ethan Bigarms* is dead, and if dead left as sole heirs of his half, *Theressa Whitecrow* and his niece *Maitha Driver*, *John Bigarms* went to California in 1859 and has not been heard of for 13 years
- 202 *Baptiste Bigtown* died in 1860, or 1861, sole heirs, wife *Sally Bigtown*
- 203 *Sally Bigtown* died 1864 or 1865, sole heir *Sally Half John*
- 204 *William B. Bigtown* died in 1861, sole heir his father, *Baptiste Bigtown*
- 205 *John Bigtree* died about 1857, sole heirs, his child *Catharine* and his wife *Mary Solomon*, daughter of *John Solomon* who had by *John Bigtree* a child named *Catharine Bigtree*, who died in 1858. *Mary* died in 1860. *Irvin P. Long* states for himself that the sale of the land to him of the allotment 206 and 207 of *Mary Bigtree* and *Catharine Bigtree* was made for the purpose of accommodating *John Solomon* and without consideration and was sold by his request, the money passing to said *John Solomon*
- 206 ,
- &
- 207 *Mary* and *Catharine Bigtree* included in foregoing statement
- 210 *Mary Elliott* dead heirs her daughters and son, 211 & 212 *Jacob* and *Hannah Elliott*
- 212 *Hannah Elliott* dead. heir—her brother *Jacob*
- 215 *Zachariah Longhouse* died 1867, sole heirs his half-sister *Mary Young*—*Jacob* yet living
- 216 *James Monture* died about 1864, sole heir, his brother *Philip Monture*
- 217 *Susan Nofat* living—now *Mrs. Punch*
- 218 *Moses Peacock* died 1857 or 1858—sole heirs his sister *Mary Kayrahoo* and the children of his brother *Mathew Peacock*—towit *Amelia Browning* (alias *Cherloe*) *Elizabeth Peacock*, *Mary*—wife of *Peter Bearskin*, *Rebecca* wife of *James Hicks* *George Peacock* and *Isaac Peacock*
- 219 *Daniel Peacock* died in 1857, sole heir, his son *James*
- 220 *James Peacock* died in 1864—and left as his heir *Mary Peacock Whitetree* his cousin
- 221 *Margaret B. Peacock* died in 1859—sole heir her father *Dr. Whitetree*—she left a half Brother living name *Thomas Monancue* (221—*Margaret B. Punch*)
- 222 *Eliza Punch* died in 1861, sole heirs, her cousins—*John Punch* son of her uncle *John Kayrahoo* and *Thomas Punch Jr.* and a daughter of *Thomas Punch Sr.* name unknown—children of *Thomas Punch Sr.* family of father of *Eliza*, *George*, father and uncles *John* and *Thomas*
- 223 *John Punch* still living
- 224 *John H. Standingstone* died in 1857, sole heirs, children of his brother *Killbuck standingstone*, names unknown
- 226 *Jacob Stookey*—see affidavit of *Sarah Hill*
- 227 *Mary B. Spybuck* died in 1857 and left as her sole heirs her aunt *Catharine Warpole*
- 231 *Widow George Washington* died 1858—sole heirs—her niece *Hannah Armstrong* and nephews of deceased, *John* and *James Cherloe* who were brothers of *Hannah Armstrong*. also *Lewis Lumpy*.
- 232 *Sarah J. Washington*—died 1858 sole heir her daughter *Sarah Peacock*
- 234 *Sarah D. Williams* died 1856, sole heir her daughter *Mary D. Williams* who is yet living—
- 236 *John Zane* went to California—supposed to be living
- 237 *Theressa Zane* died in 1856—sole heirs, her children *Jefferson*, *Louiza* and *Margaret* who are all living

- 341 *Eliza Armstrong* now Mrs. Bland
 242 *Mary Armstrong* now Mrs. Faber
 Nos 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, are all now living
 254 *Mary Collier* died in 1861—sole heirs her cousin Rebecca Brown and a half sister Betsey Collier, a Seneca.
 256 *George Coon* Still living
 257 *Josiah Scott Coon* still living
 258 *Francis Coon* died in 1857 sole heirs Mary Nichols formerly Mary Warpole; also Mary Coon (259)
 260 *Hannah Coon* Living at Wyandott
 261 *Catharine Coon* living at Wyandott
 262 *Amos Cotter* died 1870 Sole heirs, a child by Mary Littlechief his wife and widow
 263 *Mary Curlyhead* died 1856 heir her mother Mary Curleyhead
 264 *Jacob Curleyhead* died in August 1870—heirs—Mary Curleyhead his sister now Mrs. Ketchan and niece Mary Whitewing
 265 *William A. Driver* died in the Army in 1864. heirs, his Mother Matilda Hicks, and his sisters Caroline and Sarah—(Caroline is yet living)
 267 *Sarah Hicks* died in 1860. heir, her sister Jane Hicks
 268 *Henry C. Greyeyes* died in 1857, heir his sister Mary Steel
 269 *Margaret Jonathan Jr.* yet living
 270 *John Kayrahoo* still living
 271 *William Long* still living
 272 *Livery B McKenzie* died in 1857 and left as heir his mother Mrs. John Het
 273 *Russell McKenzie* died 1861, sole heir his mother Mrs. John Het
 274 *Mary McKee* yet living
 275 *Mary Monture* died in 1864 sole heir her mother Catharine Johnson
 276 *Elizabeth Peacock* yet living
 277 *Isaac Peacock Jr.* yet living
 278 *Cary Rodgers* died in 1866 and left as heirs John Hat and George Spybuck who were his grandfathers, also as heir Mary Coon his cousin
 279 *George Whitewing* died 1865, sole heir his wife Jane L. Brown was his mother
 280 *David Wright* died in 1857 sole heir George Wright father
 281 *Mary S. Williams*—Still Living

The affiants named in the above Caption—and Jacob Whitecrow having had this statement read to them, say the same is true, according to their best information knowledge and belief

Signed Jacob X Whitecrow
 John X Sarahass
 I P. Long
 George Wright

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Neosho Agency Ind. Ter. Sept 14. 1870
 W. R. IRWIN Comm—

A Schedule embracing the names of Wyandott Indians of the Incompetent Class and Orphan Class under the Wyandott Treaty of January 31, 1855, the sales of whose lands, assigned and patented to them under said Treaty, have been confirmed by the Secretary of the Interior, upon a full examination of the report of Commissioners, Irwin and Cobb dated October 3rd 1870 and hearing of the parties interested in accordance with the 15th article of the treaty of February 23rd 1867, with certain Wyandott and other Indians in Kansas

No. of Allotment	Name of Reservee	Description of Lands	Acres	Sale
201.....	John Bigarms.....	Commencing at the N W cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T 10 S. R. 24 E, thence South 40 poles, thence West 38 poles and 14 links thence South 40 poles, thence East 108 poles and 14 links, thence North 80 poles, thence West 70 poles to the beginning, containing.....	44 60	Entire allotment to James M. Barnes
202.....	Baptists Bigtown.....	Commencing at the N E corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R. 25 E, thence South 80 poles thence West 40 poles, thence North 99 poles, thence East 40 poles thence South 19 poles to beginning containing.....	24 75	Entire allotment to Jacob Whitecrow
203.....	Sallie Bigtown.....	Commencing at the S W corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R 25 thence North 99 poles, thence East 40 poles, thence South 99 poles, thence West 40 poles to the beginning containing.....	24 75	Entire allotment to Michael Bradish
204.....	William P. Bigtown.....	Commencing 21 poles South of the N. W. corner of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence East 30 poles, thence South 80 poles thence West 30 poles, thence South 22 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 43 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 50 poles to the beginning containing.....	36 50	The following portion of this allotment to Daniel Fleming- viz Commencing 21 poles South of the N W cor of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence West 30 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 30 poles, thence South 22 poles thence East 50 poles, 6 links, thence North 43 poles thence West 50 poles and 6 links thence North 39 poles to the beginning containing 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres The remainder of this allotment to Michael Bradish
205.....	John Bigtree.....	The S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S. R. 24 E, containing.....	40 "	Entire allotment to Stephen A. Cobb and S P Bartlett
206.....	Mary Bigtree.....	West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S R 24 E. containing.....	80 "	Entire allotment to Irwin P. Long

207.....	Catharine Bigtree.....	Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence East 25 poles, thence South 60 poles, thence West 105 poles, thence North 60 poles, thence East 80 poles to the beginning containing.....	39	37	Entire allotment to Irvin P. Long
209.....	Harley Coon.....	The East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 and the M E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 10 T. 11 S R 24 E., Containing together.....	120	"	Entire allotment to Timothy McMahon
213.....	Susan Hicks.....	The S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S R 25 E containing.....	40	"	Entire allotment to Saul F Mather
214.....	Mary Coontawick Hicks.....	Commencing at the N E Cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S R 25 thence E. 8 poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 8 poles, thence South 28 poles, thence West 57 poles thence North 108 poles, thence East 57 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	42	30	The whole of this allotment to Sylvanus P. Bartlett except the right of way to the Union Pacific Railroad Company E. D. now known as Kansas Pacific Railroad Company, described in deed from Reserve to first named company, dated April 23, 1864, Recorded in Record "I", Wyandot county in pages 474 and 475
215.....	Zacharian Longhouse.....	The East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R 24 E, containing.....	80	"	Entire Allotment to John S. Stockton
216.....	James Monture.....	Commencing at the N W cor of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 24 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence South 136 poles thence East 80 poles thence North 56 poles, thence West 20 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 60 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	58	"	Entire Allotment to Morris Sherman
217.....	Susan Nofat.....	Commencing 14 poles East of the N W cor. of Sec. 5 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence East 45 poles thence South 99 poles, thence West 45 poles, thence North 99 poles to the beginning Containing.....	27	84	Entire Allotment to Isaiah Walker
218.....	Moses Peacock.....	Commencing at the N E cor of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S R 24 E., thence West 70 poles thence South 80 poles, thence East 130 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	75	"	Entire Allotment to Byron Judd
219.....	Daniel Peacock.....	The S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 Tp 11 S R 24 E., Containing.....	40	"	Entire Allotment to Mary A. Walker
220.....	James Peacock.....	The N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 T. 11 S R 24 E., Containing.....	40	"	Entire Allotment to Mary A. Walker

No. of Allotment	Name of Reservee	Description of Lands	Acres	Sale
221.....	Margaret B. Punch.....	The West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R 24 E., Containing.....	80	Entire Allotment to John D. P. Freeman
222.....	Eliza Punch.....	The E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 7 T. 11 S R 25 E., Containing.....	89	James C. Zane, entire Allotment
224.....	John H. Standingstone.....	Commencing at the N E cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 T. 11 S R 25 E., thence West 28 poles, thence North 69 poles, thence East 28 poles, thence North 11 poles, thence East 160 poles, thence South to the North bank of the Kansas river, thence up along the same to a point due South of beginning, thence North to the beginning, Containing.....	98	Entire Allotment to Byron Judd
226.....	Jacob Stookey.....	Commencing at the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 18 T. 11 S R 25 E., thence East 64 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 111 poles, thence South to the North bank of the Kansas River, thence down along the same with the meanders thereof to a point due South of the beginning, thence South to the beginning, Containing.....	50	Entire Allotment to James S. Ballentine
227.....	Mary B. Skybuck.....	Commencing at the N E Corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R 25 E., thence South 80 poles, thence East 15 poles, thence South 13 poles, thence West 59 poles, thence North 93 poles, thence East 44 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	26	Entire Allotment to Isaiah Walker and William Millar
231.....	Widow, George Washington.....	Commencing at the N W corner of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R 25 E., thence South 100 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 20 poles, thence West 46 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 34 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	79	Entire Allotment to Martin Stewart
232.....	Sarah J. Washington.....	Commencing at the N W corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 1 T. 11 S R 24 E., thence East 90 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 120 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East 30 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	27	Entire Allotment to John Kayrahoo

234.....	Williams, Sarah D.....	Commencing 24 poles North of the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R 25 thence West 80 poles, thence North 56 poles thence East 30 poles, thence North to the South bank of the Missouri River, thence down the same to a point due North of the Beginning, thence South to the beginning, Containing.....	58	“	Entire Allotment to Mary E. Stockton
235.....	Mary D. Williams.....	Commencing at the S W corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence South 6 poles thence East 80 poles thence North 6 poles, thence East 30 poles, thence North to the South bank of the Missouri River thence up along said bank to a point due North of the beginning, thence South to the beginning, containing.....	55	“	Entire Allotment to Mary E. Stockton
238.....	Jefferson Zane.....	The S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S R 24 E, containing.....	40	“	Entire Allotment to W. H. Toothman
240.....	Margaret Zane.....	Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 1 T. 11 S. R. 24 E, thence East 111 poles, thence South 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, thence West 111 poles, thence North 102 poles to the beginning, containing..... The following portion of this allotment was conveyed to Adam Littich viz—Commencing 40 poles South of the N W corner of Sec. 1 T. 11 S R 24 E., thence South 46 $\frac{1}{10}$ poles thence East 42 $\frac{1}{10}$ poles thence North 46 $\frac{1}{10}$ poles, thence West 42 $\frac{1}{10}$ poles to the beginning, containing 13 acres of land as recited in deed of Sept. 3, 1869 from Margaret Zane to Adam Littich, recorded in Record “M” page 341, Wyandott Co. Kan. One acre of this allotment to Wilhelmina Miller as described in deed from Margaret Zane to said Wilhelmina Millar dated April 21, 1869.	75	50	To Henry Davis the following portion of this allotment, viz: Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 1 T. 11 S R 24 thence East 40 poles, thence South 40 poles, thence West 40 poles thence North 40 poles to the place of beginning meaning to convey 10 acres in square form in the North West corner of Wyandott lot ment of the grantor as recited in deed dated January 29 1870 from Margaret Zane to Henry Driver recorded in Book “H” page 305, Wyandott county, Kansas.
243.....	Jacob Bigelow.....	Commencing at the S W corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S R. 24 E., thence West 52 poles thence North 80 poles thence East 132 poles and 10 links thence South 80 poles, thence West 80 poles, to the beginning, Containing.....	66	10	Entire allotment to William Branch
245.....	Boyd, Washington.....	Commencing at the N. W. cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R. 24 E., thence East 80 poles, thence South 80 poles thence West 120 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East 39 poles to the beginning, containing.....	64	75	All of the allotment except the following, viz: Commencing 40 poles East of the N. W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R 24 E., thence East 40 poles thence South 80 poles thence West 40 poles thence North 80 poles to the beginning—containing 20 acres to William Jessup

No. of Allotment	Name of Reservee	Description of Lands	Acres	Sale
246.....	Cherloe, Joseph.....	The N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S. R. 24 E., containing.....	40	Entire allotment to Ann Lyder
247.....	Mary Cherloe.....	Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26 T. 10 S. R. 24 E., thence South 22 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 68 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 46 poles to the beginning containing.....	34	The following portion of this allotment to Morris Sherman viz:—Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26 T. 10 S. R. 24 E. thence South 2 poles thence East 80 poles thence North 48 poles, thence West 80 poles thence 46 poles South to the beginning containing 26 acres of land. The remaining 10 acres of this allotment to Israel Jones
248.....	George Cherloe.....	Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26 T. 10 S. R. 24 E., thence South 34 poles thence East 80 poles, thence North 66 poles thence West 80 poles, thence South 32 poles to the beginning Containing.....	33	Entire allotment to Joab Toney
249.....	David Cherloe.....	Commencing at the N W cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 26 T. 10 S. R. 24 E., thence North 30 poles, thence East 80 poles thence South 78 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 48 poles to the beginning Containing.....	39	Entire Allotment to Joab Toney
250.....	Henry Cherloe.....	The S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S. R. 24 E., Containing.....	40	Entire Allotment to Harvey Harris and Wilkerson Hillman
251.....	Elizabeth Cherloe.....	Commencing at the N W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S. R. 24 E., thence North 40 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 200 poles, thence West 60 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 20 poles, thence North 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	90	Entire Allotment to Caroline R. Creamer
254.....	Mary Collier.....	Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T. 10 S. R. 24 E., thence East 80 poles thence North 56 poles thence West 80 poles thence South 56 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	28	Entire Allotment to Jacob Whitecrow

255.....	Sarah Collier.....	Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 36 T. 10 S R. 24 E, thence South 24 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 56 poles, thence West 80 poles thence South 32 poles to the beginning Containing.....	28	Entire allotment to Jacob Whitecrow
258.....	Francis Coon.....	Commencing 17 poles North of the N.W. corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 13 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence South 53 poles, thence East to the West bank of the Missouri River, thence up the same to a point due East of the beginning, thence West to the beginning Containing.....	36	Entire allotment to Elisha Sortor
259.....	Mary Coon.....	The N W frl. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 2 T. 11 S R 24 E, containing 101 $\frac{20}{100}$ acres Also the East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N. E. frl $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 Same T. and R. containing 50 $\frac{27}{100}$ acres and in the aggregate Containing.....	151 47	Entire allotment to Thomas Downs
260.....	Hannah Coon.....	Commencing at the S E cor. of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 1 T. 11 S R 24 E, thence East 30 poles thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 36 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	40	Entire allotment to Frank L. McHenry and A. D. Downs
261.....	Catharine Coon.....	The S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 12 T. 11 S R 24 E, Containing.....	40	Entire Allotment to Nicholas McAlpine
262.....	Amos Corter.....	Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 25 T. 10 S R. 24 E., thence West 26 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East 106 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	53	Entire allotment to Jacob H. Bartles
262.....	Amos Corter.....	Commencing at the S W corner of Sec. 25 T. 10 S R 24 thence West 26 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East 106 poles, thence South 80 poles thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	53	Entire allotment to Jacob H. Bartles This conveyance is rewritten by mistake.
263.....	Mary Curleyhead Jr.....	Commencing at the S W cor. of Sec. 27 T. 10 S R. 24 E, thence North 80 poles, thence East 50 poles, thence South 40 poles, thence East 12 poles thence South 40 poles, thence West 62 poles to beginning Containing.....	28	Entire Allotment to Henry Freeman
264.....	Jacob Curlyhead.....	The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R 24 E. Containing.....	40	Entire Allotment to

No. of Allotment	Name of Reservee	Description of Lands	Acres	Sale
265.....	William A. Driver.....	Commencing 16 poles West of the S W. Corner of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence North 42 poles, thence East 7.2 poles, thence South 68 poles, thence West 7.2 poles, thence North 26 poles to the beginning, Containing....	30	Entire Allotment to Stephen A. Cobb
267.....	Sarah Hicks.....	Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 28 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence North 98 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence South 128 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 30 poles to the beginning Containing.....	64	Entire Allotment to Jacob Castele
268.....	Henry C. Greyeyes.....	Commencing at the N E corner of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence South 18 poles thence West 80 poles thence South 62 poles, thence East 142 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 62 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	62	Entire Allotment to Lewis M. Cox
269.....	Margaret Jonathan Jr.....	Commencing at the N E cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3 T. 11 S R 24 E, thence West 120 poles, thence South 98 poles and 14 links, thence East 200 poles, thence North 100 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	124	Entire Allotment to William C. Freeman
271.....	William Long.....	Commencing at the N E cor. of N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 31 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence South 55 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 55 poles, thence East 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	27	Entire Allotment of Alexander X. Zane
272.....	Livery B. McKenzie.....	Commencing at the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R 24 thence North 50 poles, thence West 80 poles, thence North 30 poles, thence West 20 poles, thence South 80 poles thence East 100 poles to the beginning, Containing.....	35	The following portion of this allotment to Landon Lyder, viz:—Commencing at the S E cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R. 24 E, running thence North 50 poles thence West 80 poles, thence South 50 poles, thence East 80 poles to the beginning, containing 20 acres The remaining 10 acres to Wm Drake
273.....	Russell McKenzie.....	Commencing at the N W cor. of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R 24 E, thence South 120 poles, thence East 80 poles, thence North 40 poles, thence West 20 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 60 poles, to the beginning, Containing.....	50	All of this allotment embraced in the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R. 24 E. to Wm. Drake— The remainder viz: the N $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 34 T. 10 S R 24 E to Jacob Marshal

274.	Mary McKee.	Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 7 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence West 10 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 90 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.	45	Entire Allotment to Sarah Kerr
275.	Mary Monture.	Commencing at the S W cor. of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21 T. 11 S R 25 E, thence North 10 poles thence East 80 poles, thence South 70 poles thence West 80 poles, thence North 60 poles, to the beginning, Containing.	35	Entire allotment to Sibilla Lugubihl
277.	Isaac Peacock Jr.	The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S R 24 E, Containing.	40	Entire allotment to Ephraim Chamberlain
279.	George Whitewing.	Commencing at the S W cor. of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32 T. 10 S R 25 E, thence North 56 poles thence East 80 poles thence South 56 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.	28	13 acres of this allotment off the East end to Theophilus Thompson— The remainder of 15 acres to Amelia Burning formerly Amelia Cherlow
280.	David Wright.	Commencing at the S E corner of the S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R. 24 E, thence North 80 poles thence West 120 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence East 120 poles to the beginning Containing.	60	Entire Allotment to George L. Meagly
281.	Mary S. Williams.	The N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 23 T. 11 S R 24 E containing 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Also the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of the N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22, Same T. and R., containing 75 acres and in the aggregate containing.	110 50	Entire allotment to John Collins

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

February 17 1871

The Sales of Land as indicated in the foregoing Schedule have been this day approved by me

(Signed) C E DELANO *Secretary*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Office of Indian Affairs

February 24, 1871

I, Ely S Parker Commissioner of Indian Affairs do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and literal copy of the schedule embracing the Names of the Wyandott Indians of the Incompetent and Orphan classes under Treaty of January 31, 1855., the sale of whose lands assigned and patented to them under said Treaty have been confirmed by the Secretary of the Interior under date of February 17 1871, upon a full examination of the report of the Commissioners—Irwin and Cobb. dated Oct. 3 1870 in accordance with the 15th article of the treaty, with certain Wyandott and other Indians, concluded Feb. 23 1867, the original of which is on file in this office

E. S. PARKER *Commissioner*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON D. C. February 24, 1871

I, Columbus Delano Secretary of the Department of the Interior of the United States of America, do hereby certify that Ely S. Parker, whose name appears to the foregoing certificate is now and was at the time of Signing the same, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and that full faith and credit are due to his official acts as such.

Seal In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of said Department to be affixed the day and year above written

C. DELANO *Secretary*

A Schedule embracing the names of Wyandott Indians, being a portion of those of the Incompetent and Orphan Classes under the Wyandott Treaty of January 31, 1855, with descriptions of the lands assigned and patented to them, respectively under the provisions of said treaty, in regard to the sales of which lands of said Incompetent and Orphan Classes, an examination and report (report dated October 3d 1870) was made under direction of the Secretary of the Interior, by Commissioners Irwin and Cobb, in accordance with the provisions of the 10th article of the treaty of February 23, 1867 with certain Wyandott and other Indians in Kansas, and upon which report action was taken by the Department, and Stephen A. Cobb was under date of the 24th of February 1871 appointed Special Commissioner to make collection of additional payments for the land embraced in this Schedule, and to disburse the same, and has submitted his report, in regard to the same, with letter dated August 29, 1871 and in regard to which sales recommendations are made by the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs as noted in the proper column

No. of Allotment	Name of Reseree	Description of Lands	Acres	Sale Recommendations of Acting Comr. of Indian Affairs
223.	John Punch.	Commencing at the S W Corner of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 6 T. 11 S R 25 E., thence North 56 poles, thence East 80 poles thence South 56 poles, thence West 80 poles to the beginning, Containing.	28	That the sale of this allotment be confirmed to John S. Stockton
237.	Theresa Zane.	The N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of the N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35 T. 10 S R 24 E. Containing.	40	That the sale of this allotment to Edward Meneer be confirmed
240.	Margaret Zane.	Commencing at the N W cor. of Sec. 1 T. 11 S R 24 E. thence East 111 poles, thence South 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence West 111 poles, thence North 102 poles to beginning, Containing. First—Commencing at the N E corner of land allotted to Margaret Zane under the treaty of January 31, 1855 (Incompetent allotment No. 240.) thence South 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ poles thence West 40 poles thence South 40 poles thence West to the Eastern boundary of land sold to Wilhelmina Miller for a road thence Northwardly along the Eastern boundary of said road to the Northern boundary of said allotment, thence East to the place of beginning <i>Second.</i> Also commencing at S W cor. of said allotment No. 240—thence North 15 $\frac{3}{10}$ poles thence East 42 $\frac{1}{10}$ poles, thence South 15 $\frac{3}{10}$ poles thence West 42 $\frac{1}{10}$ poles to the beginning to be confirmed—(See supplemental report of Sept. 18, 1871—"C-612"—Sept. 19, 1871.	70 50	That the sale of 10 acres in a Square form in the Southeast corner of said allotment to John Pulver be confirmed. That the sale of the residue of said allotment not embraced in sales to John Pulver—Henry Davis Adam Lillich and Wilhelmina Miller—described as follows, viz, (see other column this page)

SCHEDULE EMBRACING NAMES OF WYANDOTT INDIANS—CONCLUDED.

No. of Allotment	Name of Reserve	Description of Lands	Acres	Sale Recommendations of Acting Comr. of Indian Affairs
245.	Washington Boyd.	Commencing at the N W corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec 33 T. 10 S R. 24 E., thence East 80 poles, thence South 80 poles, thence West 120 poles, thence North 80 poles, thence East 39 poles to the beginning, Containing.	64 75	That the sale of the following portion of this allot- ment to John Barber be confirmed, viz: Commencing 40 poles East of the N W corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 33 T. 10 S R. 24 E. thence East 40 poles, thence South 80 poles thence West 40 poles, thence North 80 poles to the begin- ning, containing 20 acres.
276.	Elizabeth Peacock.	Commencing at the N W corner of the S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15 T. 11 S. R. 24 E., thence East 90 poles thence South 80 poles, thence West 90 poles, thence North 80 poles to the beginning, con- taining.	45	That the sale of this allotment to Elizabeth John- son, Widow of John E. Johnson deed be con- firmed

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Sept 26. 1871

Respectfully submitted for the approval of the Hon. Secretary of the Interior

H R CLUM *Acting Commissioner*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
September 27 1871

The recommendations of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs as set forth in the foregoing Schedule of are hereby approved

C. DELANO *Secretary*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
September 28, 1871

I, Henry R. Clum, Commissioner of Indian Affairs do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and literal copy of the Schedule, on file in this office embracing the sales made by certain Wyandott Indians, of the Incompetent and Orphan Class, out of the lands allotted and patented to them under the Wyandott treaty of January 31st 1855 which sales were confirmed by the Hon. Secretary of the Interior under date of the 27th instant.

H. R. CLUM *Acting Commissioner*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON D. C. Sept 28, 1871

I, Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior of the United States of America do hereby certify that Henry R. Clum whose name appears to the foregoing certificate is now and was at the time of signing the same Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and that full faith and credit are due his official acts as Such.

C. DELANO *Secretary*

Seal In testimony where of I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of said Department to be affixed on the day and year above written

[*Shawnee Indian Lands.*]

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON D. C. April 9, 1874

I, Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct description of all lands allotted and patented to members of the Shawnee tribe of Indians in the State of Kansas; and also a true and correct abstract of all conveyances executed by said Indians, which have received the approval of the Secretary up to this date, as taken from the records of this office.

EDW P. SMITH *Commissioner*

(To which is appended the certificate of Office of Edw P. Smith dated Washington D. C. April 9 1874 and signed by B. R. Cowen Acting Secretary of the Interior.)

[Abstract of all conveyances of Shawnee lands omitted in this copy published by the Kansas State Historical Society.]

DESCRIPTION OF INDIAN LANDS ALLOTTED.—CONTINUED.

No. of Patent	To Whom Patented	Description of Tract Patented.	Sec.	Twp.	Range	Area	
						Acres	100ths
3.....	Theresa Brown.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$	34 34 22	11 11 11	25 25 25	80 40 61	00 00 53
4.....	Thompson Brown.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$	34	11	25	160	00
22.....	Thomas Bigknife..... Head of a family consisting of	S $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	28 28 28	11	25	80 40 80	00 00 00
22.....	Fanny Bigknife.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$ N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$	28 ..	11 ..	25 ..	148 40	50 00
23.....	Samuel Bigknife.....	S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of..... N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of N W $\frac{1}{4}$	27 34	11 ..	25 ..	160 40	00 00
26.....	James Blacksnake.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$	20 17	11	25	23 80 40 23	20 00 00 75
27.....	George Bigknife..... as head of family.....	S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of..... S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	19 ..	11 ..	25 ..	160 40	00 00
27.....	Elizabeth Bigknife.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	19 .. 28	11	25	40 80 80	00 00 00
27.....	Nancy Bigknife.....	S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$	18 ..	11 ..	25 ..	40 160	00 00
28.....	John M. Barlow..... head of Family	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	26 ..	11 ..	24 ..	40 40	00 00
28.....	Ann Eliza Barlow.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of..... N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$	26 ..	11 ..	24 ..	160 40	00 00
28.....	Mary Barlow.....	N W $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	26 ..	11 ..	24 ..	160 40	00 00

29.....	William Barbee, Head of Family.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of N W $\frac{1}{4}$	27 ..	11 ..	24 ..	160 40	00 00
	Mary Eliza Barbee.....	S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$ N $\frac{1}{2}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$ N $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	27 ..	11 ..	24 ..	40 80 80	00 00 00
30.....	Nancy Blue Jacket.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$	29 ..	11 ..	25 ..	80 40 80	00 00 00
31.....	Robert Bluejacket.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$	36 25	11 12	24 24	160 40	00 00
32.....	Sallie Bluejacket.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$	34 ..	11 ..	24 ..	160 40	00 00
	David Bluejacket.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$	35 ..	11 ..	24 ..	80	00
	Price K. Bluejacket.....	S $\frac{1}{2}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$	35 34	11 11	24 24	80 40	00 00
33.....	George Bluejacket, as Head of Family.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ of N W $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of N W $\frac{1}{4}$	34 ..	11 ..	24 ..	80 80 40	00 00 00
33.....	Mary Bluejacket.....	W $\frac{1}{2}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$	34 ..	11 ..	24 ..	80 80	00 00
35.....	William G. Bluejacket, as head of Family.....	S $\frac{1}{2}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$	33 ..	11 ..	24 ..	80 40 80	00 00 00
	Jane Bluejacket.....	S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	33 ..	11 ..	24 ..	40	00
62.....	Susan Bluejacket.....	N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	23 22 22	11 11 11	24 24 24	48 52 34	20 75 50
66.....	Alexander Boshnan, Head of Family.....	S E $\frac{1}{4}$ Lot 1 in N E $\frac{1}{4}$	25 ..	11 ..	25 ..	160 47	00 10
85.....	James Cuapa..... Head of Family.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ of S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ of N W $\frac{1}{4}$ N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of N W $\frac{1}{4}$	31 ..	11 ..	25 ..	80 80 40	00 00 00
	— Cuapa.....	S W $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ of N W $\frac{1}{4}$	30 31	11 11	25 25	160 40	00 00

DESCRIPTION OF INDIAN LANDS ALLOTTED.—CONTINUED.

No. of Patent	To Whom Patented	Description of Tract Patented.	Sec.	Twp.	Range	Area	
						Acres	100ths
86.....	William Clay.....	W $\frac{1}{2}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ N E $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$	30 30	11 11	25 25	80 40	00 00
118.....	Joseph Dougherty.....	W $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N $\frac{1}{2}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$	25 " " "	11 " " "	24 " " "	80 40 80	00 00 00
118.....	Rebecca Dougherty.....	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section..... NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$	24 25	11 11	24 24	160 40	00 00
119.....	John Davis.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$	23 "	11 "	24 "	80 40	00 00
120.....	Joseph Day..... Head of Family	NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$	36 25	11 11	24 24	160 40	00 00
120.....	Emily Day.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ - SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ - SW $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ - SE $\frac{1}{4}$	25 " " "	11 " " "	24 " " "	80 40 80	00 00 00
122.....	John Dougherty..... Head of Family	SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$	28 33	11 11	24 24	160 40	00 00
122.....	Margaret Dougherty.....	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$	28 28 33 27	11 11 11 11	24 24 24 24	40 80 40 40	00 00 00 00
122.....	Anne Dougherty.....	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$	27 34 27	11 11 11	24 24 24	40 40 40	00 00 00
132.....	Sophrone Ellick.....	SW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - SW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$	19 19 30	11 11 11	25 25 25	40 80 80	00 00 00
	John Squirrel.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$	19 "	11 "	25 "	80 40	00 00

194.....	Ellen Keizer.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ - SE $\frac{1}{4}$	35 26	11 11	24 24	80 80	00 00
194.....	William Keizer.....	W $\frac{1}{2}$ - SW $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$	36 35 35	11 11 11	24 24 24	80 80 40	00 00 00
194.....	Molly Keizer.....	W $\frac{1}{2}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ of NW $\frac{1}{4}$	35	11	24	80 40 80	00 00 00
196.....	Kaw Seen.....	NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NW $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ of NW $\frac{1}{4}$	33 ..	11 ..	24 ..	40 80	00 00
198.....	John Katho-tho.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ of NW $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$	35 26 27	11 11 11	24 24 24	80 80 40	00 00 00
210.....	Sophia McClane.....	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ - SE $\frac{1}{4}$	33 ..	11 ..	25 ..	160 40	00 00
210.....	Rose Ann McClane.....	S $\frac{1}{2}$ - SE $\frac{1}{4}$	33	11	25	80	00
210.....	Mary McClane.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ - SE $\frac{1}{4}$	34 33	11	25	80 40 40 40	00 00 00 00
213.....	Jane Martin..... as Head of Family.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N $\frac{1}{2}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$	33	11	24	80 40 80	00 00 00
230.....	Mary Jane Owen.....	SW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$	11 ..	12 ..	23 ..	40 40	00 00
232.....	John Pumpkin..... Head of Family.....	SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$ N $\frac{1}{2}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$	20 ..	11 ..	25 ..	40 37	00 00
232.....	Jane Pumpkin.....	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of SE $\frac{1}{4}$	29 20	11 11	25 25	160 30	00 70
233.....	Hollna Pumpkin..... Head of Family.....	SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ (Error)	33 ..	11 ..	25 ..	160 40	00 00
233.....	Elizabeth Billy John.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ - NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ - SE $\frac{1}{4}$	33 32 29	11 .. 11 11	25 .. 25 25	80 40 40 40	00 00 00 00

DESCRIPTION OF INDIAN LANDS ALLOTTED.—CONTINUED.

No. of Patent	To Whom Patented	Description of Tract Patented.	Sec.	Twp.	Range	Area	
						Acres	100ths
234.....	John W. Parks.....	S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$ N E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	28	11	24	25 40 22 40 40	20 00 80 00 00
239.....	Catharine Prophet, Head of Family.....	S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of S E $\frac{1}{4}$ of N E $\frac{1}{4}$	32	11	25	160 40	00 00
239.....	Thomas Perry.....	S W $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$	32	11	25	160 40	00 00
240.....	Walter Davis.....	S E $\frac{1}{4}$	31 ..	11 ..	25 ..	160	00
240.....	Emily Heiche.....	S $\frac{1}{2}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	31 ..	11 ..	25 ..	80	00
249.....	Pa-cot-se-kah.....	N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$	28 .. 27	11 .. 11	24 .. 24	39 80 80	70 00 00
253.....	Jackson Rogers, Head of Family.....	N W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E frl $\frac{1}{4}$	13 ..	11 ..	24 ..	37	50
253.....	Elizabeth Rogers.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	24 13	11 11	24 24	160 40	00 00
253.....	David Rogers.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$	13	11	24	80 40 80	00 00 00
254.....	Wilson Rogers, as Head of Family.....	Land in Johnson Co.					
254.....	Polly Rogers.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	24	11	24	40 80 80	00 00 00
254.....	Betsy Rogers.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	24 13 ..	11 11 ..	24 24 ..	80 80 40	00 00 00

254.....	Sally Rogers.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$ E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ N W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ S W frl $\frac{1}{4}$ N W frl $\frac{1}{4}$	13	11	24	40 77 39	00 75 99
254.....	Susan Rogers.....	N W $\frac{1}{4}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	25 24	11 11	24 24	160 40	00 00
257.....	Henry Foxall Rogers, head of Family.....	S E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E frl $\frac{1}{4}$ S frl $\frac{1}{2}$ - S W frl $\frac{1}{4}$	21 22	11 11	24 24	26 58	20 50
269.....	General Jackson Rogers.....	W frl $\frac{1}{2}$ - N W frl $\frac{1}{4}$	18	11	25	44	40
273.....	Peggy Spybuck..... Head of Family.....	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ (Lands in Johnson Co.)	31 30	11 11	25 25	160 40	00 00
273.....	Pharise Spybuck.....						
274.....	Moses Silverheel..... Head of Family.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	36 ..	11 ..	24 ..	80 40	00 00
274.....	Betsy Silverheel.....	N $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	36 ..	11 ..	24 ..	80 40	00 00
286.....	Mary Shane.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	32	11	24	80	00
291.....	Marianna Tiblow.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$	23	11	24	80 40 80	00 00 00
	Esther Jane Tiblow.....	N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ N E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	23 14 ..	11 11 ..	24 24 ..	40 40 37 40 24	00 00 00 40 50
293.....	Charles Toley..... Head of Family.....	S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	32	11	24	24	00
293.....	Martha Toley.....	S $\frac{1}{2}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$	31 32	11 11	24 24	52 68	50 20
293.....	William Toley.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	32 .. 29	11 .. 11	24 .. 24	80 27 51	00 20 70
293.....	Francis Toley.....	S W $\frac{1}{2}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ S E $\frac{1}{4}$	32	11	24	40 80 80	00 00 00

DESCRIPTION OF INDIAN LANDS ALLOTTED.—CONCLUDED.

No. of Patent	To Whom Patented	Description of Tract Patented.	Sec.	Twp.	Range	Area	
						Acres	100ths
303.....	Henry White day or Wa-pa-cuna.....	NW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NE $\frac{1}{4}$	32 ..	11 ..	25 ..	160 40	00 00
309.....	John Williams Sr.....	S $\frac{1}{2}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$	28 28 28 21	11 11 11 11	25 25 25 25	80 32 39 4	00 70 40 30
317.....	Susan Whitefeather.....	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ - NE $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$	30	11	25	40 80 80	00 00 00
317.....	George Washington.....	NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ - NE $\frac{1}{4}$	29 30	11 11	25 25	160 40	00 00
318.....	Nancy Whitefeather.....	E $\frac{1}{2}$ - SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ - SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ - NE $\frac{1}{4}$	20	11	25	80 40 40 12	00 00 00 00
319.....	Jacob Whitefeather..... Head of Family,	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ - SE $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{2}$ - SE $\frac{1}{4}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ - NE $\frac{1}{4}$	18 .. 19	11 11 11	25 25 25	39 41 80	58 60 00
320.....	Francis Whitefeather.....	W $\frac{1}{2}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$	29	11	25	80	00
2.....	Joseph Parks.....	W $\frac{1}{2}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - SW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ - NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$	35 .. 26 .. 34 27 ..	11 11 11 11 11 ..	25 .. 25 25 25 ..	77 78 79 79 160 160 160	18 10 79 25 00 00 00

- KANSAS HI

DESCRIPTION OF INDIAN LANDS ALLOTTED.—CONCLUDED.

No. of Patent	To Whom Patented	Description of Tract Patented.	Sec.	Twp.	Range	Area	
						Acres	100ths
303.	Henry White day or Wa-pa-cuna.	N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$	32	11	25	160	00
		S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$			"	40	00
309.	John Williams Sr.	S $\frac{1}{2}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	28	11	25	80	00
		N E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	28	11	25	32	70
		N W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	28	11	25	39	40
		S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	21	11	25	4	30
317.	Susan Whitefeather.	N E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$	30	11	25	40	00
		W $\frac{1}{2}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	80	00
		E $\frac{1}{2}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	80	00
317.	George Washington.	N W $\frac{1}{4}$	29	11	25	160	00
		S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$	30	11	25	40	00
318.	Nancy Whitefeather.	E $\frac{1}{2}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	20	11	25	80	00
		S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	40	00
		S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	40	00
		S W $\frac{1}{4}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	12	00
319.	Jacob Whitefeather.	S E $\frac{1}{4}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	18	11	25	39	58
	Head of Family,	N $\frac{1}{2}$ - S E $\frac{1}{4}$	"	11	25	41	60
		E $\frac{1}{2}$ - N E $\frac{1}{4}$	19	11	25	80	00
320.	Francis Whitefeather.	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$	29	11	25	80	00
2.	Joseph Parks.	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S W $\frac{1}{4}$	35	11	25	77	18
		W $\frac{1}{2}$ N W $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	78	10
		W $\frac{1}{2}$ - S W $\frac{1}{4}$	26	11	25	78	79
		W $\frac{1}{2}$ - N W $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	79	25
		S E $\frac{1}{4}$	34	11	25	160	00
		N E $\frac{1}{4}$	27	11	25	160	00
		N W $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	160	00
		S E $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	"	160	00

1870

THE

LIBRARY OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

CHICAGO

1870

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS: ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE STATE.

A paper read before the Wyandotte County Historical Society, at its meeting in Kansas City, Kan., April 4, 1918, by WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.

I TRUST you will not regard it in bad taste if I speak a word personal before I read my paper. I became a resident of Wyandotte county in 1881. In the winter of that year I taught a school at Tiblow—now Bonner Springs. I was always interested in history. The best way in which to study the history of a state is to begin with the local annals of your county and town. That is how I began my study of Kansas history. I found little in the books of that date. In 1883 I was elected county clerk of this county. In that office I found the key to the history of the old Wyandot nation. It had carried westward with it from Ohio some of the principal institutions of civilization, and these were planted here—the church, law, schools, social order. I searched through all the county offices. I read the old session laws. I interviewed the older settlers. I went through files of old newspapers. Those things I really wanted I did not find. Then I turned to the Indians. I went to see the older members of the tribe. I visited the reservation of the Southern Wyandots. There I began to get results. I pursued this work for many years. I found the records of what had been done here. These records were in the process of destruction. No one seemed to know they had any value whatever. They were freely given to me. They are now a part of my private library. They form one of the most valuable private collections in the country.

When these papers and journals were assembled they made a complete record of one of the really important movements in American history. I made many efforts to get these published, but without result. I finally prevailed on the Nebraska Historical Society to publish a portion of them. The volume which that institution brought out has been recognized by students as one of the source books of the history of our common country. I can say this in good taste, I think, as the edition of the book was long since exhausted. The work is out of print. It can now be found only in libraries.

The publication of my book was one of the surprises of the times. It was not known that I had any interest in historical matters. When the book appeared, D. W. Wilder, author of Wilder's "Annals of Kansas," wrote me a letter of congratulation. He said it was odd that a stranger should come here and gather the material and write a volume on a subject he had found only enough about for a single paragraph.

I shall always rejoice that I came to Kansas. I am proud of this magnificent commonwealth. Some of my children were born here. One of them rests in the soil of this city—where soon I shall myself go to the grave. And I shall go the more willingly for having the thought that I, in the humble capacity of student, did this city and county and the state a genuine service in the preservation of the history of the first effort in the West to establish freedom.

This is not my first appearance in this room to speak of the history of this county. On the 12th day of November, 1901, I addressed the high school from

this rostrum. My subject on that occasion was "The Emigrant Tribes of Wyandotte County." My object then was to arouse interest in the pre-territorial history of this county. For if interest can be created, investigation will usually follow. There are many historical matters connected with Wyandotte county which should be thoroughly studied. Few counties in Kansas are so rich in events which produce a lasting influence on the state as is Wyandotte county, and as a field for the study of local history it is unsurpassed in Kansas. I found it so. The first work I ever published deals with events which occurred largely inside the limits of this city; and as to the importance of those events, it is enough to say that they were the prelude to the Civil War. Growing out of them came the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the struggle for a free state, the triumph of freedom, and the establishment of universal liberty in America. But I fear that few of the citizens of this growing metropolis of a great state have given these highly important matters enough consideration to realize their full import. Let me try to impress on you here this evening that this city is a milestone in human progress. Residence in this city is a proud privilege. Historic importance of a community should beget pride of citizenship in that community. And this pride of citizenship should be the incentive to high achievement. What I have in mind this evening is to stir you to a study of your own local history. Study it and talk it and write it and preach it until it shall become in your citizens—and especially in your children—the basis of pride and the boast of historic superiority.

I shall try at this time to emphasize some of the events of which I have spoken, in order that it shall be no task for even those who have given the history of this county little or no attention to assimilate and utilize them.

In prehistoric times this land was the home of the Caddoan linguistic family of North American Indians. Some of the tribes of this great family are the Pawnees, the Aricaras, the Wichitas, the Wacos and the Caddoes. Their empire stretched from the Gulf to the Canadian border, and embraced that country known as the Great Plains. Its greatest extent eastward was to the mouth of the Wabash. The time when this Indian family extended itself over the vast extent of the richest portion of America, the future students of history and archæology must determine.

At that same time there was living in those mountains of the Appalachian chain lying about the headwaters of the Ohio, and over beyond toward the ocean, the Siouan linguistic Indian family of North America. This family was doubtless composed of various vigorous groups and tribes. Knowledge of the great numbers of buffalo roaming the plains lands of the Caddoan possessions coming to them, the Siouans began a migration westward, intending to come into these vast meadows so overrun with the wild cattle; for the food quest has ever governed the movements of primitive tribes and nations. This migration was not such a movement as we should witness in our day. It was deliberate, as Indian marches ever were. Perhaps they lingered at one point a century; and maybe they made 100 miles in the next twelve-month. They stopped long at the falls of the Ohio. At the mouth of the Wabash they encountered the Skidi Pawnees, who returned with them down the Ohio. At the mouth of that river the Mississippi was crossed. It seems that the Dhegiha group of Siouans was the portion of the family coming to

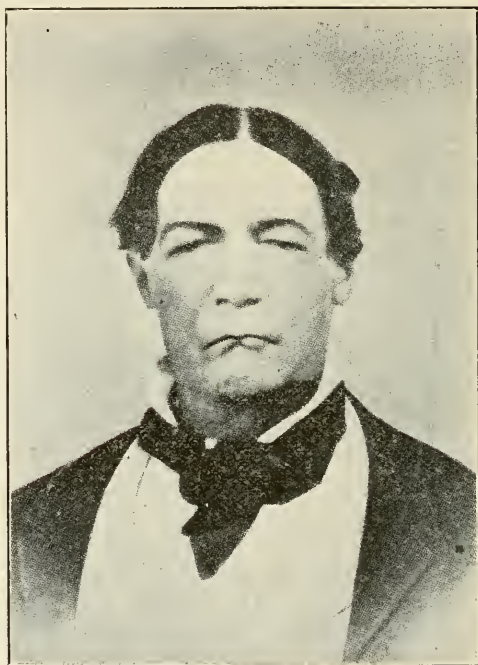
the Mississippi down the Ohio. On the western shore a division of opinion or inclination became manifest. A part of the group desired to descend the Mississippi. The others were bent on going up that stream. A separation occurred. Those going down were called Quapaws—those going with the current. The group ascending the Mississippi were called Omahas—those pushing against the current. These came up to the mouth of the Missouri, up which stream they ascended. A long stop was made at the mouth of the Osage. It may be that the Caddoans had to be crowded to the westward from that point. There the Omahas and Ponkas became separate tribes, crossed the Missouri, and proceeded overland to the regions about the mouth of the Platte. The Osages began a slow ascent of the Osage, coming out on the prairies of Kansas, in what is now Bourbon county, about the time of Pike's expedition. He found them in what is now Vernon county, Missouri. From the mouth of the Osage the Kansas Indians came up the Missouri and made conquest of the country about the mouth of the Kansas river. It is quite probable that their principal town was on the William Malott farm, near White Church, in Wyandotte county. They possessed this land until 1825, when they ceded it to the United States and went on a reservation. At the same time the Osages ceded all their lands to the United States and were assigned a reservation.

Up to this time the United States had extinguished Indian titles to secure land for white settlers, who were ever pushing into the wilderness. Two motives caused a reversal of this policy when Kansas was added to the public domain. One was that there were many small tribes and remnants of tribes dispossessed and waiting to be dispossessed of their diminished reservations east of the Mississippi. New homes for these Indians had to be provided. Then slavery, with its eye ever on the public domain, had shut itself out from the West north of "thirty-six thirty" by the Missouri Compromise. Kansas was north of that line, and by the Compromise dedicated to freedom. It was the hope of slavery that some means would be found to evade the terms of the Compromise; but no such means appearing, a temporary expedient was fallen upon to prevent the settlement of Kansas. The Indian tribes east of the Mississippi were given reservations fronting on Missouri and occupying all the eastern portion of Kansas. This closed the country to white settlement. And slavery, working secretly through governmental channels, felt that a free state to be formed of the land to become Kansas was permanently deferred.

In the execution of this plan the Delaware Indians were given the land in the fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers. The Shawnees were given the land on the south side of the Kansas river fronting on the state of Missouri. These tribes were seated on their new lands before the year 1830.

The Wyandots were among the last of the eastern Indians to consent to move to the West. In 1832 a delegation consisting of William Walker and other Wyandots examined the Platte purchase—all that part of Missouri west of a north and south line drawn through the mouth of the Kansas river—with a view to taking it for a Western home. I have among my papers the letter written by Governor Walker reporting on that country, but this paper must be made too brief to permit its insertion here. The Wyandots were not satisfied with the "purchase," and it was eleven years before they finally abandoned their homes at Upper Sandusky for a reservation

of 148,000 acres, but they found the tract intended for them (on the Neosho) too far from civilization. And it had been selected, too, by another tribe. There was not then a full-blood Wyandot living, the last one having died in Canada in 1820. The Wyandots were both civilized and Christianized, and they wished to live near white settlements. They made an effort to buy a home adjoining Missouri from the Shawnees, but these finally refused to sell. They then turned to the Delawares, whom they had received and wel-



WILLIAM WALKER.
Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory.

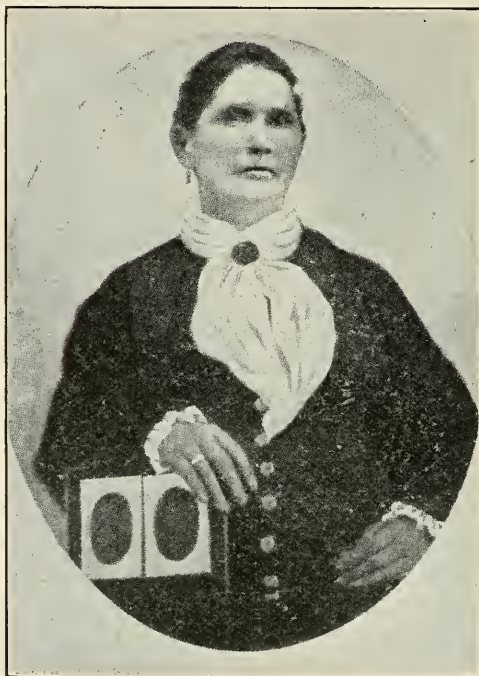
comed when those Indians were driven from Pennsylvania. The Wyandots had given them a large part of the present state of Ohio. They now agreed to sell the Wyandots thirty-six sections of land and to give them three sections, all in the immediate fork of the Missouri and Kansas rivers. For this cession the Wyandots paid the Delawares \$48,000. The line on the west side of the tract runs from river to river, beginning just west of Muncie. At the time of this purchase the Wyandots were encamped at Westport, Mo., and they immediately began to move to their new home in what is now Wyandotte county. This was in the fall of 1843. Governor Walker took the old Delaware pay house for his home. It stood on the north bank of Jersey creek, where the present Sixth street extended would strike its site. John M. Armstrong built a home just below him on the south side of the creek. Charles B. Garrett, brother-in-law to the Walkers, built a home back from Jersey creek a little, and just east of Seventh street. Driver made his home on what is

now Quindaro boulevard, about Seventh street. Matthew R. Walker built a home on the highland overlooking the Missouri, and not far from where George Fowler afterwards erected his mansion. Splitlog built a cabin on the height overlooking the Kansas river near the east end of Splitlog avenue. Silas Armstrong made his home near the south end of what was Warpole street, and Matthew Mudeater lived in the same vicinity. Isaiah Walker and Joel W. Garrett took that fine tract of Kansas river bottom at Muncie so long owned by Mr. Sanford Haff. George I. Clark, head chief, White Wing, Mrs. Hicks, the Zanes, Robatailles, and the Browns, settled along what is now Quindaro boulevard. When Abelard Guthrie came from Dayton, Ohio, to marry the beautiful Quindaro Brown he was given a tract of land just south of what was later the town site of Quindaro, or the town perhaps included some of the land of his wife, and was named for her. Thus did the Wyandots establish themselves here in this fine land. They soon erected a council house—a seat of government. It stood near the present intersection of Fourth street and Nebraska avenue.

While it is important to know where the principal men of the Wyandot nation set up their homes here, there are far more important matters to be considered. Whom were these men? What had they carried into this wilderness waste, so soon to blossom and to break into a beacon to light up the way of liberty? They were Indians of that dominating Iroquois stock which had spread itself by conquest until it was supreme in eastern America. But they were reinforced by the intermixture of white blood. This white blood was of the best in America. The Walkers were Scotch-Irish from the Shenandoah valley, as were the Browns. The Zanes were from Pennsylvania—men of affairs—and their cousins founded Wheeling, Zanesville and other towns. The Armstrongs were also from Pennsylvania. These families and others were founded by captives taken from the frontier settlements who intermarried with the Wyandot women. There was already a large infusion of French blood in the Wyandot people. When the Wyandots came to Kansas no member of the tribe was more than one-quarter Indian. The tribe was Indian; the people three-fourths white. They brought with them their church, their schools, their Masonic lodge, a code of laws for their government. They set up their institutions here. They enforced law. They executed one of their number for murder—perhaps the first legal execution in what is now Kansas. The execution was carried out on the bank of the Missouri just above the mouth of Jersey creek, and I have the death warrant and the confession of the murderer in my library.

The church which the Wyandots brought with them here was the first mission ever founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the world. It was founded at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, by John Stewart, a free negro, in the Wyandot nation in 1816. It flourished and became famous as one of the outposts of Zion. James B. Finley, Russell Bigelow and other founders of western Methodism presided over it. It was both school and church, and most of the children of the Wyandots were educated there, and those Wyandot men and women who composed the nation in 1843 had been through its educational, its civilizing and its Christianizing courses. It was the light of the nation, its central point and focus. The buildings where it had performed its functions were indeed left behind, but the church—the light, the life—was

transported to Kansas and set up here. And it grew. The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1844, shook this mission to its foundation here in its new location. But it withstood abuse, misrepresentation, temptation, governmental interference, secession, slander, arson and violence, for its feet were on the Rock of Ages, and it is to-day the Washington Avenue M. E. Church of your city—a power for good, as it had always been. I am



QUINDARO NANCY GUTHRIE. -

Wife of Abelard Guthrie. She was one-eighth Wyandot.

sure that many of its members do not know its glorious history. It should now be called The Mission, and its achievement of a century should become the inspiration to move it to extraordinary efforts in these days of doubt and materialism.

The Wyandots had been political leaders in the councils of the Red Nations for more than a century before the settlement of Ohio. The Iroquois had made conquest of the land from the shores of the present New England to the Mississippi. Their seat was in what is now New York. The Hurons had themselves been destroyed as nations by their kindred, the Iroquois. In wandering migrations and travail they had united the fragments of their tribes and had grown to be a nation known as the Wyandots. They came to be in accord with their conquering kindred because of the ominous advance of the white man. The Wyandots were set by the Iroquois to be overmasters of the Western holdings—all the country from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi.

In the wars to prevent the advance of the white man into the country of the Great Lakes and the valley of the Ohio the tribes formed the Northwestern Confederacy. At the head of this league of Indian nations stood the Wyandots. They were the keepers of the council fires.

When the Wyandots seated themselves in the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, slavery seemed more secure in its position than at any other time in the history of America. While that institution deplored the existence of the Missouri Compromise, the limitations and disadvantages of that measure had seemingly been overcome by the Indian policy of the government, then in the toils of the intrigues of the Democratic party, by the placing of the emigrant tribes on the public lands fronting on the west line of Missouri. Some of the Democrats saw danger in this expedient, especially in permitting the Wyandots to settle on the key and commanding position of the border. William C. Price, of Missouri, protested against this in the councils of his party, as he has often told me. They were more civilized and better educated than the other tribes, and they were from Northern Ohio—a country opposed to slavery. They were good business men and had abandoned the hunter life of the Indian. They would want their property to increase in value. They would desire commercial development. All their weight and influence would be toward organized government—from which they were deprived only by the western line of Missouri. So argued Judge Price and the proslavery wing of the Missouri Democracy.

Political conditions in Missouri at the time of the settlement of the Wyandots here on her western border justified the anxiety of the slavery extremists of that state. Senator Benton was drifting into Free-soilism. His party was becoming—had become—the slave party. He saw that he was to be thrown down from the high place he had held for more than a quarter of a century. His opponents realized that to depose him would require such a contest as might destroy the Democratic party in Missouri. This conflict was getting under way in 1844, and it increased in fury for the next ten years. Benton advocated the settlement of the public lands west of the emigrant tribes—the lands of central Kansas. The violent altercations on the stump and in the press were bound to have some reaction or influence on the Indian tribes along the border, and this culminated in the year 1852. I have believed that the action taken here resulted from the efforts of Senator Benton to accomplish his political purposes. The evidence justifies that belief. But I confess that I am becoming more of the mind to accept the word of Abelard Guthrie when he says he acted alone.

What was done here?

In the winter of 1851-'52, and in the spring of 1852, the emigrant Indian tribes petitioned congress to establish a territorial government over the Indian country. This movement began as far back as 1848, when a great council of all these tribes was convoked at Fort Leavenworth to consider the condition in which they found themselves. At that council the old league known as the Northwestern Confederacy was revived among the Indians. The Wyandots were confirmed in their ancient capacity of keepers of the council fire. Henceforth any movement for the future modification of conditions in their country would be likely to originate in the Wyandot nation.

When it was seen that little or no attention was given to the petition

lodged with congress, some of the Wyandots believed a more energetic course should be taken. In a communication to the *Wyandotte Gazette*, October 4, 1862, Abelard Guthrie said:

"Eighteen years ago I became a resident of what is now the state of Kansas. Ten years ago 'solitary and alone' I proposed to the people of the then territory to make an effort to secure a territorial government."

In a statement made in writing at a later date concerning this matter, Gov. William Walker said:

"The first movement looking to an organization of this territory was made in 1845. Senator Douglas, then chairman on territories, reported a bill for that purpose; but the measure not meeting with much favor with the senate, was laid aside and but little more said about the measure till the summer of 1852, when a few daring and resolute spirits in the Wyandot nation determined on making a demonstration in favor of its organization, by concerting measures for holding an election for a delegate to congress. But a serious question at home had to be solved: Who would go, if elected, and run the risk of having to pay his own expenses to, at and from Washington? as it was extremely doubtful whether the delegate so selected would be admitted to a seat. Mr. A. G. [Abelard Guthrie], a man of talents and some experience in public life, having done the state some service in other responsible positions, offered his services and was duly elected amidst the opposition of government officials, the military especially."

Whether Abelard Guthrie acted "solitary and alone" in the initiation of this movement is not of so much consequence as the fact that aggressive action was taken. He had the hearty support of the Wyandot nation, especially of Gov. William Walker. And it is unnecessary to inquire here into the influence which may have been exerted on this matter by political conditions in Missouri. Nor need we concern ourselves, for the purpose of this paper, with the agitation for the construction of a railroad from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean. It is sufficient to say that both these matters were of interest to the emigrant tribes and are among the events responsible for the organization of the provisional government of Nebraska territory.

The Wyandot nation acted first, as was expected. On the 12th day of October, 1852, an election was held in the council house of the Wyandot nation for the selection of a delegate to congress. There were thirty-five votes cast—every vote for Abelard Guthrie. This action could not be permitted to pass without a protest from the slave power, then closely watching the Indian country. In Missouri, Senator David R. Atchison, William C. Price and other intense proslavery men had in hand and keeping not only the slavery interest of Missouri, but of the South at large in those things affecting this Indian country. The government of the United States was in the hands of the Democratic party, which had been seized on and made the party of slavery. So the slave power could command the services of the military. At the instance of Senator Atchison, Mr. Guthrie was threatened with arrest by the officers at Fort Leavenworth for an attempt at "revolution." This threat he disregarded. Seeing that Guthrie was not to be intimidated, it was determined to discredit him. The military at Fort Leavenworth proclaimed a new election for delegate to congress, to be held at the fort. Guthrie stood for delegate in this election, and he defeated the military candidate by a vote of 54 to 16. Opposition to Guthrie at home then ceased, but it was revived at Washington when he appeared there. He was not admitted to a

seat in the house, but he did effective work nevertheless. He caused Willard P. Hall, member of congress from Missouri, to introduce a bill for the organization of the territory of the Platte. This bill was referred to the committee on territories, but it was never reported. William A. Richardson, of the committee, on the 2d of February, 1853, brought in a bill for the organization of Nebraska territory. The bounds of this proposed territory were the same as those in the Hall bill: On the south the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes; on the north the forty-third degree; on the west the summit of the Rocky Mountains; on the east by Missouri. The south opposed the Richardson bill, but it passed the house on the 10th of February, 1853, by a vote of 98 to 43. It failed in the senate. Thus the matter stood at the adjournment of congress, in March, 1853. But the question was up. The country was aroused. The challenge to slavery had been made by this Kansas man. The issue fraught with such mighty consequences had been made by a small tribe of Indians—the Wyandot nation, whose seat of government was in what became this city.

Both sides exerted themselves during the congressional recess. Those in favor of organizing the new territory took radical and effective measures. They determined to form a provisional government for Nebraska territory and to elect a delegate to congress who would go to Washington with the prestige of this government back of him.

In the summer of 1853 the question of the organization of Nebraska agitated the Wyandot nation far more than at any previous period. The principal men felt that they were committed to the movement and that it would prove of great benefit to the people. The government began efforts to counteract the movement in the country of the emigrant tribes. The commissioner of Indian affairs was sent out from Washington to visit the various reservations and try to hold the ground for slavery. This made it an uphill fight, for the Indians were directly under the influence, and even the control, of the commissioner—even to the Wyandots.

But the Wyandot nation did not falter. These Indians supported Guthrie. They put faith in their provisional government plan. The convention to organize this movement was appointed for a certain day. This day is not now certainly known, but it was probably about the time in August in which elections were formerly held. This was also the time for the green-corn feast. The date selected was probably August 9. The movement for constructing a railroad from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean was carried to the Indian country. A meeting in the interest of the central route for this road was appointed to be held in the council house of the nation on the 26th of July, 1853. It was decided to combine the two meetings. Delegates were requested, and the Delawares, Pottawatomies, Shawnees and Miamis were represented. Perhaps other tribes sent delegates. Friends of Senator Benton of Missouri were present. Indeed, William Gilpin, of Gilpintown, in Jackson county, prepared a series of resolutions which were found so satisfactory that they were adopted as a basic declaration on which a territorial organization should be projected. They were accepted for this purpose after their examination by the principal Wyandots and some additions had been made by Governor Walker.

Thus, on the 26th day of July, 1853, there was formed here the provisional

government of Nebraska territory. William Walker was elected governor, and George I. Clark was elected territorial secretary. The council was composed of R. C. Miller, Isaac Mundy and M. R. Walker. Abelard Guthrie was nominated for delegate to congress.

The new government acted at once and with vigor. The election for congressional delegate was called for the second Tuesday in October. The commissioner of Indian affairs became active in the slavery interest. It was known that Guthrie would favor a free state. It was necessary to find a candidate who would stand for slavery. The choice fell upon Rev. Thomas Johnson, then in charge of the Shawnee Manual Labor School, a short distance from Westport. Some of the poll books of this remarkable election are now part of my private library. They show that the work of the Indian commissioner was effective. In the Miami precinct (now Paola) Johnson received 50 votes; Guthrie none. The Wyandots stood by Guthrie. The vote there stood: Guthrie, 33; Johnson, 18. In Governor Walker's journal, Monday, October 21, 1853, this entry appears:

"I suppose we may safely set down Thomas Johnson's election for delegate as certain. It is not at all surprising, when we look at the fearful odds between the opposing candidates. Mr. Guthrie had only his personal friends to support him with their votes and influence, while the former had the whole power of the federal government, the presence and active support of the commissioner of Indian affairs, the military, the Indian agent, Missionaries, Indian traders, etc.—a combination that is irresistible."

Hadley D. Johnson, of Iowa, led over an invasion of illegal voters from his state and had them vote for him at what is now Nebraska City. Guthrie and the two Johnsons knocked for admission to the floor of the house. Neither of them gained the seat. But the organization of the Nebraska country—the old Nebraska—into territories was accomplished at that session of congress. Abelard Guthrie had accomplished his purpose—had accomplished all he had hoped to do. Although he was never admitted to a seat in congress, he had moved that body to do his will.

Now, what did the movement started here by Abelard Guthrie and supported by the Wyandot nation do?

It forced the hand of the slave power.

It forced the slave power to release its deadly hold on Kansas—free territory by the Missouri Compromise.

It forced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

It forced the organization of Kansas and Nebraska territories.

It precipitated the final conflict between freedom and slavery.

It caused the defeat of slavery in the new territory of Kansas. Its defeat here caused its overthrow in America.

It caused the formation of the Republican party.

In fact, the movement started here in Old Wyandot—Kansas City, Kan.—changed the destiny of this nation.

In 1861 Mr. Guthrie filed with Congress a claim for his expenses and per diem as delegate to congress in this movement. He wrote a letter to the chairman of the committee having the consideration of his claim, in which he said:

"Allow me also, if you please, to submit the following propositions:

"If your committee have any sufficient evidence, or can obtain any, that it was the intention of the party then in power, or any other party, to organize

this territory within any reasonable or definite period, I will abandon my claim.

"If the committee have any sufficient evidence, or can procure any, that there was any other course as likely to succeed in securing an organization as that of sending to congress a man acquainted with the condition, wants, soil, climate and resources of the territory, I will give up my claim.

"If the committee have any sufficient evidence, or can get any, that it was not the design of the slave power to secure this territory, by quiet and stealthy legislation, and colonization, for the benefit of its favorite institution, I will abandon my claim. But here I wish you to examine the law of 30, June, 1834, annexing this territory to the state of Missouri for judicial purposes; and the law of 1836, annexing to the same state forever and for all purposes the very large and fertile portion of this territory lying between the Iowa state line and the Missouri river, cutting us off entirely from contiguous free territory, the effects of which were disastrously felt during our civil troubles, and to the present day; and also to the several abortive attempts of the late Mr. Douglas to organize this territory.

"If the committee have any sufficient evidence, or can obtain any, that this territory would not eventually have been received into the Union as a slave state under the skillful management and well-matured plans of southern statesmen and their northern friends, I will abandon my claim.

"If the committee have any evidence, or can get any, that my movement for a government for Nebraska did not frustrate this design, I will abandon my claim.

"If your committee have any sufficient evidence, or can obtain any, that the Republican party would have been in existence but for this very act of mine in forcing upon the consideration of congress the policy of erecting a territorial government over this magnificent region (which the slave power had already practically grasped, and was guarding with jealous care), I will abandon all claim to per diem and mileage."

If a community is to be rated in historical importance by the origin in it of vital and momentous forces for good, Kansas City, Kan., is the first city in Kansas in this regard. Lawrence, Topeka, Leavenworth and all the towns which figured so extensively and fought so well in the border war, were but consequences of the movement which started in old Wyandotte. Historic importance in directions approved by the people ought to become the source of pride. It ought to become the basis for moral, social and political achievement. The history of this town should become one of its chief assets. The history of this city should be taught in your schools. You have here a great asset for civic pride, moral strength, and even commercial value, which you neglect. I think you have not realized its worth. Perhaps your citizens do not know of the great things which had their origin here. You should teach them. You should erect monuments. One of Abelard Guthrie and one of William Walker, each of bronze and of heroic size, should stand in Huron place. One of marble to the Wyandot nation should rise in the old Huron cemetery. One of granite a hundred feet high should be builded in the crossing of Fourth street and Nebraska avenue. On it should be this inscription: "Here began the final battle in America against slavery and for freedom."

In conclusion I will say that in Kansas there are a number of towns and communities which stand as beacons along the way of human progress. There is one glory of Topeka, another glory of Lawrence, and another glory of the Marais des Cygnes. The glory of one differeth from the glory of another. And above them all shines the glory of old Wyandotte—this town—Kansas City, Kan. She struck the first effective blow in this western land for liberty.

THE COMING OF PROHIBITION TO KANSAS.¹

By CLARA FRANCIS, Librarian, Kansas State Historical Society.

[There has been a strong demand for material on the temperance movement in Kansas—that great movement which led to the passage of the prohibitory amendment through the legislature of 1879 and its final acceptance through the vote of the people of the state at the election of 1880. Much has been said and written of this great issue, but in a fragmentary sort of way; therefore an effort has here been made to bring together certain materials so that a consecutive story of the coming of prohibition to Kansas might be more widely available.

No exhaustive story of the enforcement of the prohibitory amendment in Kansas has yet been written. It was a picturesque epoch in the history of the state, as well as a troubled one, and should receive attention at the hands of students. The Historical Society has a wealth of material on the subject, and some day an account of the struggles of the officers of the state to enforce the laws governing the liquor traffic will be written.]

PROHIBITION in Kansas was no sudden uprising of a people against the liquor traffic; no movement of a few fanatics, long-haired men and short-haired women; nor should it be attributed to a puritanical desire to legislate morals into a state. Rather it was a crystallization of the slowly developed sentiment of a majority of the people in Kansas into an expression on the dramshop laws under which the liquor traffic was operated.

That Kansas should have been the first state to incorporate a prohibitory amendment in her constitution is not unique. She was zealously striving for a better liquor law; she had the benefit of the experience of other states. And furthermore, she was young; and had no traditions to violate and few precedents to follow. With her the times were plastic. One of her enemies was the liquor traffic, and with a vision far beyond her years she started out to destroy it.

Between the passage of the prohibitory amendment and the vote upon it nearly two years elapsed. And they were two years of strife, each faction contending vigorously for its own belief. There was not a household in which prohibition and antiprohibition were not discussed; there was not a pulpit from which the principles of temperance were not heard; there was not a platform whereon the advocates of one side or the other had not expounded their views. The newspapers argued the question pro and con, sometimes with extreme bitterness, and sometimes with tranquil earnestness and justice, desiring only the "greatest good to the greatest number."

It was the people who were to decide this question, and it was the people who were thinking deeply upon it. The vote was the final word of the people of the whole state, not of any one locality, nor of any one nativity, for it came from a population that had been drawn from nearly every quarter of the United States; and to attribute the result to any one faction or set of people is to make a great mistake. Public opinion is easily traced, and to follow it on the temperance movement in Kansas needs no special insight. But to understand its growth one should begin at the very beginning.

1. This article is republished from Connelley's "Kansas and Kansans," vol. 2, p. 788, Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago, 1916.

Whatever sentiment of prohibition and extreme restraint of the liquor traffic was shown in the legislature of 1855 had to do with the Indians and followed this paragraph from the message of Governor Reeder:

"The presence in our territory of so large a number of Indians, interspersed as they are with the white population, adds a feature to the indiscriminate sale of intoxicating liquors which does not exist in other communities. A portion of them indulge upon almost every opportunity in the excessive use of ardent spirits, and the friends and enemies of prohibition who are acquainted with the Indian character and its frenzied developments under the influence of intoxication will probably all unite in the admission that special precautions in this respect are necessary, as well for the protection of the Indian against degradation, as of the whites against violence. The more estimable members of most of the tribes are using their influence to check this evil, and we should second their efforts, as well for our sake as their own."

Of the several petitions presented to the legislature praying for the passage of a law which would prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors among the Indians, the most noteworthy is that of George McDougal, Graham Rogers, Captain Blackhoof and William Rogers—all Shawnee Indians.

The outcome of this agitation was the passage of a law entitled "*An act to restrain intercourse with the Indians.*" This law prohibited the introduction and sale of liquor and its manufacture in the Indian country, and defined the term Indian country to mean the "several Indian reservations within this territory, held by Indians in their tribal character."

The dramshop law of 1855, taken bodily from the Missouri statutes, was a local-option law, and a reasonably good one, even though one of the execrated "bogus laws." Because it was the first liquor law effective in Kansas through the action of the territorial legislature, and because all further action in restraint of dramshops was based upon it, it is here given in full:

AN ACT to restrain dramshops and taverns, and to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors.
Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the territory of Kansas, as follows:

SECTION 1. A special election is hereby ordered to be held on the first Monday of October, in the year of 1855, and on the first Monday of October every two years thereafter, in each municipal township in every county in the territory, and in each incorporated city or town in the territory, to take the vote of the people upon the question whether dramshops and tavern licenses shall be issued in the said township, incorporated city or town, for the next two years thereafter.

SEC. 2. At said election polls shall be opened at the usual place of voting in each township, incorporated city, or town, which shall be headed as follows, respectively: "In favor of dramshop," "Against dramshop;" and if the voting shall be by ballot, ballots shall be inscribed as above, respectively.

SEC. 3. At such election all the qualified voters of the township, or of any incorporated city or town, shall be allowed to vote in such township, or incorporated city or town, and not elsewhere.

SEC. 4. Upon election being held, the tribunal transacting county business for the several counties in the territory shall examine, ascertain and adjudge in what township, incorporated city or town, a majority of all the qualified voters of said township, incorporated city or town, have voted affirmatively in favor of dramshops in said township, incorporated city, or town, and thereupon, the tribunal transacting county business in the respective counties in

the territory may, during the next ensuing two years, grant license to dramshops, tavern keepers and grocers, to such persons and under such restrictions as are hereinafter designated and provided.

SEC. 5. For and during the two years next ensuing the said election, no dramshop or tavern license shall be granted to any person within any township, incorporated city, or town, unless a majority of the votes polled at said election shall declare in favor of granting said license.

SEC. 6. Before a dramshop license, tavern license, or grocer license shall be granted to any person applying for the same, such person shall present to the tribunal transacting county business a petition or recommendation signed by a majority of the householders of the township; if in the county in which such dramshop, tavern or grocery is to be kept, or if the same is to be kept in an incorporated city or town, a petition signed by a majority of the householders of the block or square in which said dramshop or tavern or grocery is to be kept, recommending such person as a fit person to keep the same, and requesting that a license be granted to him for such purpose.

SEC. 7. The city authorities of an incorporated town in this territory, authorized by its charter to grant dramshop or tavern license or grocers' license, shall only grant such license to persons who have previously secured a similar license from the tribunal transacting county business for the county in which said city or town is situated.

SEC. 8. Upon every license granted to a dramshop keeper and upon any license granted to a tavern keeper or grocer, there shall be levied a tax of not less than ten dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, for county purposes, for period of twelve months, the amount of tax to be determined by the tribunal granting the license.

SEC. 9. If any person who, without taking out and having a license as grocer, dramshop keeper or tavern keeper, shall, directly or indirectly, sell any spirituous, vinous, or fermented or other intoxicating liquors, shall be fined in any sum not less than one hundred dollars for each offense; and any person convicted of violating this provision shall, for every second or subsequent offense, be fined in a sum not less than the above named, and shall in addition thereto be imprisoned in the county jail not less than five nor more than thirty days.

SEC. 10. Any person, having license as aforesaid, who shall sell any intoxicating liquor to any slave without the consent of the master, owner or overseer of such slave, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined in a sum not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail not less than ten nor more than thirty days, and shall, upon conviction, forfeit his license; and no license as grocer, dramshop keeper or tavern keeper shall again be granted to said person during the two years ensuing the said conviction.

SEC. 11. Any person who shall keep open any ale, beer, or porter house, grocery, dramshop or tippling house, or shall sell or retail any fermented, distilled or other intoxicating liquors, on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, shall on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of misdemeanor, and fined in a sum not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, and shall be imprisoned in the county jail not less than ten days nor more than thirty days; if such person is licensed as grocer, dramshop keeper, or tavern keeper, he shall, in addition to the above provisions, forfeit said license, and shall not again be allowed to obtain a license under the law for a period of two years next after conviction.

SEC. 12. Before any person shall be licensed as a dramshop keeper or grocer, or tavern keeper, under the provisions of this act, he shall execute to the tribunal transacting county business, in favor of the county where he appeals for a license, a bond in the sum of two thousand dollars, with at least two securities, to be approved by the court, conditioned that he will not keep a disorderly house; that he will not sell, or permit to be sold, any intoxicating liquors to any slave without the consent of the master, owner or

overseer of such slave; that he will not keep his dramshop, tavern or grocery open on Sundays; nor will he sell, allow to be sold, thereat, on Sunday, directly or indirectly, any intoxicating liquor; and upon said person being convicted of any of the offenses enumerated therein, suit may be brought against said principal and securities, to recover the amount of the fine or fines adjudged against him on said conviction, in any court of competent jurisdiction.

This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

This law was in force for four years, or until 1859, when the general revision did away with these so-called "bogus laws." Some scattered communities, however, had not been content with its provisions. Desiring more stringent measures, they had sought to accomplish prohibition by organizing towns wherein the sale of liquor was prohibited, and where a clause inserted in the deeds revoked the title should liquor ever be sold in any building erected on the property. Emporia was one of these towns; Topeka and Baldwin were others.

In casting about for the first glimmerings of prohibition in Kansas there arises for consideration the social movement involved in various lodges and secret societies. During the period between 1855 and 1859 there were such orders organized through the territory, and most of them embodied temperance pledges in their constitutions. These lodges were often the only social outlet of remote groups of people; therefore the membership was large and the interest keen. Essentially, their share in fostering temperance sentiment was no inconsiderable one.

THE TOPEKA MOVEMENT.

The Topeka legislature, authorized by the Topeka constitution, had temperance brought to its notice immediately upon its assembling. This was the free-state movement which so long stood in opposition to the cause of the general government, and which represented the real sentiment of the people of Kansas. The legislature convened on March 4, 1856, and the next day the house was asked for the use of convention hall, its place of meeting, for a temperance meeting. This request was granted. On the 11th the following memorial on the subject of prohibition was presented to the house by John Brown, jr., one of its members. This memorial came from fifty-six women of Topeka, and on motion of Mr. Tuton was accepted, and on motion of Mr. William Crosby was referred to the committee on vice and immorality.

To the Honourable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Kansas:

The undersigned, your memorialists, citizens of Kansas, and the wives and daughters of your constituents beg leave respectfully to present to your honourable body that in the opinion of your memorialists the public interests require that suitable laws be immediately passed to prevent the manufacture and importation for sale or use as a beverage within the state of Kansas of any distilled or malt liquors.

It is not necessary for us, in view of your own observations and the united testimony of all experience, to enter into a minute discussion of the evils resulting to all classes of society from the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage. Ever since the first manufacture it has been the aim of legislators to pass restraining laws. To prevent its use each year in the older states of the Union new enactments have been found necessary, until the statute books have become literally loaded down with provisions on this subject.

It was not until within a few years that the true method was devised for its eradication, and then those imaginary rights long established and entrenched behind the bulwark of law, and even of state constitutions, were found in the

way of an effectual remedy. Not so in Kansas; here every thing is new, and those privileges acquired by law and long-established customs do not exist. No one can point to the precedent of several generations to sustain him in doing that which he frankly admits to be a wrong upon society. Here in Kansas we are laying the foundation of a new society, and you, as the first law-making power recognized by the people, should examine with the greatest circumspection the evils existing in older states, and by wise and judicious enactments protect the moral and social interests of the community. You will not [attempt] to pass by or neglect the enacting of stringent laws for the sale of lottery tickets, the selling of unwholesome food, the adulterating of flour, etc.

How then can you fail to give attention to a subject which impoverishes a whole nation, brings wretchedness and misery in its train, fills the land with mourning, and sends the widow's wail and orphan's sob to heaven for relief.

Into the plastic material which you have the power to mold into form and clothe with lineaments and breath, and in view of the great suffering entailed on us, the females of the state who are unable by persuasion and kindness to influence those we love in the channel which leads to temperance, prosperity and happiness, and in view of their oft-repeated declarations that if the destroyer could be removed from their sight and reach they would abstain from its use, we therefore urgently but respectfully pray you to take our memorial into consideration and enact such laws in consonance with its spirit which your wisdom may suggest.

(Signed) MRS. L. M. MOORE and 55 Others,
The Ladies of Topeka.

A second memorial was presented by Mr. Brown, on March 12, from ninety women of Lawrence, "praying the passage of stringent prohibitory laws in relation to the sale and use of intoxicating liquors." This memorial was likewise referred to the committee on vice and immorality. No further action was taken on these petitions, for on March 15 the legislature took a recess until July 4, when it convened, only to be dispersed immediately after roll call by Colonel Sumner and his command, on the order of the government of the United States.

Women, however, were not the only early temperance workers, nor was all the strength of the movement found in petitions. There were men who were willing to go to some lengths to keep the liquor traffic in bounds. In the spring of 1856 a Missourian opened a saloon in Big Springs. The few inhabitants protested in vain. He continued his business, apparently secure in the protection of his friends. Finally, failing to dislodge him by more peaceful means, forty men went to his establishment, took out three barrels of whisky and burned them. The agitation on the question of temperance had had its effect on this little community of Douglas county. From this time on the destruction of liquor by an exasperated community was not of infrequent occurrence. In this instance the man's nativity doubtless militated strongly against him.

Topeka, a little later, was likewise the scene of a "whisky riot." In spite of a provision made by the Topeka association against the sale of intoxicating liquors, saloons had opened in the town, but had been quickly put out of business. In the spring of 1857 a liquor establishment of some pretensions was opened on Kansas avenue. Because of the capital invested in stock and equipment a good deal of uneasiness was felt, and there was some hesitation manifested as to the wisdom of attempting to deal with it as its forerunners had been dealt with. However, an altercation brought matters

to a climax. One of the patrons in a half-drunken rage began the smashing. No sooner had the sound of the fray traveled through the open windows and doors than assistance rallied to him. Barrels were rolled into the street, the heads knocked in and the contents emptied into the gutters.

When everything had been destroyed the raiders went on to another place where beer was known to be stored and poured that into the street. Uncontrollably excited, they pursued their quest through the town, visiting every place where the slightest suspicion could rest. Blood was spilled as well as liquor, and lawsuits grew out of this wholesale destruction. It was said that over \$1,500 worth of property was smashed and poured out.

THE ACT OF 1859.

Upon the revision of the laws in 1859 the dramshop law was much changed and became more difficult of enforcement, as will be noted by a careful reading of its provisions:

AN ACT to restrain dramshops and taverns, and to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors.
Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That, before a dramshop license, tavern license or grocery license shall be granted to any person applying for the same, such person, if applying for a township license, shall present to the tribunal transacting county business, a petition of recommendation, signed by a majority of the householders of the township or the county in which such dramshop, tavern or grocery is to be kept, or, if the same is to be kept in an incorporated city or town, then to the city council thereof, a petition, signed by a majority of the householders, of the ward in which said dramshop, or tavern, or grocery is to be kept, recommending such person a fit person to keep the same, and requesting that a license be granted to him for such purpose.

SEC. 2. That upon every license granted to a dramshop keeper, and upon every license granted to a tavern keeper or grocery, there shall be levied a tax of not less than fifty dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, for every period of twelve months, the amount of tax to be determined by the tribunal granting the license. The said tax to be paid into the treasury of the county or city granting such license. And it shall be the duty of the board of county supervisors to appropriate all moneys received for license under this act for the benefit of the township in which such license was granted.

SEC. 3. That any person, without taking out and having a license as grocer, dramshop keeper, or tavern keeper, who shall, directly or indirectly, sell any spirituous, vinous or fermented, or other intoxicating liquors, shall be fined in any sum not more than one hundred dollars for each offense, and any person convicted of violating these provisions shall, for every second or subsequent offense, be fined a sum not more than the above named, or may be indicted for a misdemeanor, and fined not less than five hundred dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail not more than six months.

SEC. 4. That any person who shall keep open any porter, ale, or beer house, grocery, dramshop or tipling house, or shall sell or retail any fermented, distilled or intoxicating liquors on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, the fourth of July, or upon election day, shall, on conviction thereof be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and fined a sum not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, and be imprisoned in the county jail not less than ten nor more than thirty days. If such person is licensed as a grocer, dramshop keeper, or tavern keeper, he shall, in addition to the above provisions, forfeit his license, and shall not again be allowed to obtain a license under the law for the period of two years next after conviction.

SEC. 5. That, before any person shall be licensed as a dramshop keeper, or grocer, or tavern keeper, under the provisions of this act, he shall execute,

to the tribunal granting such license, a bond, in the sum of two thousand dollars, with at least two securities, to be approved by said tribunal, conditioned that he will not keep a disorderly house; that he will not sell or permit to be sold any intoxicating liquors to any minor without the consent of the guardian of such minor; that he will not keep his dramshop, tavern or grocery open on Sundays, fourth of July, or any election day, nor will he sell or allow to be sold thereat, on Sunday, fourth of July, or any election day, directly or indirectly, any intoxicating liquors; and, upon said person being convicted of any of the offenses enumerated therein, suit may be brought against said principal and securities, to recover the amount of the fine or fines adjudged against him on said conviction, in any court of competent jurisdiction.

SEC. 6. That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons, by agent or otherwise, to sell intoxicating liquors to persons intoxicated or who are in the habit of getting intoxicated, or any married man, against the known wishes of his wife.

SEC. 7. That all places where intoxicating liquors are sold, in violation of this act, shall be taken, held and declared to be common nuisances, and all rooms, taverns, eating houses, bazaars, restaurants, groceries, coffee houses, cellars or other places of public resort, where intoxicating liquors are sold in violation of this act, shall be shut up and abated as public nuisances.

SEC. 8. That it shall be unlawful for any person to get intoxicated, and every person found in a state of intoxication shall, upon conviction thereof before any justice of the peace, be fined the sum of five dollars.

SEC. 9. That every person who shall, by the sale of intoxicating liquors, cause the intoxication of any other person, such person or persons shall be liable for and compelled to pay a reasonable compensation to any person who may take charge of and provide for such intoxicated person, and one dollar per day in addition thereto for every day such intoxicated person shall be kept in consequence of such intoxication, which sum may be recovered by a civil action before any court having jurisdiction.

SEC. 10. That every wife, child, parent, guardian, employer, or other person, who shall be injured in person or property or means of support, by any intoxicated person or in consequence of intoxication, habitual or otherwise, of any person, such wife, child, parent, guardian, employer or other person shall have a right of action in his or her own hand against any person who shall by selling intoxicating liquors, have caused the intoxication of such person for all damages actually sustained, as well as exemplary damages; and a married woman shall have right to bring suits, prosecute and control the same and the amount recovered, the same as if a *feme sole*, and all damages recovered by a minor under this act shall be paid either to such minor or to his or her parents, guardian or next friend, as the court shall direct, and all suits for damages, under this act, shall be by civil action in any of the courts of this territory having jurisdiction thereof.

SEC. 11. That the giving away of intoxicating liquors or other shifts or devices, to evade the provisions of this act, shall be deemed and held to be an unlawful selling within the provisions of this act.

SEC. 12. That for all fines and costs assessed against any person or persons for any violation of this act, the real estate and personal property of such person or persons of every kind, without exemption, shall be liable for the payment thereof, and such fines and costs shall be a lien upon such real estate until paid; and, in case any persons shall rent or lease any building or premises, and knowingly suffer the same to be used and occupied for the sale of intoxicating liquors, contrary to this act, such building and premises so leased and occupied shall be held liable for and may be sold to pay all fines and costs assessed against the person occupying such building or premises for any violation of this act.

SEC. 13. In all prosecutions under this act, by indictment or otherwise, it shall not be necessary to state the kind of liquors sold, but shall be neces-

sary to describe the place where sold, and for any violation of the fourth or fifth sections, it shall not be necessary to state the names of any person to whom sold, and, in all cases, the person or persons to whom intoxicating liquors shall be sold, in violation of this act, shall be competent witnesses, to prove such fact or any other tending thereto.

SEC. 14. Justices of the peace shall have jurisdiction and take cognizance of offences under this act, and shall have authority to impose fines not to exceed one hundred dollars, or to bind over for appearance at the proper court, under the act concerning criminal procedure.

SEC. 15. All corporated cities, containing one thousand inhabitants or more, shall be entirely exempt from the operations of this act, and such cities shall have full power to regulate licenses for all purposes and dispose of the proceeds thereof.

SEC. 16 This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage. Approved February 11, 1859.

The exemption of all incorporated towns of 1,000 or more inhabitants did not meet with unqualified approval, and other provisions of the law failed to entirely satisfy the temperance people. There was a strong sentiment among them for a law so stringent that prohibition of the liquor traffic would result.

THE WYANDOTTE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

In the meantime the constitutional convention was soon to meet at Wyandotte, and some expression of the already strong temperance sentiment in the territory was looked for there. Without disappointment it came on July 11, 1859, when Mr. John Ritchey, a delegate from Shawnee county, introduced the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the constitution of the state of Kansas shall confer power on the legislature to prohibit the introduction, manufacture, or sale of spirituous liquors within the state."

On motion of Mr. Blunt, this resolution was referred to the committee on legislative department. On July 23 the matter came up for discussion, when Mr. H. D. Preston, of Burlingame, offered the following section:

"SEC. —. The legislature shall have power to regulate or prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors, except for mechanical and medicinal purposes."

A motion was made to table the section, but it failed to carry, and a warm discussion followed. Solon O. Thacher, of Lawrence, was opposed to the section. He held that it would be a grievous mistake to load special legislation on the constitution, believing that it would tend to defeat it before the people. And that if eventually a prohibitory law was demanded by the people the legislature could, and should, pass such an act, but that enemies of the constitution would be only too glad to seize upon a provision of that kind. He closed his argument with an appeal:

"Don't let us jeopardize the interests of our party by bringing in questions of this kind. In New York it was sought to be inserted there, but it was opposed by the strongest temperance men in the state, upon the ground that it was not in the issue at all. The great issue with us being freedom or slavery, let us settle this question. I beg of you not to incorporate a handle for our enemies to employ against us. Leave it to the legislature, and let us pass upon our legitimate business."

One of those strongly in favor of the sections was William Hutchinson, the newspaper correspondent, and delegate to the convention from Shawnee county. Among other things he said:

" . . . I believe there is some necessity for the passage of this section. If it were true that we are to struggle forever for the freedom of Kansas; if it were true that the one question of slavery was to be kept forever alive in Kansas, then I would like to see nothing but what would bring 'nigger' before our eyes; but I believe there are questions of the utmost importance which will come before us, as well as that question. If we are looking to the future moral as well as political well-being of Kansas, let us throw a guard around it while the power is in our hands. It can do no harm. I doubt whether there is a man in the whole state who will vote against the constitution in consequence of a provision of that kind."

Another delegate opposed to the section was J. G. Blunt, of Leavenworth. He objected to voting down the constitution by loading it with extraneous issues, and maintained that the history of the temperance cause in the United States had proved that little good ever resulted from attempting to legislate upon it in this way. "The legislature has jurisdiction over this matter and has authority to pass stringent laws upon the subject." Mr. J. M. Winchell, the president of the convention, was likewise opposed to it, believing the section to be unnecessary.

Mr. Preston objected to Mr. Thacher's arguments, and in defense of the section said:

"I want to know if we have not several articles in substance like this already in the constitution, saying the legislature shall have power to do this thing and that thing. If the legislature has power to act without special constitutional enactment, why not say that they shall have power to do what they please? If the legislature should ever want to enact a liquor law, I suggest that there should not be anything in their way."

Mr. Stinson, of Leavenworth, made the statement "that in Maine, where there is no constitutional provision, a law has been declared constitutional more stringent than any you will get here."

After some further argument Mr. Preston withdrew the section, and the discussion of the subject of temperance legislation was dropped in the Wyandotte constitutional convention.

GROWTH OF TEMPERANCE SENTIMENT.

During the years following, temperance sentiment continued to grow and agitation went on. There were "liquor spillings" here and there, and various other forms of dissatisfaction were manifested. In 1860 an act was passed by the territorial legislature prohibiting the sale, exchange, gift or barter of spirituous liquors or wine to any Indian within the territory unless directed by a physician for medical purposes. A heavy penalty was attached to any violation of this law. By this time the Indians had become so adept at evasions and excuses to obtain whisky that there was great need of this enactment, and it was but a matter of protection for them.

On October 9, 1861, occurred the first annual meeting of the Kansas State Temperance Society, and the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

Resolved, That we look to the churches of our state for earnest coöperation in the work of temperance, and we suggest that self-defense will demand total abstinence from intoxicating drinks as a beverage as one test of membership.

Resolved, That we invite and expect all ministers of the gospel to actively support our cause, and hope that in every part of the state they will take immediate steps to organize auxiliary societies.

Resolved, That every friend of temperance should labor for the enactment of a law prohibiting the sale of all alcoholic drinks as a beverage in our state.

Resolved, That the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage should be put upon a par with other crimes, and be punished as severely at least as theft.

Resolved, That the practice of using domestic wines in families is deleterious to the interests of the temperance cause.

Resolved, That as temperance men we discountenance the use and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage by refusing our patronage to those who engage in their manufacture and sale, especially by refusing to dispose of our products for their manufacture.

The personnel of this convention is interesting, names appearing that had been known to the territory from the beginning. These men were those who had helped in the free-state movement, who had been members of the territorial assemblies, and who had been prominent in various other ways. Dr. Amory Hunting was senior vice president; H. M. Green was secretary *pro tem*. Among the new officers elected that year were J. P. Root, H. A. Seaver, Abraham Ellis, who afterwards was known as "Bullet-hole Ellis," on account of a bullet hole in his forehead which he received at the hands of Quantrill on March 7, 1862. Benoni Wheat, W. W. Updegraff, J. C. Douglas, F. W. Giles, J. C. Burnett, a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, and Dr. Peter McVicar—all representative citizens and coming from then widely scattered communities.

It was during the Civil War that a precedent for Carrie Nation and her hatchet was established by the women of Mound City. It had been an unwritten law that no saloons should exist in the town. But an enterprising individual, seeing what he thought a good opening on account of a command of soldiers stationed near by, came into the village and started a barroom. It of course became an intolerable nuisance to the citizens. Drunken soldiers were a common sight. Practically all of the able-bodied men were in the army, so the women undertook to cope with the situation. One morning a wagonload of women from the direction of Moneka, a village a mile and a half northwest of Mound City, drove into town. They carried with them hatchets and axes, and were soon joined by a squad of their Mound City sisters. The company marched straight to the open door of the saloon and filed in. Some one made a move to intervene, but was promptly stopped by a revolver in the hands of a bystander, who told him he would shoot if he attempted to interfere with the women. The women drove out the barkeepers and the loungers, and then deliberately broke every bottle, glass and decanter in sight and knocked in the heads of every barrel and keg. Having completed their work, they filed out and went to their homes, and a saloon was no more in Mound City, for the result was a prohibition that prohibited for many years without assistance of law or courts.

By 1866 so strongly were people becoming imbued with temperance principles that a measurable prohibition of the liquor traffic was being enforced in many of the counties of the state and in several of the cities of the third class. This year saw the enactment of a special law for the benefit of the public schools of the town of Humboldt, in Allen county. The money derived

from the granting of a dramshop license was to be turned to the use of the schools in that village—a vicarious good to grow from ill-gotten gains. This plan was also followed in some other localities.

The winter of 1866-'67 found distinguished speakers from abroad working in the temperance cause in Kansas. One of them, Dr. Charles Jewett, of Connecticut, lectured in Topeka during the session of the legislature. All this was inclined to stimulate legislative activity along the line of temperance, and that winter (1867) the dramshop act of 1859 was amended. The change in section 1 of the law was a distinct advance, providing, as it did, that the petition or recommendation presented to the county tribunal for a township license must be signed by a majority of both *male* and *female* residents of the township, of twenty-one years of age or over. If the petition was for a town or city it must contain the signatures of a majority of the residents of the ward of twenty-one years of age or over, both *male* and *female*, before its presentation to the city council. Section 2 was amended in the amount of tax levied—"not less than \$50 nor more more than \$500 for every period of twelve months." Section 15 was repealed. This section exempted all corporate cities of 1,000 or more inhabitants from the operation of the act, and gave them the power to regulate licenses and dispose of the proceeds derived therefrom.

There was likewise passed at this session of the legislature an act prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in the unorganized counties of the state. The penalty for violation of this law was a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000, or confinement in jail for a term of not less than four nor more than twelve months.

THE LAW OF 1868.

By legislative act approved February 18, 1867, the appointment of a commission was authorized to revise and codify the laws. Their report was adopted by the legislature of 1868; and on March 3, 1868, "An act to restrain dramshops and taverns and to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors" was approved. The basis for this law was the law of 1859, amended in 1867, and, as will be seen, it differed very little from the law of 1859.

AN ACT to restrain dramshops and taverns, and to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1. Before a dramshop license, tavern license or grocery license shall be granted to any person applying for the same, such person, if applying for a township license, shall present to the tribunal transacting county business a petition or recommendation, signed by a majority of the residents of the township, of twenty-one years of age and over, both male and female, in which such dramshop, tavern, or grocery is to be kept; or if the same is to be kept in any incorporated city or town, then to the city council thereof, a petition signed by a majority of the residents of the ward, of twenty-one years of age and over, both male and female, in which said dramshop, tavern, or grocery is [to be] kept, recommending such person as a fit person to keep the same, and requesting that a license be granted to him for such purpose: *Provided*, That the corporate authorities of cities of the first and second class may, by ordinance, dispense with the petition mentioned in this section.

SEC. 2. Upon every license granted to a dramshop keeper, and upon every license granted to a tavern keeper or grocery keeper, there shall be levied a tax of not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars for every period of twelve months; the amount of the tax to be determined by the tribunal granting the license; the said tax to be paid into the treasury

of the county or city granting such license. And it shall be the duty of the board of county commissioners to appropriate all moneys received by such tribunal for license under this act, for the benefit of the township in which such license was granted; and all incorporated cities shall appropriate the moneys received by such cities for license under this act, as the council thereof may provide.

SEC. 3. Any person, without taking out and having a license as grocer, dramshop keeper or tavern keeper, who shall, directly, or indirectly, sell any spirituous, vinous or fermented or other intoxicating liquors, shall be fined in any sum not more than one hundred dollars for each offense; and any person convicted of violating these provisions, shall, for every second or subsequent offense be indicted for a misdemeanor, and fined not less than five hundred dollars and imprisoned in the county jail not more than six months.

SEC. 4. Any person who shall keep open any porter, ale or beer house, grocery, dramshop or tippling house, or shall sell or retail any fermented, distilled or intoxicating liquors on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, the fourth of July, or upon any election day, shall, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and fined a sum not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than hundred dollars or be imprisoned in the county jail not less than ten nor more [than] thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment. If such person is licensed as a grocer, dramshop keeper or tavern keeper, he shall, in addition to the above provision, forfeit his license, and shall not again be allowed to obtain a license under the law for the period of two years next after conviction.

SEC. 5. Before any person shall be licensed as a dramshop keeper, or grocer, or tavern keeper under the provisions of this act, he shall execute to the tribunal granting such license a bond to the sum of two thousand dollars, with at least two securities, to be approved by said tribunal, conditioned that he will not keep a disorderly house; that he will not sell or permit to be sold any intoxicating liquors to any minor, without the consent of the guardian of such minor; that he will not keep his dramshop, tavern, or grocery open on Sundays, fourth or July, or any election day, nor will he sell or allow to be sold thereat, on Sunday, fourth of July, or any election day, directly or indirectly, any intoxicating liquors; and, upon said person being convicted of any of the offenses enumerated therein, suit may be brought against said principal and securities, to recover the amount of fine or fines adjudged against him on said conviction, in any court of competent jurisdiction.

SEC. 6. Every person who shall, directly or indirectly, knowingly sell, barter or give away any intoxicating liquor to any person who is in the habit of being intoxicated, after notice shall have been given him by the wife, child, parent, brother or sister of such person, or by any civil officer charged with the care and custody of the poor of the township, city or ward where he resides, that such person is in the habit of being intoxicated, or to any person in a state of intoxication, or to any minor without the consent of his parents or guardian, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not less than five nor more than one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment not less than ten nor more than sixty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 7. All places where intoxicating liquors are sold, in violation of this act, shall be taken, held and declared to be common nuisances; and all rooms, taverns, eating houses, bazaars, restaurants, groceries, coffeehouses, cellars or other places of public resort, where intoxicating liquors are sold in violation of this act, shall be shut up and abated as public nuisances.

SEC. 8. It shall be unlawful for any person to get intoxicated; and every person found in a state of intoxication shall, upon conviction thereof, before any justice of the peace, be fined the sum of five dollars.

SEC. 9. Every person who shall, by sale, barter or gift of intoxicating liquors, cause the intoxication of any other person, such person or persons

shall be liable for and compelled to pay a reasonable compensation to any person who may take charge of and provide for such intoxicated person, and five dollars per day in addition thereto for every day such intoxicated person shall be kept in consequence of such intoxication; which sum may be recovered by a civil action before any court having jurisdiction.

SEC. 10. Every wife, child, parent, guardian, employer or other person, who shall be injured in person or property or means of support, by an intoxicated person, or in consequence of intoxication, habitual or otherwise, of any person, such wife, child, parent, guardian, employer or other person shall have a right of action in his or her own name against any person who shall, by selling, bartering or giving intoxicating liquors, have caused the intoxication of such person, for all damages actually sustained, as well as exemplary damages; and a married woman shall have the right to bring suits, prosecute and control the same and the amount recovered, the same as if unmarried; and all damages recovered by a minor under this act shall be paid either to such minor or to his or her parents, guardian or next friend, as the court shall direct; and all suits for damages, under this act, shall be by civil action in any of the courts of this state having jurisdiction thereof.

SEC. 11. The giving away of intoxicating liquors, or other shifts or device to evade the provision of this act, shall be deemed and held to be an unlawful selling within the provisions of this act.

SEC. 12. For all the fines and costs assessed against any person or persons for any violation of this act, the real estate and personal property of such person or persons, of every kind, not exempt, shall be liable for the payment thereof, and such fines and costs shall be a lien upon such real estate until paid; and, in case any person or persons shall rent or lease any building or premises, and knowingly suffer the same to be used and occupied for the sale of intoxicating liquors, contrary to this act, such building and premises, so leased and occupied, shall be held liable for and may be sold to pay all fines and costs assessed against the person occupying such building or premises, for any violation of this act.

SEC. 13. In all prosecutions under this act, by indictment or otherwise, it shall not be necessary to state the kind of liquors sold, but shall be necessary to describe the place where sold; and for any violation of the third or fourth sections, it shall not be necessary to state the name of any person to whom sold; and in all cases, the person or persons to whom intoxicating liquors shall be sold, in violation of this act, shall be competent as witnesses to prove such fact or any other tending thereto.

SEC. 14. All sales of intoxicating liquors, made by a keeper of a dramshop, on a credit, shall be void and of no effect, and the debt thereby attempted to be created shall not be recoverable at law.

SEC. 15. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the statute book.

Approved, March 3, 1868.

INFLUENCE OF TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES.

Until 1870 the temperance movement in Kansas had no real cohesion, but from that date to the time of the vote on the prohibitory amendment a continued and united effort was made to bring about a satisfactory change in the dramshop law. By 1870 temperance was a topic of nation-wide discussion. The church, always a vital power in the temperance movement, was holding revivals throughout the country. The Murphy or blue-ribbon workers were increasing in numbers. And all this was leading up to the "woman's crusade" inaugurated at Hillsboro, Ohio, in 1873, when after a temperance revival the women of the town undertook by a crusade of prayer to drive the saloons from their city.

Prior to this time probably the most potent factor in the temperance movement in Kansas has been the Independent Order of Good Templars, a national temperance society, organized at Utica, N. Y., in 1851, and an outgrowth of the Sons of Temperance, which had been organized some ten years previous. Article 2 of its constitution was the pledge that "No member shall make, buy, sell or use, as a beverage, any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider, and shall discountenance the manufacture and sale thereof in all proper ways." In 1858 Tecumseh had a flourishing lodge of Good Templars. Lawrence, too, was an early stronghold. On September 26, 1860, a grand lodge was organized at Leavenworth by delegates from ten subordinate lodges over the territory. At one time and another previous to the organization of the grand lodge there had been thirty-four subordinate lodges in Kansas.

The grand lodge proceedings of 1866 speak of an awakened interest in temperance throughout the land. In New York a National Temperance Society had been organized, issuing publications and sending out lecturers, and some discussion was evoked as to the propriety of making the Kansas grand lodge an auxiliary society to the National Temperance Association, that they might gain thereby the advantage of the "powerful advocacy of its press and the influence flowing from its publishing house." For some years the Good Templars in Kansas had been sensible of the lack of temperance literature, and were therefore anxious to seize opportunities that offered the publicity of the press and gave them a channel for their propaganda.

In 1871 a member of the Good Templars brought to the grand lodge the suggestion that some action be taken to secure an amendment to the laws on the suppression of the liquor traffic, "the laws as they now stand being practically a dead letter." He asked that petitions be circulated and presented to the legislature at its next session, praying for "a law which shall better suppress the sale of intoxicating drinks." The Good Templars had by this time increased to 173 lodges in the state, with a total membership of some 3,000 people, and had, of course, a corresponding influence in public affairs.

The effect of their work developed in the legislative session of 1872, when Dr. James H. Whitford, of Garnett, introduced, on January 11, house bill No. 7, "An act to provide against the evils resulting from the sale of intoxicating liquors in the state of Kansas." The temperance people were fortunate in securing the ear of a man of Doctor Whitford's type. He understood legislative procedure, having served in the house of representatives in 1870, and was a man of large and varied experience. He was born in Circleville, Ohio, in 1822, and as a boy helped his father in a wool-carding mill. After reaching manhood he was for a time engaged in the contracting and construction of public works in both Ohio and Virginia. In 1852 he went to California, where he mined gold for two years. Returning to his native state, he began the study of medicine in 1856, attending Starling Medical College, and graduated in 1858. He practiced at Royalton, Ohio, until the beginning of the Civil War, and in August, 1861, was appointed assistant surgeon to the Thirtieth Ohio infantry, and commissioned surgeon in March, 1862, which position he filled until July 29, 1865. After the battle of Antietam he acted as brigade surgeon, and after Chickamauga as medical director of the Fourth division, Fourteenth army corps. For some months he served as medical director of the Wheeling district. After the close of the war he practiced at

Circleville for a short time, moving to Garnett, Kan., in 1867, where he continued the practice of his profession.

Unfortunately no copy of house bill No. 7, nor its substitute, has been preserved. We can only judge it by its title, by newspaper notices and by the antagonism created against it among the liquor dealing element in the state. The bill was introduced, as has been noted, early in the session, and on account of the opposition dragged a weary length through the house. Doctor Whitford had been made chairman of the special committee on bills relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors. With three others on this subject, house bill No. 7 was referred to his committee. On January 25 it was reported back to the house without amendment, and with the recommendation that it pass. Later it was returned to the committee for further consideration, and on February 6 they reported a substitute to the house. A minority report was made on February 8, and here follows:

MR. SPEAKER: The undersigned, a minority of your committee to whom was referred all bills and petitions relating to the sale of intoxicating drinks, unable to agree with the majority of said committee in all the details of their report, beg leave to submit the following report:

By the provisions of the bill recommended by the committee but one grade of license is to be granted, and that embracing the sale of all kinds of distilled wines and fermented liquors, thus throwing the whole of the traffic in the milder beverages such as wines and fermented liquors into the hands of the licensed whisky shops; especially will this be the case under the heavy license and bonds required to obtain a license. We think this policy unwise, because many of our citizens, especially those of foreign birth, who are in the habit of using these milder beverages seldom or never indulge in the more hurtful and intoxicating liquors, and they would not desire to be obliged to go into and patronize the whisky saloon in order to get a glass of wine or beer. Instead of giving a monopoly of the sale of all these beverages to the whisky saloons virtually, prohibiting wine and beer houses, we would reverse the rule and authorize the selling of wines and fermented liquors manufactured within the state, on mild and equitable terms, holding, of course, the licensed party to a strict responsibility for any violation or abuse of his privilege, while we demanded of the dealer in distilled, drugged and adulterated liquors heavier license and severer penalties.

To accomplish this, the minority of your committee recommend the following amendment as an addition to section 1 of the bill reported by the committee:

Provided, That for the exclusive sale of wines and fermented liquors, manufactured within this state, the bond for license shall be in the sum of five hundred dollars, and conditioned that he will only sell wines and fermented liquors manufactured within this state; and

Provided further, That the tax for said license shall not exceed two hundred dollars for any one year; and

Provided further, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent the manufacture of wine and fermented liquors within the state from selling at wholesale in the usual way, without having obtained a license under the provisions of this act.

G. P. SMITH.
E. SELLS.

From accounts drawn from several newspapers it appears that section 1 of this bill provided that a bond of \$3,000 must be given as security before a license could be obtained. Section 2 provided that it should be unlawful to sell to minors, to intoxicated persons, or to those in the habit of getting intoxicated. Section 4 provided that every person who should by the sale of intoxicating liquor cause intoxication of any other persons should be liable for and should be compelled to pay a reasonable compensation for the care of such intoxicated person. Section 5 provides for the right of action against

the seller of intoxicants in the event of injury in person, property or support. The remaining sections defined fines and penalties for violation of the law and were not included in the published account. On February 13 the bill came up for final consideration and passed the house by a vote of 57 yeas to 34 nays. On the 14th it was messaged to the senate, and there was referred to a special committee, who eventually reported it back to the senate, with some amendments. It was recommitted for further consideration, and later the senate, in committee of the whole, moved that the special committee be instructed to report as soon as the bill was printed. But since this motion was had only four days prior to the adjournment of the legislature, and since no action was taken on it, it is but natural to believe that the bill died in the hands of the committee.

The petitions submitted to the legislature asking for favorable action on this bill were surprisingly numerous and proved the activity of the Independent Order of Good Templars. Nearly fifty petitions were presented to the house and some fifteen to the senate. A conservative estimate of the number of signatures would place it at 6,000 names. Seven remonstrances against any change in the laws governing the liquor traffic were submitted, aggregating some 3,000 signatures.

The newspapers took an active part in this campaign. Those of Leavenworth and Atchison were naturally strongly opposed to any change in the liquor laws. The *Leavenworth Times* of January 28 had to say:

"The new liquor law is demanding the attention of the people of the state to a very large extent. It does not seem possible that the legislature will seriously attempt to pass the proposed law.

"If they do, it can never be enforced in the city, and will only result in the abandonment of all laws for licensing and restraining the traffic.

"Iowa has a law similar to the one proposed in our state, and the result there is that anyone who can buy a gallon of whisky becomes a retailer.

"In Massachusetts prohibitory laws have proved failures, and the use of liquors have constantly increased since the law was passed. Good sense ought to govern, and we think will. If so, our legislature will let well enough alone, and we will move along smoothly."

The *Atchison Weekly Champion* of February 3 had a long article on "The Liquor Law," from which the following is quoted:

"Every year for at least ten years back there have been members of the legislature who have insisted on tinkering away at the liquor laws. Occasionally they have made changes, and in one or two instances have submitted entirely new acts for the old acts. The legislature of this winter is, as usual, discussing the subject of the liquor law."

Then follows an argument on the impossibility of a law, unsustained by public sentiment, becoming effective—the same argument that has been used since time immemorial against any legislation tending to raise the moral standard of a people. The article closes with this paragraph:

"And hence we go back to the first principles of legislation and urge our legislators to remember that laws not sustained by the popular will are always, in this country, inoperative, inexpedient, impractical and useless. It is well to let well enough alone."

Many open letters were published in the papers both for and against the proposed liquor law, but the policy of the larger newspapers was undoubtedly

against so stringent a measure, and inclined strongly to the "let well enough alone" theory.

That the liquor dealers took an active hand in the campaign is shown by the following newspaper extracts:

"One day last week German circulars were distributed around town calling a meeting of the Germans for the evening.

"The object was to effect an organization for the purpose of defeating any movement for changing the laws of the state in relation to the sale of liquor, and to meet and defeat temperance work in general.

"A convention is called for the 30th of January, to meet at Topeka. . . . This convention is styled 'antitemperance.'

"What are we coming to is a problem worthy the serious attention of all who have the welfare of the community at heart. That the labors of the friends of temperance and sobriety, and of implanting principles of industry and morality in the characters of the youth of our land, have a work to do, the magnitude of which is daily increasing, should be recognized as a startling reality."—*Topeka State Record*, Jan. 24, 1872.

From the Leavenworth *Times* we find that the "Anti-Liquor Law Convention" came off according to plans, and that its meeting was considered successful. There were present 119 delegates from over the state, resolutions were passed, and the convention adjourned subject to call. The resolutions were to the effect that all restrictions necessary were already imposed by the dramshop act of 1868. They recited that the liquor dealers were among the heaviest taxpayers in the state; that they were a most respectable body of business men "desirous of obeying every just law, and the legislation on so personal an affair as what a man should eat and drink was contrary to the constitution of the United States and all liberty." They further stated that experience had proven such stringent laws ineffectual, and that the convention should "heartily unite against the movement now on foot to crush our social liberties by fanatics. And that further trust be refused any party that upholds the principles enunciated in the temperance law now before the legislature." Copies of these resolutions were sent to the speaker of the house and to the president of the senate, to be presented to the legislature as a protest against the law.

A resolution looking to a permanent organization of the liquor dealers was also passed.

The activity of the temperance people—and they were exceedingly busy during the legislative session—is shown through the many announcements of temperance meetings and in the fact that the State Temperance Union held its annual meeting in Topeka while the legislature was in session. An urgent invitation was extended to the legislature to attend the sessions of the Temperance Union.

How this invitation was received is illustrated by an extract from the Leavenworth *Times* of January 18:

"Yesterday a letter was sent to a prominent brewer of Leavenworth, stating that if he wanted to defeat the bill regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors he would have to send up some beer, and this afternoon [January 16], when the legislature received an invitation to attend a session of the state temperance convention, the announcement was also received that five kegs of beer had arrived from Leavenworth. So much for a practical joke.

"On motion of General Strickler, the representatives of the *Times*, *Commercial* and *Call* were included in the invitation to the temperance convention, and the antitemperance men, not to be thwarted by anything of this kind,

included the reporters in the invitation to the beer banquet. The congressional aspirants, who were obliged to attend both 'blow-outs' were somewhat exhausted and hope to have more harmony among their constituents hereafter."

Of a meeting on the evening of February 5 the newspaper says that the temperance men rallied in force at representative hall. "Not only were the cold-water men there, but the cold-water girls as well. On a whole it was a temperance victory and an ice-water ovation. Speeches were made, all for the bill." That the bill was already lost was a foregone conclusion, and probably none knew it better than the "cold-water men," but public sentiment was being educated.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY RECOGNIZES TEMPERANCE.

In 1873 prohibition began to be talked of in Kansas, but not hopefully. The legislature of that year was inclined to leave temperance legislation alone. A bill was introduced in the house to amend the dramshop law of 1868, but was reported adversely by the committee to which it was referred. By the next year temperance was once more to the fore. The "women's crusade" had reached the state, and in several towns women went into saloons, praying with the saloon keepers and the patrons. In some instances they had even engaged in "liquor spilling." From the stories of that crusade that have been handed down it is hard to decide which the men felt the most keenly—having the women pray with them, or having them empty the whisky bottles and barrels. One was an annoyance and a humiliation; the other angered them! Certain it is that many fairly reputable citizens and politicians were prayed over by the women of the towns in which they lived, and it is a matter of history that more than one wife was forbidden to "go out with the praying women."

In the legislature of 1874 house bill No. 209 was the menace to the liquor dealers. It passed the house and was messaged to the senate, where it was referred to the committee on retrenchment and reform. John P. St. John, who was a member of the senate, made a desperate effort in behalf of the bill. It was finally reported, but its consideration was blocked by innumerable motions, and finally it died on the calendar. That session some thirty-four petitions asking for a *prohibitory* law were presented to the senate, and that the liquor dealers regarded the movement seriously is evidenced from the presenting of a petition "containing over 12,000 *bona fide* signatures" from citizens of Kansas, "protesting against any alteration or amendment of the present liquor law."

Public sentiment was becoming more favorable to the cause of temperance. A deeper sense of responsibility was being manifested by legislators. At the Republican state convention of 1874 one of the planks in the platform was an indorsement of temperance principles:

"*Resolved*, That drunkenness is one of the greatest curses of modern society, demoralizing everything it touches, imposing fearful burdens of taxation upon the people, a fruitful breeder of pauperism and crime, and a worker of evil continually. Hence we are in favor of such legislation, both general and local, as experience will show to be the most effectual in destroying this evil."

This was the first recognition of the question in Kansas by a great political organization, and it at least pledged that party to its discussion.

ATTEMPT TO AMEND THE LAW OF 1868.

On September 10 and 11, 1874, a temperance convention was held at Leavenworth for the purpose of organizing a temperance party. There had been much argument among temperance advocates and workers as to the advisability of such a step. Five years before, the National Prohibition party had been organized at Chicago, September 1, 1869. The movement was inaugurated in the grand lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars at a meeting at Oswego, N. Y., and a committee had issued a call for a rational convention to organize a prohibition party. There were present at that convention 500 delegates from 20 states. The causes leading up to this move on the part of temperance organizations were very simple, and a recital of them cannot be out of place here. During the Civil War persons engaged in the liquor trade of the United States had organized for offensive and defensive warfare against all prohibitory legislation. Their plan was to attempt to secure, if possible, the repeal of all existing prohibitory laws, or failing in this, to prevent their legal enforcement. The Brewer's Congress of 1867 declared they would sustain no candidate of whatever party in any election who was in any way disposed toward total abstinence. Both the Republican and Democratic parties had refused to declare for prohibition; both could be arraigned for complicity with the liquor traffic. There was a conflict in state and federal authority. A national policy of license and a local law of prohibition demanded a new party entirely committed to the overthrow of the legalized traffic in liquors. This last argument could be used in favor of organizing local prohibition parties, and doubtless entered into the initial steps which led to the Leavenworth convention. At that convention a ticket was nominated, headed by Dudley C. Haskell as the candidate for governor. Mr. Haskell declined to run, as did many of the other nominees, and the ticket put into the field was not strong enough to create great feeling. There were only nine counties of the state represented in the convention, and among temperance workers generally there was a disposition to withhold approval and support. It is interesting to note here that this year (1874) the prohibition candidate for president received 110 votes from Kansas.

The Kansas grand lodge of Good Templars passed resolutions indorsing the Leavenworth convention and recommending that the members of the subordinate lodges labor to secure the election of the state temperance ticket. The movement, however, was in a measure a failure, and the strong indorsement of temperance principles in the Republican state platform of that year (1874) discouraged further attempts to organize a separate party at that time. The temperance following naturally looked to the Republican party in Kansas to carry out their principles, and in this they were not to be disappointed.

There were three different bills introduced in the senate of 1875 to amend the dramshop act of 1868; these either died on the calendar or were killed in committee. Three bills were also introduced in the house that year. One, house bill No. 9, was passed and messaged to the senate, where it was referred to the committee on judiciary which reported it back with the recommendation that it be rejected, since its object was already accomplished by laws on the statute book.

Renewed effort was made in 1876 to secure legislation relating to restraint of dramshops. A bill, No. 216, was introduced in the house by J. J. A. T. Dixon,

of Russell county, on January 24. It passed on February 22, fifty-five yeas and thirty-eight nays. At the evening session Mr. Glick asked to have spread upon the journal this protest:

MR. SPEAKER: I enter my protest against the passage of house bill No. 216, An act to amend section 1 of chapter 35 of the General Statutes of 1868, relating to dramshops, for the following reasons:

1. A prohibitory liquor law, wherever tried, has been a failure and has not accomplished its purposes. This proposition is conceded by all those who have given the subject careful consideration and were not controlled by fanaticism.

2. This bill, if passed into a law, will result in the increased use of intoxicating liquors, as no one will attempt to enforce such a law.

3. The regulation and control over the traffic in intoxicating liquors in cities is an absolute necessity for the preservation of the peace and good order of society, and that control is taken away by this bill.

4. The revenue derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors aids in paying the burdensome expenses following in the wake of such sales, but by this law the burdens on the public are increased, while the ability of the public, and more especially the cities, to prevent them is decreased.

5. The liquor traffic will by this bill, if it becomes a law, greatly increase the number of places wherein liquor is sold, and as a necessary result the evils of the traffic will be greatly increased, the expenses of protecting life and property and preserving the peace of the public in cities greatly increased, with no resulting benefit from this bill, if it becomes a law.

6. The evils resulting from abolishing the license system will result in turning politics of cities over to those who will secure the election of officers who will not prosecute or aid in enforcing the law, by which the moral character of all cities will suffer and crime will be greatly increased with no adequate power to prevent it.

I am satisfied that my constituents do not desire any change in the present liquor law. I believe they are satisfied with its provisions, and under its operation they have been able to control its traffic, prevent the evils and abuse incident thereto, and preserve the peace and quietude of the city, and prevent increased immorality and law-breaking without being compelled to submit to increased taxation that would be needed if this bill becomes a law.

We join in the foregoing.

G. W. GLICK

J. M. Heddens,
John Bates,
C. C. Duncan,
A. J. Campbell,
Sanford Haff.

The next day, February 23, a member from Leavenworth moved to reconsider the vote on house bill No. 216, but his motion was lost, and the bill was messaged to the senate February 28. It was killed on March 2, two days before final adjournment of the legislature.

CONTINUATION OF THE WORK.

There was a reform ticket in the field in 1876, but the vote polled was so insignificant that it has not been thought worth while to follow it. The candidate for governor was a member of the Independent Order of Good Templars and a man believing firmly in prohibition, but he received only 393 votes. The temperance convention had nominated St. John, but he declined the nomination.

In the legislature of 1877 the friends of temperance were again active. A bill was introduced in the senate to amend the dramshop law of 1868. It passed and was sent to the house, where it was referred to the committee on judiciary, and that was the last heard of it. Petitions were presented in both

branches of the legislature asking for favorable consideration of this bill, but they came to nothing.

The Murphy or blue-ribbon movement swept over the state this year. It had been inaugurated in Lawrence by E. B. Reynolds, of Indiana. In speaking of this movement the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Good Templars for 1878 says:

"While it has doubtless done great good and the cause of temperance thereby been materially advanced, it can never supply the place of our Order. . . . We are now approaching a crisis. Our state is making a mighty effort to free itself from the terrible thralldom of intemperance. Our order was the first organization to hoist the banner of temperance in the state; it should continue to be first in carrying forward this great work, not opposing any other organizations, but working with them for the accomplishment of the same grand purpose; and when we shall have conquered the last enemy the first shout of final victory should ascend from our ranks."

The following year, 1878, was election year, and the temperance people over the state were interested in the candidacy of John P. St. John for governor. He had been identified with the temperance movement ever since coming to Kansas in 1869, had lectured for the cause, and had during his service in the state senate been a strong partisan in temperance legislation. The Republican platform of this year recognized the growth of temperance sentiment in the party by inserting the following: ". . . earnest in securing election . . . to the legislature men who will represent upon all questions the best sentiment of the people, and who will labor earnestly for the enactment of such laws as the best interest of society, temperance and good order shall demand." During this year a temperance revival was in progress over the state. A temperance camp meeting was held at Lawrence; total abstinence was urged, and following the blue-ribbon workers, hundreds signed the pledge. Wilder says: "The people heard this gospel gladly, and the lawyers and politicians went with the crowd. So Kansas conquered ruffianism, rebellion and rum. . . ." On the other hand, the liquor dealers were violating every restrictive feature of the license law. There was among them a spirit of lawlessness and shamelessness that was more detrimental to their cause than any other one thing. With defiance they sold liquor on Sunday, sold to minors, to besotted drunkards, and to any one who brought the money. So great became their utter disregard of law that not only the well-known temperance advocates, but all classes of people began to discuss the advisability of advanced legislation on the subject.

J. R. DETWILER.

About this time a zealous worker in the temperance cause living at Osage Mission, J. R. Detwiler, became convinced that the hour had struck for united action for a prohibitory law. No practical suggestions had heretofore borne fruit. There had been much discussion, many petitions and some legislation, but still the liquor traffic flourished. Mr. Detwiler began at the beginning and counseled a constitutional amendment that would prohibit the liquor traffic within the state, since it was not believed that the legislature could legally enact a prohibitory measure sufficiently stringent. He began to investigate the subject and came to the conclusion that in any event the submission of a constitutional amendment afforded an excellent method of measuring public

sentiment on the saloon question. It had been maintained that the people were not prepared for so radical a measure, and of course it would follow that a law not supported by public sentiment would fail of enforcement, and the moral effect would be correspondingly detrimental. He says, "The more I considered the scheme the stronger became the impression that it was feasible and that the time to strike had come."

Strong in this belief, he wrote an article on the liquor traffic and took it to a local paper for publication. It was refused, the editor considering it too radical. Thereupon Mr. Detwiler, acting upon the advice of a friend, who like himself was an ardent prohibitionist, decided to establish a temperance paper devoted to prohibition. And it was thus that the *Temperance Banner* was raised in October, 1878, and continued through two years of stormy effort. The leading editorial of the first number advocated both state and national prohibition of the liquor traffic by constitutional law.

Mr. Detwiler took a bundle of these papers and went to Fort Scott to attend the grand lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars. He distributed his paper, and his proposition met with favor. At this meeting the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That we, as a grand lodge, petition the legislature of the state of Kansas that they do submit to the people of said state at the ballot box a constitutional amendment prohibiting the importation, sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors within the boundary of the aforesaid state.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare said petition and present the same at the sitting of the next legislature.

The committee named consisted of J. J. Fields, James Grimes and L. Brown. At this meeting of the grand lodge Mr. Detwiler was chosen grand worthy chief templar, which placed him at the head of the order in Kansas. The provisions of the resolution were carried out, the petition drafted and copies sent to the 200 subordinate lodges, to be circulated among the voters of the state. The success of this effort will be shown later.

JOHN P. ST. JOHN ELECTED GOVERNOR.

Meanwhile the election had passed off, giving St. John a majority of 2,744 votes. He was duly inaugurated, and on January 16, 1879, delivered his message to the joint session of the senate and house of representatives. On the subject of temperance he had this to say:

"The subject of temperance, in its relation to the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, has occupied the attention of the people of Kansas to such an extent, that I feel it my duty to call your attention to some of its evils, and suggest if possible, a remedy therefor. Much has been said of late years about hard times and extravagant and useless expenditures of money; and in this connection I desire to call your attention to the fact that here in Kansas, where our people are at least as sober and temperate as are found in any of the states in the West, the money spent annually for intoxicating liquors would defray the entire expenses of the state government, including the care and maintenance of all its charitable institutions, Agricultural College, Normal School, State University, and Penitentiary—and all for something that, instead of making mankind nobler, purer and better, has not only left its dark trail of misery, poverty and crime, but its direct effects, as shown by the official report, have supplied our state prison with 105 of its present inmates.

"Could we but dry up this great evil that consumes annually so much wealth and destroys the physical, moral and mental usefulness of its victims, we would hardly need prisons, poorhouses or police.

"I fully realize it is easier to talk about the evils flowing from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage than it is to provide a remedy for them. If it could be fully accomplished, I am clearly of the opinion that no greater blessing could be conferred by you upon the people of this state than to absolutely and forever prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. But many people insist that a prohibitory law could not, or at least would not, be enforced, and that any law cannot be or is not enforced is worse than no law at all.

"I have too much faith in the people of Kansas to believe that any law intended to, and the effect of which would be to promote the moral, physical and mental condition of mankind would not be rightly enforced. Yet, desiring the passage of no law in relation to the enforcement of which there could be any doubt, and with a view to the adoption of such measures only as will be backed up and enforced by the moral sentiment of our people, I respectfully call your attention to the first section of what is commonly known as the dramshop act, which reads as follows:

"Before a dramshop license, tavern license or grocery license shall be granted to any person applying for the same, such person, if applying for a township license, shall present to the tribunal transacting county business a petition or recommendation signed by a majority of the residents of the township of twenty-one years of age and over, both male and female, in which such dramshop, tavern or grocery is to be kept; or if the same is to be kept in any incorporated city or town, then to the city council thereof, a petition signed by a majority of the residents of the ward, of twenty-one years of age and over, both male and female, in which said dramshop, tavern or grocery is to be kept, recommending such person as a fit person to keep the same, and requesting that a license be granted to him for such a purpose: *Provided*, That the corporate authorities of cities of the first and second class may by ordinance dispense with petition mentioned in this section."

"And earnestly recommend that said section be amended by striking out the proviso therein contained, and requiring the party desiring a license under said section to publish his petition, with the names of the signers thereto, in some newspaper printed and of general circulation in the town, city or township in which he desires to obtain such license; or, in case no newspaper is so published, then in some newspaper published in the county and of general circulation; and thus place all the cities, towns and townships in the state, irrespective of the particular class to which they belong, on an equal footing, and let the people in each locality settle this question for themselves."

The first action of the house following the suggestion contained in the governor's message was a resolution requesting the committee on temperance to examine the statutes with reference to needed legislation and report to the house by "bill or otherwise." This was on January 21. On the 23d a bill to amend the dramshop act of 1868 was introduced by W. M. Moore, of Republic county—house bill No. 86. The bill was referred to the committee on temperance, and on February 13 it was reported back, together with house bill No. 188, with the recommendation that the "substitute herewith be passed." House bill No. 188 had been introduced on February 7 by Thomas J. Calvin, chairman of the committee on temperance. The substitute for these bills passed the house by a vote of 75 for and 25 against, and was sent to the senate on March 6, where on the 8th it failed to receive a constitutional majority.

In the meantime house bill No. 110, regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, was introduced by George Taylor, of Clay county. This bill was reported adversely by the committee on temperance. On February 10, house joint resolution No. 5, proposing an amendment to article 15 of the constitution of Kansas relating to the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquor, was introduced by Charles E. Faulkner, of Salina, who was chairman of the ways and means committee. It was referred to the committee on judiciary, and later to the committee on temperance, who reported it to the house with the recommendation that it be passed. On February 14 a

fourth bill in restraint of dramshops was introduced in the house by George L. White, of Belleville. This bill was referred to the committee on federal relations and no further action was taken. House bill No. 336, an act to authorize county commissioners and councils of incorporated cities to grant a license for the sale of intoxicating liquor for medicinal purposes, was the next temperance measure introduced in the house. It passed on March 6 and was messaged to the senate, where not having a constitutional majority, it failed to pass. The senate too was doing its share in the introduction of temperance measures. On January 21 senate bill No. 17, an act to amend the dramshop act of 1868 regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, was introduced by Senator Grass, of Independence. It was referred to the committee on judiciary, reported back and referred to the committee on retrenchment and reform, and by them reported to the senate with the recommendation that senate bill No. 32 be substituted, which was agreed to. Senate bill No. 32 was introduced by Senator John T. Bradley, of Council Grove, and was an act to amend chapter 35 of the General Statutes of 1868, an act to restrain dramshops. The bill was referred to the committee on judiciary, recalled and sent to the committee on retrenchment and reform, and by them reported favorably to the senate. A third temperance measure was introduced by Senator R. M. Williams, of White Cloud, senate bill No. 115. This bill was allowed to die on the calendar. The next to be introduced in the senate was senate bill No. 150, by Senator C. M. Kellogg, of Clay Center. It went the usual round and was recommended for passage by the committee of the whole, when, in the interest of another temperance measure, Senator Kellogg moved that his bill be stricken from the calendar. Senate bill No. 157 was introduced by Senator George F. Hamlin, referred to the committee on retrenchment and reform, and by them referred to the committee of the whole senate. Here it dragged along with frequent postponements, and was eventually brought up with a substitute for house bills Nos. 86 and 188, when on March 7 the committee recommended the rejection of senate bill No. 157.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 3.

In the meantime petitions began to drift into the senate and house. Mr. Detwiler, the representative of the Good Templars, arrived in Topeka with the monster petition circulated by that order and began a bombardment of the legislature, that, up to that time, was unique. Besides presenting the petition as a whole to both branches of the legislature, he copied and arranged the names according to legislative districts, and approaching three or four members daily, presented them with a petition from their own constituents, asking each to examine the petition and present it to the body of the legislature to which he belonged. Thus a perfect fusillade of petitions was kept up for a week or ten days. Having accomplished this first bit of strategy to his satisfaction, Mr. Detwiler went to the office of Judge N. C. McFarland, a zealous temperance worker, a man of state-wide reputation for integrity and of no mediocre ability as a lawyer, and asked him to draft a joint resolution submitting an amendment to the constitution of the state relative to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. It must be an amendment that would stand the severest tests, and Judge McFarland, by reason of his knowledge of governmental functions, was a man eminently fitted to do the work. Two days later he gave Mr. Detwiler the resolution, afterward known as

senate joint resolution No. 3. It was introduced on February 8 by Senator Geo. F. Hamlin, of Linn county, referred to the committee on judiciary, and reported back February 13 with the recommendation that it be referred to the committee of the whole and printed. Work had been done very quietly because of the strong liquor lobby fighting senate bill No. 32, a measure brought forward by the State Temperance Union and introduced by Senator Bradley, and one following closely the recommendations of the governor in his message. As the fight on this bill waxed hotter, the joint resolution offered an escape to the harassed senators, who were standing between the devil and the deep sea. When the Bradley bill came up for consideration in committee of the whole, on February 14, it was recommended and agreed to, that joint resolution No. 3 be substituted therefor. The liquor lobby, feeling certain that the measure would be killed in the house, and preferring its chances to the Bradley bill, offered not the slightest objection, and when the resolution came up for consideration, on February 21, no fight was made on it in the senate, where it passed with a vote of 37 yeas and no nays, three absent or not voting.

As the fight over temperance legislation grew the activity of the temperance cohorts increased. Reports coming in from over Kansas showed that this activity was by no means confined to the larger towns of the state. A correspondent to the *Commonwealth* from Salina says that "the mayor, marshal, council, police, Temperance Union and preachers are stirring up the 'saloonatics' until you can't rest." Newspapers friendly to temperance were asked to copy notices of the different activities, reports of meetings, announcements, etc. The churches were sponsoring petitions praying for an amendment of the "dramshop act," in accordance with the recommendation of the governor's message. The State Temperance Union was working along the same line. In the early stages of the fight feeling was divided as to the advisability of a prohibitory amendment. By many an earnest worker in the cause it was thought to be too radical; that the time was not ripe for so arbitrary a measure; that an amendment of the dramshop act would be much more likely to receive the sanction of all public opinion. But that was the weak spot of their reasoning. The radical measure was their one hope, and the leaders saw it. The dramshop act, being apparently the most logical thing for the legislature to undertake to strengthen, the liquor interests had concentrated their forces upon it; they had such an amendment beaten almost before it was introduced. The jump of the temperance element to a constitutional amendment looked to the liquor dealers like weakness, and in a most complacent manner they refused to take it seriously. There were two chances to defeat it after its introduction in the senate—the house, and finally the people; and the dealers put great faith in the people. The introduction of the constitutional amendment into the temperance fight was an astute political move.

VICTORY IN THE LEGISLATURE.

The fight in the house was close and intensely bitter. Both factions were busy. The liquor dealers were active with influence, whisky and petitions, everywhere doing what they could. The temperance workers were just as industrious. The "banner temperance town of the state, Hutchinson," sent up a delegation, according to the anti newspapers, to "bulldoze the dramshop

act through the legislature." The delegation consisted of L. A. Bigger, J. V. Clymer, Hiram Raff and Henry Hegwer, and these men were a decided addition to the temperance wing in the fight. Governor St. John was often seen on the floor of the house counseling with the strong and urging the weak to support the senate resolution. Wives of members came from their homes to urge their husbands to change their votes. The resolution was messaged to the house on February 21; on the 26th it was reported from the committee on temperance with the recommendation that it be passed, and was read the third time and put on passage on the 5th of March. A call of the house was ordered and a stiff fight was put up by members opposed to the resolution, but the feeling of the members in favor of it was strong enough to override all opposition, and on roll call the vote resulted in 88 for the resolution, 31 against, and 10 absent or not voting. This meant 2 votes to the good, 86 being a constitutional majority.

REVIEW OF FORCES THAT HELPED.

It was a tremendous victory for the temperance people, and the causes entering into it can best be realized by a brief survey of the newspapers during those days of bitter fighting. Through them a glimpse is given of the varied and continuous activities of the temperance interests; of their concerted action and their astonishing organization, that was to be carried on through a fight of over a year and a half to the final vote of the people on the prohibition amendment in November, 1880. The aggressiveness of the liquor faction can also be followed, and one can but marvel at their loose organization and their lack of foresight and political acumen. That they did not realize in time the sincerity of the movement opposed to them, and the deep-seated sentiment that actuated it, is the only conclusion to be drawn.

The churches had always been a strong influence in the temperance cause. During revivals, the week of prayer and other religious meetings temperance had had its share of discussion. As a moral issue it came well within the province of the church to aid in the regulation of the liquor traffic where possible. So it was not surprising that the churches of Kansas should strike hands with the various temperance organizations in the state and bear their part in the fight at hand. Especially did the churches in Topeka make strenuous efforts during the legislative session of 1879. Temperance meetings were the order of the moment. At the Methodist church in Topeka, the pastor, Rev. J. E. Gilbert, on January 5 spoke on "What Ought the State Legislature to do in Behalf of Temperance?" At the close of the meeting seventy-five persons remained to confer as to some mode of action. Names were given to form a nucleus for the work, and it was found that all the churches in the city were represented. The newspaper account of the meeting is interesting:

" . . . Several ladies and gentlemen tarried to consider what might be practical in reference to legislation on a prohibitory law. Several persons made brief remarks, and though there was not an exact agreement as to the best plan of action there was quite a unanimity of feeling that aggressive measures should be adopted at as early a day as possible. Accordingly it was agreed that Mr. Gilbert should confer with the pastors of other churches in the city and arrange for a meeting on Thursday evening to consider this all-important subject. A committee of three was appointed to act upon the subject under consideration and report at a meeting to be held at the Methodist Episcopal church on Sunday evening next. Rev. Mr. Gilbert stated

that at that time there would probably be good speakers from abroad. It would appear from the exhibition of feeling at the meeting that vigorous efforts in the city and state in the cause of temperance are foreshadowed."

About this time there was being sent out over the state from a Chicago publishing house a little book entitled "The Blue Ribbon Workers," by James M. Hiatt, containing sketches of the lives and acts of reformed drunkards who were then in temperance work. This volume met with a good deal of success and was calculated to bolster the weak and help along the feeble in the temperance movement; and while a small thing in itself, is indicative of the never ceasing effort of the temperance reformers.

The Woman's National Christian Temperance Union assembled in convention at Baltimore, passed a resolution suggesting that a month of prayer be held, and asked that pastors of all churches be invited to preach a temperance sermon during that period. January was the month determined upon, and it was very generally observed through Kansas. Thus were the churches and other organizations already beginning to get hold of individuals and prepossess their minds in favor of any stringent temperance legislation likely to be enacted.

The union temperance meeting at Topeka was a successful event, and the "pastors of the various churches were present and took an active part in the discussion of the best means of bringing about prohibition in this state." A committee was named, having as one of its members the chief justice of the state, to "consult and adopt the best method of framing a petition to the legislature in relation to changing the dramshop act." At all of these meetings, and they were held weekly thereafter, out-of-town speakers were present and music was a great feature.

The executive committee of the State Temperance Union met in Topeka on January 14. The resolutions adopted at the meeting embody the recommendations in Governor St. John's message, and in the form of a petition were to be presented to the legislature, after being circulated throughout the state for signatures. The members of this committee were men of some prominence in Kansas—J. H. Rice, J. B. Abbott, Albert Griffin, W. A. H. Harris, D. Shelton and others. A committee of three was appointed to organize the temperance elements of the state for work. Temperance lecturers were to be placed in the field by the State Temperance Union, and they were to hold meetings throughout the state. Murphy temperance clubs and phalanxes of temperance volunteers were to be organized. It was also resolved to hold the annual temperance camp meeting and continue it twelve days. Messrs. Rice, Shelton and Harris were named as a committee on camp meeting.

By this time temperance was a live issue in Kansas. Lecturers from out of the state were invited to address the legislature. George Calderwood, of Ohio, accepted such an invitation for the evening of January 24. An audience of 150 persons gathered in representative hall. A report of the meeting says:

"From the great number of absent members, it is but fair to presume that they are not all in full accord with the temperance enthusiasts of the day. Mr. Calderwood is a pleasant speaker and indulges in many of the familiar expressions of the modern temperance lecturer. He is in favor of a prohibitory law, and on the adoption of such a law, favors the right of the fair sex to exercise the election franchise. . . . The lecture was well received, as was evidenced by the applause."

Gen. S. F. Carey was granted the use of the hall of the house of representatives for a temperance lecture on the evening of February 5. Temperance mass meetings were held frequently, and were, to quote from the reports, "marked with great enthusiasm."

The newspapers discussed at length the various measures before the legislature, and in all the discussion but little space is given to bills on the subject of temperance. The activities of the temperance organizations are duly chronicled, but prospective legislation along that line is not noticed until the latter part of February, when the fight was almost won.

Early in February the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union held a meeting in Topeka. The speakers were Mrs. M. B. Smith, president of the Union in Kansas, and Mrs. Drusilla Wilson, of Lawrence. Rev. Mr. Gilbert presided. This meeting was so largely attended that there was standing room only. It was held in Costa's opera house, one of the largest halls in the town. From the beginning women took an aggressive part in the temperance campaign. A great deal of charity work was undertaken, prayer meetings and temperance meetings were held, and an attempt was made to establish coffee-houses, but with rather indifferent success. Many of these women had been among those who had worked in the "woman's crusade," who had gone into the saloons praying with the barkeepers and the patrons. They knew the weak points in the operation of the dramshop law and they were aware of all the evasions in its enforcement. Such women were no mean enemies to the liquor traffic.

A word should be said in passing of a very unusual woman who did much for the temperance cause—Drusilla Wilson. With her husband, Jonathan, she settled in Lawrence in 1873, just as the "woman's crusade" was taking form. She became identified with the temperance workers of the town and was made the president of their local temperance association. In her diary she says, "It was undertaken with many misgivings on my part lest I might not do justice to the cause; but this crusade was an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, sent from heaven to arouse action in this great work." Her account of her work is of great interest, and should, but for its length, be repeated here. She was a speaker in constant demand, and during the campaign for the amendment she, with her husband, traveled over the state holding mass meetings and circulating petitions. Of this portion of her work she says: "We started from home in this work the latter part of November, 1879. Completed the campaign and got home the evening before election, in November, 1880. . . . We traveled in our carriage, during our campaign work, over 3,000 miles, held meetings for the amendment, organized a number of Bands of Hope and gave a number of Sunday-school talks." She was sixty-four years of age at this time. Mrs. Wilson died at Carmel, Ind., June 9, 1908.

Late in February the Rev. J. E. Gilbert announced the prospective visit of Francis Murphy to Topeka. He says: "As he is my personal friend, I feel prompted to utter a word in his behalf to prepare the public for his proper reception." Mr. Gilbert was one of the most earnest temperance workers in Topeka. He was a brilliant man, and not a little of the success of the temperance campaign of 1879 might be attributed to his advice and work in the beginning. Other clergymen were helpful, but Mr. Gilbert had in a high degree what would be called at this day efficiency. He had great executive

ability and was one of the strongest organizers in the local camp of temperance workers. He came to the Topeka Methodist Episcopal Church from the East and remained a little less than three years. He was a man in advance of his time, even in a broader field than Topeka; so it was not surprising that he should return to a larger conference. Never of robust health, Mr. Gilbert did not live long. He died in Washington, D. C.

The days of the legislature were by this time few, and at last senate joint resolution No. 3 had reached the house.

The *Commonwealth* of March 6 had this to say on its passage there:

"The most exciting and interesting item in the house since the senatorial election was last night during the consideration of senate joint resolution 3, proposing an amendment to the constitution relating to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Requiring two-thirds of all the votes of the house to pass it, its passage was stubbornly resisted. At one time the friends of the measure despaired of their ability to push it through, and began to change their votes, saving the point to move a reconsideration of the vote; but as the members slowly came in and cast their votes in the affirmative, it became apparent that it was possible to pass the resolution. Changes were again made, and finally the result was announced—yeas 88, nays 34. The friends of the measure then gave way to an expression of their joy at the result, which was only suppressed by the speaker's free use of his gavel."

ORGANIZING FOR THE ELECTION.

After the adjournment of the legislature there was a noticeable decline in temperance activities. The visit of Francis Murphy to Kansas was the only occurrence of note following immediately on the adjournment. A Topeka paper of March 11, says of him:

"This wonderful man has come and gone. His first appearance in these parts was last Sunday night. . . . He addressed some 1,200 people, including a large number of prominent citizens from all parts of the state. He certainly is a speaker of great force. . . . We imagine he is more like Paul of old than any man that ever ascended the rostrum since the days of that mighty apostle. We can no longer question that he will be a powerful attraction to the grand national camp meeting which will very likely take place at Bismark Grove (Lawrence) next September."

In the latter part of the month—March—an excursion to Gove county under the auspices of the State Temperance Union went out over the Kansas Pacific railway from Kansas City to Buffalo. The excursion was for the special benefit of Francis Murphy, and there went with him a number of prominent people: J. H. Rice; Doctor Callahan, of Leavenworth; the Gleeds, Charles and Willis, one of the *Kansas City Journal*, the other on the *Lawrence Standard*; Prof. M. L. Ward, S. J. Gilmore, Mr. and Mrs. Presby, J. C. Hubbard, several clergymen and newspaper representatives. The trip was one extended temperance jubilee; at every stop there was an address and songs. General Rice was one of the most fiery speakers; he indicted the "monster rum" as the "sum of all villainies in Kansas," and he said, "Seed has been sown during this tour that may bear rich fruitage during the season." It is unnecessary to add that he was right.

The early summer of 1879 was spent by the temperance people in getting all in readiness for their camp meeting, which was to be held at Bismarck grove, August 15 to 27. Early in August newspapers began to publish articles and editorials against prohibition. No great degree of feeling was displayed,

but it was rather made light of. None seemed to regard it seriously enough to show real excitement. The general cry was that it would be impossible to enforce any laws framed under such an article in the constitution.

The camp meeting was advertised widely. The "cold-water brigade is soon to assemble with Francis Murphy and other celebrities" was heard on all sides. On August 12 the *Topeka Commonwealth* published an editorial on "Temperance and Politics." It deplored the attempt to make political capital out of the approaching temperance camp meeting. It insisted that there was no intention among prominent members of any party to make prohibition or antiprohibition a party shibboleth. The article warned the Republicans that the question of the constitutional amendment must be kept out of the party platform. The *Commonwealth* was not in favor of prohibition, but discussed the matter in a sane, quiet way, the main argument against it being that it could never be enforced, and a law not enforced was a detriment, and in some instances a menace to the morals of a community. The editorial closed with this statement: "Governor St. John and other state officers have a perfect right to go to the Bismark meeting and there advocate their views, and to undertake to make political capital against those who do so will injure those who do it." This last was called forth by antiprohibition papers threatening all state officers who inclined to tolerate temperance views or temperance workers.

CAMPAIGN FOR THE AMENDMENT.

The opening of the temperance camp meeting was a loudly heralded affair. Governor St. John made the address of welcome. There were speakers from many states: George W. Bain, of Kentucky, a widely known temperance speaker; A. B. Campbell, then of Illinois, later of Kansas; Rev. J. E. Tilton and J. J. Hickman, of Kentucky; Elias Johnson, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; J. E. Letton, of Louisville; Doctor Gibbons, of Colorado; Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, of Iowa; and Ada Van Pelt, of Nebraska. Besides all these was the great stellar attraction, Francis Murphy, who was accompanied by his son, a prepossessing youth, and already developing powers of oratory not unlike his father's. They were just back from a great campaign in California. Of local speakers there were Miss Amanda Way, a woman of very pleasing address, a friend of Drusilla Wilson, and, like her, a power for temperance work; Gen. J. H. Rice, another well-known worker, a newspaper man and a vigorous speaker. As a special feature, four Indians were brought from their reservation in the Indian territory and spoke at one of the meetings.

The great day at the camp meeting was August 26, when the attendance was estimated at 25,000 people, and when they were obliged to take turns at listening to the speakers. Much had been done to make Bismarck grove attractive. Fountains had been put in; a great tabernacle was built, capable of seating 5,000 persons, and lighted with gas made on the grounds from the "new automatic Batty process." At that time the grove was under the management of the Kansas Pacific Railway Company, and was a popular resort.

The music was a special feature of the camp meeting. Some of the finest bands in the state were there. The Rev. Robert Brown, of the Leavenworth Conservatory of Music, had prepared a singing book of a hundred pages for use. He was in charge of the music, and he took with him his entire choir

from Leavenworth and had as an assistant Prof. A. B. Brown, of the Springfield (Mo.) Conservatory of Music.

A military day was held during the progress of the camp meeting and military companies from over the state were in attendance. Special excursions were run to Bismarck grove from various points, and everything possible for the success of the meeting was done. Some newspapers kept special representatives in tents on the grounds, while others were content to write up the meetings at long distance, and headed their descriptions "Whaling Whisky."

A church encampment followed the temperance camp meeting at Bismarck, and many of the prominent speakers remained to make temperance speeches there and to later fill dates in the smaller towns and outlying country districts of the state.

The result of such a temperance meeting as that held at Bismarck would essentially give a great impetus to the work and to the temperance sentiment. Enthusiasts were raised to a plane of exaltation; the indifferent were impressed by the earnestness of the workers and were influenced unconsciously; while into the minds of the antiprohibitionists, still scoffing, there began to enter a certain fear. The "anti" papers showed it by taking on a vindictive, and even threatening tone, and personalities began to be indulged in.

The State Temperance Union held its annual meeting in September in Topeka and was well attended. Officers were elected and the committee on campaign work presented its plan of activity. It was decided to maintain a central office, where lectures could be arranged for, literature kept for distribution, and where reports were to be sent in from workers over the state, who were to tell of their success and of the obstacles most in their way. A good financial plan was to be evolved by the executive committee so that funds might be available to push the work efficiently during the ensuing winter. The executive committee was likewise to see that within the next three months there was an organization in each county in the state.

All temperance societies, churches and organizations interested in temperance had been requested to send two or more delegates to this convention to "prepare for this great work."

Prohibition clubs began to be formed, and from all over the state came notices of temperance picnics and camp meetings. Temperance campaigns were carried on in towns known to be liquor strongholds. In one or two places it was necessary to erect a temporary building in which to hold meetings, so strong was the town sentiment.

Literary societies became impressed with the popular topic, and debates were held. "*Resolved*, That intemperance has caused more suffering than war" and kindred thoughts were hurled at listening audiences. The subject was unlimited, and the debates found great favor in the country schoolhouses.

At the annual meeting of the grand lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars, Mr. Detwiler, the chief templar, said in his report:

"In view of the fact that the measure (the prohibitory amendment) was originated and has been thus far carried forward by our order, I respectfully recommend that you make ample provisions at this session for a vigorous campaign that will result in placing one of the great principles of our order in the organic law of the state, and place our state in the front rank of advancing civilization. In mapping out our campaign I would call your attention to the importance of a liberal use of printer's ink. . . . I would

also recommend the holding of camp meetings in as many different parts of the state as your funds will warrant. . . . That each lodge be requested to hold some public entertainment, and the net proceeds of such be forwarded to your executive committee as a special campaign fund and used to defray the expenses of the campaign."

It is interesting to note that most of the prominent out-of-state speakers at the Bismarck camp meeting were members of the Order of Good Templars, as were also most of the temperance workers residing in the state.

In November there began to be circulated through the newspapers the "story" that the proposed prohibition amendment was "bogus"; that it was introduced and supported by the whisky element in the legislature to kill a certain temperance law. That portion excepting the sale of intoxicating liquors for medical, mechanical and scientific purposes was seized upon and exploited. One paper that led in denominating the amendment "bogus" says:

"That legalizes the sale for medical, for scientific and for mechanical purposes. It puts it beyond legislative prohibition, if not legislative control, for these purposes. It means free whisky. . . . That amendment is bogus, will make Kansas sickly; it will stimulate the drug business. Whisky for the toothache; to prevent measles. . . . Boys will use it to study astronomy. . . . Men will be unable to set out a cabbage plant without it. No, we are not for the constitutional amendment."

Another paper, in reply to the charge that the prohibition amendment and the amendment repealing the \$200 tax exemption were put through by combination, makes the following statement:

"The truth is that the prohibition amendment originated with the enemies of temperance in the senate, where it was passed as a substitute for the legislation asked for by the friends of the cause. When it went to the house the temperance men finally concluded to accept it and make their fight on that line before the public. Finding it was that or nothing, they concluded to take what they could get. Thereupon the whisky men turned round and undertook to defeat the amendment also, but failed. There was no combination in the matter at all. The proposed amendments were passed separately, and each on its own supposed merits."

The new year brought an increased activity among temperance workers. Meetings were held in every village and hamlet; distinguished lecturers were in the field, and the campaign was in full swing. Newspapers were discussing every phase of the proposed amendment. Politics were entering into the fight. St. John was called a "meddlesome governor," and the attacks upon him were continuous. In the minds of many people the governor and the prohibitory amendment meant almost the same thing. In spite of repeated denials, the opposition papers continually harped on the effort that was being made to put a prohibition plank into the Republican platform and make it a party issue. The prohibition papers were quite as unreasonable. Any man prominent in public life who was not in favor of the amendment was a "whiskyite" and a "gin-slinger" and there was no truth in him; he was a menace to society and had no place in the state body politic. Friends of the cause were called upon to see to his political downfall. By the latter part of January public sentiment had been lashed to a high degree of feeling.

On January 21 the liquor dealers inaugurated a public campaign by organizing the People's Grand Protective Union of Kansas. The meeting was attended "by a body of men who, taken as a whole, are not to be exceeded

in respectability of character and material responsibility by any other voluntary organization in the whole state; men who, knowing their rights, dare and have the ability to maintain them; men of large stake in the country, and therefore the most desirous of preserving constitutional order. . . . They come from all parts of the state and will exercise their individual as well as their collective influence in their several localities."

There were present at this meeting 125 delegates from over the state. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the prohibition amendment of the constitution of the state of Kansas, if adopted, would be a law, in its practical application, far beyond the public sentiment of the people, and would be inoperative; that its adoption would take the whole subject of temperance out of the power of the legislature, leaving the people without remedy. Laws so stringent that they cannot be enforced are destructive of all good, because they teach men not to respect the restraining power of the law. The laws now upon the statutes of the state are as stringent as can be enforced, and may be amended or repealed as the public interest or public sentiment shall demand. The amendment, if adopted, would do what no constitution of any state in this Union now does; it would legalize the manufacture and sale of liquor, unrestricted by law, and the liquor once purchased and in the hands of the purchaser, its use cannot be controlled; thereby offering a premium to falsehood, perjury and intemperance."

Interviews were given out by prominent liquor dealers of Leavenworth and elsewhere in which it was stated that the People's Grand Protective Union had money to spend on the campaign to defeat St. John and the prohibitory amendment. It was claimed that the governor was using the amendment to carry himself into a second term.

Subordinate unions of the People's Protective Union had been organized, and the opposition papers were filled with encouraging reports from every union. The central committee of the union, with offices in Topeka, sent out statements of the flourishing condition of the association; of their financial backing and of the "numerous letters and telegraphic dispatches received, full of encouragement, from friends of equal rights in other states, breathing the true spirit of loyalty to the nation and to its constitutional and free government, and extending the best sympathy of the writers to the union in the struggle now before it." Similar letters and dispatches were received from "individuals of known reputation for private and public worth, pledging their support in most encouraging terms." Every public meeting of the central committee of the union brought forth an outburst of rhetoric from its supporting newspapers. The high moral tone of its platitudes spread over the state. Its sympathizers demanded a slaughter of all temperance candidates. Tabulations were published showing the amount of grain used by distilleries, the number of men employed, the cost of labor, and the taxes paid to the government. It was repeatedly published of the union that it was "a strong organization and meant business." All of which was true, but its "organization" was late in the field, and it underestimated public sentiment.

The *Kansas State Journal*, George W. Reed, editor, was the organ of the liquor dealers, while the *Topeka Daily Capital*, under Major Hudson, was the staunch supporter of the prohibitionists. Each accused the other in furious editorials and indulged in the bitterest personalities. It was claimed that money was being sent into the state from Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri and

Iowa with which to buy up newspapers and conventions in order to defeat the prohibition amendment. A return charge was that the State Temperance Union was using money for St. John's campaign that had been sent to help carry the amendment. The following purported to have been copied from the New York *Independent*, of date some time during July or August, 1880:

"Ye who have money to spare, hear the voices from Kansas that cry for help, and draw your checks at sight, forwarding the same to Governor St. John or Rev. A. M. Richardson, of Lawrence—the first president, and the second the secretary of the war department that carries on the battle. How a few thousand dollars would brace them for a harder fight!"

A temperance paper at Newton claimed that it had received an anonymous letter "threatening us with dire destruction of property and maltreatment of person if we don't mind our own business and let the whisky interests alone."

GOVERNOR ROBINSON AGAINST PROHIBITION.

Topeka was said to be the headquarters of the "whisky ring," and papers over the state were placing nearly every candidate under suspicion from one side or the other. Speakers were hurried here and there and debates were the order of the moment. Governor St. John, Sidney Clarke and others were prominent on the affirmative side, while ex-Gov. Charles Robinson and S. N. Wood were the leaders of the negative.

In a debate at the Bismarck meeting Governor Robinson spoke of his own record and of the practical temperance of his life. He said that he felt this ought to insure him freedom from the attacks of the temperance people. He made the usual points that the exceptions in the amendment would make the liquor traffic free, that local option was the best preventive of drunkenness. John B. Finch, of Nebraska, replied to him. After these two speeches the meeting resolved that its faith in the wisdom and efficacy of "our" contemplated prohibitory "experiment" was unshaken, rather "materially strengthened," and they also reaffirmed their implicit confidence in the personal and official integrity of Gov. John P. St. John.

The National Christian Temperance Union met at Bismarck grove, August 26 and 27. " . . . It is the solemn duty of every temperance advocate from every state and territory to flock to the standard and lend assistance during the momentous crisis. . . . [Kansas] will be a beacon light leading her sister states to the same harbor of safety and sunshine," was the admonition to temperance workers. This meeting brought into the state Francis Willard, J. Ellen Foster, Miss Youmans, Maj. George Woodford and many more prominent temperance speakers. After the meeting they made a round of speeches through the state, contributing much to the brilliancy of the campaign.

Meanwhile the state conventions of the parties were being held and prohibition and antiprohibition lines were being more closely drawn. The Republican party refused to incorporate the prohibitory amendment as a party measure in its platform. The *Capital* in commenting on it says: "An entirely unnecessary omission, . . . and one that has created much unfavorable comment, is the absence of a plank on temperance. . . . Whatever may have been the motive, or whether there was any motive at all, . . . the impression that goes abroad is that the issue was dodged—that, like the late

Greenback and Democratic conventions, the Republicans were afraid to take the bull by the horns." Colonel Jennison tried to force a resolution through the Republican state convention after the nomination of St. John, pledging the party to an enthusiastic support of its nominee "because of his devotion to the cause of temperance and prohibition," and because his "nomination is due to his vigorous opposition to the traffic in intoxicating drinks." No action was taken on the suggestion, however.

As election day drew nearer more aggressive work than ever was done by the temperance element. At the other extreme was a surprising inertness on the part of the liquor dealers. Whether they were lulled to a false security by the action of the Republicans in refusing to indorse the amendment, or whether their money gave out, is hard to prove. But soon after the Republican convention, which was September 3, their own newspapers ceased publishing vituperative editorials, and open letters were no longer to be read on their sheets. However, the evening before the election they circulated at Topeka a circular addressed "To the Voters of Kansas," saying that "The falsely so-called 'Temperance party,' or 'St. Johnites,' have presented the question of a prohibitory amendment to the state constitution, forever outlawing the manufacture and use, as a beverage, of alcoholic liquors. Let the voters of Kansas stop and reflect upon the effect of the passage of this amendment." The arguments used in the body of the circular were those which they invariably used. The law was an innovation, derogatory to public liberty; it was "sumptuary and gustatory." It would retard immigration, depreciate farm values and engender bitterness and contention, and finally it would involve an endless and expensive litigation. The temperance people did not abate their activity a particle. Clergymen were asked to deliver sermons on prohibition on the Sunday before election, and there was a very general response to the request. In some churches it was almost a day of prayer and fasting. The last issues of the temperance newspapers, especially those established for work during the campaign, were full of warnings and advice. The Lawrence *Paladium* said: "Don't hesitate to scratch every doubtful name; vote for no one whose record on this question is not beyond dispute; pay little attention to mere party lines. Be sure of your men, no matter to what party they belong! The other side will vote their principles regardless of party. . . . So far as our state election is concerned, it is a square fight between the prohibitionists and the antiprohibitionists."

VICTORY AT THE POLLS.

The day of reckoning was at last at hand. The votes were cast, and when the returns were made up it was found that the vote for the amendment was 92,302, while the vote against was 84,304; it had carried by 7,998 votes. The first battle had been won, and it now remained for the newly elected legislature to justify the faith of its constituents and crystallize into law the spiritual force that had swept the state.

THE BANNER.

As a farewell the *Temperance Banner*, a paper established at Osage Mission in the interests of the prohibition movement, published the following editorial in its last issue, November 11, 1880:

Good-Bye.

"Over two years ago we started the *Banner* in the interest of constitutional prohibition, and have urged the measure, in our weakness, with all the energy we possessed. The battle has been fought, and the result is before our readers.

"We had a single purpose in view when we embarked in the newspaper business. Our eye has been steadily fixed upon that object. Our readers can judge how nearly we hit the mark.

"If the *Banner* has added a blessing to any home, or benefited our fellow man, we have our reward. If it has not, we rest content in the consciousness of having performed our duty according to the light we had. That we have made mistakes is evidence of our humanity.

"We are grateful to the editorial fraternity for the courtesy extended to us, and shall ever look upon the past two years of our life with pleasant memories. While we verily believe that we have given a valuable consideration for all we received, yet we extend our hearty thanks to all our patrons for favors they have so liberally bestowed upon us, and while the newspaper enterprise has not paid us a financial consideration, the experience has been a valuable schooling for us. We have learned something of the blackest and brightest phases of human character. We have come in contact with men whose souls have been steeped in avaricious selfishness until they are withered and shriveled up so small that they could fly through the eye of a cambric needle four abreast. We have met others whose hearts swelled with philanthropic sentiments and sent forth an electric current of human kindness that inspired us with new hopes, new desires and grander purposes.

"We fold our tent in peace, camp on the field, rest on our arms, sleep in security, to be awakened at the first sound of Gabriel's trumpet."

In the preparation of this article the principal authorities consulted were:

Newspapers: *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, *Topeka Daily Capital*, *State Record*, *Kansas State Journal*, *Atchison Weekly Champion*, *Lawrence Daily Journal*, *Kansas Temperance Palladium*, *Temperance Banner*, *Leavenworth Daily Times*, *Wichita Eagle*, and others.

Laws of Kansas, territorial and state, 1855-1879.

Proceedings of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, 1859.

Council and house journals, 1855-1861.

Senate and house journals, 1861-1879.

Political platforms, different parties, various dates.

Kansas Historical Collections, vols. 1-13.

Kansas Prohibition Pamphlets, vols. 1-3.

Independent Order of Good Templars, Proceedings, constitutions, etc., 1860-1881.

Sons of Temperance, Grand Division, proceedings, 1877.

Andreas, History of Kansas, Chicago, 1883.

Wilder, Annals of Kansas, Topeka, 2d ed., 1886.

Kansas Religious Pamphlets, vols. 1-4.

Kansas History Pamphlets, vols. 1-3.

Kansas State Temperance Union Clippings, vols. 1 and 2.

Kansas Prohibition Clippings, vols. 1 and 2, 1869-1881.

THE GENESIS OF PROHIBITION.

OR, HOW "THE WOMAN WHOM THOU GAVEST TO BE WITH ME" DID IT.

By GRANT W. HARRINGTON.

A WASHINGTON dispatch says that the honor of pushing national prohibition over technically belongs to Kansas, as her certificate of the ratification of the eighteenth amendment was the thirty-sixth one received by the Department of State. It was Kansas who started the fox, and it was eminently fitting that she should be in at the death. It was the Kansas legislature of 1879 that submitted to a vote of the people the constitutional amendment that made Kansas dry, and it was the example set by Kansas that forty years later made the nation dry.

The bookworm who digs into the printed volumes to find the story of the passage of the prohibition resolution through the legislature of 1879 will find little to reward him for his trouble. He will find in the senate and house journals a formal statement that the joint resolution to amend the constitution was read a third time and that certain senators and representatives voted aye and others no, and that the ayes had the necessary two-thirds in each branch of the legislature. That is all.

Equally barren of results will be his search through the newspaper files in the State Historical Society. A mere mention here and there that such a resolution was passed will be all he can find. If it created a ripple on the legislative sea the reporters of that day failed to catch it.

It is necessary, then, to hunt up the actors in the drama to get the story. As usual there was a woman mixed up in it. One of the speakers at the national convention of the Inter-Collegiate Prohibition Association in Topeka, in January, 1915, was ex-Governor John P. St. John, the venerable apostle of prohibition. In a quavering voice that reached to the furthest corner of the big auditorium he told the story of 1879. The resolution had passed the senate with practically no opposition, as the wets felt sure it would be killed in the house. The debate in the house was a hot one, lasting about two hours. On the roll call the measure lacked the necessary two-thirds and a call of the house was ordered. One by one the stragglers were rounded up and brought in and recorded, but the measure still lacked one vote. At this critical moment, when all seemed lost, a woman, whose husband had voted no, left her seat in the rear of the legislative chamber, and, coming to his desk, pleaded with him, for his own sake, for the sake of his children, for her sake, to change his vote.

"I saw she was making an impression on him," said the governor. "He took hold of his desk as though about to rise, and then looked around to see who was watching him. I said, 'Be a man and stand up,' and I think the thought must have reached him, for he straightened up in his place and in a manly voice said:

"'Mr. Speaker, I desire to change my vote from no to aye.'"

And then the governor dramatically added: "And it was the vote of George W. Greever, the Democratic representative from Wyandotte county, that passed the amendment and made prohibition possible in Kansas."

Who was the woman who did the right thing at the right time, and so made prohibition possible? She was born in east Tennessee in 1853, and her maiden name was Margaret Newland. The fall of 1878 found her one of the village school teachers in old Wyandotte. The one school building in the village stood on the site now occupied by the Carnegie library, in Huron square. George W. Greever, a farmer living in the Maywood neighborhood, was a candidate for the legislature on the Democratic ticket. He was a widower and was courting the school ma'am. He was successful in both campaigns, and when the time came for him to take up his legislative duties she resigned as teacher and they went to Topeka on their honeymoon.

Frank M. Holcomb, president of the Peoples National Bank of Kansas City, Kan., and for sixteen years county clerk of Wyandotte county, was one of her pupils, and says he remembers well how the children all cried when the school ma'am quit to get married. Harry Darby, president of the Missouri Boiler Works, was another of her pupils and remembers the incident.

Representative Greever has been dead for many years, but his widow lives at Emporia with some of her children. When asked for her recollection of the passage of the resolution she wrote, in 1915, as follows:

"I was teaching school at Kansas City Kan., when I married Mr. Greever, a representative to the legislature from Wyandotte county. At my earnest entreaty my husband changed his vote from no to yes, and that gave the consent of the legislature for the question to go before the people at the next election for their approval or disapproval. I was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the time."

Ex-Senator Buchan, for many years state senator from Wyandotte county, and the managing partner in the Barker, Blue and Buchan triumvirate that dominated Kansas politics for so long a time, was in the senate at this time. His story of the passage of the resolution through the senate is also interesting. There was a strong sentiment in the senate in favor of statutory prohibition, and a bill of that nature was working its way along to final passage. A resolution to submit a constitutional amendment was also on the calendar, but no one was paying much attention to it. The Wyandotte senator was leading the fight against the passage of the law and became satisfied that its friends had votes enough to put it across.

"The temperance fellows didn't know their strength as well as we did," laughed Mr. Buchan. "If they had we wouldn't have stood any show. We finally decided that when it came to a show-down we would try and switch them off onto the constitutional question, for none of us supposed that would stand any show before the people. R. W. Luddington, of Lawrence, a wholesale liquor dealer, was watching the fight. One day I told him we had just about reached the end of our string and that a final vote could not be put off much longer. 'Better take up the constitutional question with them,' he answered. I remember saying to him, 'If we do pass it and the people adopt it, where will you be?' His answer was that the people would never adopt it in a thousand years. I thought he was right about it, too. I proposed to the fellows who were backing the state-law proposition that we put the constitutional resolution across in its stead, and when they agreed to it we thought that we had slipped one over on them."

When asked if he recollected the incident of representative Greever changing his vote to please his wife, Mr. Buchan said:

"Yes, she got him to do it. She was a temperance crank. He had just married her and was foolish about her. Yes, she got him to change his vote."

And so a smart political trick at one end of the Kansas capitol and a woman at the other, in the winter of 1879, changed the course of the world on the liquor question.

MR. AND MRS. GEORGE W. GREEVER.

George W. Greever was born in Washington county, Virginia, March 10, 1831. His father died when he was a small boy and it fell to his lot to go to his uncle, Hiram Greever. When he was eighteen years of age he left his uncle's house, going to Miami county, Ohio. There he remained until 1855, when he moved to Andrew county, Missouri. For a time he engaged in farming, but later established a pork-packing plant under the firm name of Greever & Beaty, in Savannah, the county seat of Andrew county. Mr. Greever was opposed to slavery and a supporter of the Union; therefore in 1862 he enlisted in the Twenty-fifth Missouri cavalry, company H. He was promoted through the different grades until at the time of his discharge he was captain of the company. At the close of the war Captain Greever bought a farm near Newmarket, Mo., which he operated until 1868, when he purchased land in Wyandotte county, Kansas, removing there and establishing a stock farm for thoroughbred trotting horses.

He was three times elected to the Kansas legislature on the Democratic ticket, representing Wyandotte county in the sessions of 1877 and 1879, and Leavenworth county in the session of 1883. It was during his second term as representative of Wyandotte county that the prohibitory amendment became an issue in the legislature, and Captain Greever altered the fate of that issue in the house by changing his vote from no to aye. This he did at the earnest solicitation of his wife, Margaret Virginia Newland Greever.

Captain Greever was twice married; first to Sarah Porterfield, a native of Virginia. She died in Wyandotte county in 1875. She was the mother of five children, four of whom survived her—William S., John B., Charles F., and Mrs. Sarah E. Allan. On December 25, 1878, Captain Greever was married to Margaret V. Newland, of Wyandotte.

In 1882 a disastrous fire destroyed Captain Greever's stock barns, burning many of his fine horses. He then moved to Tonganoxie township, Leavenworth county, again establishing a stock farm for the breeding of horses. And it was there at his home that he died, July 3, 1891, from the result of an accident, having been thrown from his buggy into a barbed-wire fence by a runaway horse.

In politics Captain Greever was a strong Democrat, but his home was always a stopping place for candidates of both parties. He came from a line of Scotch Presbyterians, but in his later years he was identified with the Congregational Church.

The second wife of Captain Greever must always stand out as an interesting figure in the history of the passage of the prohibitory amendment through the house of representatives of 1879. It was by her effort that the measure was passed on from the legislature to the people—that the step looking to constitutional amendment was taken. Had she not been there at the psychological moment, and had she not prevailed with her husband, the fight would have been to do all over again.

Mrs. Greever was born in Sullivan county, Tennessee, July 21, 1853, the daughter of Frederick P. and Ellen (Hickam) Newland. Her father's family were slave owners, so when the Civil War came on he entered the Confederate army, serving from 1862 to 1865. At the close of the war, with his family, Mr. Newland emigrated in wagons from Tennessee to Edgar county, Illinois, where they lived four years. In the autumn of 1869 they again moved by wagon, coming to Seneca, Kan., and there they made their home until the family circle was broken through the death of the parents.

Mrs. Greever (Margaret Virginia Newland) was the eldest of nine children, and realizing the necessity for earning her living, she began to teach school at an early age. To better equip herself for her profession she spent a year in study at the Kansas Normal School at Leavenworth. It was while she was teaching in old Wyandotte that she met Captain Greever, and there married him in 1878. She came to Topeka a bride, to be with her husband through the legislative session of 1879, and from the beginning took a deep interest in the business of the legislature. Like most women of her time, she was interested in the temperance movement, and she has this to say regarding her husband's vote on the submission of the prohibitory amendment: "Imagine my consternation when my husband voted against the temperance bill—and especially *the* temperance bill! I hurriedly went to him and tried to show him his error, with the result that he changed his vote. That was the proudest moment of my life!"

Mrs. Greever was the mother of four children, and they, with the four children of the first marriage, survived Captain Greever. Some years after her husband's death Mrs. Greever moved to Emporia, where she now resides.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN KANSAS.*

By NINA SWANSON.†

I. INTRODUCTION.

THE source of material which shows most nearly in complete form the continuous development of public protection of children in Kansas is the session laws of the state—a source through which this development can be traced from 1855 up to the present time. These laws owe their significance to the fact that in their growth they represent, generally speaking, the changing attitude of the people of Kansas toward the problem of child welfare. We are compelled to recognize, even in a democracy, the limitations of the principle that the will of the people is expressed through the laws of the state; but on the whole it may be said to be true, in spite of its limitations and its modifications by innumerable complex forces.

The purpose of this thesis is to present the facts with regard to the development of the movement to protect children by means of public regulations.

* Submitted to the department of sociology and the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master of arts, June 1, 1922.

† Nina Swanson was born November 28, 1896, at Axtell, Kan. She entered McPherson College in 1914, receiving from that institution the degree of bachelor of arts in 1917. After three years of teaching she enrolled at Kansas University as a graduate student in the department of sociology, being granted the degree of master of arts in 1922. She is employed at present with the Children's Protective Society of Minneapolis, Minn.

Since the thesis is not meant to be a compilation of laws regarding children, interpretation of the essential elements of these laws has been necessary, but all opinions expressed by the writer are merely incidental. Moreover, detailed suggestions for a program of child welfare for the future are beyond the scope of this thesis; all that we can hope to do here is to present the situation as it has been and is from the standpoint of law.

That difficulties should arise in the effort to fulfill this purpose may readily be seen by him who is familiar with the session laws of Kansas or of any other state. Particularly in the early laws of Kansas, the laws of one session are practically a repetition of those of the preceding session of the legislature, and yet some minor changes were usually made. Numerous laws, much detailed, were often passed, only to be amended or repealed in the year following enactment, as readily as they were formed. This difficulty is to be found most emphasized in the laws preceding 1868. An attempt has been made to solve the problem of presenting the facts both in chronological order and in an order classified according to subject matter by striking a medium in which both the element of time and of subject were considered, the facts bearing upon a particular subject being taken up in the order in which they occurred in point of time. Since we have stated that the material of this thesis was taken from the session laws of Kansas, it may be well to mention here the fact that where exception occurs in the footnotes, the general laws being cited instead of the session laws, such exception may be attributed to the fact that the legislature upon a few occasions combined the session laws with the general statutes.

From the standpoint of subject matter, the material used has been classified into the following divisions: State Control of Agencies Caring for Children, including a discussion of the various state boards having general supervision over institutions; Child Labor and Education; Public Protection of the Health of Mothers and Children; Children in Need of Special Care. The last topic covers, first, dependent, neglected and illegitimate children; second, defective children, physically and mentally; third, delinquent children. The term "protection" as used in this thesis is to be taken in its broadest sense, covering both the negative principle of prevention of injury to children and the positive principle of promotion of their welfare.

II. STATE CONTROL OF AGENCIES CARING FOR CHILDREN.

In the pioneer days of Kansas the interests of its people were centered upon political and economic problems rather than social. Nevertheless, we find here the germs of ideas later developed into articulate principles applicable to the needs arising out of a growing social consciousness.

There was no central organization in Kansas having general supervision over even a limited number of agencies caring for children until the Board of Trustees of State Charitable Institutions was established in 1873, but there is some evidence that before that date the state was taking some sort of interest in the children within its boundaries. As early as 1859 provision was made in the first census of the territory for the enumeration of minors,¹ but there is no reason to believe that this enumeration had any particular significance with regard to the welfare of those minors. In the first census of the state, however, more specific information was desired, for the schedule provided for those attending school;

1. Laws 1859, ch. 23, sec. 2.

for deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic; and for paupers and convicts.² Again, in the drafting of the constitution for Kansas in 1859 this provision was inserted: "Institutions for the benefit of the insane, blind, and deaf and dumb, and such benevolent institutions as the public good may require shall be fostered and supported by the state."³ These examples serve to show that state supervision was the result of a gradual development, having its origin in ideas of lesser importance.

But as we have said, the first really noteworthy advance toward state control was made in 1873 in the provision for a board of trustees, consisting of six persons⁴ (changed to five in 1876)⁵ appointed by the governor, with the consent of the senate, this board to control the asylum for the deaf and dumb, asylum for the blind, and the asylum for the insane.⁶ Efficiency in management was at least partially promoted by alternate retirement from office by these officials.⁷ It was specified that the board of trustees was to have power to make and enforce necessary regulations for the management of institutions over which they had control, and to appoint all officers, employees and teachers of said institutions.⁸ In addition to the provision for a board of trustees, this act established a commission of three citizens of Kansas whose business it was to visit twice a year the State Penitentiary, the asylums for the insane, blind, deaf and dumb, and the state colleges.⁹ This last section, however, was repealed in 1875.¹⁰

Instead of establishing state institutions and providing for careful state supervision of charitable and educational work, Kansas at first left much of this work to communities, private organizations and individuals. To encourage private enterprise in this respect an amendment to the constitution was proposed in 1879 embodying the idea of exemption from taxation of property used exclusively for educational, benevolent and charitable purposes. This idea, which had its beginning here, persists in the laws of Kansas up to the present time.¹¹

In 1895 an attempt was made by the state to link its activities in the field of social welfare with the national movement by extending to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections an invitation to hold its twenty-third session in Kansas. The reason for this invitation was stated clearly as being because the National Conference of Charities and Corrections affords opportunity for a comparison and study of the methods employed in other states in the care, treatment and disposition of the dependent, defective and delinquent classes of population, which may be utilized for public good.¹² We have here the beginning of the idea of investigations and research for the purpose of discovering and applying scientific methods in the treatment of dysgenic classes.¹³

2. Laws 1865, ch. 20, sec. 17.

3. Const., art. 7, sec. 1.

4. Among the members on this first board of trustees were J. C. Wilson, of Muscotah; P. P. Elder, of Ottawa; and W. B. Barnitt, of Hiawatha.

5. Laws 1876, ch. 130, sec. 1.

6. Laws 1873, ch. 135, sec. 3.

7. Laws 1873, ch. 135, sec. 4.

8. Laws 1873, ch. 135, sec. 13.

9. Laws 1873, ch. 135, sec. 12.

10. Laws 1875, ch. 141, sec. 1.

11. Laws 1879, ch. 164, sec. 1.

12. Laws 1895, H. R. 31, p. 556.

13. The national conference did not actually hold a meeting in Topeka until the spring of 1900. In the winter of the same year the Kansas Conference of Charities and Corrections held its first meeting for organization under the direction of Prof. F. W. Blackmar, of the State University. The Kansas Conference of Charities and Corrections is now known as the Kansas Conference of Social Work.

In the code of charities and corrections of the state of Kansas of 1901¹⁴ we find detailed provision for state control and specific statements as to the attitude of the state upon matters of public supervision of the classes of its population needing special supervision. In the first place, the Board of Trustees of State Charitable Institutions was superseded by the State Board of Charities and Corrections.¹⁵ This board, like the old, was to consist of five members appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate,¹⁶ and was to hold office for four years,¹⁷ but it differed in that its duties were increased and its powers extended to cover the control of the School for Feeble-minded at Winfield, the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Atchison, the Boys' Industrial School at Topeka, the Girls' Industrial School at Beloit, and other charitable and reformatory institutions in addition to the state hospitals (formerly known as state insane asylums), the School for the Blind and School for the Deaf. The Industrial Reformatory at Hutchinson was not under the control of this board.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that here institutions other than those of the state were brought under state supervision, for the law states that visits were to be made annually by some member of the board to jails, county poorhouses and lockups.¹⁹ Undesirable political influence was guarded against in this act by means of the requirement that qualifications for position as superintendent, officers, teachers and employees in these institutions were to be determined by civil-service examination.²⁰ Among the duties of the Board of Charities and Corrections we find that the board was required to visit and inspect the above-named institutions at least once a month;²¹ to prescribe the course of study for the schools for the blind and deaf, the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, the industrial schools for boys and girls, and the Asylum for the Feeble-minded;²² to make a biennial report to the governor stating conditions of the institutions under their supervision, and making such recommendations as they might see fit.²³ The power of this board over insane is of interest to us because of the bearing of insanity among parents upon mental strength or weakness of their offspring. We find that this board was to have jurisdiction over all insane, both in asylums and out of them. It was to make rules for the licensing of all houses in which any person insane or of unsound mind might be detained, and for withdrawing license for just cause; for visiting and inspecting all private asylums in which insane persons were detained; and for supplying the board with information from the managers of institutions regarding valuable data.²⁴ Further concerning insane, allowance was to be made to each county for destitute insane if admission to a state hospital had been refused them for want of room.²⁵ Patients could be discharged from the state hospitals by the Board of Charities and Corrections because not insane, recovered from insanity, or improved so far as to be able to care for themselves; because friends requested their discharge and the superintendent judged that no evil consequences would result; because there was no prospect of further improvement of the patients and the space occupied by incurable and harmless patients was needed for unsafe and curable; or because released on parole by the Board.²⁶ We find here no indication that the state recognized the dysgenic effect upon the

14. Laws 1901, ch. 353.

15. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 3.

16. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 3.

17. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 4.

18. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 3.

19. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 7.

20. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 10.

21. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 18.

22. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 22.

23. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 33.

24. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 27.

25. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 65.

26. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 71.

future generations of lack of restraint of individuals bearing a taint of insanity. The purpose of any restraint whatsoever was here humanitarian from the standpoint of the individual patient, and possibly in addition a safeguard to society against physical injury by dangerous insane.

Finally, the board was to designate one person in each county as a visiting agent, having local supervision over indentured pupils of the industrial schools and the Soldiers' Orphans' Home. If upon investigation the pupil was found to be improperly provided for, this agent was to report the fact to the Board of Charities and Corrections.²⁷ The agent was also to seek out suitable persons willing to receive indentured pupils from the industrial schools or the Soldiers' Orphans' Home.²⁸ In 1903 the last-named provision was amended to the effect that the superintendent of the respective institution superseded the agent in the work of finding persons who desired indentured pupils,²⁹ and the original provision was then repealed.³⁰

This method of state control lasted only four years, and was then replaced by the Board of Control of State Charitable Institutions. No change was made here in the institutions under supervision, the method of appointment or term of office.³¹ Greater centralization of power was sought and secured in the reduction of the number of board members from five to three.³² Provision was made that the whole board was to visit and inspect without notice the state institutions under its control³³ and that the board or some member of the board was to visit these institutions at least once a month.³⁴ To encourage the coöperation of the citizens of the state and state boards other than the Board of Control in this supervision, the governor was given the power to appoint two women whose business it was to visit the institutions and report upon the conditions there, and who had power to call upon two members of the State Board of Health to investigate the physical condition of the inmates and sanitation about the buildings and grounds.³⁵ What interests us most about this act, however, is such a statement as the following: "The Board of Control shall gather information embodying the experience of charitable and reformatory institutions in this and other countries regarding the best and most successful methods of caring for the insane, imbecile and other defective classes; and it shall encourage and urge the scientific investigation of the treatment of insanity and epilepsy by the medical staffs of the insane hospitals and the institutions for the feeble-minded, and shall publish in their annual reports the result of such scientific and clinical work being done in said institutions."³⁶ Again, "That the result of state control of charitable and reformatory institutions in Kansas shall be to diminish pauperism, defectiveness and degeneracy, the Board of Control may make a special investigation of the conditions, cause, prevention and cure of crime, pauperism, insanity, epilepsy, imbecility, evil home conditions, defectiveness and degeneracy, and the board shall have power, when it deems necessary or advisable, to employ an expert investigator to aid them in such investigations."³⁷ Finally, "that the humanitarian side of charities and corrections shall not be neglected, the board shall give special attention to the methods of care and treatment of the inmates of the several institutions under their control,

27. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 44.

28. Laws 1901, ch. 353, sec. 46.

29. Laws 1903, ch. 432, sec. 6.

30. Laws 1903, ch. 432, sec. 8.

31. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 1.

32. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 1.

33. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 10.

34. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 12.

35. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 13.

36. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 29.

37. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 29.

and shall exercise a careful supervision of said methods, to the end that the best treatment and care known to modern science shall be given said inmate."³⁸ The object of the act was specifically stated to be chiefly this: to place charitable institutions under one management, to secure economical administration of the affairs, and to keep such records as would show the cost of maintenance of the institutions and the per capita cost of maintaining the inmates.³⁹

These principles here expressed embody the modern viewpoint. The old *laissez-faire* attitude toward degeneracy has given way to a desire for investigation concerning its source. We have in these statements a combination of the humanitarian attitude with the scientific toward the treatment of the dysgenic classes; prevention and cure have taken the place of punishment and an indifferent acceptance of existing conditions; the possible influence of both heredity and environment is at least partially conceded, and the state professes to be open to conviction upon the matter of origin of degeneracy; finally, the importance of research and expert investigation is recognized. To be sure, these principles are to some extent only theory, but we hold that the development of theory and practice go hand in hand and that a sound theory resulting from partially successful experience in turn precedes the practical application of sound principles. In 1907 there had been an indication that these principles were being disseminated among the people of Kansas, for the Kansas Association of Charities and Corrections,⁴⁰ an organization composed of and supported by private citizens of the state interested in the welfare of society, expressed, among the purposes for which it stood, the following: to make a statistical study of conditions in charitable and correctional institutions in Kansas; to study improved methods of management of such institutions; to organize all workers in charitable and correctional affairs into a single body; to assist the officers of these institutions through favorable legislation and education of the people of Kansas in matters connected with these institutions; to encourage scientific research regarding the treatment of dysgenic classes; to promote reform and self-support among inmates of these institutions; to ascertain the prevalence of degenerate classes outside of institutions and secure proper care for them; to prevent evil political influence upon the charitable affairs of the state; and to secure prevention of degeneracy.⁴¹ The state gave official support to this organization in 1907, when the legislature approved the principles for which the association stood and provided for the publication of 5,000 copies of the proceedings of its annual conference.⁴² This coöperation between the government officials and an organization composed of private citizens was most commendable and helpful to the development of an intelligent public opinion and the initiation of progressive legislation. An understanding of social problems is so diffused among the citizens who remain at home, to exercise their influence through the right to vote rather than through actual administration of charitable and correctional affairs.

The extension of public control and support to private charitable institutions is seen when in 1909 the state provided that all private charitable institutions of the state receiving state aid were subject to the Board of Control as

38. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 29.

39. Laws 1905, ch. 475, sec. 51.

40. This association was also known as the Kansas Conference of Charities and Corrections, and later as the Kansas Conference of Social Work.

41. Laws 1907, ch. 391.

42. Laws 1907, ch. 391, sec. 1.

state institutions,⁴³ and when appropriations were made to not less than forty-one different private institutions.⁴⁴ In 1921 again a law was passed reiterating the fact that private institutions were to be supervised and inspected in the same manner as public charitable institutions and were to receive state aid. In this case, however, the power of the Board of Control was replaced by the State Board of Administration.⁴⁵

Under the State Board of Charities and Corrections and the State Board of Control of State Charitable Institutions no provision was made for the management of the State Penitentiary and the Kansas Industrial Reformatory at Hutchinson.⁴⁶ Hence in 1911 these two institutions were placed under a Board of Penal Institutions,⁴⁷ the Board of Penal Institutions being superseded by the State Board of Corrections, whose control was extended to include the State Industrial School for Boys and the State Industrial School for Girls.⁴⁸ This move was far from commendable, because it classified the industrial schools for boys and girls with the State Penitentiary and Industrial Reformatory, and placed upon the former the stigma of criminality. Then, too, this law hindered the steady progress of the state toward a centralized, efficient means of control.

That this move was only a temporary relapse is indicated by the fact that the new system lasted only four years and was then, in 1917, canceled by the organization of the State Board of Administration.⁴⁹ This board, which is the present means of state control, was to be composed of four electors, three of whom were to be appointed by the governor, the fourth being the governor himself, acting as chairman.⁵⁰ The Board of Administration was given control and management of all benevolent, educational and penal institutions of the state.⁵¹ The board was to employ a business manager for all the state institutions, who, advised by the board and responsible to them, was to control and manage those institutions.⁵² The board, however, had power to make the rules for the manner of administration.⁵³ The purpose of this act was to employ an expert for the business and scientific management of state institutions and to place the educational, benevolent and penal institutions under one management for the orderly and economical administration thereof.⁵⁴

Perhaps most significant of all provisions for state supervision of the interests of children particularly is the bill passed by the legislature of 1921, providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Child Research at the University of Kansas. The purpose of this bureau is given as "the study of the problems of the child life of the state, including studies as to the diagnosis, treatment and prevention of delinquency, defectiveness and dependency; studies in normal inheritance, development and training; studies of family and community life in their relation to child life."⁵⁵ The purpose here expressed is in principle the same as that outlined in the bill of 1905 providing for the organization of the State Board of Control. However, by the law of 1921 the general principles of the law of 1905 were directed specifically toward the welfare of the

43. Laws 1909, ch. 1, sec. 1.

44. Laws 1909, ch. 1, sec. 2.

45. Laws 1921, ch. 31, sec. 1.

46. The original bill organizing the State Board of Control included under the jurisdiction of this board the State Penitentiary and the State Reformatory.

47. Laws 1911, ch. 298, sec. 2.

48. Laws 1913, ch. 289, sec. 2.

49. Laws 1917, ch. 297, sec. 18.

50. Laws 1917, ch. 297, sec. 1.

51. Laws 1917, ch. 297, sec. 5.

52. Laws 1917, ch. 297, sec. 8.

53. Laws 1917, ch. 297, sec. 12.

54. Laws 1917, ch. 297, sec. 13.

55. Laws 1921, ch. 282, sec. 1.

children of Kansas. The principle of prevention, rather than cure, had found its practical application in a movement to emphasize the importance of normal childhood resulting from normal inheritance and normal environment.

The administrative offices of the bureau were to be located at the University of Kansas, but the coöperation of other state schools, state hospitals and institutions was encouraged.⁵⁶ The bureau was to have a director recommended by the chancellor of the University and appointed by the Board of Administration, and was to be provided with the necessary personnel and equipment.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, the legislature which passed this bill failed in one important detail—the appropriation of funds for the fulfillment of the purpose of the law. The existence of the law, however, may be considered a step toward the desired end, and sooner or later, with the proper insistence on the part of social-minded men and women, the Kansas legislature will no doubt make the necessary appropriations to carry out the project, which, we believe, marks the beginning of a new era for the children of the state.

III. CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION.

1. CHILD LABOR.

Protection of children in labor in Kansas is a comparatively recent development, perhaps because child labor has not been a great menace in a state where manufacturing towns are not numerous even now.

The first provision against child labor developed out of an enactment for the safety of persons employed in coal mines, passed by the legislature in 1875, which required that owners or lessees of coal mines in the state which were worked by means of a shaft must construct an escapement shaft for the safety of miners.⁵⁸ A similar act providing in greater detail for the health and safety of persons employed in coal mines was passed in 1883,⁵⁹ and in this act, only incidentally, however, we find the first statement directed specifically against child labor. "No person under twelve years of age shall be allowed to work in any coal mine, nor any minor between the ages of twelve and sixteen years unless he can read and write and furnish a certificate from a school teacher, which shall be kept on file, showing that he has attended school at least three months during the year." If a minor applied for work the agent of the coal mine employing him was under obligation to see that the provisions of the section were not violated. Willful violation of the act on the part of the agent of the coal mine was punishable by a fine not exceeding fifty dollars for each offense.⁶⁰ Since this provision stood alone, and seemingly no thought was given to child labor for several years, the probability is that the law was not strictly enforced. However, in 1898 we find a provision that laws regulating the employment of children, minors and women were to be enforced by the commissioner of labor statistics,⁶¹ "children" being defined as minors under fourteen and "minors" as a male person under the age of twenty-one or female under eighteen.⁶²

No law directed purposely and solely against child labor was enacted until 1905, when employment of children under fourteen in factories, packing houses or mines was forbidden. In addition, no person under sixteen was to

56. Laws 1921, ch. 282, sec. 2.

57. Laws 1921, ch. 282, sec. 3.

58. Laws 1875, ch. 115.

59. Laws 1883, ch. 117.

60. Laws 1883, ch. 117, sec. 17.

61. Laws 1898, ch. 34, sec. 3.

62. Laws 1898, ch. 34, sec. 6.

be employed at work dangerous to life, limb, health or morals.⁶³ Persons or corporations employing children were required to secure from school authorities, or where that was impossible, from parent or guardian, age certificates of children employed, which certificates were to serve as means of protection for the employer against the law.⁶⁴ The duty of enforcing this law was delegated to the state factory inspector and state inspector of mines,⁶⁵ and violation of the act was made punishable by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, or imprisonment in the county jail for not less than thirty days nor more than ninety days.⁶⁶

This law of 1905, however, was repealed four years later,⁶⁷ and superseded by another similar law covering a wider field of application. Here no child under fourteen was to be allowed to work in connection with any factory, workshop (not owned or operated by the parents of the child), theater, packing house, elevator or mine. Moreover, no children were to be employed in any service whatsoever during the session of the public school in the district in which they lived.⁶⁸ Children under sixteen employed in the occupations mentioned above or in delivering messages or merchandise were limited in the hours of work from seven o'clock in the morning to six in the afternoon, and in time to eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week. Again, provision was made that no person under sixteen was to be employed in work or place dangerous to life, limb, health or morals.⁶⁹ Age certificates were again made a requirement, stating the age of the child and giving also a description of the child.⁷⁰ The previous provisions for the enforcement of the act⁷¹ and punishment for its violation⁷² were reiterated.

Then in 1915, in an act creating an Industrial Welfare Commission⁷³ we find the statement: "The state of Kansas, exercising herewith its police and sovereign power, declares that inadequate wages, long-continued hours and unsanitary conditions of labor exercise a pernicious effect on the health and welfare of women, learners and apprentices, and minors.⁷⁴ Employment of these classes under conditions of labor injurious to their welfare, at wages insufficient for maintenance and hours inconsistent with health was made unlawful.⁷⁵ The Industrial Welfare Commission, a committee holding office for four years and consisting of the commissioner of labor and two others appointed by the governor, one of whom was to be a woman, was given the power to establish standards of wages, hours and conditions of labor for women, learners, apprentices and minors,⁷⁶ and in order to accomplish this purpose intelligently the commissioner might make investigations concerning the working conditions of these classes. This investigation became obligatory upon a request for the same from twenty-five persons engaged in an occupation in which these classes were employed,⁷⁷ and to facilitate this investigation by the commissioner employers were required to keep a register of their employees open to perusal by the commission.⁷⁸ If after the commission had made its investigation it found that wages, hours and other conditions were detrimental to the welfare of the employees, it was to establish

63. Laws 1905, ch. 278, sec. 1.

64. Laws 1905, ch. 278, sec. 2.

65. Laws 1905, ch. 278, sec. 3.

66. Laws 1905, ch. 278, sec. 4.

67. Laws 1909, ch. 65, sec. 6.

68. Laws 1909, ch. 65, sec. 1.

69. Laws 1909, ch. 65, sec. 2.

70. Laws 1909, ch. 65, sec. 3.

71. Laws 1909, ch. 65, sec. 4.

72. Laws 1909, ch. 65, sec. 5.

73. Laws 1915, ch. 275.

74. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 1.

75. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 2.

76. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 3.

77. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 5.

78. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 6.

a "board" consisting of three representatives of employers in the occupation investigated, three representatives of the employees, and one or more neutral persons, representatives of the public.⁷⁹ This board was to decide upon minimum wage, standards of hours or sanitary conditions with reference to the case in question, basing its decision upon information furnished by the commission, and was then to submit their decision to the said commission⁸⁰ for approval and enforcement.⁸¹ The term "minor" here meant any person under eighteen; "woman" meant any female over eighteen; "learner" and "apprentice" referred only to learners or apprentices who were minors or women.⁸² Any employer employing any of the classes mentioned under conditions herein forbidden by the commission was punishable by a fine of \$25 to \$100, and any woman, minor, learner or apprentice compelled to work at a wage below the minimum or for a longer time than the number of hours fixed by the commission might recover in civil action the compensation due her.⁸³

This law of 1915 was amended in 1921, when the jurisdiction which had been conferred upon the Industrial Welfare Commission was given to the Court of Industrial Relations,⁸⁴ which court had been created in the year preceding the above-named amendment.⁸⁵ Since the Court of Industrial Relations was not directed specifically toward the improvement of labor conditions among children, it cannot be discussed here in detail. In the amendment of 1921 the Court of Industrial Relations was given the power of the Welfare Commission to establish proper conditions of labor for women and children;⁸⁶ to inspect the registers required to be kept by employers;⁸⁷ to make necessary orders for improvement of labor conditions after all persons interested had been given a hearing at a public meeting.⁸⁸ The corresponding sections of the law of 1915 were then repealed, together with all those sections of that law above discussed, except for the first two, stating the policy of the commission and that which provided for compensation to the employee who had worked at a wage below the minimum.⁸⁹

The child-labor law of 1909 was repealed in 1917⁹⁰ and a new law passed to take its place. Again the number of occupations in which a child under fourteen was forbidden to be employed was extended to include, in addition to the occupations mentioned in 1909, mills and canneries, no exception being made for workshops owned or operated by parents of the child. No such children were to be employed in any sort of service during session of school in the district in which they lived;⁹¹ no child under sixteen was to be allowed to work in any mine or quarry or at any occupation dangerous to life, limb, health or morals;⁹² no child under sixteen employed in the occupations included in this law, or in carrying messages, or employed in a hotel, restaurant or mercantile establishment, was to be allowed to work except between the hours of seven a. m. and six p. m., nor more than forty-eight hours a week.⁹³ When children under sixteen were employed in any of the occupations here

79. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 8.

80. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 9.

81. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 10.

82. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 13.

83. Laws 1915, ch. 275, sec. 17.

84. Laws 1921, ch. 263, sec. 1.

85. Laws 1920, ch. 29.

86. Laws 1921, ch. 263, sec. 3.

87. Laws 1921, ch. 263, sec. 4.

88. Laws 1921, ch. 263, sec. 5.

89. Laws 1921, ch. 263, sec. 8.

90. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 13.

91. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 1.

92. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 2.

93. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 3.

mentioned the employer must first obtain a work permit⁹⁴ issued by the superintendent of schools or judge of the juvenile court, upon receipt and approval of the following: first, a statement from the person for whom the child was to work, giving the occupation at which the child was to be employed; second, evidence that the child had either completed the course of study of elementary schools or had equivalent qualifications, and providing that a child might be given a permit to work outside of school hours even though he had not completed the elementary school course; and third, evidence that the child was fourteen years old.⁹⁵ This work permit was to contain not only the age of the child, but, as before, a detailed description of the child, a statement of the proof of age accepted, and verification that the papers required above had been approved and that the child in question had been in person examined by the official. The work permit was to be signed by the child employed.⁹⁶ Like the age certificate of the two previous laws, this work permit was the employer's protection against the law.⁹⁷ The work permit might be revoked by the commissioner of labor if the moral or physical welfare of the child in question required such revocation.⁹⁸ The state factory inspector and state inspector of mines were to enforce this act,⁹⁹ punishment for violations of any of the provisions being unchanged since the laws of 1905 and 1909.¹⁰⁰ This law of 1917 is the law in force at the present time.

We find that child-labor legislation in Kansas up to date consists, then, chiefly of a single law, in addition to the law establishing an Industrial Welfare Commission—superseded by the Court of Industrial Relations—passed at the late date of 1905, modified in 1909 and again in 1917.

2. EDUCATION.

The problem of education was met, to some extent at least, at a much earlier date than the problem of child labor, perhaps because the former was more commonly recognized and the need for education was more universal than the need for child-labor laws. At any rate, in 1855, when Kansas was still a territory, her first school laws were adopted by a proslavery legislature—copied, however, almost verbatim from the laws of Missouri. It was natural that such should be the situation, for the state was then in turmoil and confusion quite incompatible with an intelligent public opinion which should be the cause of legislation. Because the legislature which passed the laws of 1855 was so obviously representative of only one group, and, moreover, was so clearly borrowing laws from another state, it is of little use to dwell upon educational legislation at that time. However, it is interesting to note that, even this early, education of children was considered a matter of importance.

In the first laws of the territory we find, in an act concerning apprentices,¹⁰¹ a provision that every master to whom any orphan or poor child was bound out as apprentice must be held responsible for the education of such child in reading, writing and arithmetic, "the compound rules and the rules of three,"¹⁰² unless such child was a negro or a mulatto, when such education was not required.¹⁰³ This exception is easily understood when one knows that both the

94. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 4.

95. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 6.

96. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 7.

97. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 8.

98. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 10.

99. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 11.

100. Laws 1917, ch. 227, sec. 12.

101. Stat. 1855, ch. 6.

102. Stat. 1855, ch. 6, sec. 8.

103. Stat. 1855, ch. 6, sec. 10.

state from which the laws were borrowed and the legislature in power were proslavery in sentiment. In this same act we find that the executor who had been directed by the will of a deceased father to bring up a child to some particular trade might bind such child by indenture.¹⁰⁴ Apprenticeship may be looked upon as the beginning of vocational education—a method of training the importance of which we are beginning to realize again. We find, too, at this time that education was encouraged through the exemption of taxation of schoolhouses and other buildings used for the purpose of education;¹⁰⁵ that half of all fines and penalties paid into county treasuries were to be used for the support of common schools in the county;¹⁰⁶ that a school or schools were to be established in each county, to be free to all white citizens between the ages of five and twenty-one;¹⁰⁷ and that lands granted by United States to the territory for school purposes were to remain a continual fund.¹⁰⁸

In 1857 provision was made that the board of trustees of each school district must report to the board of county commissioners, among other points, the number of white children in their district over five years of age and under twenty-one, the number taught during the year, and the length of the school term.¹⁰⁹ This act is an amendment of the last-named act of 1855, providing for the establishment of common schools.

In 1858 a law was passed to the effect that the governor was to appoint a territorial superintendent of common schools,¹¹⁰ whose duty it was to recommend approved textbooks, to secure uniformity in their use so far as possible, to discourage sectarian instruction, and to make efforts to get information as to the improvement of the system of common schools in other states.¹¹¹ He was, moreover, to apportion school moneys among the several counties.¹¹² County superintendents were to report to the territorial superintendent the number of school districts within the county; the length of the school term; the number of children taught in each district; and the number between the ages of five and twenty-one residing in each district.¹¹³ The state made no requirement at this time as to the length of the school term, but specified that no district was to receive aid unless school had been taught in the district for at least three months during the year;¹¹⁴ a negative inducement, to be sure, and yet an encouragement to the district to lengthen its school term. Later in the same act, rather inconsistently, the qualified voters of the district were given the power to determine the length of school term, which was to be not less than three months.¹¹⁵ Further, all district schools were to be free;¹¹⁶ district boards might purchase books for indigent pupils;¹¹⁷ orthography, English grammar and geography were to be taught in addition to the traditional three R's;¹¹⁸ and the district board was to determine what textbooks were to be used.¹¹⁹ Almost twenty years later the requirement was

104. Stat. 1855, ch. 6, sec. 20.

105. Stat. 1855, ch. 137, art. 1, sec. 2.

106. Stat. 1855, ch. 143, sec. 1.

107. Stat. 1855, ch. 144, art. 1, sec. 1.

108. Stat. 1855, ch. 144, art. 3, sec. 7.
General Laws of Territory of Kansas, 1859,
ch. 89, sec. 1, repeals all laws passed pre-
vious to January, 1857.

109. Laws 1857 (establishment of com-
mon schools). General Laws of Territory of
Kansas, 1859, ch. 89, sec. 2, repeals all laws
of a general nature passed at the regular ses-
sion of the territorial legislature of 1857, ex-
cept "An act more particularly to define the
boundaries of the several counties in Kansas
territory."

110. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 1.

111. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 5.

112. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 9.

113. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 16.

114. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 17.

115. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 44.

116. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 71.

117. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 68.

118. In so far as the laws of 1858 are
supplied by laws of 1859, they are repealed
by General Laws of 1859, ch. 89, sec. 3.

119. L. & R. 1858, ch. 8, sec. 69. Gen-
eral Laws of State of Kansas of 1862, ch. 4,
repeals sections 1, 5, 9, 16, 17, 44, 68, 70,
71, ch. 8, of Laws and Resolutions of Fourth
Session, 1858, noted above.

also made that instruction in these branches must be in the English language.¹²⁰

Throughout the legislation of 1859, many previous laws having been repealed, we find a great deal of repetition of earlier acts and very little advance. The law of 1855, concerning education of apprentices, remained unchanged,¹²¹ but nowhere in the act of 1859 was exception made of negro children. Voters were still allowed to determine the length of school term to be not less than three months;¹²² a report similar to the previous one of 1858 was to be given by the county superintendent to the territorial superintendent;¹²³ the district board might supply books to children of the poor;¹²⁴ the same subjects were to be taught;¹²⁵ the district board was to determine the textbooks to be used;¹²⁶ district schools were to be free to all children between five and twenty-one, and no sectarian instruction was to be allowed;¹²⁷ the clerk of each district was to make out the tax list of the district based on the assessment roll of the county;¹²⁸ and the tax was to be collected by the district treasurer.¹²⁹ We see then that the laws of 1859 were in respect to education practically a repetition of previously made laws.¹³⁰

In the state constitution drafted in 1859 we find that some thought was given to education in the territory which was soon to become a state, for here the state superintendent of public instruction was to take the place of the territorial superintendent in general supervision of common schools, together with the superintendents of public instruction in the various counties;¹³¹ the legislature was to promote intellectual and moral improvement by the establishment of a uniform system of common schools;¹³² and the state was to give its support to the common schools by appropriating thereto the lands granted by United States, by granting to the school fund all estates of persons dying without heir or will, and by fixing a state school tax.¹³³ No school in which school has not been maintained for three months was to receive such state aid.¹³⁴ This state tax for the support of schools which was made permissible by the constitution was made effective by an act of 1861, making the amount of that tax one mill upon a dollar valuation of taxable property and providing for the collection of said tax in the same manner as other state taxes.¹³⁵ It may be well to mention that in the state constitution provision was again made that all property used for educational purposes was to be exempt from taxation.¹³⁶

In 1861 a law was passed to the effect that district schools must be equally free and accessible to all children resident therein over five and under twenty-one.¹³⁷ Probably the reason for this provision was a desire upon the part of the legislature to protect negro children against discrimination. Two years later the qualified voters of a school district were given the power to make such order as they deemed proper for the separate education of white and

120. Laws 1877, ch. 170, sec. 1.

121. Laws 1859, ch. 13, sec. 8.

122. Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 43.

123. Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 16.

124. Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 67.

125. Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 69.

126. Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 68.

127. Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 70.

128. Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 79.

129. Laws 1859, ch. 116, sec. 81.

130. General Laws of State of Kansas, 1862, ch. 4, repeals General Laws of Territory of Kansas, 1859, ch. 116 (which includes all the laws of 1859 herein mentioned except the first regarding apprentices).

131. Const., art. 6, sec. 1.

132. Const., art. 6, sec. 2.

133. Const., art. 6, sec. 3.

134. Const., art. 6, sec. 4.

135. Laws 1861, ch. 76, art. 8, sec. 5.

136. Const., art. 11, sec. 1.

137. Laws 1861, ch. 76, art. 4, sec. 6.

colored children, securing to them equal educational advantages.¹³⁸ It is interesting to note that in the private laws of 1861 we find in the act incorporating the city of Marysville provision that black or mulatto children were not to be permitted to attend schools provided for white children, but that taxes derived from the property of black or mulatto persons for school purposes were to be appropriated for the education of their children.¹³⁹ Further, in 1865, concerning this same problem a provision was made in an amendment of an act incorporating cities of the state of Kansas, approved March 4, 1862, that the boards of education might organize and maintain separate schools for white and colored children.¹⁴⁰ By 1867 district boards were forbidden to refuse admission to any children, and the penalty for such refusal was that the board must forfeit to the county the sum of \$100 for each child for every month the child was excluded from school during the school term.¹⁴¹ In 1889, in an act concerning the schools of Wichita, it was specifically stated that there was to be no discrimination on account of race or color,¹⁴² but in 1905 Kansas City, Kan., was given the power to establish separate schools for white and colored children, including high schools.¹⁴³ These laws on the separate education of white and colored children indicate somewhat the state of confusion in which educational laws of Kansas are at the present time.

So far the movement toward efficiency in the school system had included a great deal of repetition, and had been to a great extent, except for the laws providing for state and county superintendents, a matter of sanctioning or encouraging private enterprise and community initiative. One of the big steps toward progress was taken in 1873, when the State Board of Education was created. This board was to be composed of 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.¹⁴⁴ The chief duty of the board, as here stated, was to issue certificates to properly qualified applicants,¹⁴⁵ but at least here was an attempt to secure further state control of education. A change was made in the membership of the state board in 1893,¹⁴⁶ and again in 1919, when the present membership of the board was specified. It was to consist of the state superintendent of public instruction, who was chairman, the chancellor of the State University, the president of the State Agricultural College, the president of the State Normal School at Emporia, the president of the State Manual Training Normal School at Pittsburg, the president of the Fort Hays Normal School, two county or city superintendents of public instruction, and a county superintendent of public instruction appointed by the governor for a period of two years from any county in which none of the above-mentioned institutions was located.¹⁴⁷ In the years following the creation of the State Board of Education its duties were increased. For example, in 1905 the board was to prescribe a course of study for the public schools of Kansas (remaining within the limits of the law) and was to revise this course of study whenever revision became necessary.¹⁴⁸ Again in 1915, the state board was given "exclusive and sole authority to define official standards of excellence in all matters relating

138. Laws 1861, ch. 56, sec. 5.

139. P. L. 1861, ch. 46, sec. 1.

140. Laws 1865, ch. 46, sec. 1.

141. Laws 1867, ch. 125, sec. 1.

142. Laws 1889, ch. 227, sec. 4.

143. Laws 1905, ch. 414, sec. 1.

144. Laws 1873, ch. 133, sec. 1.

145. Laws 1873, ch. 133, sec. 2.

146. Laws 1893, ch. 132, sec. 1.

147. Laws 1919, ch. 256, sec. 1.

148. Laws 1905, ch. 387, sec. 1.

to the administration, course of study and instruction in rural schools, graded schools and high schools, and to accredit these schools in which the specified standards are maintained."¹⁴⁹

By 1874 an act was passed requiring the education of all healthy children. It was specified that all children between the ages of eight and fourteen must be sent to school, by the person having control over the child, for at least twelve weeks out of the year, six of which must be consecutive. Exemption was possible only by consent of the board of the school district or the city, upon proof that the parent or guardian of the child was too poor to clothe the child properly; that the physical or mental condition of the child prevented him from attending school or applying himself to study; that he was being given similar instruction at home; that he had already acquired a knowledge of subjects required by law; or finally, that no school was being taught within two miles of the child's home.¹⁵⁰ The parent or guardian who failed to comply with the requirements of this act was subject to a fine of five dollars to ten dollars for the first offense and ten dollars to twenty dollars for every subsequent offense.¹⁵¹ This law was to be enforced by the school officers.¹⁵² The modifications of this law which were made later may best be considered at this point. The gist of the law to prevent truancy passed in 1903 was this: Every person having control of any child between the ages of eight and fifteen was required to send the child to school during the period of session of the school attended. Exceptions could be made of children fourteen years of age or more, who were employed for the support of themselves or dependents and who could read and write the English language, in which case attendance for eight consecutive weeks was sufficient; of children who were graduates of the common schools; and of children who were mentally or physically incapacitated for the work of the grades, the school authorities in this last case having the right to order examination of children.¹⁵³ For this law was substituted another similar law in 1919. This time the compulsory school age was raised to sixteen, so that every person having control over a child eight years old and under sixteen was required to send the child to public, private, denominational or parochial school. Exemptions to this law remained the same as in 1903.¹⁵⁴

Enforcement of this law to prevent truancy was made the duty of a truancy officer appointed by the county commissioners. Parents or guardians who failed to heed within five days the notice of such truancy officer concerning the requirements of school attendance of the absent child were subject to a fine of not less than five nor more than twenty-five dollars.¹⁵⁵ This last part of the truancy law was amended and repealed four years later, but little change of essential importance was made except that a provision was inserted to the effect that a district board or board of education might at its discretion permit a temporary absence of children between eight and fourteen in cases of emergency or domestic necessity. It was here stated also specifically that the notice was to be sent when the child had been absent for three consecutive days or more, unless excused by the above provision for exemption.¹⁵⁶ By the act of 1905 parents or guardians were held responsible for the regular attend-

149. Laws 1915, ch. 296, sec. 8.

150. Laws 1874, ch. 123, sec. 1.

151. Laws 1874, ch. 123, sec. 2.

152. Laws 1874, ch. 123, sec. 3.

153. Laws 1903, ch. 423, sec. 1.

154. Laws 1919, ch. 272, sec. 1.

155. Laws 1903, ch. 423, sec. 2.

156. Laws 1907, ch. 317, sec. 1.

ance and good conduct of habitual truants unless a statement was made by them that the child was beyond their control; then the truant officer was to take up proceedings against the child according to the law governing juvenile persons who are disorderly.¹⁵⁷ As a means of checking up on truancy, all teachers in the public schools of Kansas were required to report to the superintendent of the county or the superintendent of the city in which he was employed all absences from school, and, if possible, the reason for such absence. The superintendents in turn were to notify the truant officer.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the school census must show the name and place and date of birth of every child recorded, the person having control of such child being required to affirm the truth of the record.¹⁵⁹

Having followed the development of the principle of compulsory education from 1874 to the present time, we may go back to this early date to note the progress being made in the development of other principles essential to high educational standards. In 1876 detailed regulations were formed for the common schools of the state, which were to a great extent a repetition of the past laws and a compilation of them, but a few new or partially new principles of progress were introduced. For example, the state superintendent was to recommend the most approved textbooks for the schools of Kansas and was to carry on such correspondence as might help him to compare the school system of Kansas with that of other states.¹⁶⁰ This provision opened an avenue of progress through intelligent comparison of modern standards of education with the standards of Kansas, and gave Kansas an opportunity to profit by the example of other states. By this time the system of state organization and uniformity seems to have been fairly well under way. The state superintendent kept in touch with conditions in the state through reports which were sent to him by the county superintendents,¹⁶¹ who in turn received their information from the clerks of the various districts.¹⁶² Uniformity in different districts was far from perfect at this time, but a suggestion of it came in the provision that the district boards were to require a uniform series of textbooks within the district.¹⁶³ Not until 1885 was this uniformity extended to counties, when provision was made for the organization of county textbook boards.¹⁶⁴ County uniformity became state uniformity upon the creation of a School Textbook Commission in 1897,¹⁶⁵ which was superseded in 1913 by the state School Book Commission. In connection with this last law provision was made that no school authority was to have power to authorize the use of books other than those designated by the commission, except for reference only.¹⁶⁶

Again, in the law of 1876, providing for the regulation of schools, we find the germ of consolidated schools, which are to-day making better educational standards possible in rural communities. It was at this time made permissible for two or more school districts to unite for the purpose of forming a graded school, and giving therein instruction in the higher branches of education.¹⁶⁷ The movement toward consolidated schools was promoted, probably, not so much by voluntary, purposeful effort as by existing circum-

157. Laws 1903, ch. 423, sec. 3.

158. Laws 1903, ch. 423, sec. 5.

159. Laws 1903, ch. 423, sec. 6.

160. Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. 1, sec. 3.

161. Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. 2, sec. 5.

162. Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. 4, sec. 8.

163. Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. 4, sec. 28.

164. Laws 1885, ch. 171, sec. 3.

165. Laws 1897, ch. 179, sec. 1.

166. Laws 1913, ch. 288, sec. 6.

167. Laws 1876, ch. 122, art. 7, sec. 1.

stances. For example, in 1895 school boards were authorized to send children outside their own districts if the number of children was too small and their distance from the schoolhouse too great to justify the keeping of school in their district. Tuition was at this time to be paid by the district from which the children came, the district being entitled, as before, to its portion of the state school fund.¹⁶⁸ This act was repealed six years later and a new similar provision enacted to take its place.¹⁶⁹ Again, in 1899, when adjoining districts had less than five pupils each the county superintendent was to combine the two districts, the term of school and the expense of the same to be divided between them.¹⁷⁰ If the pupils lived three or more miles from the schoolhouse the school board was to allow to the parents of such children a sum to pay for transportation of these pupils to and from school.¹⁷¹ This consolidation, the practical cause of which was depopulation of school districts, led easily to the next step, in which disorganization became voluntary and the purpose of consolidation became the formation of a graded school.¹⁷² Such a consolidated district was to have a single board of directors,¹⁷³ and the property of each separate district was to become the property of the union district.¹⁷⁴ Transportation of scholars living two or more miles from the schoolhouse was to be arranged by the board of directors.¹⁷⁵ This act was amended in 1911, but no essential change was made.¹⁷⁶ However, in the amendment another means of consolidation was made possible—by annexation of a school district to another containing a graded school.¹⁷⁷

The value of higher education than that of the grade school was beginning to be recognized as early as 1886. At this time an act was passed authorizing the establishment of county high schools, the purpose of which was not only to offer a means of higher education, but to train teachers.¹⁷⁸ These high schools were to offer three courses—the general course, the normal course and the collegiate course.¹⁷⁹ In 1911 a similar law was enacted, authorizing the establishment of township high schools,¹⁸⁰ but this law was repealed four years later and township high schools gave way to rural high schools, which might be established in a territory comprising one or more townships or parts thereof.¹⁸¹ That the state realized the necessity for a broad curriculum in secondary schools, including not only academic but practical training, was indicated by the enactment of several laws closely related in point of time and principle. Industrial education was made possible for many by a law of 1903, which gave to the boards of education of first- and second-class cities the power to levy a tax for equipment and maintenance of industrial-training schools, or departments for industrial training in the public schools.¹⁸² To encourage such industrial training, state aid was given to these schools.¹⁸³ Again, normal training in high schools was encouraged in 1909 by means of state aid to schools maintaining such a course,¹⁸⁴ and in 1913 the requirement was made that schools receiving such aid must also maintain courses in agri-

168. Laws 1895, ch. 217, sec. 1.

169. Laws 1901, ch. 306, sec. 1.

170. Laws 1899, ch. 177, sec. 11.

171. Laws 1899, ch. 177, sec. 12.

172. Laws 1901, ch. 305, sec. 1.

173. Laws 1901, ch. 305, sec. 1.

174. Laws 1901, ch. 305, sec. 5.

175. Laws 1901, ch. 305, sec. 2.

176. Laws 1911, ch. 275, sec. 1.

177. Laws 1911, ch. 275, sec. 2.

178. Laws 1886, ch. 147, sec. 1.

179. Laws 1886, ch. 147, sec. 11.

180. Laws 1911, ch. 262, sec. 1.

181. Laws 1915, ch. 311, sec. 1. For present law governing rural high schools see Session Laws of 1917, ch. 284.

182. Laws 1903, ch. 20, sec. 1.

183. Laws 1903, ch. 20, sec. 5.

184. Laws 1909, ch. 212, sec. 2.

culture and domestic science.¹⁸⁵ Closely connected with this enactment in principle was the provision four years later for vocational schools and classes.¹⁸⁶ In this case, however, financial aid came from the federal funds, and the State Board of Education merely had charge of the distribution of these funds and the supervision of the schools.¹⁸⁷ One of the purposes of this act was to coöperate with the state in the preparation of teachers in vocational subjects.¹⁸⁸ With regard to the advance made in secondary education, it is interesting to note that by 1917, too, a law was passed authorizing boards of education in first- and second-class cities and in county high schools to establish for high-school graduates a two-year course beyond the regular high-school course if the majority of electors voting on the question favored such extension of the school course.¹⁸⁹

From 1858 to 1881 the minimum school term had remained at three months, but in the latter year the requirement was made that in all school districts in which there was a sufficient school building the minimum school term was to be four months.¹⁹⁰ If the district refused to make provision for four months of school the duty fell upon the county superintendent, who must make arrangements for the same, the expense of which was to fall upon the district.¹⁹¹ By 1903 the requirement of four months of school had been raised to five,¹⁹² and again, as in 1881, if the district refused or failed to provide for the required term of school the county superintendent was to make such provision and the district was to pay the cost thereof.¹⁹³ This law was repealed in 1911,¹⁹⁴ when the legislature made the requirement that the minimum school term for district schools was to be seven months and for first- and second-class cities eight months.¹⁹⁵ Steps were taken toward the stringent enforcement of this law by the provision that to districts in which funds were not sufficient to cover the cost of a seven months' school term state aid was to be given to the extent of three-fourths of the deficiency, the remaining fourth being paid by the county, providing that the district receiving such aid had first levied a tax of four and one-half mills upon the assessed valuation of the district.¹⁹⁶ Upon the failure of the district to comply with this act the county superintendent was to make the necessary arrangements for a seven months' school term.¹⁹⁷ Toward the enforcement of this act the state made at this time an appropriation of \$150,000 for the two years of 1911 and 1912.¹⁹⁸ This act was not to apply to districts having less than fifteen children and embracing less than twelve square miles of territory, in which case, if the district was unable to maintain seven months of school, the children were to be sent to other districts.¹⁹⁹

Other laws on education have been enacted, too, which may only be mentioned here, such laws as the law of 1907, which made it permissible for any school board or school district in Kansas to establish free kindergartens;²⁰⁰ the law of 1913, which gave to district and city school boards the power to establish free public night schools for persons of fourteen years of age and

185. Laws 1913, ch. 48, sec. 2. See, also, Laws 1921, ch. 244.

186. Laws 1917, ch. 280, sec. 1.

187. Laws 1917, ch. 280, secs. 2, 4.

188. Laws 1917, ch. 280, sec. 1.

189. Laws 1917, ch. 283, sec. 1.

190. Laws 1881, ch. 150, sec. 1.

191. Laws 1881, ch. 150, secs. 2, 3.

192. Laws 1903, ch. 431, sec. 2.

193. Laws 1903, ch. 431, secs. 3, 4.

194. Laws 1911, ch. 268, sec. 10.

195. Laws 1911, ch. 268, sec. 1.

196. Laws 1911, ch. 268, sec. 2.

197. Laws 1911, ch. 268, sec. 6.

198. Laws 1911, ch. 268, sec. 8.

199. Laws 1911, ch. 268, sec. 9.

200. Laws 1907, ch. 325, sec. 1.

over not required by law to attend day schools;²⁰¹ the law of 1919, arising out of the World War, which required absolutely that all teaching in public, private and parochial schools be in the English language only;²⁰² and the law of 1913, of educational value indirectly, which provided for censorship of moving-picture films by the state superintendent of public instruction,²⁰³ and later by the Kansas State Board of Review.²⁰⁴ Most promising of all these later enactments, we feel, was the resolution passed by the legislature of 1921 to create a State School Code Commission, whose purpose was to be to study "the needs of Kansas in educational matters" and to make necessary recommendations to the next legislature.²⁰⁵

This brief survey of the development of the educational system of Kansas indicates that the state, in a somewhat incoherent sort of way, attempted to express through its law the realization that education of its youth was of the utmost importance. Through the confusion of details of the laws upon education, only partially systematized and correlated, we see the development of certain fundamental principles—a state supervision and support of public schools; free schools for all children of school age; compulsory education; state uniformity of textbooks; lengthened school term; extension of high standards of education to all children and increase of school period available; and, finally, a review of all that has been done in the past, with a conscious effort to attain to the most acceptable standards of excellency.

IV. PUBLIC PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF MOTHERS AND CHILDREN.

Public protection of the health of mothers and children is a very recent development. It is a part of the movement toward prevention instead of cure—a principle which only in the last few years has gained real momentum. However, it is true that this principle of prevention did not develop spontaneously, but, like all other principles of child welfare which we have discussed, it had its origin in less commendable but nevertheless valuable ideas.

As we have said, the first laws of the territory were borrowed from Missouri, and hence their adoption did not carry with it a great deal of significance, but it is interesting to note that even at this early date a few provisions were made in the interests of the health and person of the child and its mother. In the early laws, covering the period from 1855 to 1885, we find most persistently emphasized provisions designed to prevent offenses against the pregnant mother or the unborn child and to prevent undesirable marriages. Before these provisions are discussed in any detail it may be well to mention some laws enacted during this period which seem to have little relation to each other and yet which all bear somewhat upon the subject of health of mothers and children and the protection of their persons. In the laws of 1855 we find such provisions as this: the probate court was to receive complaints of apprentices against their masters for failure to provide sufficient food and for immoderate correction;²⁰⁶ homicide, however, was excusable when it was committed in "lawfully correcting a child or an apprentice";²⁰⁷ rape against a female child under ten or a woman over ten was punishable by confinement

201. Laws 1913, ch. 267, sec. 1.

202. Laws 1919, ch. 257, sec. 1.

203. Laws 1913, ch. 294, sec. 2.

204. Laws 1917, ch. 308, sec. 5.

205. Laws 1921, ch. 303, sec. 1.

206. Stat. 1855, ch. 6, sec. 13.

207. Stat. 1855, ch. 43, sec. 5.

and hard labor;²⁰⁸ poison might not be sold to minors without written request from the guardian of such child²⁰⁹ and by 1859 neither might liquor be sold to minors without the consent of the guardian.²¹⁰ Further, in 1869, no pupil having a contagious disease was to be allowed to attend school while infected with that disease,²¹¹ and in 1873 permission was granted for the formation of private corporations for the maintenance of "facilities for skating and other innocent sports."²¹² Intermingled with these sporadic enactments, and like them, for the most part, only half consciously directed toward the betterment of the children of Kansas, were the above-mentioned provisions against injury to the pregnant mother and the unborn child. The first of these very early provisions was that of 1855, which specified that willful killing of an unborn quick child by injury to the mother was to be considered manslaughter in the first degree,²¹³ while the use of an instrument or the administering of medicine to a mother to destroy a quick child, unless to preserve the life of the mother, was manslaughter in the second degree.²¹⁴ This law was amended in 1903, the phrase being inserted, "if the death of such child or mother thereof ensue from the means employed." The original law was then repealed.²¹⁵ In 1874, advertisement or sale of drugs or instruments used for the purpose of preventing conception of procuring abortion or miscarriage was made punishable by fine or imprisonment.²¹⁶

It is interesting to note that in the very first laws of the territory of Kansas opposition was expressed against consanguineous marriages, marriages between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, brothers and sisters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, stepfather and stepdaughter, and step-mother and stepson being forbidden by law.²¹⁷ A similar law was passed in 1858, with the difference that the marriage of stepchildren with parents not related by blood was not forbidden.²¹⁸ Anyone contracting or solemnizing such a marriage was punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.²¹⁹ Marriages among minors without the consent of the parents or guardians was also forbidden, a minor being a male under twenty-one or a female under eighteen.²²⁰ These laws against marriage among relatives and among minors had probably their origin in custom and tradition rather than in a scientific understanding of the consequences of such marriages to posterity. These laws were all repealed and reenacted in 1859. Again, eight years later, these reenacted laws were superseded by other marriage laws slightly different in detail. The relatives forbidden to marry were then parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, brothers and sisters, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews and first cousins.²²¹ Contracting or solemnizing such marriages was punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.²²² A minister or judge who married any person without a license was punishable by a fine.²²³ Finally, the law of 1859 upon this subject was repealed.²²⁴ The only material change which has been made in the marriage laws of Kansas concerns the requirements in the issuance of

208. Stat. 1855, ch. 43, sec. 26.

209. Stat. 1855, ch. 53, sec. 36.

210. Laws 1859, ch. 91, sec. 5.

211. Laws 1869, ch. 86, sec. 17.

212. Laws 1873, ch. 70, sec. 1.

213. Stat. 1855, ch. 48, sec. 9.

214. Stat. 1855, ch. 48, sec. 10.

215. Laws 1903, ch. 214.

216. Laws 1874, ch. 89, sec. 1.

217. Stat. 1855, ch. 108, sec. 2.

218. L. & R. 1858, ch. 49, sec. 2.

219. Stat. 1855, ch. 108, sec. 4.

220. Stat. 1855, ch. 108, sec. 7. For repetition of above laws, see General Laws of Territory of Kansas, 1859, ch. 13, sec. 12; ch. 28, secs. 5, 9, 10, 26, 250; ch. 93, secs. 2, 3, 6.

221. Laws 1867, ch. 84, sec. 2.

222. Laws 1867, ch. 84, sec. 3.

223. Laws 1867, ch. 84, sec. 4.

224. Laws 1867, ch. 84, sec. 14.

marriage licenses. In 1905 provision was made that no probate judge was to issue a marriage license to a male under twenty-one or female under eighteen without the consent of the parent or guardian, and where such consent had been given no license was to be granted to a male under seventeen or female under fifteen without the consent of the judge in addition to that of the parent or guardian.²²⁵ The original section of which that was an amendment was then repealed.²²⁶ This law was in turn amended after eight years, the only change made in the earlier law being in the age of the female from fifteen to sixteen in the portion of the law requiring the consent of the judge in addition to the parent or guardian.²²⁷ This law also provided for registration of all marriages in Kansas with the state registrar of vital statistics.²²⁸

In 1885 a step was taken which, though it concerned the welfare of others than children and mothers, was of the utmost moment in the development of state control of health conditions. This act was the establishment of state and local boards of health. The Kansas State Board of Health was to be composed of nine physicians appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate—physicians who had practiced for seven years continuously and who were noted for their knowledge of medicine and other sciences.²²⁹ The board was to have supervision of the health interests of the state, was to study the causes of disease, investigate the causes of mortality and the effects of environmental conditions upon health, and gather useful statistics upon disease and death.²³⁰ So far as the welfare of children is concerned, perhaps the most important duty of the State Board of Health was the supervision of birth registration, together with the registration of marriages, deaths and disease,²³¹ for birth registration is the first essential step in the reduction of infant mortality. In order to secure the most expert assistance the State Board of Health was given the power to appoint committees particularly well prepared to give specialized sanitary service.²³² Coöperation of local communities with the state board was secured through the appointment of county commissioners as the local boards of health for their respective counties. Each of these boards was to elect one physician to be the health officer of the board.²³³ All practicing physicians were required to coöperate with the State Board of Health by making a record of deaths which occurred among their patients, noting also the nature, and if possible the cause of the disease responsible for death.²³⁴ Moreover, township and city assessors were to gather any information concerning marriages, births and deaths which might be required by the State Board of Health.²³⁵ Annual reports were to be made by this board, showing records gathered upon vital statistics and the sanitary conditions of the state and suggesting legislation conducive to better health.²³⁶ It does not seem necessary here to discuss in detail the changes made in this law up to the present time, except to mention the fact that to the membership of the state board, at first consisting of nine physicians, was later added a tenth member who was not to be a physician, but preferably an attorney, who was interested in sanitary sciences,²³⁷ and to note that the original power of the state and local boards of

225. Laws 1905, ch. 302, sec. 1.

226. Laws 1905, ch. 302, sec. 2.

227. Laws 1913, ch. 224, sec. 2.

228. Laws 1913, ch. 224, sec. 1.

229. Laws 1885, ch. 129, sec. 1.

230. Laws 1885, ch. 129, sec. 4.

231. Laws 1885, ch. 129, sec. 5.

232. Laws 1885, ch. 129, sec. 6.

233. Laws 1885, ch. 129, sec. 7.

234. Laws 1885, ch. 129, sec. 9.

235. Laws 1885, ch. 129, sec. 10.

236. Laws 1885, ch. 129, sec. 11.

237. Laws 1903, ch. 357, sec. 1.

health, which was chiefly that of investigation and advice only, later became the power of execution and enforcement of their principles.²³⁸

We have said that upon the establishment of state and local boards of health, registration of births and deaths was made a part of their duties. By 1911 this registration was no longer an incidental matter, but was considered important enough to receive special attention in the way of devising a practicable system of such registration. The State Board of Health, as before, was to have charge of this registration and was assigned the duty of uniform enforcement of the law in every part of the state, any person violating the law being made subject to a fine or imprisonment.²³⁹ The secretary of the State Board of Health was to have general supervision over the central division of vital statistics, was to have immediate direction of the same, the latter official to be appointed by the State Board of Health.²⁴⁰ Provision was made for the division of the state into registration districts²⁴¹ and for the designation of officials to act as local registrars.²⁴² Concerning births the requirement was made that physician, midwife, parent, person in charge of the property or manager of the institution in which the birth took place must notify the local registrar after the birth occurred.²⁴³

Closely connected with the State Board of Health, too—in fact, a part of the same organization—was the division of child hygiene, created in 1915.²⁴⁴ This new development out of the State Board of Health was probably the most progressive step taken by the state of Kansas toward better health conditions for children. The general duties of the division of child hygiene were to include “the issuance of educational literature on the care of the baby and the hygiene of the child, the study of the causes of infant mortality, and the application of preventive measures for the prevention and the suppression of the diseases of infancy and early childhood.”²⁴⁵ The establishment of the State Board of Health and the organization of a system of registration of births and deaths had for their purpose the general supervision of the health interests of the state and were the forerunners of the division of child hygiene. The creation of the division of child hygiene, however, shows the awakening interest of the people of Kansas in the need for the care of normal children, upon whom, after all, depends the welfare of new generations.

Having discussed the provisions for protection of the health of mothers and children developing out of the State Board of Health, we may go back to the period during which this board was first organized to see what other laws were enacted at this time which relate to the problem of health. In 1889, four years after the organization of the State Board of Health, it was made unlawful for anyone to furnish tobacco in any form, opium or any other narcotic to a minor under the age of sixteen.²⁴⁶ Violation of this provision was made punishable by a fine of five to twenty-five dollars,²⁴⁷ exception being made of narcotics prescribed by a physician.²⁴⁸ Not until 1909 was another law upon this subject passed. Then the sale or free distribution of cigarettes or cigarette papers was forbidden,²⁴⁹ and any minor who smoked

238. Laws 1907, ch. 383, sec. 1.

239. Laws 1911, ch. 296, sec. 1.

240. Laws 1911, ch. 296, sec. 2.

241. Laws 1911, ch. 296, sec. 3.

242. Laws 1911, ch. 296, sec. 4. See, also,

Laws 1913, ch. 306, sec. 1.

243. Laws 1911, ch. 296, sec. 10.

244. Laws 1915, ch. 269, sec. 1.

245. Laws 1915, ch. 269, sec. 1.

246. Laws 1889, ch. 256, sec. 1.

247. Laws 1889, ch. 256, sec. 2.

248. Laws 1889, ch. 256, sec. 3.

249. Laws 1909, ch. 257, sec. 1.

cigarettes, cigars or tobacco in a public place was subject to a fine of not more than ten dollars, while the person who furnished him with tobacco in any form or permitted him to use it about his premises was made punishable by a fine of twenty-five to one hundred dollars.²⁵⁰ This law was repealed in 1917 and another law enacted to take its place, the gist of which was this: It was unlawful for any person or company to sell or give away cigarettes or cigarette papers;²⁵¹ to advertise the same;²⁵² to sell or give away to any minor under twenty-one years tobacco in any form, and materials connected with smoking of tobacco, or to permit minors under twenty-one to frequent a place of business while smoking.²⁵³ Violation of this act on the part of any person, company or corporation was made punishable by a fine of not less than twenty-five nor more than one hundred dollars.²⁵⁴ County and city attorneys, upon information received, were to make investigations concerning violations of this law.²⁵⁵

All these enactments which have been discussed under child labor, and whose purpose it was to provide better working conditions for children and women, were of course helpful in bringing about a condition of physical, and possibly moral, welfare of these whom they concern. Such laws were the child-labor law of 1905 and its two modifications of 1909 and 1917, embodying principles which were not only conducive to better educational advantages, but physical and moral as well. In this group too may be classified the law which created an Industrial Welfare Commission, later superseded by the Court of Industrial Relations, which tended to improve the wages, hours of labor and sanitary conditions under which women and children were working. An attempt to alleviate injuries to the health of women and girls resulting from undesirable working conditions was made four years before the first of the child-labor laws was enacted. In this law of 1901 managers of mercantile establishments, stores, shops, hotels, restaurants and other places in which women and girls were employed were required to provide stools for the use of employees "for the preservation of health and for rest when not actively employed in the discharge of their respective duties."²⁵⁶

The tendency in progressive communities to-day is to control health conditions among children through the schools. This tendency in Kansas is developing first in the larger cities and is gradually being extended to the smaller cities and to the country communities. An example of this movement is the act of 1915 providing for free dental inspection in the public schools of all cities of 40,000 inhabitants.²⁵⁷ The board of education might make arrangements for such inspection and provide necessary compensation therefor,²⁵⁸ actual dental work being done only upon consent of the parent or guardian of the child.²⁵⁹ This law was amended four years later, and was then made applicable to first- and second-class cities and to school districts. Dental inspection was now made a requirement except for those children who had such examination within the three months last past.²⁶⁰ Again, the arrangement for inspection was to be made by the boards of education and by the district boards; compensation for services of dentists was

250. Laws 1909, ch. 257, sec. 2.

251. Laws 1917, ch. 166, sec. 1.

252. Laws 1917, ch. 166, sec. 2.

253. Laws 1917, ch. 166, sec. 3.

254. Laws 1917, ch. 166, sec. 4.

255. Laws 1917, ch. 166, sec. 5.

256. Laws 1901, ch. 187, sec. 1.

257. Laws 1915, ch. 308, sec. 1.

258. Laws 1915, ch. 308, sec. 2.

259. Laws 1915, ch. 308, sec. 3.

260. Laws 1919, ch. 263, sec. 1.

to be provided out of the school fund,²⁶¹ and no work other than inspection and report performed without the consent of the child's parent or guardian.²⁶² The original law was then repealed.²⁶³ Another example of the tendency to provide for the welfare of children through the schools is the authorization in 1915 of boards of education of first-class cities to purchase or lease grounds for playgrounds or public recreation places, to furnish the necessary equipment, and to provide proper supervision of the activities of these playgrounds.²⁶⁴ Two years later this law was repealed,²⁶⁵ being superseded by another law similar in principle except for the fact that the movement was extended from first-class cities only to all cities in the state of Kansas.²⁶⁶

One of the very few provisions for the care of the expectant mother was made in 1911, when county boards of health were given the power to make contracts with Kansas University for the care of obstetrical patients at the University Hospital if these patients were inmates of a county institution for dependents and if the care needed for them was other than could be given them within the institution.²⁶⁷

Another law pertaining to the care of the mother, and children too, was an act passed in 1919 providing for the licensing of maternity hospitals and homes for infants or children. The provision specified that it was unlawful for any person or corporation to maintain a maternity hospital or home, or boarding, receiving or detention home for infants under three, or children under sixteen, without obtaining from the State Board of Health a license for the same.²⁶⁸ Such licenses must not be given until the State Board of Health had arranged for careful inspection of the maternity hospital or home for children and the hospital or home had complied with the requirements of this act. Licenses once granted might be revoked if it was found that injury was being done to the health, comfort and morality of the mothers or children involved.²⁶⁹ The licensee of a maternity hospital or home was required to keep a record of the names of patients and their actual place of residence, together with the name and address of the physician or midwife in attendance upon each birth. The licensee of a home for infants or children must keep a similar record, entering therein the names and ages of the children cared for, the names of physicians attending upon sick children, and the names and addresses of parents or guardians of such children.²⁷⁰ Requirement was also made that all such hospitals and homes must provide proper sanitation and conveniences for the health, comfort and safety of the inmates.²⁷¹ It was made unlawful for any association to offer inducements to pregnant women to submit themselves or to parents or guardians to submit their children to the care of the association by promising to dispose of the children in any way.²⁷² It was also made unlawful for any maternity hospital or home for infants or children to care for any aged or indigent adult, insane, feeble-minded, tubercular or syphilitic person, or any person afflicted with a contagious disease or of criminal tendencies; violation of this provision being just cause for revocation of

261. Laws 1919, ch. 263, sec. 2.

262. Laws 1919, ch. 263, sec. 3.

263. Laws 1919, ch. 263, sec. 4.

264. Laws 1915, ch. 309, sec. 1.

265. Laws 1917, ch. 274, sec. 3.

266. Laws 1917, ch. 274, secs. 1, 2.

267. Laws 1911, ch. 294, sec. 1.

268. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 1. See, also, secs. 2 and 3.

269. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 4.

270. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 7.

271. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 8.

272. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 9.

license.²⁷³ Moreover, no maternity home or hospital was to be permitted to care for infants more than three years old.²⁷⁴ In order to enforce this act the division of child hygiene of the State Board of Health was to inspect these maternity hospitals and homes for infants and children every six months,²⁷⁵ and the agent of the State Board of Health was to inform the licensee of changes necessary for compliance with the demand of the law.²⁷⁶ Violation of the provision of this act was made punishable by a fine of five to fifty dollars, and upon continued refusal of the licensee for thirty days after notice to comply with the requirements of the law, the establishment might be closed until such requirements should be fulfilled.²⁷⁷

V. CHILDREN IN NEED OF SPECIAL CARE.

1. (A) DEPENDENT CHILDREN; (B) NEGLECTED CHILDREN; (C) ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

(A) *Dependent Children.*

Evidently the problem of dependency was a problem in need of some sort of solution even in the early history of the territory of Kansas and the state of Kansas, for in the very first laws comparatively numerous provisions for dependent children are to be found. In an act concerning apprenticeship we find, for example, that poor children might be bound out by the probate court if their home environment was very undesirable and there was little chance of their being taught a means of livelihood,²⁷⁸ and that orphans or minors who did not have sufficient estate for their own maintenance might also be bound out, this time by the guardian.²⁷⁹ These measures were really preventive, as well as remedial, but in all likelihood they were intended merely to care for the situation arising at that particular time. These provisions were repealed and superseded by other similar ones in 1859,²⁸⁰ and again in 1868 these same laws were reenacted.²⁸¹ In the latter year, in addition to the above-mentioned provisions for apprenticeship, children without parents or guardians might, with the approval of the probate court, bind themselves until they should reach the age of eighteen if they were boys, or sixteen if girls;²⁸² and an executor directed by the last will of the father to bring up a child to know some trade might bind out the child, with the consent of the mother.²⁸³ Masters who took apprentices must educate them²⁸⁴ and must agree faithfully to perform all duties in connection with their position.²⁸⁵ Further, as a protection to the apprentice, the probate court was given the power to discharge him from apprenticeship.²⁸⁶

Laws regulating the guardianship and the adoption of minors, which developed very early in Kansas legislation, may be most fittingly discussed under the subject of dependent children. The first of these laws was that of 1855, which provided that if a child under fourteen had no guardian or was incompetent the probate court was to appoint a guardian, while a child over fourteen might choose his own guardian.²⁸⁷ This law was reenacted in 1859.²⁸⁸ In 1868 a provision was made that the father and mother were to be considered

273. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 10.

274. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 11.

275. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 12.

276. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 13.

277. Laws 1919, ch. 210, sec. 14.

278. Stat. 1855, ch. 6, sec. 6.

279. Stat. 1855, ch. 6, sec. 7.

280. Laws 1859, ch. 13, secs. 6, 7.

281. Stat. 1868, ch. 5, secs. 6, 7.

282. Stat. 1868, ch. 5, sec. 2.

283. Stat. 1868, ch. 5, sec. 19.

284. Stat. 1868, ch. 5, sec. 8.

285. Stat. 1868, ch. 5, sec. 3.

286. Stat. 1868, ch. 5, sec. 13.

287. Stat. 1855, ch. 78, sec. 2.

288. Laws 1859, ch. 75, secs. 2, 5.

the natural guardians of their minor children;²⁸⁹ but one parent being dead, the survivor might by last will appoint a guardian for any of the children. If without such will having been made, both parents be dead or disqualified to act as guardian, the court might appoint one.²⁹⁰ Again, a minor of sound intellect and over fourteen years of age might select his own guardian, subject to approval by the court.²⁹¹ Laws regulating adoption were somewhat later in their development than those governing guardianship. The first of these laws was that of 1864, which provided that any person might through the probate court offer to adopt a minor child with the consent of the parents if they lived. If the parents were dead, and the child to be adopted was under twelve, the court was to have the power to refuse permission for adoption in cases where investigation proved that the person proposing to adopt the child was unfit to care for it.²⁹² In 1867 it was stated that parents might relinquish their right to their children to the person desirous of adopting them. Such person was then to exercise the rights of a parent, and the child was to have the right of inheritance from the foster parent.²⁹³ The following year, in addition to this last provision of 1867,²⁹⁴ a repetition was made of the law of 1864 with slight changes.²⁹⁵ Such were the regulations regarding adoption until 1903, when a new condition of adoption was added by which adoption might be permitted upon proof that the parents of the child had abandoned it for two years.²⁹⁶ The law of 1903 amended and repealed the law of 1868, the chief change made being the addition of the provision that no probate court was to permit the adoption of any minor child sent into the state through the auspices of any association incorporated in any other state until all requirements governing adoption had been met,²⁹⁷ including the requirement stated in a law of 1901, that no association not incorporated in Kansas was to place a child in a home in Kansas unless it guaranteed the child to be healthy in mind and body and not of vicious character.²⁹⁸

In the very first laws of the territory provision was made in a general way for the care of the poor, in that it was made possible for poorhouses to be erected and maintained by a county tax.²⁹⁹ Mention might also be made of the fact that four years later the supervisors of each township were to be overseers of the poor;³⁰⁰ but this law, repealed in 1860,³⁰¹ lasted no longer than 1864.³⁰² An act for the relief of the poor passed in 1862 included in its provisions not only the above arrangement for the care of the poor of a community,³⁰³ but also a clause stating specifically that "legal settlement" might be acquired, so that the particular county in which a person had acquired such legal settlement must give relief when necessary.³⁰⁴ This law of 1862 differentiated between poor children and adult poor in that a special section required that whenever necessary and practicable children who were inmates of these asylums for the poor and who were not bound out were to be educated at the asylum.³⁰⁵ These children, however, might be sent to the public schools.³⁰⁶ This law was amended in 1905 with little change of significance.³⁰⁷

289. Stat. 1868, ch. 46, sec. 1.

290. Stat. 1868, ch. 46, sec. 2.

291. Stat. 1868, ch. 46, sec. 6.

292. Laws 1864, ch. 83, sec. 1.

293. Laws 1867, ch. 89, sec. 1.

294. Stat. 1868, ch. 67, sec. 5.

295. Stat. 1868, ch. 67, sec. 6.

296. Laws 1903, ch. 361, sec. 1.

297. Laws 1903, ch. 361, sec. 1.

298. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 15.

299. Stat. 1855, ch. 126, sec. 8.

300. Laws 1859, ch. 130, sec. 38.

301. Laws 1860, ch. 128, sec. 4.

302. Laws 1864, ch. 30, sec. 1.

303. Laws 1862, ch. 163, secs. 1 and 4.

304. Laws 1862, ch. 163, sec. 5.

305. Laws 1862, ch. 163, sec. 32.

306. Laws 1862, ch. 163, sec. 33.

307. Laws 1905, ch. 385, sec. 1.

Recognition on the part of the state of the necessity for special attention to dependent children took the form in 1867, and later of encouragement of private institutions and assistance to them by means of state appropriation. The Leavenworth Protestant Orphan Asylum was authorized to receive orphan, destitute and friendless children and to provide them with homes for a period not exceeding majority.³⁰⁸ This institution was to have legal rights of a guardian over the child committed and the board of directors of the asylum might apprentice any such child.³⁰⁹ This last section was amended two years later to the effect that the institution might also make any provision for the care of the child which might seem advisable, or might consent to the adoption of the child by a desirable person.³¹⁰ State appropriation was made for this orphan asylum in 1874, "as a donation," with the proviso that it was to be open to all applicants for admission from all parts of Kansas.³¹¹ By 1868 the rights and duties of the Leavenworth Protestant Orphan Asylum were conferred upon all orphan asylums in counties having a population of 25,000 or more, incorporated under the laws of Kansas.³¹² The policy of state appropriations for and supervision of private institutions began with the Protestant Orphan Asylum at Leavenworth, and was gradually extended to other institutions, such as the St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum at Leavenworth. In 1881 an appropriation was made to this institution on the condition that no discrimination had there been made among children on account of race, color or religion.³¹³ The growth of the state's policy of supervision of these institutions may be seen in the requirement of 1883, that the charitable institutions at Leavenworth were to be visited by a special committee, the expenses of which were to be paid by the state.³¹⁴ In 1891 the state made appropriation to a great many institutions which were not state institutions, among which were the Topeka Orphans' Home, the St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum as before, and the Kansas Orphans' Home.³¹⁵ Six years later similar appropriation was made to the Kansas Children's Home Society to pay the superintendent of the society for his expenses in making investigations concerning complaints from families in which children had been temporarily placed, and from the children themselves, together with the expenses of readjustment of such children.³¹⁶ It is interesting to note in connection with this last-named organization that in 1901 it was authorized to place in homes any children from the Mother Bickerdyke Home and Hospital, the State Reform School, the State Soldiers' Home, the Soldiers' Orphans' Home and the Industrial School for Girls if the managers of the various institutions should consent.³¹⁷

Provisions for the care of the children of women in institutions are of interest to us, and may as well be discussed with the problems of dependency. In 1870 a home for friendless women was established in Leavenworth county,³¹⁸ and a year later the law which established this home was amended to provide also for the children of these women. If any of the women of the institutions gave birth to a child while she was under the care of the home, or gave over to the care of the association any child, the association was then to become

308. Laws 1867, ch. 93, sec. 1.

309. Laws 1867, ch. 93, sec. 2.

310. Laws 1869, ch. 74, sec. 1.

311. Laws 1874, ch. 20, sec. 1.

312. Stat. 1868, ch. 10, sec. 1.

313. Laws 1881, ch. 25, sec. 1.

314. Laws 1883, ch. 23 (No. 50).

315. Laws 1891, ch. 27, secs. 1 to 3.

316. Laws 1897, ch. 1, sec. 1.

317. Laws 1901, ch. 26, sec. 2.

318. Laws 1870, ch. 15, sec. 1.

the legal guardian of the child, having the right to provide for its maintenance, education and adoption. Such disposal of the child, however, was to be made with the approval of the probate judge of the county and the consent of the child's mother, unless, in the latter case, the child had been abandoned by its mother.³¹⁹ Mention may be made here also of the provision made for the children of women committed to the Industrial Farm, which was established in 1917. The legislature specified that if any woman committed to the Industrial Farm was at the time of coming there either nursing a child or pregnant, such child was to remain with its mother for two years, when it was to be committed to the care of some one willing to assume custody over it until the discharge of the mother, or it might be committed to some institution until the mother's release. In cases of this kind, however, the father was to be responsible for the maintenance of such child.³²⁰

Much of the state's provision for dependent children centers around the care given to the orphans and minor children of the soldiers of the Civil War. As early as 1867 the state undertook to provide for the "care, maintenance and education of all orphans and minor children who by reason of the death or service of parents in the Civil War, by enlistment from this state, have been deprived of the means of such care, maintenance and education." This act was not to apply to children born after April 9, 1865, or to minors over eighteen years of age.³²¹ The governor at this time was authorized to appoint a board of commissioners consisting of three persons for the care of these children.³²² This board was to consider applications from these children for admission to the State University, the State Normal School and the State Agricultural College, and if the applicant was, for want of age or education, unfitted to enter the above institutions, then the board was to place the applicants in an orphan asylum or common school until he or she should qualify for the higher institutions.³²³ The State University, State Agricultural College and State Normal School were to receive, maintain and educate all the children placed in their care, and were to receive as recompense not more than three dollars a week.³²⁴ Evidently this law was not very effective, for in 1885 a new movement was set on foot to care for the indigent soldiers of the Civil War, together with their widows and children. A resolution was passed by the house at the legislative session that the Kansas senators and representatives in congress at Washington be requested to aid in obtaining a soldiers' home in Kansas and that indigent soldiers of the Civil War, their widows and orphans be admitted without charge.³²⁵ Moreover, an act was passed to secure the enrollment of these soldiers, their widows and orphans living in Kansas.³²⁶

These provisions were followed in 1885 by an act to establish a Soldiers' Orphans' Home and to provide for its government and maintenance. The Board of Trustees of State Charitable Institutions was authorized to purchase land and construct buildings,³²⁷ and state appropriations were made to cover the expense of building and maintenance, and provided that before these appropriations became effective a private donation of \$5,000 and a tract of land of not less than 160 acres must be made.³²⁸ The purpose of this institution was

319. Laws 1871, ch. 86, sec. 1.

320. Laws 1917, ch. 298, sec. 6.

321. Laws 1867, ch. 92, sec. 1.

322. Laws 1867, ch. 92, sec. 3.

323. Laws 1867, ch. 92, sec. 6.

324. Laws 1867, ch. 92, sec. 8.

325. Laws 1885, H. C. R. 14.

326. Laws 1885, ch. 109, sec. 1.

327. Laws 1885, ch. 185, sec. 1.

328. Laws 1885, ch. 185, sec. 8.

to provide "nurture, education and maintenance, without charge, for indigent children of soldiers who served in the army or navy of the Union during the late rebellion, and who have been disabled from wounds or disease, or who have since died in indigent circumstances, and other indigent orphan children of the state.³²⁹ This section of the act was repealed³³⁰ after being amended in 1889. The amendment stated that the Soldiers' Orphans' Home was to be a temporary home for the children admitted, providing them with advantages of education and training to fit them for homes. All children sound in mind and body over the age of two and under fourteen, being dependent on the public for maintenance, abandoned, neglected or ill-treated, were made eligible for admission, but if room was lacking in the institution the children of soldiers and sailors of the Union army or navy were to be given preference in admission.³³¹ It may here be noted that in 1905 a law was passed to the effect that the name Soldiers' Orphans' Home was to be retained, but that all other orphans and abandoned children in Kansas were to be admitted so long as there was room in the institution.³³² By the law of 1885, the board of trustees was to provide, first, for the care and maintenance of children five years of age and under; second, for those over ten and under fifteen. No child was to be kept after attaining the age of fifteen unless unable to support and care for itself, when it was to be retained until it was sixteen. The trustees were given the power to discharge from the home any child who persisted in violating their regulations.³³³ The immediately preceding section of the law of 1885 was repealed³³⁴ after amendment, in 1889, to the effect that application for admission into the home was to be made to the probate court, which court was to make necessary inquiry into the condition of the child, and before granting admission must have an affidavit from a physician showing that the child was mentally and physically sound.³³⁵ The board of trustees was made the legal guardian of the inmates of the home if such children had no legal guardian. This board was given the power to bind out children discharged from the home upon expiration of the time when such children were allowed to remain in the home, providing that if there was a living parent of the child in question he must first consent to such indenture.³³⁶ The amendment to this provision, which was also repealed,³³⁷ gave the trustees the power to place the children in homes during minority or place them out under articles of indenture, reserving the right to resume the custody of the child if its welfare should demand such resumption.³³⁸ The board of trustees was required to make an annual report to the governor concerning the inmates and financial condition of the institution.³³⁹ This section was also repealed³⁴⁰ and amended in 1889, and it was here specified that all children inmates of the home, unless sent away, were to be retained until the age of sixteen, and might be retained after that until homes could be found for them. The board was empowered to return children of sixteen years to the county from which they were sent if no home had been provided for them, or children might be sent back to their county if they were of unsound mind or body upon admission.

329. Laws 1885, ch. 185, sec. 3.

330. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 9.

331. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 1.

332. Laws 1905, ch. 481, sec. 1.

333. Laws 1885, ch. 185, sec. 4.

334. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 9.

335. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 2.

336. Laws 1885, ch. 185, sec. 5.

337. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 9.

338. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 3.

339. Laws 1885, ch. 185, sec. 7.

340. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 9.

Children might also be returned to parents or relatives who were fitted to care for them.³⁴¹ Some additional provisions were made in this new law. Habitual incorrigibility on the part of a boy or girl was cause for sending such child to the State Reform School or to the Industrial School for Girls.³⁴² County superintendents of public instruction were made agents of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, whose duty it was to visit at least twice a year the children placed in homes and to make reports upon the condition of these homes to the superintendent of the home;³⁴³ and finally, the board of trustees was given the power to consent to the adoption of children who were inmates of the home.³⁴⁴

It may be well to mention here that in the same year in which the last amendment of the law regarding regulations of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home was passed, another law was enacted relating to the control and management of destitute and friendless children. This law authorized any corporation organized for this purpose to receive such children and find homes for them until they should reach majority;³⁴⁵ permitted any parents who were unable to support their children to relinquish the control of them to such a corporation;³⁴⁶ gave to the corporation the custody of the children received and all the rights of legal guardianship, including the power to make proper provision for them until majority, and to consent to the adoption of any child in its custody without the consent of its parent or former guardian.³⁴⁷

To complete the enumeration of laws regarding care of soldiers of the Civil War and their families, mention must be made of the law passed requiring that if an honorably discharged Union soldier or sailor, or his wife, widow or children under fourteen became poverty-stricken, they were to be given aid at their home and were not to be permitted to become inmates of the poorhouse³⁴⁸ (this law was amended in 1901 to include soldiers and sailors of the Spanish War);³⁴⁹ another law establishing the Kansas State Soldiers' Home;³⁵⁰ a third creating the Mother Bickerdyke Home and Hospital to serve as a sort of annex to the State Soldiers' Home.³⁵¹ The establishment of the State Soldiers' Home in 1889 concerns us here only because, in addition to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines of the Civil War, disabled and without means of support, the members of the families dependent upon them were at first also admitted.³⁵² In the years succeeding the establishment of the State Soldiers' Home several changes were made regarding regulations governing persons eligible to admission. Finally, in 1917, no wife of any soldier was to be admitted unless she was fifty years of age or more and had been married to him previous to 1908, except where the wife was an invalid, or the husband being an invalid, needed her care. No girls were to be admitted after the age of fourteen or retained after the age of sixteen, and boys were not to be admitted after the age of twelve or retained after the age of fourteen, unless such children were incapable of self-support.³⁵³ The Mother Bickerdyke Annex, mentioned above, admitted the indigent and invalid mothers, widows, wives, sisters and minor children

341. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 4.

342. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 5.

343. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 6.

344. Laws 1889, ch. 236, sec. 7.

345. Laws 1889, ch. 134, sec. 1.

346. Laws 1889, ch. 134, sec. 2.

347. Laws 1889, ch. 134, sec. 3.

348. Laws 1889, ch. 234, sec. 1.

349. Laws 1901, ch. 281, sec. 1.

350. Laws 1889, ch. 235.

351. Laws 1901, ch. 359, sec. 1.

352. Laws 1889, ch. 235, sec. 11.

353. Laws 1917, ch. 304, sec. 1.

of honorably discharged soldiers of the United States. In 1903 no girl was to be retained or admitted after the age of eighteen, or boy of sixteen, unless incapable of self-support.³⁵⁴ By 1907 the age limit of girls was lowered to sixteen and of boys to fourteen.³⁵⁵ Finally, by 1921, the regulations governing admission to the Mother Bickerdyke Annex were made the same as those of the State Soldiers' Home, the latter remaining the same in principle, so far as discussed, as they were in 1917.³⁵⁶

Only one other law of importance which bears directly upon dependent children remains to be discussed—the law providing for mothers' pensions. Strangely enough, this very modern and progressive principle was definitely expressed in the laws of 1862. In a law of this year, entitled "An act for the relief of the poor," provision was made that the county commissioners might make an allowance to parents of idiots, and of children otherwise helpless, requiring the attention of parents who were unable to support them. This allowance was not to exceed the cost of maintenance elsewhere.³⁵⁷ This law remained unchanged until it was amended by the pension act of 1915, which provided again for an allowance by the county commissioners to parents of idiots and other helpless children if the parents were unable to support them, the allowance not exceeding cost of maintenance elsewhere. Further, if the mother was the only custodian of a child under sixteen, being widow or divorced, or having a husband incapacitated for earning a living or imprisoned for crime, or having been abandoned unjustly by her husband for three months, and being of good character but unable to support the child or children, and having been a resident of the county for one year preceding—such a mother was to receive "mother's aid" from the county in amount not to exceed twenty-five dollars per month. Before such allowance was granted the mother was required to file with the county clerk application for such mother's aid, setting forth the conditions under which she was applying.³⁵⁸ This law was amended and the old repealed in 1917.³⁵⁹ The provisions of these two laws were the same except for such slight changes as the requirements of two years' residence in the county instead of one, and the insertion of a clause stating that the allowance might be increased or decreased temporarily by the board of county commissioners, and that the court might order the assistance given in supplies instead of money.³⁶⁰ This law of 1917 was also repealed in part³⁶¹ and amended in 1921. Again the essential principles of the law remained the same, but a few changes were made. The term of residence in the county was made one year and in the state two years next preceding application; the total sum allowed to any one mother was not to exceed fifty dollars a month; specific details of the circumstances making mother's pension necessary must be stated in the application; and finally, the petition must be referred to the county board of public welfare or to a committee of three women appointed by the county commissioners, which board or committee must reinvestigate the applicant every six months and report to the county commissioners. A further provision was made that the amount of money paid to the mother might be increased or decreased tem-

354. Laws 1903, ch. 480, sec. 1.

355. Laws 1907, ch. 387, sec. 1.

356. Laws 1921, ch. 284, sec. 1.

357. General Laws State of Kan., 1862, ch. 163, sec. 8.

358. Laws 1915, ch. 261, sec. 1.

359. Laws 1917, ch. 138, sec. 4.

360. Laws 1917, ch. 138, sec. 1.

361. Laws 1921, ch. 153, sec. 2.

porarily by the board of county commissioners when circumstances merited the change.³⁶²

(B) *Neglected Children.*

Because of the fact that Kansas law makes no clear distinction between dependent and neglected children, we can draw no clear distinction in our discussion here, but certain laws or parts of laws seem to be inconsistently classified if taken up under dependency. In the juvenile-court law of 1905, to be discussed under delinquency, "dependent" or "neglected" children were those who had been abandoned, dependent on the public for support, without proper guardianship and home surroundings, who were idle or immoral, or who earned a livelihood by undesirable means, such as begging.³⁶³ Those laws in which provisions against neglect on the part of the parents are dominant may be taken up here, just as above the laws stressing dependency or lack of financial support have been emphasized. As early as 1855 a measure was passed providing that exposing a child under the age of six with intent to abandon was punishable by confinement and hard labor not exceeding five years or imprisonment in the county jail for not less than six months.³⁶⁴ Mention might also be made here of a provision of 1868, which specified that the probate court was to receive the complaints of apprentices against their masters, if the latter were guilty of immoderate correction, or failure to provide the proper food, clothing, lodging or education.³⁶⁵

Following these early laws, little is to be found until 1889 regarding neglect of children which did not more closely bear upon dependency. In this year an act for the protection of children was passed which dealt chiefly with protection of their persons and morals. Here any person who maltreated a child under eighteen, exposed a child under fourteen with the intention of abandoning it, or disposed of it to be employed as an acrobat or in any other dangerous exhibition, or as a beggar, or any person who employed such child for any of these purposes, was made subject to a fine not exceeding \$250 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.³⁶⁶ Moreover, any person who received or disposed of a female child under eighteen for an immoral purpose (meaning chiefly prostitution) was punishable by imprisonment in the Penitentiary for one to two years.³⁶⁷ Children found to have been neglected or cruelly treated, or children under sixteen found in a house of ill fame, might be brought by sheriffs or police officers before a magistrate, who in turn might commit the child to some charitable institution in the county or otherwise dispose of the child as provided by law, a guardian or relative of the child having the right of appeal from the decision of the magistrate to a district court.³⁶⁸

In the discussion of dependent children it was found that much attention has been given by Kansas legislators to the dependent children of soldiers and sailors, particularly of the Civil War. In 1901 a law was passed regarding both dependency and neglect, which showed a broadened viewpoint, in that all neglected and dependent children were included in its application. Any police officer was given the power to apprehend and bring before the

362. Laws 1921, ch. 153, sec. 1.

363. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 2.

364. Stat. 1855, ch. 48, sec. 44.

365. Stat. 1868, ch. 5, sec. 12.

366. Laws 1889, ch. 104, sec. 1.

367. Laws 1889, ch. 104, sec. 2.

368. Laws 1889, ch. 104, sec. 5.

court any child under fourteen or sixteen, boy or girl, respectively, who was dependent upon the public, or a vagrant, homeless, and found out on the streets at night, found associating with a thief, vagabond or drunkard, or found in a house of ill fame, destitute, being an orphan, or having only one surviving parent who was imprisoned.³⁶⁹ A child living under any of these conditions was to be delivered to a children's aid society or an institution where his needs would more nearly be met.³⁷⁰ Probation officers appointed by the court were made responsible for making any investigation necessary concerning the child, and were required to be present at court to represent the interests of the child during trial and to take care of such child before and after the trial.³⁷¹ The society or institution which was given the care of the child became its legal guardian, with the duty of securing, if possible, a suitable home for such child, and was authorized to secure for the child legal adoption or contracts providing temporarily for education, religious and vocational training and kind treatment. The society reserved the privilege of withdrawing the child from the home if such withdrawal was advisable.³⁷² Any person having the custody of a child who subjected it to ill treatment was subject to punishment by a fine of \$100, or in addition to the fine, imprisonment for not more than three months.³⁷³ No association not incorporated in Kansas was permitted to place a child in a home in Kansas unless such association guaranteed the child to be healthy in mind and body.³⁷⁴ Associations receiving children under this act were to be subject to the supervision of the State Board of Charities and must make an annual report to the board concerning the children under its care and what disposal had been made of them.³⁷⁵

By 1911 a measure was passed designed to prevent desertion of children on the part of parents and to protect children against the possibility of non-support. Any husband who without just cause deserted or neglected or refused to provide for the support of his wife when that support was needed, or any parent who neglected to support his children under the age of sixteen, was guilty of crime and punishable by sentence to the State Reformatory or the Penitentiary at hard labor for a period not exceeding two years.³⁷⁶ The wife, child or any other person might make complaint against the guilty person, upon which complaint proceedings might be instituted against him.³⁷⁷ The defendant was given the privilege of choosing between the punishment prescribed and making payment for his children.³⁷⁸ If the parent complained against was sentenced to hard labor the wife or the guardian of the children was to be paid the earnings of the prisoner.³⁷⁹

An interesting, progressive idea with regard to care of neglected children was embodied in a law of 1915, which provided for the establishment of parental homes. Parental homes might, by unanimous vote of the county commissioners, be established for children under sixteen, homeless, neglected, dependent or delinquent, in counties having a city of not less than 80,000 inhabitants.³⁸⁰ By 1919 this population requirement was lowered to 53,000 and establishment of a parental home became obligatory upon the petition

369. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 2.

370. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 3.

371. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 4.

372. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 5.

373. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 8.

374. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 15.

375. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 17.

376. Laws 1911, ch. 163, sec. 1.

377. Laws 1911, ch. 163, sec. 2.

378. Laws 1911, ch. 163, sec. 4.

379. Laws 1911, ch. 163, sec. 7.

380. Laws 1915, ch. 276, sec. 1.

of thirty per cent of the electors of the county.³⁸¹ The home was to be in the charge of a man and his wife appointed by the juvenile-court judge, these two being assisted by the advice of a board of five women appointed by the county commissioners.³⁸²

There is still one law of particular importance which bears upon the problem of dependency and neglect among children which has not here received any attention. This is the law establishing juvenile courts, which will be discussed in detail under the provisions for delinquent children. Dependency, neglect and delinquency are problems so closely related that it is practically impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction in making legal provisions to meet them and in discussing these provisions.

(C) *Illegitimate Children.*

Heretofore we have found that legal provisions for the protection of children in the fields so far discussed have become constantly more numerous and progressive as the years advanced. The situation is quite different in the case of illegitimate children, for here legal provisions for their protection are confined within a brief period extending from 1855 to 1868.

The first provisions made for this class of children are to be found in the laws of 1855, in an act concerning descents and distributions. These provisions were, half consciously perhaps, intended to prevent dependency by making inheritance possible for children born out of wedlock. Bastards were declared to be capable of inheriting and transmitting inheritance through their mother as if they were legitimate children.³⁸³ Moreover, children unlawfully begotten might be legitimated if the father afterward married the mother and recognized the children as his.³⁸⁴ These provisions, which were made incidental to the law on descents and distributions, were repealed in 1858³⁸⁵ and superseded by an act for the maintenance and support of illegitimate children. By this act any unmarried woman, or married woman deserted by her husband, might make complaint to a justice of the peace against a man as the father of an illegitimate child. Upon trial of the accused, if he agreed to pay to the complainant a sum satisfactory to her and to give bond to save the township, residence of the complainant, the expense of maintaining such child, then the accused was to be released.³⁸⁶ Such suit, if not brought by the woman, might be brought by the township which was interested in the support of the child.³⁸⁷ If the defendant was found guilty and refused to give security for the maintenance of the child and costs of prosecution, then he was to be committed to the county jail until he complied with the order of the court, the period of confinement being limited to five years.³⁸⁸ The condition of the bond given by the father was to be that the child was not to become a charge upon any township in the territory of Kansas.³⁸⁹ This law, while most commendable in the end to be secured, still seemed to have for its purpose the protection of the township rather than the protection of the child concerned. It was repealed in the following year, and another,³⁹⁰ the same in principle,

381. Laws 1919, ch. 211, sec. 1.

382. Laws 1915, ch. 276, sec. 4.

383. Stat. 1855, ch. 60, sec. 8.

384. Stat. 1855, ch. 60, sec. 9.

385. L. & R. 1858, ch. 24, sec. 11.

386. L. & R. 1858, ch. 24, sec. 1.

387. L. & R. 1858, ch. 24, sec. 2.

388. L. & R. 1858, ch. 24, sec. 6.

389. L. & R. 1858, ch. 24, sec. 10.

390. Laws 1859, ch. 89, secs. 1, 3.

took its place.³⁹¹ In this year, 1859, provision was again made that illegitimate children might inherit from the mother³⁹² and from the father if he recognized them as his children.³⁹³ A slight change was made in the maximum period of confinement of the defendant in a case where he was found to be the father of an illegitimate child. If the defendant refused to comply with the order of the court he might be confined for one year instead of five.³⁹⁴ After these laws of the fifties, except for a provision of 1862 giving to illegitimate children the legal settlement or residence of their mother at the time of their birth,³⁹⁵ no further laws were enacted for the protection of this class of children until 1868.

This law of 1868 in turn repealed the preceding law of 1859³⁹⁶ and reenacted the same, with some changes. Since this law is the law at present in force, it may be well to give here its essential principles, even though some repetition will be necessary in so doing. If an unmarried woman, being pregnant or having given birth to an illegitimate child, made complaint before a justice of the peace, charging a particular person with being the father of her child, the justice was to have such person arrested.³⁹⁷ If the justice of the peace adjudged the defendant to be the father of the child, the defendant must give bond of not less than \$200 nor more than \$1,000, payable to the state, to insure his appearance before the district court at its next session.³⁹⁸ If the district court adjudged the defendant to be the father of the child he was made responsible for its support and education,³⁹⁹ the terms of payment for such purpose being specified by the court.⁴⁰⁰ No prosecution could be begun by the mother after two years had elapsed since the birth of the child.⁴⁰¹ In case of death of the child prosecution need not be abated, but the court might order defendant to make such payment as it might deem just;⁴⁰² in case of death of the father of the child prosecution might be instituted against his personal representative, but in this case no arrest was to be made or bond required.⁴⁰³

2. MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN.

(A) *Mentally Defective.*

The development of public protection of the health of children is almost inseparable from the treatment of physically defective children and the preventive principle in the treatment of mental defectives, if by health we mean a normal physical and mental condition. In our discussion of mentally defective children we shall take up both those principles of legislation which bear directly upon the prevention of mental deficiencies and the treatment of mental defectives when they have, unfortunately, come into existence.

The great principle of prevention in this field lies in the care, not so much of the abnormal children, as of the insane or feeble-minded of the age beyond adolescence when the reproductive function is mature. The care of adult mental defectives began very early in the history of Kansas, but no doubt the principle of prevention was not at this time consciously in the minds of the

391. Laws 1859, ch. 82.

392. Laws 1859, ch. 63, sec. 23.

393. Laws 1859, ch. 63, sec. 24.

394. Laws 1859, ch. 82, sec. 6.

395. Laws 1862, ch. 6, sec. 5.

396. Stat. 1868, ch. 47, sec. 22.

397. Stat. 1868, ch. 47, sec. 1.

398. Stat. 1868, ch. 47, sec. 5.

399. Stat. 1868, ch. 47, sec. 12.

400. Stat. 1868, ch. 47, sec. 13.

401. Stat. 1868, ch. 47, sec. 17.

402. Stat. 1868, ch. 47, sec. 19.

403. Stat. 1868, ch. 47, sec. 21.

people and their legislators. Even in the constitution provision was made for the encouragement of institutions for the insane,⁴⁰⁴ and by 1863 for the appointment of commissioners to locate the first state asylum.⁴⁰⁵ This institution was established at Osawatimie two years later and its method of government by a board of trustees drawn up.⁴⁰⁶ In 1870 counties were made responsible for the insane within their boundaries who had not sufficient means of maintenance,⁴⁰⁷ and six years later state aid was granted to counties for the maintenance of destitute insane who had been refused admission to a state asylum because of a lack of room.⁴⁰⁸ The increasing need for institutional care for insane was partially met in 1875 by an act of the legislature to establish a second asylum⁴⁰⁹ for insane—this time at Topeka—followed almost a quarter of a century later by another act providing for a third asylum located at Parsons.⁴¹⁰ It is interesting to note that this hospital for the mentally defective was to be “devoted to securing humane, curative, scientific and economical care and treatment of epileptics and insane epileptics.”⁴¹¹ The last of the four state hospitals for insane in Kansas was provided for by appropriation in 1911,⁴¹² and was finally located at Larned.⁴¹³

The first indication of interest in feeble-minded children on the part of the state was manifested in 1868, when an order was issued to secure enumeration by county assessors of all idiots, together with deaf and dumb and blind, telling whether they had ever attended school.⁴¹⁴ The first actual effort to provide educational facilities for these children, however, was not made until 1881, when an act was passed to establish an asylum for mentally defective children, to be known as the Kansas State Asylum for Idiotic and Imbecile Youth.⁴¹⁵ Fortunately, the name of the institution was soon changed, being called at the present time the State Training School.⁴¹⁶ This educational institution was at first temporarily located at Lawrence in the first State University building, and here accommodations were to be made for the comfort, maintenance and education of those admitted.⁴¹⁷ Admission was to be granted to all idiotic and imbecile youth who had been residents of Kansas for six months, who were not over the age of fifteen and who were incapable of benefiting by instruction given in the common schools.⁴¹⁸ Children of greater age and not residents of Kansas might be admitted if the capacity of the institution permitted.⁴¹⁹ The object of the institution was to be “to train and educate those received, so as to render them more comfortable, happy and better fitted to care for and support themselves.” The value of training in manual work for these children was evidently recognized, for agricultural and mechanical training were to be offered.⁴²⁰ It is interesting to note that the annual report of the superintendent of the institution to the trustees was to include the cause of imbecility so far as possible.⁴²¹ Four years after the establishment of the institution at Lawrence appropriation was made for the erection of a building at Winfield to be used for the education of feeble-minded youth.⁴²²

404. Const., art. 7, sec. 1.

405. Laws 1863, ch. 30.

406. Laws 1865, ch. 69.

407. Laws 1870, ch. 20, sec. 4.

408. Laws 1876, ch. 83, sec. 1.

409. Laws 1875, ch. 108, sec. 1.

410. Laws 1899, ch. 13, sec. 1.

411. Laws 1903, ch. 484, sec. 1.

412. Laws 1911, ch. 44, sec. 1.

413. Laws 1913, ch. 21.

414. Stat. 1868, ch. 25, art. 5, sec. 81.

415. Laws 1881, ch. 35, sec. 1.

416. Laws 1919, ch. 298, sec. 1.

417. Laws 1881, ch. 35, sec. 3.

418. Laws 1881, ch. 35, sec. 6.

419. Laws 1881, ch. 35, sec. 8.

420. Laws 1881, ch. 35, sec. 9.

421. Laws 1881, ch. 35, sec. 13.

422. Laws 1885, ch. 26, sec. 1.

Here the State Training School is now located. A law passed by the special session of 1920 provided that when a person was found to be feeble-minded the court was to determine whether the person was a menace to himself or the community, and if he was a menace the court was then to commit him to the State Training School.⁴²³ In connection with the above-named institutions for insane, epileptics and feeble-minded, mention may be made of a law of 1921 which provided that any person who assisted or enticed an inmate of any of these institutions to escape therefrom was punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.⁴²⁴

The establishment of state hospitals for insane and the consequent segregation of adult mental defectives was a preventive measure against the increase of this class of dysgenics, but it was not a measure intentionally and primarily designed for this purpose. We are justified in such a statement because it is known that temporary segregation was practiced and that patients were released from these institutions without stringent regulations for their segregation outside of the asylums. In 1903, however, the need for preventing the multiplication of the dysgenic classes of the state was recognized in an enactment prohibiting marriage by or with individuals seriously defective mentally. Belief in inheritance of mental weakness was evidently the basis of this act to prevent reproduction among these classes. No woman under forty-five, or man of any age, unless he should marry a woman over the age of forty-five, if he or she was epileptic, imbecile, feeble-minded or insane, was to be permitted to marry any person within the state of Kansas. It was made unlawful for any person to marry anyone who was so afflicted or who had ever been so afflicted. The same provision was made against the marriage of children born after the parent had become insane.⁴²⁵ In order to place a further restriction upon such marriages, officers who issued marriage licenses were forbidden to issue licenses to these persons forbidden to marry,⁴²⁶ and clergymen and officers authorized to perform marriages were forbidden to do so in the above-mentioned cases.⁴²⁷ Conscious violation of the provisions of this act was made punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than three years, or both.⁴²⁸ The first provision of this act was amended in 1915 to the effect that children born after parents were insane were forbidden to marry except under the same conditions as the afflicted parent, unless said parent had been discharged from the State Hospital for Insane more than nine months before the child was born and had remained cured for twenty years thereafter.⁴²⁹

This law was commendable in that it recognized the danger of multiplication of mentally defective persons, but it might easily become ineffective in its application because of the difficulty of enforcing it and because of the fact that the marriage institution is not essential to reproduction among the mentally weak and illegitimate sexual relations are very common among them. Again, the implication that children born before a parent becomes insane may safely marry is based upon a misconception, for the taint of mental weakness would no doubt exist within the parent before it became

423. Laws 1920, ch. 66, sec. 1.

424. Laws 1921, ch. 283, sec. 1.

425. Laws 1903, ch. 220, sec. 1.

426. Laws 1903, ch. 220, sec.2.

427. Laws 1903, ch. 220, sec. 3.

428. Laws 1903, ch. 220, sec. 4.

429. Laws 1915, ch. 239, sec. 1.

manifest as insanity. This law, however, was at least a worthy attempt to deal with a very serious problem.

Forbidding intermarriage of dysgenic classes having been found insufficient to prevent their increase, another measure with the same end in view was passed in 1913. Officers of state institutions in which were confined habitual criminals, idiots, epileptics, imbeciles and insane persons were required to secure the services of a professional surgeon, who, together with the physicians of the institution, was to determine whether the inmates were unfit for procreation. If the result of procreation would be defective offspring, or if the physical and mental condition of the inmates would be improved by an operation, the physicians were to report the result of their investigation to the court, and the court was then to determine the case. If the operation of vasectomy or oöphorectomy was to be performed it must be done in a humane manner.⁴³⁰ Anyone who promoted such operation outside the scope of this act was subject to a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment in a county jail for not more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment.⁴³¹ Again, any officer of an institution who neglected his duty as prescribed by this act was made subject to a fine of \$100 or imprisonment in the county jail for not more than thirty days, or both.⁴³² This law was repealed in 1917, to be superseded by another similar law. By this new law if the warden of the State Penitentiary, the superintendent of the Hutchinson Reformatory, the State Hospitals for the Insane, the State Hospital for Epileptics, the State Home for Feeble-minded or the State Industrial School for Girls should certify that he or she believed that the physical or mental condition of an inmate of the institution of which he or she had charge would be benefited by sterilization, or that procreation of such inmate would mean defective offspring, and that improvement to the extent of making such procreation beneficial was impossible, then it was made lawful to sterilize such inmate by means of a surgical operation.⁴³³ The board of examiners to determine the subject for operation was to consist of the chief medical officer of the institution of which the individual in question was an inmate, the governing board of the institution, and the secretary of the State Board of Health.⁴³⁴ This board of examiners made the order for sterilization or not, and designated what was to be the nature of the operation.⁴³⁵ Any person who promoted such an operation outside the scope of this act, and unless such operation was essential to the health of the individual, was punishable by a fine of \$100 to \$500 and imprisonment in the county jail for six months to one year.⁴³⁶ The difficulty of enforcing this act is obvious, since scientific knowledge of the conditions making sterilization advisable is still far from perfect.

Our review of legislation upon the subject of mentally defective children reveals the fact that by far the greater part of this legislation was preventive and tended to decrease if possible the birth rate of defectives by caring for the adult who was mentally deficient. Segregation in institutions seems at present the safest, most practicable means of caring for these adults and preventing their procreation, while much can be done toward improvement of conditions for feeble-minded children by establishing schools where they will

430. Laws 1913, ch. 305, sec. 1.

431. Laws 1913, ch. 305, sec. 2.

432. Laws 1913, ch. 305, sec. 3.

433. Laws 1917, ch. 299, sec. 1.

434. Laws 1917, ch. 299, sec. 2.

435. Laws 1917, ch. 299, sec. 5.

436. Laws 1917, ch. 299, sec. 7.

secure the training which is now provided at the State Training School at Winfield.

(B) *Physically Defective Children.*

Provisions for the physically defective children of the state are more meager than for any other children who need special care. In the constitution of Kansas we find that encouragement was given toward the care of the physically defective in the provision that the state was to foster and support, among other institutions, institutions for the blind and deaf and dumb.⁴³⁷ We find, too, that an early attempt was made to educate the deaf and dumb by making appropriations to Prof. P. A. Emery for that purpose. The first of these appropriations was made in 1862, when the state aided him to the amount of \$500.⁴³⁸ He was to be allowed twenty-five cents a day for each pupil in addition to what he himself received per contract from the parents or guardians of the children attending his school.⁴³⁹ Professor Emery was to report to the auditor of state the number of pupils he taught and the number of days each attended school.⁴⁴⁰ Similar arrangements were made with Professor Emery for the year of 1863, with a slight change in details of this agreement. Allowance was made to him for the board and tuition of every deaf-mute pupil between the ages of eight and twenty-one whose parents were incapable of bearing this expense.⁴⁴¹ A report to the auditor was again required, but this time it was to contain more detailed information regarding the child.⁴⁴² By 1864 the age limits of the pupils receiving assistance from the state were raised to ten and twenty-one.⁴⁴³ In the same year plans were begun for the establishment of a state institution for the education of the deaf and dumb at Olathe,⁴⁴⁴ plans which did not actually materialize until two years later. In the meantime the legislature of 1865 made provision for the education of the deaf and dumb at Baldwin City until the building for the state institution could be erected. The building for this purpose was to be furnished by Baldwin City,⁴⁴⁵ the expense of board and tuition of the pupils being met by the state.⁴⁴⁶ This temporary school was to be visited and inspected once in each term by a board of three appointed by the governor,⁴⁴⁷ and the instructor, as before, was to make a report to the auditor of state regarding the number of pupils and the time of attendance.⁴⁴⁸ Plans for organization of the state institution were begun in 1866, but a change was made in organization in the following year, when it was provided that the control and supervision of the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb was to be in the hands of a board of five trustees appointed by the governor. This board was to secure competent teachers and was to report annually to the governor the name, age, sex, residence and cause of deafness of each pupil.⁴⁴⁹ The nature of the appropriations made annually for this institution indicate that industrial training was the dominant means of education. It is interesting to note that the name of this institution was in 1877 changed from Kansas Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb to Kansas Institution for the Education of

437. Const., art. 7, sec. 1.

438. Laws 1862, ch. 10, sec. 1.

439. Laws 1862, ch. 10, sec. 2.

440. Laws 1862, ch. 10, sec. 3.

441. Laws 1863, ch. 7, sec. 1.

442. Laws 1863, ch. 7, sec. 2.

443. Laws 1864, ch. 6, sec. 1.

444. Laws 1864, ch. 50, sec. 2.

445. Laws 1865, ch. 36, sec. 1.

446. Laws 1865, ch. 36, sec. 2.

447. Laws 1865, ch. 36, sec. 3.

448. Laws 1865, ch. 36, sec. 4.

449. Laws 1867, ch. 55, sec. 1.

the Deaf and Dumb.⁴⁵⁰ This institution is a most interesting example of gradual development from a private institution to one owned and supported and supervised by the state.

The asylum for the blind did not have so gradual a growth as the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, nor did it have its beginning in a private institution. In 1864 commissioners were appointed to locate the State Asylum for the Blind within Wyandotte county,⁴⁵¹ but no appropriations were made to cover the cost of establishing such an asylum until 1867, when the legislature appropriated a sum for the erection of a building at the city of Wyandotte.⁴⁵² In the following year an act was passed to regulate and put in operation this institution. The governor, with the advice and consent of the senate, was to appoint a superintendent of the institution,⁴⁵³ and also a board of three trustees. These trustees were to visit and inspect the asylum and correct errors in its management.⁴⁵⁴ In 1875 it was made possible for indigent pupils to attend the State Asylum for the Blind. If the friends of any blind pupil in the state should neglect to furnish him with suitable clothing and the necessary funds for attendance at the asylum, the overseer of the poor of the township in which he lived was required to investigate the case. If such pupil would in his opinion benefit by being sent to the asylum, then the overseer was to provide him with clothing and traveling expenses, and the cost of the same was to be paid by the county.⁴⁵⁵ In the case of the State Asylum for the Blind, as in that of the institution for deaf and dumb, annual appropriations indicate that in the education of the blind industrial training was emphasized, and handicraft, music, and typing were included in the list of subjects taught. The name of this institution too was changed in 1877 to Kansas Institution for the Education of the Blind.⁴⁵⁶

As early as 1868 county assessors were required to make a list of all persons who were deaf and dumb or blind, indicating whether they had attended school.⁴⁵⁷ The auditor of state was to lay before the superintendents of the proper institutions copies of statements received by him from various parts of the state concerning the deaf and dumb and blind.⁴⁵⁸ By 1873 the county assessor was succeeded by the county clerk, and statistics gathered from the reports of the county clerks were to be published by the State Board of Agriculture, those regarding deaf and dumb and blind being presented to the superintendents of the respective institutions as before.⁴⁵⁹

In all probability these reports had a bearing upon the much later law providing for compulsory education of physically defective children. In 1905 every parent or guardian or association having charge of any deaf, dumb or blind child between the ages of seven and twenty-one was required to send such child to school, where children with these defects were educated. The minimum school term for such schools was made five months. Exception was made of children who received private instruction for an equally long term. This law was to be enforced by the truant officer,⁴⁶⁰ and its violation by parent or guardian was made punishable by a fine not exceeding \$100.⁴⁶¹

450. Laws 1877, ch. 130, sec. 1.

451. Laws 1864, ch. 35, sec. 1.

452. Laws 1867, ch. 16, sec. 1.

453. Stat. 1868, ch. 7, sec. 1.

454. Stat. 1868, ch. 7, sec. 3.

455. Laws 1868, ch. 37, sec. 1.

456. Laws 1877, ch. 130, sec. 2.

457. Stat. 1868, ch. 25, art. 5, sec. 81.

458. Stat. 1868, ch. 25, art. 5, sec. 83.

459. Laws 1873, ch. 137, sec. 1.

460. Laws 1905, ch. 384, sec. 1.

461. Laws 1905, ch. 384, sec. 2.

For crippled children Kansas had made no provision whatever until 1907, when an act was passed providing for a special cottage for crippled children of sound minds at the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Atchison. These children were to be admitted and cared for in the same way as children of the Orphans' Home,⁴⁶² the Board of Control of State Charitable Institutions having the power to admit to this home all crippled children under fourteen who were of sound mind and who had lived the required length of time within the state.⁴⁶³ An appropriation of \$25,000 was made to cover the cost of this provision for the care of crippled children.⁴⁶⁴

One other law was passed by the Kansas legislature for the care of physically defective children, probably chiefly for crippled children. In 1911 hospital treatment with surgical aid was provided for children of the poor who were afflicted with a physical defect which might be cured by such treatment. The attending physician was to report the case to the county commissioners and county health officer,⁴⁶⁵ who would then furnish transportation for the child and its attendant to the hospital conducted by the University of Kansas.⁴⁶⁶ The same privileges was extended to children who were inmates of state institutions, whose traveling expenses were to be paid by the state.⁴⁶⁷ The medical force in the service of the University was to receive no compensation for this work,⁴⁶⁸ but the actual expenses incurred by the University Hospital were to be paid by the city or county from which the patient was sent.⁴⁶⁹

3. DELINQUENT CHILDREN.

Traces of an attempt to distinguish between the delinquent child and the adult criminal can be seen as early as 1855. Laws then enacted were in all probability not enforced, but they are nevertheless of some slight significance. We find in the first laws of the territory, for example, a provision that minor convicts under sixteen, convicted of felony, were to be sentenced to the county jail instead of confinement and hard labor.⁴⁷⁰ Convicts who had committed an offense within the age of sixteen, such offense being the first, were to have civil disabilities removed when the sentence had been served.⁴⁷¹ Then in 1858 this statement was inserted into an act concerning county jails: "Juvenile prisoners shall be treated with humanity and in a manner calculated to promote their reformation. They shall be kept, if the jail will admit of it, in apartments separate from those containing more experienced and hardened criminals. The visits of parents and friends who desire to exert a moral influence over them shall at all times be permitted."⁴⁷² Herein appears an excellent principle—segregation of juvenile offenders from "more hardened criminals"—but no doubt at this time the jails did not admit of such segregation. These laws were all repealed in 1859⁴⁷³ and reenacted.⁴⁷⁴

Mention may be made of the fact that an act of 1863 provided for the erection of a State Penitentiary,⁴⁷⁵ but since this institution was intended to care for adult criminals, it need not be discussed in detail here. Six years

462. Laws 1907, ch. 44, sec. 1.

463. Laws 1907, ch. 44, sec. 3.

464. Laws 1907, ch. 44, sec. 2.

465. Laws 1911, ch. 292, sec. 1.

466. Laws 1911, ch. 292, sec. 2.

467. Laws 1911, ch. 292, sec. 3.

468. Laws 1911, ch. 292, sec. 5.

469. Laws 1911, ch. 292, sec. 7.

470. Stat. 1855, ch. 54, sec. 19.

471. Stat. 1855, ch. 54, sec. 25.

472. L. & R. 1858, ch. 39, sec. 13.

473. Laws 1859, ch. 89, secs. 1 and 3.

474. Laws 1859, ch. 28, secs. 290 and 295;
id., ch. 83, sec. 13.

475. Laws 1863, ch. 43, sec. 1.

later an important step was taken toward the special care of juvenile delinquents. This act of 1869 provided for the establishment and maintenance of reform schools in all counties containing a city of the first class. The purpose of these reform schools was to be the punishment, reform and education of juvenile offenders.⁴⁷⁶ These reform schools were to be controlled by a board of managers appointed by the governor for each county,⁴⁷⁷ and the expense of maintaining these institutions was to be met by the county.⁴⁷⁸ Persons under sixteen convicted of vagrancy or disorderly practices, of deserting home without cause, or keeping company with dissolute or vicious persons against the command of parents were to be committed to reform school.⁴⁷⁹ Children under sixteen might be committed upon the complaint of the parent or guardian that such children were disorderly, if the complaint was found to be justifiable.⁴⁸⁰

Ten years later this step was followed by another, similar but of greater significance—the establishment of a State Reform School.⁴⁸¹ The site for this institution was to be within five miles of the state capitol building at Topeka, and the city of Topeka was to give to the state 160 acres of land for the purpose.⁴⁸² Any boy under sixteen convicted of an offense punishable by imprisonment might be sentenced by the court to the State Reform School or to imprisonment. If the sentence was to the Reform School, then it was to be in the alternative to the State Reform School or to punishment which would have been meted out if the Reform School had not been established.⁴⁸³ The court might commit a juvenile offender to the Reform School in any one of three cases: first, a boy under sixteen guilty of an offense punishable by imprisonment; second, with the consent of parent or guardian, a boy under sixteen charged with a crime punishable by confinement; third, a boy under sixteen who was incorrigible, vagrant, immoral, idle, truant or disobedient. However, before a boy could be committed the court must first file complaint, giving five days' notice to persons interested.⁴⁸⁴ The proceedings of the trial might, with the consent of the accused, be arrested by the court, and the boy might be committed to the Reform School.⁴⁸⁵ A boy under the age of sixteen was to be entitled to private trial unless his representatives demanded otherwise.⁴⁸⁶ Inmates of the Reform School must remain there until they reached the age of twenty-one, unless discharged as reformed or bound out as apprentices.⁴⁸⁷ The Board of Trustees of State Charitable Institutions was given the power to find desirable employment for the boys in this institution, to provide them with proper useful instruction, and, with the consent of the boys, to bind them as apprentices to learn a useful trade.⁴⁸⁸ If such arrangement for apprenticeship proved unsatisfactory to the master or to the apprentice, the latter might be returned to the Reform School.⁴⁸⁹ Indentured pupils were placed under the supervision of the county superintendents of public instruction, who were to visit these pupils not less than twice a year and who had at these visits the right of private interview with the apprentices.⁴⁹⁰ If the conditions of in-

476. Laws 1869, ch. 93, sec. 1.

477. Laws 1869, ch. 93, sec. 2.

478. Laws 1869, ch. 93, sec. 7.

479. Laws 1869, ch. 93, sec. 17.

480. Laws 1869, ch. 93, sec. 18.

481. Laws 1879, ch. 170, sec. 1.

482. Laws 1879, ch. 170, sec. 3.

483. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 3.

484. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 4.

485. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 5.

486. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 6.

487. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 7.

488. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 10.

489. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 11.

490. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 13.

denture were found to be unsuitable the fact was to be reported to the Board of Trustees by the visiting agent.⁴⁹¹ It was the duty of the visiting agent too to find suitable persons who might accept, under articles of indenture, pupils of the State Reform School.⁴⁹² Boys returned to their parents from the school were dismissed on probation only, the Board of Trustees retaining the power to recall them to the institution if necessary.⁴⁹³ Finally, boys who by their presence at the institution were injurious to the best interests of the school might be dismissed and returned to friends, unless committed because of an offense punishable by imprisonment, when they might be sentenced to imprisonment by the court.⁴⁹⁴

In connection with the State Reform School mention may be made of the establishment of a State Industrial Reformatory and a few of the essential principles in its management. A law of 1885 provided for the location of such an institution⁴⁹⁵ and outlined a plan of management.⁴⁹⁶ To this institution were to be admitted male criminals between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five serving their first sentence to state prison. The discipline was to be reformatory, and to that end agricultural labor and mechanical industry were to be encouraged.⁴⁹⁷ This law was twice amended, in 1895⁴⁹⁸ and in 1901, the principles of management set forth being essentially the same in both the later laws. In 1901, in addition to the provisions stated in 1885, it was made possible for young and well-behaved prisoners of the State Penitentiary to be transferred to the Reformatory,⁴⁹⁹ while the incorrigible at the Reformatory might be transferred to the Penitentiary;⁵⁰⁰ a credit system was established by which good conduct might be rewarded by increased privileges or release on parole;⁵⁰¹ and again discipline was to be reformatory, intended to prevent crime and develop ability for self-support.⁵⁰²

State institutional care for delinquent boys preceded by a decade similar care for girls. In 1889 appropriations were made for the erection of the State Industrial School for Girls at Beloit, provided that the city of Beloit should donate to the state forty acres of land to be used as a site for the institution.⁵⁰³ Any girl under sixteen convicted of an offense punishable by imprisonment might be sentenced by the court to the Industrial School for Girls or to punishment regularly prescribed for such offense. If the sentence was to the Industrial School it was to be in the alternative to the Industrial School or to punishment such as would have been prescribed before the passage of this act.⁵⁰⁴ This section was repealed and amended in 1911, without change except that the age limit was raised from sixteen to eighteen.⁵⁰⁵ The court might commit to the Industrial School, first, any girl under sixteen guilty of a offense punishable by imprisonment; second, any girl under sixteen against whom a charge of crime had been made, punishment for which would be confinement in jail or prison, providing the parents or guardian consented; third, any girl under sixteen, incorrigible, vagrant, immoral, or any girl who refused to work or to attend school. Before the court committed a girl to the State

491. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 14.

492. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 15.

493. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 12.

494. Laws 1881, ch. 129, sec. 16.

495. Laws 1885, ch. 187, sec. 1.

496. The State Industrial Reformatory at Hutchinson was not actually ready for use until 1895. See Laws 1895, ch. 200, sec. 1.

497. Laws 1885, ch. 187, sec. 9.

498. Laws 1895, ch. 200.

499. Laws 1901, ch. 355, sec. 13.

500. Laws 1901, ch. 355, sec. 16.

501. Laws 1901, ch. 355, sec. 15.

502. Laws 1901, ch. 355, sec. 21.

503. Laws 1889, ch. 158, sec. 1.

504. Laws 1889, ch. 158, sec. 10.

505. Laws 1911, ch. 301, sec. 2.

Industrial School, however, as in the case of boys sent to the Reform School, a complaint giving charges against the accused must be filed by the court, and five days' notice must be given to all persons interested in the charges made.⁵⁰⁶ In 1917 a change was made in this section providing for commitment, the age limit being raised from sixteen to eighteen.⁵⁰⁷ Again, as in the case of delinquent boys, trial might be arrested, and, with the consent of the accused, the girl might be committed to the Industrial School unless parents or guardian demanded a public trial.⁵⁰⁸ All inmates were to remain in the institution until they reached the age of twenty-one unless bound out as apprentices or discharged as reformed. Discharge meant unqualified release from all penalties and disabilities.⁵⁰⁹ The Board of Trustees had the power to apprentice any girl of the institution for the purpose of learning a useful trade, but apprenticeship might be canceled if it proved to be unsatisfactory for the welfare of the apprentice, or of the master if the girl proved untrustworthy.⁵¹⁰ The duties of the county superintendents with regard to these girls were the same as his duties in connection with boys apprenticed from the Reform School; namely, to visit the indentured pupil;⁵¹¹ to report to the Board of Trustees the result of their investigation;⁵¹² and to seek out desirable persons willing to receive as apprentices girls from the Industrial School.⁵¹³

In 1901 punishment for misconduct of inmates of the State Reform School and Industrial School for Girls was specified. Any boy or girl who attempted to set fire to a building belonging to the institution, resisted the officers or incited others to do so, or exerted a bad influence on other inmates, or committed felony against an inmate or officer, or destroyed property belonging to the institution worth more than \$20 or made his escape from the institution was to be punished, if a boy in the State Reform School, by being committed to the State Industrial Reformatory for one to three years; and if a girl in the Industrial School, by being sentenced to the State Penitentiary for one to three years. However, in the offense of running away from the institution the boy or girl was not considered a violator of the act until the second or subsequent offense;⁵¹⁴ when such sentence expired the offender was to be returned to the original institution.⁵¹⁵ The prescribed punishment need not necessarily be meted out, but the delinquent might be punished at the institution under the criminal laws of Kansas.⁵¹⁶

The act of 1901 defining conditions of child dependency, which has been discussed, may be called the forerunner of the act of 1905, establishing the juvenile court. In addition to the provisions already discussed under dependency, there was in this act a specific provision for juvenile offenders. In any incorporated city child offenders under sixteen were not to be permitted to be confined, before trial, in police cells used for adult criminals, nor to be tried in the regular police court, but in a private office or some other room in the building. Cities must make for these delinquents separate provision for the custody of children during trial, at a suitable place separate

506. Laws 1889, ch. 158, sec. 11.

507. Laws 1917, ch. 303, sec. 1.

508. Laws 1889, ch. 158, sec. 12.

509. Laws 1889, ch. 158, sec. 13.

510. Laws 1889, ch. 158, sec. 15.

511. Laws 1899, ch. 158, sec. 17.

512. Laws 1889, ch. 158, sec. 18.

513. Laws 1889, ch. 158, sec. 19.

514. Laws 1901, ch. 172, sec. 1.

515. Laws 1901, ch. 172, sec. 2.

516. Laws 1901, ch. 172, sec. 4.

from the ordinary jails. In hearing cases of juvenile delinquency or ill treatment of children by parents the court was required to refuse admission to all but those persons immediately concerned in the trial.⁵¹⁷

Following this law of 1901 came the law of 1905 establishing a juvenile court and providing for the care of dependent, neglected and delinquent children. This act created a juvenile court in each county in Kansas, which was to have jurisdiction over all cases which concerned dependent, neglected and delinquent children, the probate judge being made judge of the juvenile court.⁵¹⁸ This section was amended⁵¹⁹ and repealed⁵²⁰ in 1917, but no change was made in the above-mentioned provisions. This act was designed to cover problems concerning children under sixteen who were outside of institutions, but jurisdiction once acquired was retained while the child was a minor. The terms "neglected" and "dependent" as applied to children have already been defined as meaning children who were abandoned, dependent on the public for support, without proper guardianship and home surroundings, who were idle or immoral, or who earned a livelihood by undesirable means, such as begging. "Delinquent" was in this law defined as any child who was a law-breaker, who was incorrigible, idle, or who associated with immoral persons, frequented pool rooms or gambling halls.⁵²¹ The juvenile court was to appoint "one or more discreet persons of good character" to act as probation officers. It was the duty of these probation officers to make investigations required by the court concerning the child; to bring such child before the court; to represent the interests of the child in the court; to furnish necessary information about the case; and to take charge of the child before and after trial. Such probation officer might be the truant officer.⁵²² Any person of good repute might make complaint to court concerning any child over which the juvenile court had jurisdiction, giving the facts about the case.⁵²³ Upon the filing of the complaint the child and the person having the custody of it were to be summoned to court.⁵²⁴ During the trial the child might be in the care of the probation officer, might remain in its own home or in the charge of some suitable person or in some suitable family, in all of which cases the child was subject to the friendly supervision of the probation officer. If no other provision was made for the custody of the child, it must be kept in a suitable place provided by the county; but except in case of felony, commitment of a child to jail or a police station pending a hearing was expressly forbidden.⁵²⁵ If after examination and trial the child was found to be dependent, neglected or delinquent, the court might provide for the child's care by committing it to some institution, to a public or private hospital, to some training school or industrial school, to the care of some individual of good character, or to an association whose object it was to care for and obtain homes for children.⁵²⁶ Upon being committed to the care of any institution, individual or association, the child became its ward and might by its guardian be placed in a family home subject to legal adoption. Such guardianship did not include the estate of the child.⁵²⁷ In the case of de-

517. Laws 1901, ch. 106, sec. 13.

518. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 1.

519. Laws 1917, ch. 154, sec. 1.

520. Laws 1917, ch. 154, sec. 2.

521. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 2.

522. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 3.

523. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 4.

524. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 5.

525. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 6.

526. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 7.

527. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 8.

linquency, no child under the age of sixteen might be committed to the State Industrial Reformatory for a period extending beyond minority. Delinquent children committed to an institution for the care of such children might be paroled by the managers of the institution, or upon the suggestion of this board of managers might be discharged by the court upon complete reformation, or committed to the custody of some individual or association.⁵²⁸ Such custody might be revoked by the court if it was not for the best interests of the child.⁵²⁹ Children under sixteen when arrested were to be taken before the judge of the juvenile court instead of the justice of the peace or police magistrate.⁵³⁰ Any child might appeal to the district court from the decision of the juvenile court, and such appeal might be demanded by the custodian of the child. In cases of felony committed by a delinquent child, the juvenile court might remand the offender to the district or county court to be there tried.⁵³¹ Officers arresting children under sixteen were required to inform the probation officer or juvenile-court judge of the fact, together with the facts pertaining to the child, its guardian, and the accusation made against the offender.⁵³² In the case of children coming under the jurisdiction of this act, punishment for violation of state laws or city ordinances was to rest in the discretion of the judge of the juvenile court, who might suspend or remit execution of sentence.⁵³³ Finally, this act was "to be liberally construed to the end that its purposes might be carried out, to wit, that the care, custody and discipline of a child shall approximate, as nearly as may be proper, parental care; and in all cases where the same can be properly done, that a child may be placed in an approved family home, by legal adoption or otherwise. In no case shall any proceedings, order or judgment of the juvenile court, in cases coming within the purview of this act, be deemed or held to import a criminal act on the part of the child; but all proceedings, orders and judgments shall be deemed to have been taken and done in the exercise of the parental power of the state."⁵³⁴

This act of 1905 was first supplemented in 1907, by which supplement persons responsible for delinquency, dependency or neglect of a child were guilty of a misdemeanor and were subject to a fine not exceeding \$1,000 or imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year, or both.⁵³⁵ However, the court might suspend sentence of such person guilty of a misdemeanor if said person furnished a bond not exceeding \$2,000 that he would make payment for the support, care and maintenance of the child concerned, by some individual, institution or association, such sum not to exceed \$25 a month,⁵³⁶ or the court might suspend sentence and permit the child to remain in the care of the parent or custodian after having made provisions to remove the cause of dependency or neglect.⁵³⁷ If the conditions specified by the court or by the bond given were not fulfilled the original sentence might be enforced.⁵³⁸ In order to make possible the carrying out of the provisions of 1905 that children were not to be held in jails while awaiting trial, the legislature granted at this time to county commissioners of counties having a

528. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 9.

529. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 10.

530. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 11.

531. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 12.

532. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 13.

533. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 14.

534. Laws 1905, ch. 190, sec. 15.

535. Laws 1907, ch. 177, s. c. 1.

536. Laws 1907, ch. 177, s. c. 2.

537. Laws 1907, ch. 177, sec. 3.

538. Laws 1907, ch. 177, sec. 4.

population of more than 20,000 the right to establish detention homes or juvenile farms for the purpose of caring for homeless children under sixteen over whom the juvenile court had custody. An additional condition accompanied the establishment of juvenile farms, namely, counties establishing such farms must have a city with a population of 25,000 or more.⁵³⁹ Such detention homes were to be in charge of a matron or of a man and his wife, who were under the direction of the judge of the juvenile court. "Parental care was to be the keynote of control in these homes, and children were to be educated either in the public schools or in the home itself. The detention home, as its name indicates, was to be only a temporary home, for so soon as possible the children were to be returned to the custody of their parents or foster parents.⁵⁴⁰ The expense of maintenance of these homes was to be considered a part of the expense of the juvenile court and was to be paid by means of tax levy.⁵⁴¹ Each year the judge of the juvenile court was required to report to the governor upon the number of cases handled, the nature and the disposition of them.⁵⁴² The juvenile court was given jurisdiction over all dependent children under sixteen.⁵⁴³ Children brought before the court while under sixteen remained under its jurisdiction until discharged, even though they arrived at that age in the meantime.⁵⁴⁴ A second supplement followed in 1911, when it was specified that court procedure in the case of trial of persons responsible for dependency, delinquency or neglect of a child was to be the same as the procedure in the trial for misdemeanors before justices of the peace,⁵⁴⁵ and that any person in the above case might appeal from the judgment of the juvenile court as in the case of judgments passed by the justice of the peace in cases of misdemeanors.⁵⁴⁶ This completes the law regarding the juvenile court up to date.

In 1913 provision was made that when any person was convicted of felony, except murder, forcible rape, arson or robbery, the punishment of which was sentence to the Penitentiary, Kansas State Industrial Reformatory or the State Industrial School for Girls, such conviction being for a first offense, the court might parole the offender if satisfied that he or she would not violate the law again.⁵⁴⁷ This law was amended in 1921 to include in the excepted offenses, in addition to the above, burglary and larceny of automobiles or live stock, and a provision was inserted that the court had no power to parole the offender after he had been delivered to the proper institution.⁵⁴⁸ Further with regard to parole of juvenile offenders, mention may be made of the creation of the office of parole officer in 1915 at the Industrial School for Girls. This parole officer was to be appointed by the superintendent with the confirmation of the State Board of Corrections,⁵⁴⁹ and was to have supervision of the girls on parole, finding homes for those who had none.⁵⁵⁰

After a study of the laws of Kansas bearing upon the welfare of the children of the state, one feels that much that is commendable has been attempted in the way of legislation. However, many good laws no doubt

539. Laws 1907, ch. 177, sec. 7.

540. Laws 1907, ch. 177, sec. 8.

541. Laws 1907, ch. 177, sec. 10.

542. Laws 1907, ch. 177, sec. 11.

543. Laws 1907, ch. 177, sec. 14.

544. Laws 1907, ch. 177, sec. 12.

545. Laws 1911, ch. 236, sec. 1.

546. Laws 1911, ch. 236, sec. 2.

547. Laws 1913, ch. 172, sec. 1.

548. Laws 1921, ch. 174, sec. 1.

549. Laws 1915, ch. 331, sec. 1.

550. Laws 1915, ch. 331, sec. 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| Stat. 1855..... | Statutes of the Territory of Kansas, 1855. |
| Laws 1857..... | Laws of Kansas, 1857. |
| L. & R. 1858..... | Laws and resolutions of the Fourth Session, 1858. |
| Laws 1859-1860.... | General Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1859, 1860. |
| Laws 1861..... | General Laws of the State of Kansas, 1861. |
| P. L. 1861..... | Private Laws of the State of Kansas, 1861. |
| Laws 1862-1863.... | General Laws of the State of Kansas, 1862, 1863. |
| Laws 1864-1868.... | Laws of the State of Kansas, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868. |
| Stat. 1868..... | General Statutes of the State of Kansas, 1868. |
| Laws 1869-1874.... | Laws of the State of Kansas, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874. |
| Laws 1875-1897.... | Session Laws of Kansas, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887,
1889, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897. |
| Laws 1898..... | Laws of the Special Session, 1898. |
| Laws 1899-1919.... | Session Laws of Kansas, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913,
1915, 1917, 1919. |
| Laws 1920..... | Laws of the Special Session, 1920. |
| Laws 1921..... | Session Laws of Kansas, 1921. |
| Const..... | Constitution of the State of Kansas. |

STATE REGULATION OF WOMAN AND CHILD LABOR IN KANSAS.¹Prepared by EDITH HESS,² A. B., University of Kansas, 1919.

I. EARLY INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN KANSAS.

THE early history of Kansas is in many respects widely different from that of the other states of the United States. It was and still is mainly an agricultural state, and for that reason had never had as large a proportion of women and children engaged in gainful occupations outside the home as many of her sister states have had.

A. BRIEF EARLY HISTORY OF KANSAS.

In January, 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced a bill into congress which repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, under which Kansas was free, and left the question of slavery or freedom to be decided by the vote of the squatters.³ Slavery then existed in Kansas. Treaties were made with seven tribes of Indians in eastern Kansas, opening land there for settlement, and proslavery people from Missouri flocked in. Every governor, judge, secretary or other officer sent here was in favor of making Kansas a slave state. On the other hand, the North had more men and more energy than the South. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company was incorporated for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West, as were also similar societies in some of the other Eastern states. The actual homeseekers coming from these Eastern states were the men who made Kansas free. A bill was introduced into congress to admit Kansas into the Union as a free state. By this time so many of the Southern states had seceded that the bill passed both houses and was signed by President Buchanan on January 29, 1861.

The development of Kansas may readily be divided into three periods, known as the periods of *war*, of *uncertainty*, and of *triumph*.⁴

From 1855 to 1865 Kansas was an armed camp. The border troubles began in 1854 and lasted until the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. The men responded eagerly to the call of arms, and this served to keep the state before the public notice. During the years 1860 to 1865, although engaged in war,

1. Submitted to the department of economics and the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master of arts, April 28, 1922.

2. Edith Hess was born on a farm near Perry, Ill., January 28, 1887. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Hess, moved to Halstead, Kan., when she was two years of age, and it was in the Halstead public schools that she received her early education, graduating from the high school in 1904. For eight years thereafter she taught in the rural schools of Kansas and Iowa. From 1909 she spent some time each summer studying at the Lawrence, Kan., Business College, and graduated from that institution in 1913. That fall she entered the University of Kansas as a freshman. The next two years she devoted to teaching, being in the public schools of Ames, Iowa. She was again at the University of Kansas for the year 1916-'17, but the following year she entered the University of Iowa, studying through the school year and the summer school of 1918. In the fall of 1918 she returned to the University of Kansas, where she received the A. B. degree in June, 1919. She also won the Chi Omega prize in economics and the University teacher's diploma issued by the school of education. For the next two years she taught the commercial work in the high school at Manchester, Iowa, and in 1921 again entered University of Kansas for graduate work in economics, where she received her master's degree, June 5, 1922.

3. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 6, 1897-1900, "Story of Kansas," Daniel W. Wilder.

4. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 3, 1881-1884, pp. 374-376.

the population of the state increased from 107,206 to 140,179; the assessed property value of the state from \$22,518,232 to \$36,110,000; and the land in farms from 1,778,400 to 3,500,000 acres.

The period of 1865 to 1875 was one of uncertainty. The drought and grasshopper invasion of 1860 had just begun to grow dim when the drought of 1873 and the more disastrous drought and locust invasion of 1874 revived its recollections. At this time thousands of people would have sold everything they had for one-sixth of what it would have been worth if it had not shrunk in value, and left the state forever, but they could find no purchasers.



EDITH HESS.

The period of triumph began in 1875. In 1876 Kansas attracted the notice of the nation by its display at the Centennial Exposition. Since that time its progress has been rapid. The states of New York and Pennsylvania were nearly 150 years in attaining a population equal to that which Kansas reached in thirty years.

B. EARLY LIVING CONDITIONS.

Life was very hard for the early settlers of Kansas. At that time there was not a mile of railroad in operation in Kansas.⁵ White settlements were confined to the country along the banks of the Missouri river and the eastern boundary of the state, while the western half was practically unknown.

5. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, 1905-1906, "The Victory of the Plow," by Wm. D. Street.

The trappers and the hunters were the first to penetrate the unsettled parts in search of game and fur-bearing animals. When the first settlers came the Indians and buffalo were pushed farther west, but neither gave up the struggle for the famous hunting ground and rich pastures. The settlers sought out their claims and then drove to Junction City, some 75 or 100 miles away, to the land office.* After they had secured their titles they began their struggle against climatic conditions. Men in many instances broke the prairie sod with their guns strapped to the plow, opening the land to cultivation that became the nucleus of a splendid farm. Sometimes, when danger threatened, one would act as sentinel while the others worked. Railroad facilities were far away. They were from 75 to 100 miles from a box of matches or a plug of tobacco. Many of them were seriously hampered by a lack of capital. Many good claims were abandoned or sold cheap. With the settlers came the land sharks and money lenders. It was not uncommon for them to charge interest at the rate of from 2 to 10 per cent per month.

C. NATURAL RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES.

Kansas is not one of the leading states in manufacturing and is not a state of large cities. Kansas City, Kan., the largest city in the state, has a population of approximately 100,000, which is small compared with that of such cities as New York and Chicago, or even of her sister city across the river, Kansas City, Mo. Some of the other cities in Kansas, such as Wichita, Topeka, Atchison, Leavenworth and Hutchinson, are steadily gaining in population and industrial importance.

The natural resources for manufacturing are limited, there being no timber lands of consequence and no deposits of iron.⁶ The principal manufacturing is represented by the flour-milling and meat-packing industries. New establishments, such as brick plants, foundries, car shops and glass factories, have recently been attracted to the state by reason of the abundant supply of natural gas for fuel. The government census report for the year 1914 gives this summary for Kansas:

Number of manufacturing establishments.....	3,136
Value of products.....	\$323,234,000
Capital	\$163,790,000
Salaries paid	7,526
Wages earned	\$9,013,000
Wage earners	\$25,970,000
Cost of materials.....	41,259
	\$261,148,000

Kansas is important for some of its mineral products, the most important being coal, salt, gypsum, natural gas and oil. This abundance of minerals leads, in some cases, to the violation of the laws by employing boys below the proper age to work in the mines, especially in the coal mines.

Coal mines are found all through the southeastern part of Kansas, the region around Pittsburg being perhaps the most important.

Natural gas has been known to exist in Kansas almost from the earliest white settlement of this state, small quantities of it having been found in wells

* This statement is unintentionally misleading. The Lecompton land office was the first one established in Kansas, 1855. In 1857 congress established land offices at Doniphan, Fort Scott and Ogden. It was not until 1859 that the Junction City land office was established through its removal from Ogden to Junction City.

6. The Americana, vol. 16, Kansas, 1918.

drilled in Wyandotte county in search of oil before the war.⁷ As soon as the war was over prospecting for oil was continued in several of the counties of the eastern border, and in many of the wells thus drilled small quantities of gas were found. Some of the most important regions are those around Iola and Fort Scott. The commercial value of the product during 1900 is estimated by Professor Haworth, of the University of Kansas, in his annual report upon the mineral resources of the state, to have been \$925,000. At the rate at which its use is increasing its value will soon be doubled.

Kansas is supplied with unlimited quantities of gypsum.⁸ According to government statistics, during 1889 Kansas produced over 17,000 tons of marketable material, which had a value at the factory of nearly \$5.50 per ton, yielding about \$100,000 in value. About one-half million tons have been sent into the market from our Kansas factories and more than \$225,000,000 have been received by the companies operating the mills.

The locality known as the lead and zinc region of Kansas, a part of the Louisiana Purchase, was reserved for some of the Indian tribes.⁹ In 1866, after the town of Baxter Springs was located, prospecting was done along Spring Branch, a little stream running through the town. About 1870 Uncle Billy Cook discovered, on the tract known as the "Cook forty," the first zinc ore. In 1879 the Galena Lead and Zinc Company built the first modern smeltery for the reduction of lead ore into pig lead. In 1915 the lead and zinc product was valued at \$3,676,448.

But Kansas is of more importance as an agricultural state than in any other line of industry. In 1900 Kansas ranked seventh in the Union in agriculture. The most important farm products of the state are wheat, corn and alfalfa, while oats, potatoes and sorghum are of some importance.

The following statistics will show the importance of agriculture in Kansas, and also the rate at which the agricultural product is increasing:¹⁰

<i>Product.</i>	<i>1901. Quantity, in million bushels.</i>	<i>1910. Quantity, in million bushels.</i>	<i>1920. Quantity, in million bushels.</i>
Wheat	90.3	60.9	140.8
Corn	42.6	152.8	132.8
Oats	20.8	53.9	68.7
Rye	2.9	.2	1.7
Barley	2.3	4.6	20.8
Irish potatoes	2.3	4.9	4.0
Flax	1.2	.4	.2

According to the estimates of the State Department of Agriculture, the total value of all agricultural products in the twenty years, 1885-1904, was \$3,078,999,855, of which Indian corn and wheat together represented more than two-fifths, or \$821,300,000 and \$518,100,000, respectively; and live stock products nearly one-third, or \$1,024,900,000.¹¹

However, manufacturing is gaining in importance and is beginning to present problems in the violation of labor laws, especially of those pertaining to child labor. In 1900 Kansas ranked sixteenth in the Union in manufactur-

7. "The Discovery and Development of Natural Gas in Kansas," Chas. F. Scott, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, 1901-1902.

8. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, 1901-1902.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Kansas Year Book on Agriculture, 1920, chart.

11. The Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition, vol. 15.

ing.¹² According to the Twelfth United States Census report, the value of the manufactured product was \$172,129,398, representing an increase of 56.2% over the output for 1890. Of this amount \$154,008,544 represented establishments under the factory system. The most important industry was slaughtering and meat-packing. The following figures will give an idea of the growth of the meat-packing industry in Kansas City, Kan.:¹³

Year.	Number of cattle.	Number of hogs.
1880.....	50,288	523,551
1885.....	104,246	1,557,556
1890.....	548,677	2,306,944
1895.....	893,750	2,171,357
1900.....	1,092,804	2,827,128
1903.....	1,025,446	1,891,708

D. BEGINNINGS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY.

In 1872 Kansas began the publication of annual reports of agriculture and industry under the direction of the Board of Agriculture.¹⁴ The first statistics on manufacturing were given in 1874. At that time the number of sawmills fell off rapidly. The flour mills became the chief type of manufacturing, and as they were based largely on the needs of the people and the resources of the state, they have continued to increase in size and number.

1. Kinds of Work.

As early as 1880 women had begun to engage in occupations outside the home, the chief kinds of work engaged in being milliners, seamstresses, domestic servants and washerwomen. At that time the wages paid were pitifully small, although that amount of money had greater purchasing power than at the present time, since the prices of the articles of consumption were much lower.¹⁵

Figures were given in the Bureau of Labor Report for 1885 which showed the average wages per day that were paid to washerwomen, milliners and seamstresses in the various counties of Kansas, also the weekly wage paid to domestic help in the same counties. From these figures it was possible to classify each kind of labor into certain groups. These groups are given below:

Range, Average daily wage.	Washerwomen, number.	Milliners, number.	Seamstresses, number.
\$0.50	1	0	1
.50 to \$.75	9	7	10
.50 to 1.00	28	15	25
.75	0	0	1
.75 to 1.00	30	33	24
.75 to 1.25	3	4	3
.75 to 1.50	2	2	2
1.00	2	1	0
1.00 to 1.25	0	1	0
1.00 to 1.50	0	2	2
Not given	2	12	9

Range, average weekly wage.	Domestics, number.
\$1.00 to \$2.50	2
1.00 to 3.00	3
1.25 to 2.50	1
1.50 to 2.00	5
1.50 to 2.50	24
1.50 to 3.00	35
2.00 to 2.25	1
2.00 to 3.00	4
2.50 to 3.00	2

12. Ibid.

13. "History of Manufactures in Kansas," Richard A. Douglas, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 11, 1909-1910.

14. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 11, 1909-1910.

15. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1885.

The first table shows a range from 50 cents to \$1.50 per day from the lowest to the highest amount paid. The variation in the second table is from \$1 to \$3 per week. In connection with the wages paid in cash to the domestic help they received room and board. In the first table the greatest numbers fell in two groups, from 50 cents to \$1 and from 75 cents to \$1. In the second table the greatest numbers fell in the groups from \$1.50 to \$2.50 and from \$1.50 to \$3.

There was little change in the wages paid during the early years, as will be shown by the following figures.¹⁶

<i>Occupation.</i>	<i>Range.</i>	<i>Average in 1882.</i>
Washerwomen	\$0.75 to \$1.25	\$1.02
Seamstresses .....	.50 to 1.25	.92
Milliners .....	.50 to 2.00	1.16
Domestics (weekly)	1.50 to 3.00	2.44

<i>Occupation.</i>	<i>Range.</i>	<i>Average in 1884.</i>
Milliners	\$1.00 to \$2.00	\$1.17
Seamstresses .....	.75 to 1.25	.89
Domestic (weekly)	2.00 to 3.50	2.60

Although the four occupations mentioned above were the chief ones engaged in by women, yet they were beginning to work in factories. The usual length of the working day for women and children, as well as for men, was ten hours. The table given below gives the kinds of labor engaged in, together with wages and hours of work:¹⁷

<i>Industry.</i>	<i>Wages, men.</i>	<i>Wages, women.</i>	<i>Wages, children.</i>	<i>Hours.</i>
Canning factory	\$1.50	\$0.75	\$0.50	10
Harness shop ..	1.75	....	.65	10
Foundry	2.25	....	1.25	10
Woolen-hosiery factory	1.75	.80	.40	10
Brickyard	1.50	....	.75	10
Crusher	1.75	.50	1.25	9-10
Hosiery factory .....	....	.50	.25	10
Printing shops	2.66	1.00	.66	10
Baking-powder factory	1.66	.83	....	10
Beer factory	1.50	....	.75	10
Paper mill	1.65	.83	....	10-12
Underwear factory	1.74	.66	....	10
Canned-fruit factory	2.08	.83	.50	10
Sash and door factory	2.50	....	1.50	10
Washing-machine factory	2.50	....	1.50	10
Cigar factory	3.50	....	1.25	10
Boiler factory	2.50	....	1.50	10
Brewery	1.75	....	1.25	10
Bridge works	2.00	....	.75	10
Cooperage	2.00	1.00	.33	10
Packing house	1.75	1.00	.75	10
Preserving works	1.50	.50	.50	10

As early as 1886 the boys were hired to work in the coal mines. The chief counties employing boys in this capacity were Cherokee, Crawford, Linn, Leavenworth, Lincoln and Osage. Wages ranged from \$2 to \$7.50 per week. a large number of the mines paying \$6 per week. They worked from 48 to 60 hours per week, the majority working 60 hours per week.¹⁸

The following table classifies the laborers by industries:¹⁹

-
16. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1885.
 17. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1887.
 18. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1886.
 19. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1889.

<i>Industry.</i>	<i>Establish- ments.</i>	<i>Capacity.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Women.</i>	<i>Youths.</i>
Animal	75	\$11,140,950	3,816	133	237
Leather	35	418,350	237	19	18
Mineral	47	2,351,684	4,682	10	7
Metal	92	2,266,800	2,362	3	124
Lighting	22	1,620,200	145	..	..
Salt and water	17	2,317,000	331	..	..
Stone, clay	79	2,257,270	1,519	..	..
Fruit, sugar	28	1,672,960	640	488	204
Grain, flour	244	6,784,477	1,298	32	7
Wood	131	4,077,775	1,612	6	71
Paper	555	2,331,900	1,726	328	375
Textile	36	350,700	239	394	25
Cigars	49	221,850	222	4	4
Patent medicine	9	192,000	47	8	2
Miscellaneous	2	1,261,500	87	126	1
Totals	1,421	\$39,265,416	7,866	1,386	714

Far more boys are employed outside the home than girls, although in some kinds of employment girls can be used as well as boys. The following figures taken from employers' returns show that very few girls were employed as compared with the boys:²⁰

Industry and operation.

	<i>Boys.</i>	<i>Girls.</i>
Brick making:		
Taking brick from machine	2	..
Trucking and hauling	10	..
Offbearing brick	2	..
Broom factory: sewing brooms	2	..
Canning factory:		
Shelling peas and husking corn	25	25
Operation not stated	5	30
Car building: errand boy	1	..
Carriage factory: painting	1	..
Coal mine:		
Digging coal with father	2	..
Tender at top of shaft	1	..
Door-tending in mine	25	..
Mining and wheeling out coal	125	..
Mining and trapping	37	..
Filling cars for father	10	..
Foundry: moulder	2	..
Knitting factory: sundry work	1	..
Packing house:		
Office boys	24	..
Errand boys	10	..
Door boys	10	..
Wiping and covering cans	125	4
Planing mill: box nailers	2	..
Printing and binding: errand boys	7	..
Stockyards: driving hogs off scales	5	..
Totals	434	59

Something has already been said about the wages paid women engaged in work outside the home during the early history of Kansas. Although the kinds of labor open to women had increased materially by 1894, not much advance had been made in the wages paid. The following figures are taken from the Kansas Bureau of Labor Report for 1894:

<i>Occupation.</i>	<i>Weekly average.</i>	<i>Yearly average.</i>	<i>Yearly average expenses.</i>	<i>Surplus.</i>
Cigarmaker	\$6.15	\$286.40	\$240.70	\$45.70
Box maker	5.10	156.00	150.00	6.00
Tailoress	5.25	200.00	190.00	10.00
Nurse	5.00	*220.00	190.00	40.00
Housekeeper	3.00	*156.00	132.00	24.00
Canvasser .....	..	600.00	500.00	100.00
Music teacher .....	..	562.00	500.00	62.50

* Including room and board.

20. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1890.

<i>Occupation.</i>	<i>Weekly average.</i>	<i>Yearly average.</i>	<i>Yearly average expenses.</i>	<i>Surplus.</i>
Stenographer	\$7.66	\$368.33	\$313.33	\$55.00
Teacher	†19.91	399.28	316.57	82.71
Hotel	2.57	*125.58	95.75	38.83
Laundress	6.81	316.40	266.73	49.67
Domestic	2.40	*119.00	95.00	24.00
Dressmaker	7.09	333.28	282.00	51.28
Milliner	8.25	398.37	336.62	61.75
Clerk (store)	6.76	326.80	272.14	54.66
Clerk (office)	†28.80	330.09	277.01	53.08
Bookbinder	6.85	254.85	225.28	29.57
Bookkeeper	†27.33	322.22	281.00	41.22
Printing	6.49	314.12	268.76	45.36

The surplus, which is the difference between the average yearly earnings and the average yearly expense, shows the amount which it is possible for each class of labor to save during the year under ordinary conditions.

The following statement is taken from the Kansas Bureau of Labor Report for 1897: "Compared with other states, it is believed that as a whole woman wage earners of Kansas work under better conditions than are usually found. Yet women wage earners do not get equal pay for equal service with her brother worker. In five occupations in which both sexes are employed, it is found that women wage earners are paid an annual wage of but 61.4 per cent of that paid to men in the same occupation."

In 1899, as compared with 1898, 55 per cent reported an increased opportunity for employment, 40.7 per cent an increased wage, 47.6 per cent an increased cost of living. The average yearly earnings is \$281.66; the average cost of living, \$261.46; the possible savings, \$20.20.²¹ For establishments in which both sexes are employed the average yearly earnings for males was \$511.96 and for females \$291.06.

Not much advance had been made in 1893 in the wages paid domestic servants over that paid in earlier years. From figures given in the Kansas Bureau of Labor Report for that year it is found that the median wage per week was \$2.20. This report gave the average wage per week for 97 counties in Kansas. In addition to money paid domestic servants, they are given board for the entire seven days each week. For this reason their wages are not as low as it would seem at first glance.

Or, considering the figures in another way, we might divide the counties into four groups, putting into the first group those counties whose average wage ranged from \$3 to \$3.50, inclusive, in the second group those from \$2.50 to \$2.99, in the third group those from \$2 to \$2.49, and in the fourth group those from \$1.50 to \$1.99. According to this classification we find 8 in the first group, 17 in the second group, 57 in the third group, and 15 in the fourth group.

2. Hours and General Sanitary Conditions.

The hours of work were long for practically all kinds of occupations. The ten-hour day was very common, even for children, and quite often they were expected to put in as much as twelve hours per day. In some cases not even a full hour was given them for lunch at noon.

The following table is compiled from the Kansas Bureau of Labor Report for 1894:

* Including room and board.

† Monthly wages.

21. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1899.

Occupation.	Average hours per day.	Noon hour.	Per cent working overtime.
Domestic	10.6	*	60
Dressmaker	10.2	1 hr.	80
Laundress	9.7	1 hr.	75
Hotel	10.1	†	85
Teacher	6.0	1 hr.	100
Stenographer	8.4	1 hr.	38
Music teacher .....	.....	.....	.....
Housekeeper .....	*	.....	.....
Tailoress	8.6	1 hr.	77
Nurse	11.5	‡	40
Cigar maker	10.0	1 hr.	0
Box maker	8.2	1 hr.	0
Bookkeeper	9.0	1 hr.	*
Bookbinder	9.0	1 hr.	*
Clerk (office)	8.1	1 hr.	20
Clerk (store)	10.6	1 hr.	100
Milliner	9.7	1 hr.	65
Printer	9.0	1 hr.	75

Not only were hours long, but for children they were often quite unseasonable. Many of the children would be supposed to commence work early in the morning or to work part or all of the night. This is not pleasant or healthful for adults, and is much worse for the growing child, who needs unbroken rest at night if he is to be strong and vigorous.

The following table will show more clearly the injustice done to the children in the hours that they are required to work:²²

Begin work.			Quit work.		
a. m.	Number.	Per cent.	p. m.	Number.	Per cent.
4:30	1	.56	4:00	12	6.74
5:00	1	.56	5:00	27	15.17
5:30	5	2.80	5:30	30	16.86
6:00	10	5.62	6:00	52	29.22
6:30	6	3.37	6:30	2	1.12
7:00	99	55.62	7:00	11	6.18
7:30	13	7.30	7:30	13	7.30
8:00	20	11.24	8:00	2	1.12
7:45	1	.56	8:00	24	13.48
9:00	11	6.18	.....	.....	.....
10:00	1	.56	11:00	1	.56
p. m.			a. m.		
4:00	3	1.69	4:00	1	.56
4:30	6	3.38	7:00	2	1.13
5:30	1	.56	7:30	1	.56
Totals	178	100.00		178	100.00

The wages earned by those boys and girls are not large, and are entirely too small for the sacrifice they make in the way of education, playtime and opportunity for physical development.

The number of weeks worked per year range from 38 to 52. Weekly wages range from \$2.30 to \$4.02, while the yearly wages range from \$90.55 to \$189.52. The table given below will show the facts in a more concrete form.²³

* Not stated. † Just enough for dinner. ‡ Necessary time.

22. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1890.

23. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1890.

<i>Industry.</i>	<i>Estab- lishments.</i>	<i>Average weeks yearly.</i>	<i>Average weekly wage.</i>	<i>Average yearly wage.</i>
Rootblacks	9	39 ³ / ₁₇	\$3.16	\$126.40
Cash girls	9	39 ¹ / ₂	2.30	90.85
Elevator boys	3	45 ¹ / ₂	3.66	164.44
Errand boys	6	39	3.83	149.37
Foundry boys	9	51 ¹ / ₂	3.68	189.52
Machine-shop boys	5	49 ² / ₃	3.40	147.33
Messenger boys	15	43	3.15	135.45
Messengers (telegraph)	6	51 ¹ / ₃	3.25	166.83
Mine boys	32	35 ¹ / ₇	4.02	141.27
Office boys	6	44 ¹ / ₇	3.79	165.13
Packing-house boys	31	38 ¹ / ₄	3.61	138.08
Packing-house girls	5	50	3.75	187.50
Paper carriers	13	30 ¹ / ₃	3.27	99.19
Printers' apprentices	4	52	2.88	149.50
Soap-factory boys	4	35	3.01	105.35
Store boys	9	50 ¹ / ₂	3.72	187.86
Miscellaneous	12	43 ¹ / ₃	3.95	171.17
Average .....	..	43	3.44	147.95

There are a number of establishments which employ men, women and children.²⁴ Statistics gathered from 61 establishments show that there were 50 in which the laborers worked 10 hours per day, in 4 they worked 12 hours per day, in 4 they worked 9 hours per day, 9¹/₂ hours in 1, and 8 hours in 1.

The sanitary conditions were quite often not of the best. In one report the following conditions were given.²⁵ "Twenty-two out of 100 report offensive odors about the room. There were various causes, such as glue and paste in a bindery, offal in blood-drying room in packing houses, stable in the rear, dampness under the floor, water-closet, hide store below, swill barrels in the alley, and filth under the floor. One hundred out of 120 report separate water-closets for females; 114 out of 132 say that in the workroom seats are provided. Pure water is furnished 130 out of 133. Facilities for washing are given 109 out of 127, and facilities for change of dress are given 75 out of 108."

On account of low wages and long working hours, many of the laborers were living in homes which were poorly furnished and kept in an unsanitary condition.²⁶ The houses consisted usually of from one to three rooms. House rent ranged from \$6 to \$12 per month. No attention was paid to sanitation. The floors were bare or covered with faded paper. The furniture would consist of a cheap bedstead scantily furnished, three or four chairs, a bureau, plain stand or table, and one or two cheap pictures in the bedroom and sitting room. In the kitchen would be found a dilapidated cookstove, a pair of wash-tubs and a rubbing board, a common breakfast table, a couple of rickety chairs, and a cupboard. In spite of the poor furniture, the houses were usually kept neat and clean. The few homes that were owned were often heavily mortgaged.

E. CONDITIONS IN LATER YEARS.

Manufacturing has increased rapidly in importance in Kansas during the early part of the twentieth century. As manufacturing increases, the opportunities for the employment of women and children increase accordingly. The following comparative summary is given to show the increase in five years' time:²⁷

24. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1888.

25. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1889.

26. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1886.

27. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1913.

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF STATISTICS.

	1908.	1913.	Per cent increase.
Number of establishments	1,653	1,662	.54
Capital invested	\$125,875,848	\$174,608,465	38.73
Number of salaried officers.....	5,292	6,362	20.58
Salaries	\$5,507,842	\$7,082,938	28.42
Number of wage earners	52,309	54,439	4.07
Total wages	\$30,497,667	\$34,328,555	12.23
Miscellaneous expenses	\$11,028,142	\$15,056,082	36.52
Value of product	\$233,984,332	\$318,536,748	36.17

A report made by factory inspectors gave a list of occupations in which women were employed in Kansas in 1900:²⁸ Laundry, paper mill, pottery manufacture, salt mining, milling, general repair shops, packing houses, collar factory, overalls factory, saddlery, printing, furniture factory, bag factory, cracker factory, bottling works, merry-go-round, body-braces factory, pump and machine shop, candy and cigar factory, gas company, shirt factory, rug factory, tub factory, implement factory, woolen mills, trunk factory, truss factory, planing mills, and pickle works, besides those occupations which had been open to women many years previous to this.

1. *Comparison of Hours, Wages and Prices.*

Reports have been made by comparing the wages received during one typical week in all the leading industries in which men, women and children are employed, and then making a summary of the results. These tables are taken from the Kansas Bureau of Labor reports for the various years. From these summaries the following tables are worked out in order to make a comparison for several of the different years in the early part of the twentieth century:

EARNINGS FOR MEN 16 YEARS AND OVER.*

<i>Earnings per week.</i>	(NUMBER OF MEN GETTING THIS AMOUNT)		
	1906.	1911.	1914.
Under \$3 per week.....	221	283	279
\$3 and over but under \$4	240	371	206
4 and over but under 5	318	396	332
5 and over but under 6	287	658	549
6 and over but under 7	731	1,016	811
7 and over but under 8	816	1,493	1,223
8 and over but under 9	1,218	1,800	1,492
9 and over but under 10	4,655	5,490	3,918
10 and over but under 12	5,919	12,610	11,884
12 and over but under 15	4,942	14,492	13,913
15 and over but under 20	3,386	12,608	12,490
20 and over but under 25	1,009	6,595	5,888
25 and over.....	336	2,188	3,125

EARNINGS FOR WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.

<i>Earnings per week.</i>	(NUMBER OF WOMEN WORKING)		
	1906.	1911.	1914.
Under \$3 per week.....	139	142	143
\$3 and over but under \$4	187	266	239
4 and over but under 5	277	581	277
5 and over but under 6	388	612	452
6 and over but under 7	499	644	665
7 and over but under 8	228	534	474
8 and over but under 9	115	275	312
9 and over but under 10	62	279	219
10 and over but under 12	105	282	303
12 and over but under 15	38	170	155
15 and over but under 20	13	51	62
20 and over but under 25	4	22	8
25 and over.....	1	3	2

* In 1911 there were 1,525 establishments reporting; in 1914 there were 1,938 establishments reporting.

28. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1900.

EARNINGS FOR CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE.

<i>Earnings per week.</i>	—NUMBER OF CHILDREN WORKING—		
	1906.	1911.	1914.
Under \$3 per week.....	220	165	143
\$3 and over but under \$4	159	38	39
4 and over but under 5	242	45	24
5 and over but under 6	49	13	7
6 and over but under 7	133	3	25
7 and over but under 8	90	1	19
8 and over but under 9 .....	...	1	4
9 and over but under 10	16	1	6
10 and over but under 12 .....	...	...	9
12 and over but under 15 .....	...	...	2
15 and over but under 20 .....	...	...	3

From these tables it will be seen that wages fluctuated from year to year. The number of men getting \$25 per week and over was considerably larger in 1914 than in 1906, having begun to increase materially in 1907. The majority of the men in all these years seemed to be earning between \$10 and \$20 per week. It is almost unbelievable that as late as 1914 there would be men getting less than \$3 per week, and yet this was the case in several instances. Very few of the women were getting \$25 per week and over. The majority of the women were earning between \$5 and \$8 per week, although many of them were getting as much as \$15 per week. None of the children under 16 years of age earned \$25 per week, and most of them were receiving less than \$7 per week. There was a tendency for the number of children to decrease each year, the number employed in 1914 being much less than that of 1906.

The Industrial Welfare Commission made the following report in the Kansas Bureau of Labor Report for 1915-1916: "A total of 307 establishments were investigated to get statistics on wages and hours of women workers. This table shows statistics on 5,793 workers from 307 establishments. Thirty-seven per cent receive less than \$6 per week, 30 per cent receive from \$6 to \$10 per week, making a total of 67 per cent of the women workers receiving less than \$8 a week; 17 per cent receive from \$8 to \$10 per week, 5 per cent receive from \$10 to \$12, and 11 per cent receive over \$12. This gives additional proof that while the census report shows that the industries are prospering, wages are not advanced accordingly.

"During this time prices have also advanced, even more rapidly than wages.²⁹ Prices in 1904 had increased over those in 1900 as follows: Cereals and cereal by-products, 17.68 per cent; cattle, hogs, meat, by-products, 10.54 per cent; vegetables and vegetable by-products, 14.19 per cent; miscellaneous commodities, 11.05 per cent; average, 13.36 per cent.

The following list of commodities, with the prices for the various years, will bring this out more clearly:³⁰

<i>Commodity.</i>	<i>Price, 1900.</i>	<i>Price, 1904.</i>
Wheat (sack)	\$1.02	\$1.33
Sugar (lb.) .....	.05	.05
Molasses (gal.) .....	.40	.40
Syrup (gal.) .....	.34	.36
Coffee (lb.) .....	.17	.18
Tea (lb.) .....	.53	.56
Potatoes (bu.) .....	.67	.97
Sweet potatoes (lb.) .....	.69	1.08
Beef, roast (lb.) .....	.10	.11
Beef steak (lb.) .....	.09	.12
Beef, dried (lb.) .....	.18	.21

29. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1903-1904.

30. *Ibid.*

Commodity.	Price. 1900.	Price. 1904.
Onion (bu.)	\$0.80	\$1.41
Butter (lb.)	.22	.26
Lard (lb.)	.10	.11
Cheese (lb.)	.17	.18
Tomatoes (can)	.10	.11
Corn (can)	.09	.10
Bread (loaf)	.07	.08
Sausage (lb.)	.10	.10
Pork, fresh (lb.)	.10	.12
Pork, bacon (lb.)	.15	.16
Pork, ham (lb.)	.13	.16
Fish (lb.)	.13	.14
Milk (qt.)	.05	.06
Coal, soft (ton)	3.99	4.52
Coal, semianthracite (ton)	5.87	6.66
Coal, hard (ton)	10.53	11.56
Coal oil (gal.)	.15	.17

2. Attitude of Women Wage Earners Toward Conditions of Employment.

Remarks taken from various reports of the Kansas Bureau of Labor are given to show the attitude of women toward the conditions of labor which have prevailed from time to time. Of course there have always been some women who were contented with the conditions under which they worked or at least who for some reason did not think it worth while to complain. But on the other hand, there are some who feel justified in making complaint.

"Saleswoman: I presume this place is as good as others of the kind, but for me the work is very hard. There are no direct orders that I shall not sit down, but I have very little time for rest and there is no place except the counter to sit on when I could sit down. If stools were provided I could frequently sit down when arranging goods in boxes, etc. I do considerable work over the hours mentioned before in busy seasons. We get no extra pay for overtime. The men get double the pay the women do and have the easiest time."³¹

"Waitress: I think females ought to have the same wages as males for the same kind of work. Male help gets \$1.50 to \$2 per day for the same work for which I get \$3.50 per week. I am compelled to work every night until from 12 to 2 o'clock. I have no time to myself from 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning until I am off at night—Sunday included."³²

"Canning fruit: I could not live were it not for the help I get from parents. I have no fault to find with the present occupation. It is easier work and better pay than I ever got before."³³

"Bindery: We do not get any vacation without losing pay, but we are generally obliged to work every legal holiday without extra pay."³⁴

"Dressmaker: Work is uncertain and hours are too long. I could not get along were it not for the help I get from my parents. It ought to be made a criminal offense to work girls or women more than ten hours a day. I was educated for a school teacher and have a certificate, but that field is overcrowded."³⁵

In some of the later reports we get the attitude of the women wage earners toward some of the proposed legislation. In an investigation made in 1896, out of 102 reporting, 82 favor a universal eight-hour day established by law.

31 Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1889.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

and 20 oppose it; 58 out of 81 favor restriction of foreign immigration and 15 favor suppression; 85 out of 101 favor a compulsory Sunday rest law.³⁶

Some human-interest stories were taken from the report of the Industrial Welfare Commission for 1915-1917, to show that in many instances the working girl at the present time has as good a cause for complaint as did the girls twenty or thirty years ago.

"Miss —— says: I cannot make out a list of my expenses. For the last ten years I have known nothing but hard work and staying at home, when I am not at the laundry. I spend as little as I have to, but I never catch up, and I am always in debt."

"Miss —— says: I turn over my week's wages to my mother; she gets me what I have to have."

Another young lady interviewed stated that she had worked for ten years, and is now earning \$9 a week in one of the large department stores. She gives \$5 at home for her board and room, and considers she gets it cheap at that. She says she could not possibly live on less than \$8 a week.

II. HISTORY OF LABOR LEGISLATION.

Although Kansas became a state in 1861, there is little record of the laws passed by the state legislature prior to 1868. The session of 1868 enacted statutes covering practically every subject of our civil polity. That legislature, in fact, made the law of the land. The legislature of 1867 had authorized the governor to appoint a commission to revise and codify the laws of the state, and the executive had commissioned for that work three men qualified for such a task: Samuel A. Riggs, of Douglas county; John M. Price, of Atchison county; and James McCahon, of Leavenworth county. Before the codification of the laws they were inharmonious and confusing. Part of them had been enacted by the several territorial legislatures, whose principal business appears to have been to repeal the statutes passed by every previous session since the bogus legislature of 1855. Part of the laws were the work of state legislatures attempting the hopeless task of molding territorial enactments to fit conditions under the state constitution.

A. NATURE OF EARLY LABOR LEGISLATION.

A list of subjects considered and enacted into law by the session of 1868 is given in the note below.³⁷ Although some of these laws referred to labor in a general way, such as the laws of apprentices, no special labor legislation had been passed prior to 1868.

At that time very little had been accomplished in any of the states in the way of labor legislation. Women and children were not taking an active part

36. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1897.

37. Laws of apprentices; assignments; attorneys at law; bonds, notes and bills; bonds and warrants; commissioners to take depositions; contracts and promises; conveyances; corporations; county boundaries; county officers; county seats; courts; supreme, district and probate; crimes and punishments; damages against cities; descents and distributions; elections; executors and administrators; exemptions; fees and salaries; fences; ferries; frauds and perjuries; fugitives from justice; guardians and wards; illegitimate children; impeachments; jails; jurors; landlord and tenant; laws and legislative journals; lunatics and drunkards; married women and their rights; minors; mortgages; notaries public; oaths; pardons; partnerships; plats of cities and towns; procedure: civil, criminal, civil before justice, in misdemeanors; statutory construction; stock; town sites; townships and township officers; trespassers; fiduciary trusts and powers; wills.

in industry, and for that reason there was less need of laws to protect them, especially as far as labor was concerned.

1. *Rights of Married Women in 1868.*

The first attempt at passing any law relating to the labor of women was the law concerning the rights of married women, which was passed in 1868. This was not primarily a labor law, but one section gives the rights of married women in regard to trade and business.³⁸ It states that any married woman may carry on a trade or business or perform any labor on her own account, and that her earnings received therefrom are her own property, to be used or invested by her as she pleases.

2. *Law Concerning Minors, 1868.*

That same year the legislature passed a law concerning minors. This law also contained a section that pertained to labor. The purpose of this section was to protect those who might make a contract with a minor for services. It states³⁹ that when a contract for labor has been made with the minor alone, if payment is made to the minor for this labor the parent or guardian cannot collect again.

3. *Apprentice Laws, 1868-1915.*

Apprentice laws, while perhaps not strictly child-labor laws, relate to some extent to child labor, since they affect one class of children who perform labor.

The first apprentice law was passed in 1868, and several sections of it applied directly to child labor.⁴⁰

It provided that any infant having no parent or guardian could, with the consent of the probate court, bind himself out as an apprentice until he reached the age of eighteen years if a male, or sixteen years if a female.

It further provided that the father would lose his legal capacity to give consent to the binding out of his children if he willfully abandoned them for six months or if he had become a habitual drunkard, in which case the mother should have consent.

It also provides that the probate court may bind the child out if it is dependent upon the county for support, or if the parents are poor and the father a drunkard, or if the father is dead, or the mother is of bad character; or the guardian may bind the child out if the estate is insufficient for the support of the child.

Whenever a child is bound out the master must provide the opportunity for the child to be taught to read and write and some arithmetic. At the expiration of service the master shall give him a new Bible, two new suits of clothes of the value of \$40, and \$10 in United States money.

In 1889 an apprentice law was passed regarding the girls in the Girls' Reform School,⁴¹ and in 1901 a similar law was passed in regard to the boys in the State Reform School.⁴² The only difference is that in the first law the word "girl" is used instead of "boy."

This law provides that when a boy has been placed in this institution during his minority the board of trustees shall have power to place him at some em-

38. Compiled Laws of Kansas, 1879, ch. 62, p. 539.

39. Compiled Laws of Kansas, 1868, ch. 67, p. 553.

40. Compiled Laws of Kansas, 1885, ch. 5, p. 91.

41. General Statutes of Kansas, 1915, sec. 10113.

42. General Statutes of Kansas, 1901, art. 30, sec. 7129.

ployment and have him taught such branches of useful knowledge as they see fit, and with the consent of the boy the board may bind him out as an apprentice during his minority, or for a shorter period, to learn such trade as in their judgment will be of benefit to him in the future, but a record of such indenture must be made and filed among the records of the Reform School and also in some other place.

The laws described above were not labor laws in the ordinary sense, but still they were the beginnings of an attempt to control labor. As has been said before, labor laws were not very necessary during the early history on account of the nature of the occupations followed in Kansas.

4. Law of 1889 Concerning Protection of Minors.

The first real child-labor law was passed in 1889, and this affected only a small group of children. This law was in regard to children employed by circus managers, etc.⁴³ It stated that any person who had under his control a child under fourteen years of age, and permitted this child to be employed as an acrobat, gymnast, contortionist, circus rider, ropewalker, or in any other such dangerous exhibition, or who allowed the child to be a beggar, mendicant, pauper, street singer or street musician, or any person who should employ a child in any of the ways mentioned above, should be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine of not more than \$250 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

In 1903 this law was changed somewhat.⁴⁴ The age limit was raised from fourteen to eighteen years. This law included among the objectionable forms of employment the practicing or becoming a subject in giving public open exhibitions, seances or shows of hypnotism, mesmerism, animal magnetism, and so-called psychical forces. The penalty was changed so that it read that upon conviction the person might be fined not less than \$10 nor more than \$100, or imprisoned in the county jail not less than ten days nor more than three months, or both.

5. Child Labor in Coal Mines, 1901.

After a lapse of twelve years another law concerning child labor was passed in 1901. This affected only one kind of labor—that of the boys in the coal mines. By this time the coal-mining industry had begun to be important in the southeastern part of the state, and boys in increasing numbers were employed to work in these mines.

This law did not absolutely prohibit child labor in the mines, but regulated it.⁴⁵ It provided that no person under twelve years of age shall be allowed to work in any coal mine, nor any minor between the ages of twelve and sixteen unless he can read and write and furnish a certificate from a school teacher, which shall be kept on file, showing that he has attended school at least three months during the year. In all cases where minors are employed in coal mines the agent of such coal mine shall see that these provisions are not violated. In case of violation, upon conviction the agent shall be fined not to exceed \$50 for each offense.

43. General Statutes of Kansas, 1889, art. 5, sec. 5136.

44. General Statutes of Kansas, 1915, sec. 6402.

45. General Statutes of Kansas, 1901, ch. 66 sec. 4140.

6. *Law Concerning Seats for Women, 1901.*

e)

During the same year the first attempt was made at legislation affecting directly the conditions of the women workers of the state. This was only a small part of what should be done for the women wage earners, but it was a step in the right direction.

This law was in regard to seats for the use of the women employees in stores, laundries, factories, etc. It states⁴⁶ that the proprietor or manager of any mercantile establishment, store, shop, hotel or restaurant, or any other place employing women or girls as clerks or help, shall provide chairs or stools for the comfortable use of such female employees and shall permit the use of the same by these employees for the preservation of their health, when not actively employed in the discharge of their duties. Any proprietor or manager violating this law shall be considered guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not less than \$10 nor more than \$100.

B. RECENT LABOR LEGISLATION.

The passage of the first child-labor law in 1901 marks the beginning of a distinct change in the nature of labor legislation. Before that time most of the laws affecting labor were of a general nature. Since this time they have become specific, and more exacting after they have been tried out. By 1901 the employment of children in industry had become important enough to warrant the passage of a special act.

1. *Child-labor Laws.*

Beginning with 1901, a series of child-labor laws have been passed, each one being a little more rigid than the one before it.

(a) **LAW OF 1901.** In 1901 a sort of introductory law was passed that affected child labor somewhat,⁴⁷ by causing those laws that had been passed to be enforced more rigidly. It provided that the commissioner of the Bureau of Labor, which was established in 1885, should cause to be enforced all laws regarding the employment of children, minors and women, also all laws providing for the protection of the health, lives and limbs of operatives in workshops, factories, railroad or other places, and for the enforcement of all laws enacted for the protection of the working classes which should be enacted hereafter.

The importance of this law lies in its bringing about the enforcement of other laws. The last clause seems the most significant, since some of our most important labor laws have been passed since 1901.

(b) **EFFORTS OF 1903.** Governor Bailey in his message to the legislature urged more legislation in respect to child labor.⁴⁸ He believed that child labor under the age of fourteen years should be prohibited except under certain conditions prescribed by law.

In 1903 a bill was introduced into the house of representatives of Kansas⁴⁹ prohibiting the employment in factories, workshops and mines of persons under the age of twelve years, and regulating the employment in other occupations or places of persons under sixteen years of age. This bill passed the house and was sent to the senate, but did not become a law.

46. General Statutes of Kansas, 1901, ch. 54a, s. cs. 3842, 3843.

47. General Statutes of Kansas, 1901, ch. 99.

48. House Journal, 1903.

49. House Journal, 1903.

pl. (c) LAW OF 1905. Governor Hoch also took a favorable attitude toward labor legislation. This is shown by his message to the legislature. Although he did not make any specific reference to laws affecting woman or child labor, yet his attitude toward all forms of labor legislation was sympathetic, as is shown by the following quotation from his message.⁵⁰ He says: "There are few, if any, better indices to the progress of the people in civilization and good government than the esteem in which labor is held and the code of laws enacted for its protection. After all, in the last analysis, nearly all values resolve themselves into the value of labor. Kansas has taken an advanced position in the statutory interest it has exhibited in behalf of its toilers. Few, if any, states in the Union have thrown so many safeguards around them. The laws upon our statute books primarily in the interest of our laborers, if compiled, would make quite a large book."

The child-labor law of 1905 was much more comprehensive than any that had been passed previous to that time. It made the employment of children under fourteen years of age illegal in some trades and industries and regulated it in others.⁵¹

The first section provided that no child under fourteen years of age should be employed at any time in any factory, packing house or mine. No person under sixteen years of age could be employed at any occupation or any place dangerous to life, limb, health or morals.

The second section provided that any firm or corporation employing children should first be required to obtain a certificate of the age of children from the school board, principal or teacher of the school district in which such children live. The form of certificate is given below:

STATE OF KANSAS, COUNTY of..... CITY.....

This certifies that....., according to the records of this school, from all the knowledge that I can obtain, was born at....., in.....county, and.....city, of the state of....., and is now under.....years of age. (Signed).....

In addition to this the name of the school district or city, and the official position of the person signing is given. If the firm or corporation is unable to procure such a certificate, then the parent or guardian of the child shall make a statement as to the age of the child and this statement shall be verified under oath before some officer. This certificate shall be sufficient protection to the employer of any child as to its age, except when the employer shall have actual knowledge of the falsity of the certificate. These certificates shall be kept on file in a convenient place and shall be open to the inspection of the proper authorities at all times.

The third section provided that the state factory inspector or state inspector of mines shall inspect these certificates and examine the children employed in factories, mines and packing houses as to their age, and to file complaints in court to enforce the provisions of this act, and the county attorney shall appear and prosecute all complaints filed.

The fourth section provided that any firms or corporations violating any provision of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. The penalty shall be a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, or imprisonment in the county

50. House Journal, 1905, p. 18.

51. General Statutes of Kansas, 1905.

jail not less than thirty days nor more than ninety days. This act shall take effect after its publication in the official state paper.

(d) ACT OF 1909. In 1909 Governor Stubbs in his message to the legislature⁵² recommended an extension of the laws restricting child labor. Accordingly, another law was passed in 1909,⁵³ in many respects similar to that of 1905. It was more comprehensive in that there were more kinds of labor at which children under fourteen years of age could not be employed. This law repealed any part of the law of 1905 which would conflict. The scope of this law is defined in article 3, which states that the employment of children under fourteen years of age is prohibited in factories, workshops, theaters, elevators, packing houses and mines, and the labor of children under sixteen years of age is subject to regulation.

The law of 1909, in addition to other things previously mentioned, prohibited the employment of children under fourteen years of age in workshops unless owned and operated by their parents or guardians, and made it unlawful to employ children under fourteen years of age in any capacity during school hours. It also limited the working hours of children under sixteen years of age. They could not be employed before 7 a. m. or after 6 p. m. or more than eight hours in any one calendar day or more than forty-eight hours in any one week. They could not be employed at any labor dangerous or injurious to life, limb, health or morals. This act also made provisions for securing an age certificate from the proper sources before the child could go to work, and for the inspection of these certificates by the state factory inspector, state inspector of mines or their deputies. It provided a penalty for the violation of this act of a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, or imprisonment in the county jail for not less than thirty days nor more than ninety days.

(e) LAW OF 1917. Nothing further seems to have been done along the line of child labor until 1917. During that year Governor Capper in his message to the legislature recommended that the child-labor law should be amended so as to restrict further the age limit and hours of labor of children, especially in hazardous occupations.⁵⁴

In 1917 the law was passed that is now in force.⁵⁵ It repealed several sections of the previous law. In many respects it was similar to the earlier child-labor laws, the difference being that it tends to an even greater extent to prohibit or regulate child labor.

The first section of this law states that no child under fourteen years of age shall be employed or permitted to work in any factory, workshop, theater, mill, cannery, packing house, or operating elevators, and that no child under fourteen years of age may be allowed to work at any kind of business during the hours in which the public school is in session in the district in which the child lives.

Section 2 states that no child under sixteen years of age may be permitted to work in or about a mine or quarry or at any occupation that is dangerous to life, limb, health or morals.

Section 3 forbids any child under sixteen years of age who is employed in any of the occupations before mentioned, or in the transmission of merchan-

52. House Journal, 1909, p. 45.

53. General Statutes of Kansas, 1909.

54. House Journal, 1917, p. 28.

55. House bill No. 688, 1918.

dise or messages, or in any hotel, restaurant or mercantile establishment, from working before seven a. m. or after six p. m., or more than eight hours in any one calendar day or more than forty-eight hours in any one week.

Section 4 requires that persons, firms or corporations employing children under sixteen years of age in any of the occupations mentioned in this act shall obtain and keep on file, accessible to inspectors and officers, a work permit for each child so employed.

Section 5 provides that every employer shall keep posted in a conspicuous place near the principal entrance, in any establishment where children under sixteen years of age are employed, a notice stating the maximum number of hours such child may be permitted to work on each day of the week, the hours of commencing and stopping work, and the hours allowed for dinner or other meals. The commissioner of labor furnishes the form for the notice. The employment of any child for a longer time in the day or at any time other than as stated in the notice is considered a violation of the provisions of this act.

Section 6 states that the superintendent of schools or his duly authorized representative, or the judge of the juvenile court, shall issue a work permit only after he has received and examined the following papers:

First, a written statement signed by the person for whom the child expects to work, or some one else duly authorized, stating the occupation at which he intends to employ the child.

Second, the school record of such child, properly filled out and signed by the principal of the school last attended, stating that the child has completed the course of study prescribed for elementary schools by the State Board of Education. In case the school record is not available, the official issuing the permit has the child examined to determine whether or not such child has the educational qualifications equivalent to the completion of the elementary course of study prescribed by the State Board of Education, and files in the office a statement of the result of the examination. In case the child has not met the necessary educational requirements, a permit may be issued allowing him to work when the school is not in session in the district in which he lives.

Third, evidence of the age of the child, showing that the child is fourteen years of age; and that the state commissioner has the authority to prescribe and from time to time amend such rules and regulations, not in conflict with this act, as he may deem necessary to secure satisfactory evidence of the age of the child applying for a work permit; provided, however, that the evidence of age and the manner of preparing and producing such evidence shall comply substantially with the requirements as to proof of age prescribed by any rules and regulations made pursuant to the act of congress entitled "An act to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes, approved September 1, 1916," and any amendments thereto hereafter made.

Section 7 states what shall be found in the work permit. It must contain the name, sex, date and place of birth, and the place of residence of the child, and describe the color of his hair and eyes, and his height and weight. It must contain a statement of the proof of age accepted, and show that the papers required by the preceding sections have been duly examined, approved and filed, and that the child named in the permit has appeared before the

official issuing the permit and has been examined. Each permit must be signed in the presence of the official issuing the same, by the child in whose name it is issued, and show the date of its issue.

Section 8 states that the permits provided for under this act shall be issued upon blanks furnished by the commissioner of labor and shall be made out in duplicate, one of the duplicates to be returned to the commissioner of labor by the party issuing it, together with a statement of the character and substance of the evidence offered prior to the issuance of such permit. This permit shall be sufficient protection to the employer of the child as to his age, except when he has actual knowledge of the falsity of the permit.

Section 9 provides for the return of the permit by the employer to the official issuing the same, within two days after the termination of the employment of the child for whom the permit was issued. This official then sends the permit or a copy of it to the commissioner of labor.

Section 10 states that whenever the commissioner of labor has become convinced that any permit has been improperly or illegally issued or that the physical or moral welfare of the child can be best served by revoking the permit, he may revoke the same, and then notify the person employing the child and the child holding the permit that it has been revoked.

Section 11 declares that it is the duty of the state factory inspector, state inspector of mines and their deputies to inspect the permits provided for in this act; to examine children employed in factories, workshops, theaters, elevators, packing houses and mines, or any other vocations mentioned in this act, as to their age and education; and to file complaints in any court of competent jurisdiction for the enforcement of the provisions of this act. The county attorney shall then appear and prosecute all complaints so filed.

Section 12 sets forth the penalty for the violation of this act. Any firm or corporation employing any child in violation of the provisions of this act, or aiding in any way in this violation, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than \$25 nor more than \$100 or imprisoned in the county jail for a period of not less than thirty nor more than ninety days.

Section 13 repeals all acts and parts of acts which are in conflict with the provisions of this act.

Section 14 states that this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the statute book. This act was approved March 10, 1917.

Although this is the last act that has been passed in regard to the question of child labor in Kansas, the Children's Code Commission, after a child-welfare survey which has revealed a general disregard for the provisions of the law, has proposed certain amendments and additions to the present law.⁵⁶ They would like to raise the age limit to fifteen years instead of fourteen years for all work except domestic labor and work on farms and gardens in connection with the home of the child. In section 3 an additional provision of not more than six days in any one week is included. They would require also a certificate of physical fitness, showing that the child had attained normal development for a child of its age and that it is sound in health and physically qualified for the employment specified. They would have the permit blanks made out in triplicate. Another proposed provision is that

56. Report, Kan. Children's Code Com., Jan. 1921, pp. 17, 18.

upon termination of employment the child must find other employment within five days or return to school.

2. *Mothers' Compensation Act, 1915.*

One reason frequently given for the employment of child labor is that the parents are poor and need the money which the children can earn. Quite often this is due to drunkenness on the part of the father or to some other bad habit. Then, too, perhaps the parents had to go to work early in life and see no reason why the children should not do the same. In some cases the father has died or deserted his family without making adequate provisions, thus leaving the widow to rear and educate a large family of children with nothing upon which to depend except the work of her hands. At times they find it almost impossible to keep the wolf from the door without the help of the children, either in earning money themselves or in taking care of the younger children while the mother works.

Many of the states as well as some of the foreign nations have found that it is better to grant the mother some sort of aid from the government than to have the children's opportunity of gaining an education sacrificed, or of having the family separated and the children placed in a public institution.

(a) *LAW OF 1915.* In 1915 the governor in his message to the legislature emphasized the fact that legislation was needed to assist poor and worthy mothers by a compensation which would enable them to care for dependent minor children at home instead of their being cared for in an institution, also to make child desertion by either father or mother a crime.⁵⁷

In 1915 the widows' pension bill passed both houses and became a law.⁵⁸ It provided that the county commissioners might contribute to the poor parents of helpless and imbecile children in case the parents of these children could prove that they were unable to take care of them. The sum provided should not exceed what it would cost the public to support the children.

It also stated that pensions might be allowed widows with dependent children under sixteen years of age. The pension in such cases was limited to \$25 per month. Before any pension was allowed under this act the widow was required to make application showing that she was a woman of good character and that her children were under sixteen years of age. The county commissioners then appointed three respectable women living in the same neighborhood to make an investigation of each case and report favorably or unfavorably.

The law also provided a pension in case the husband was still alive, but physically or mentally unable to earn a living, and the support of the family fell on the wife, or where the husband was confined to some state institution, if upon investigation it was found that she was worthy.

That this law was not very well enforced is shown by Governor Capper in his message to the legislature in 1917.⁵⁹ He says: "Only a few counties are observing the law for the payment of a pension to worthy widowed mothers as provided by the legislature two years ago. The law should be strengthened by requiring each county to provide funds for this purpose."

57. House Journal, 1915, p. 25.

58. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1915; Report of Kansas Federation of Labor.

59. House Journal, 1917, p. 28.

(b) LAW OF 1917. The law of 1915 was amended in 1917, and those parts repealed which conflicted with the new law.⁶⁰

Section 1 states that the board of county commissioners may, at their discretion, pay to poor persons who may become chargeable as paupers, if they are of mature years and sound mind, and who from their general character will probably be benefited thereby, and also the parents of idiots or of children who are helpless and require the attention of their parents and who are unable to provide for the children themselves, such annual allowance as will not exceed the charge of their maintenance in the ordinary mode, the board taking the usual amount of charges in like cases as the rule for making such allowance.

In any case where the mother of any child under sixteen years of age shall have the sole charge of the child by reason of being a widow, divorced, or her husband being physically or mentally unable to earn a living for himself and family, or lawfully confined in a penal or other state institution, or having for the last three months abandoned the mother without just cause; and where the mother has been an actual *bona fide* resident of the county for the two years just preceding her application, and is a woman of good moral character and a fit person to have the care of the child, and does not have sufficient property or income to support her child, such mother shall be entitled to a "mother's aid" in caring for and supporting such child from the county in which she is a resident at the time she makes application.

It shall be the duty of the county commissioners to pay to such mother by way of allowance such a monthly sum as may be reasonably necessary to support her and her child, not to exceed the charge of maintenance in the ordinary way. This may be increased or diminished from time to time as may be necessary and reasonable.

The total sum allowed to any one mother under the provisions of this act shall not exceed \$25 per month, and before such allowance is granted it shall be the duty of the mother to file in the office of the county clerk of the county in which she is an actual and *bona fide* resident at the time an application for mother's aid for caring for her child, setting forth in her application the fact that she is and has been a resident of that county for the two years just past, and that she is the mother of such child; and giving a list of her property, with the income therefrom, stating that she is financially unable to support her child and that she is a widow, or for various reasons her husband is unable to support her.

This application must be verified by the applicant and supported by the affidavit of two disinterested householders of the township in which the mother lives, setting forth the same facts, and also that the mother is a woman of good moral character and a fit person to have the care and custody of the child.

Before granting the allowance provided in this act the board of county commissioners designates three respectable women who are in no way related to this applicant, and who reside in the same city or township, and these women, without compensation, investigate the application and report to the board of county commissioners in writing according to such rules and regulations as they may prescribe.

60. Kansas Labor Laws, compiled for State Department of Labor and Industry, Jan. 1918.

After a full investigation, if the board of county commissioners find that unless relief is granted the mother will be unable to support and educate her child, or that they may become a public charge, and that the statements alleged in the application are true, it shall determine the amount of money which it deems necessary for the county to contribute to the support of such mother and child, and order that this money be paid in accordance with the method prescribed by the commissioners. Any such payments of money may be increased temporarily by the board of commissioners in case of sickness or unusual condition, and decreased in like manner when considered unnecessary, and the court may order the amount of aid to be given in supplies instead of money.

Section 2 provides that a certified copy of such findings of the board shall be filed with the county clerk of that county, and as long as the order remains in force the county clerk shall each month draw his warrant on the general fund of the county in favor of the person and for the amount specified in the findings. The warrant is delivered to the person designated in the findings upon the issuing of a duplicate receipt therefor, one to be filed with the juvenile court and one to be filed with the county clerk. It is the duty of the county treasurer to pay the warrant out of the general-revenue funds of the county when properly presented. Nothing in this act shall be construed as repealing any laws now in force giving the county commissioners power to give aid to the poor in their respective counties. It shall be unlawful for any attorney to receive any fee for bringing the proceedings in the juvenile court provided herein.

Section 3 gives the board of county commissioners jurisdiction in all of the cases in their county.

Section 4 provides for the repealing of any laws or sections of previous laws conflicting with this law.

3. *Truancy Laws, 1909-1915.*

Although the truancy law is not a child-labor law, there is a close connection between them. The more closely the truancy law is enforced the less opportunity there is for the child to be employed at labor during school hours or before he has attained the proper age. On account of the close relationship in the scope and operation of the child-labor law and the truancy law it has been possible in many counties for the truancy officers to be of vast benefit to the department in reporting cases of employment of children, thus securing quick action in the taking of children out of the factories and placing them in school.

In 1909 a truancy law was passed which provided that it would be unlawful for any merchant, company or other party, without the written permit of the board of directors of any country district or of the board of education of any city of the first or second class, to employ any child between the ages of eight and fifteen years during the session of the school term or year, except under certain conditions. It provided further that the board of directors of any country district or the board of education of any city of the first or second class should have authority, in the exercise of a sound discretion, to permit temporary absences of children from school, between the ages of eight and fourteen years, in extreme cases of emergency or domestic necessity.⁶¹

61. General Statutes of Kansas, 1909, art. 18, sec. 7737.

In 1915 the provision was made in the truancy law that any child of the age of fourteen years or more who is able to read and write the English language, who is actively and regularly employed for his own support or for the support of those dependent upon him, shall not be required to attend the schools for a longer period than eight consecutive weeks in any one year.⁶²

The Children's Code Commission has recently proposed some new provisions for compulsory school attendance, which if passed would aid materially in enforcing the child-labor law.⁶³ It proposes that all children between the ages of seven and eighteen years should be compelled to attend school whenever it is in session, unless they have sooner completed the high school course. Any child of the age of fifteen years or more who is actively and regularly employed according to the provisions of the child-labor law shall be required to attend school two hours a day, four days in the week, during the school term, unless he has previously completed the work of the tenth grade. Any child of the age of fourteen years who has completed the work of the eighth grade may be employed according to the provisions of the child-labor law, but he must attend the part-time school.

This commission also proposes a bill for the establishment of part-time schools.⁶⁴ This bill provides that any minor legally employed under the Kansas child-labor law shall be required to attend a part-time or continuation school for at least two hours a day, four days in the week, with special exceptions, and that this time shall be counted as part of the time employed. It also provides that a part-time school must be established in any district where fifteen minors come within provisions of the act. Children between eighteen and twenty-one who are not employed shall not be barred from attendance. This school may provide an education which shall be either supplemental to the work in which they are engaged, continue their general education or promote their civic and vocational intelligence. Part-time schools which are duly qualified shall receive federal aid.

4. Minimum Wage Law, 1915.

In recent years several of the states have passed minimum-wage laws pertaining to the wages that must be paid to women and minors by law. Kansas has not fallen behind in this respect. In 1915 Kansas passed a minimum-wage law that directly affected the women and minors of the state as to the amount of wages they should receive for their labor.⁶⁵ It applied to all women and to minors under eighteen years of age. The amount to be received is to be adequate for maintenance and not detrimental to health and welfare. Exceptions are made in the case of defectives and learners. In case of violation of the act the employer may be fined from \$25 to \$100, and the employee may sue for wage balance, court costs and attorney's fees. The penalty for discrimination against any employee for testifying in any investigation relative to the enforcement of the act is a fine of from \$25 to \$100. There is an annual appropriation of \$5,000 made for the enforcement of this act, and the Industrial Welfare Commission takes it in charge. An investigation is necessary upon the request of twenty-five persons engaged in any occupation. The commis-

62. General Statutes of Kansas, 1915.

63. Report, Department of Labor and Industry, Kansas, 1920, p. 58.

64. *Ibid.*

65. First Biennial Report, Industrial Welfare Commission, Kansas, 1915.

sion may subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and compel the production of all wage records, papers and other evidence.

III. ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE REGULATION OF LABOR.

The states, as well as the federal government, find it necessary to establish bureaus and other organizations to help carry out the laws which have been passed. Kansas has been no exception.

A. DEPARTMENT OF KANSAS BUREAU OF LABOR, 1885.

The first organization established in Kansas for the purpose of aiding in the enforcement of labor legislation and of bettering the conditions of the laborers was the Department of the Kansas Bureau of Labor.

Early in the eighties the people of the state began to realize that legislation was needed to determine questions regarding the rights of labor. As a result the legislature of 1885 passed an act creating a "Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics."⁶⁶ By this act the governor was authorized to appoint a commissioner of labor statistics for a term of two years, with a salary of \$1,000 per year. The commissioner was given power to take and preserve testimony, examine witnesses under oath, enter any public institution in the state, or any factory, workshop or mine, and require officers or other persons engaged there to furnish answers to his questions when investigating any subject.

The first commissioner of labor statistics was Frank H. Betton, of Wyandotte, who was appointed by the governor on May 1, 1885. During a little more than a quarter of a century since the Kansas Bureau of Labor Statistics was created, legislative enactments have widened the scope of the bureau and have necessitated an increase in its personnel. In 1910 it consisted of a commissioner and factory inspector, an assistant commissioner and assistant factory inspector, two deputy factory inspectors, a chief clerk, a statistical clerk and a stenographer.

The law, which was passed in March, 1885, was divided into six sections.⁶⁷ Section 1 provides for the establishment of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of the state of Kansas. Section 2 defines the duties, which are to collect, assort and present in annual reports to the governor, statistical details relating to all departments of labor and industrial pursuits in the state, especially in their relation to the commercial, industrial, social, educational and sanitary condition of the laboring classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive industries of the state. This information is in turn presented to the legislature by the governor. Section 3 provides for the appointment of a commissioner of labor statistics by the governor for two years and until his successor is appointed and qualified. Section 4 states his salary and provides for his expenses. Section 5 gives to the commissioner the power to take and preserve testimony, examine witnesses under oath, and while discharging his duty to enter any factory, workshop or mine, and compel persons to answer questions. Section 6 provides that state, county, city or township officers must furnish information upon request.

66. Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, F. W. Blackmar, vol. 1.

67. Compiled Laws of Kansas, 1895, p. 918, ch. 103a.

In 1898 a law was passed creating a State Society of Labor and Industry.⁶⁸ The title to this law reads as follows: "An act to create a State Society of Labor and Industry, with power to elect a secretary, who shall succeed to the powers and duties of the commissioner of labor statistics, and be *ex officio* state factory inspector; and an assistant secretary, who shall be assistant commissioner of labor statistics; and to collect, report and disseminate statistics of labor and industry; and repealing chapter 188, Laws of 1885." Thus in 1898 the name of the bureau was changed, and the work of the bureau has been broadened to include more than at first.

1. Nature of Work Done and Reports Made.

The work done by this bureau covers a wide range of activities. It inspects factories, mines and other industries; gathers statistics regarding hours, wages, sanitation and other conditions affecting the life of the laborer. Annual or biennial reports of the industrial conditions of the state are made, and sent out upon application.

These reports are made by the commissioner of labor, with the aid of the other officers of the bureau. The first commissioner of labor was Frank H. Betton. Other men who have served in that capacity are W. G. Bird, F. J. Todd, W. L. A. Johnson, Owen Doyle, and W. L. O'Brien. John H. Crawford is the present commissioner of labor.

The reports vary in the material covered. They are not confined to the labor conditions of women and children, but include all phases of labor. Several of them give the results of factory inspection in the various industries. Some of the earlier reports contained the wages paid to women in the various occupations in the different counties. Some of the reports give the labor laws. Several report conditions in the coal mines. A few have given interesting accounts of conditions of farm labor. In practically every report many tables of statistics are included, thus showing in a concrete way the conditions existing in the various industries or localities.⁶⁹

The last report of the department, published in 1920, is divided into five parts.⁷⁰ Part I deals with factory inspection, giving a list of the establishments inspected, the nature of their business, and the number of employees. Part II gives a detailed report of industrial accidents. Part III consists of the workmen's compensation laws. Part IV deals with child labor, including a discussion of the work permits which some cities issue, also the proposed legislation of the Children's Code Commission. Part V discusses the free employment bureau.

2. Factory Inspection.

Factory inspection has always been a part of the work of the Bureau of Labor and Industry. As the work has grown assistant factory inspectors have been appointed. It has been such an important part of the work of the bureau that it seemed to warrant special mention here.

The Laws of 1913, as amended by the Laws of 1917, made the following provisions for factory inspection.⁷¹ The commissioner of labor is made *ex officio* state factory inspector, state mine inspector, and director of the free

68. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1899. Laws of 1898.

69. Various reports examined.

70. Thirty-fifth Annual Report of Department of Labor and Industry, Kansas, 1920.

71. Kansas Labor Laws, compiled for State Department of Labor and Industry, 1918.

employment bureaus, and is given full jurisdiction over and control of the inspection of factory, workshop, mine or mill. The commissioner of labor and industry shall also appoint one chief clerk, one statistical clerk, one free employment bureau clerk, one stenographer, two deputy state factory inspectors, one inspector whose duties shall be to inspect fire escapes and all places of amusement and who shall have a practical knowledge of building with at least five years' experience, and five deputy state mine inspectors.

In addition he may also employ special agents and such other assistants as may be necessary in the discharge of his official duties.

These officials shall have been residents of the state at least two years. The commissioner of labor shall appoint as one of the deputy state factory inspectors a woman, who, under the direction of the commissioner of labor, shall have charge of the enforcement of all laws relating to the health, sanitary conditions, hours of labor, and all other laws affecting the employment of female wage earners. This woman shall be a qualified elector of the state, with at least two years of actual experience along the line of her labors as prescribed by this act, and shall have been a resident of the state of Kansas for at least two years immediately preceding her appointment.

Miss Linna E. Bresette was appointed as woman factory inspector and devoted her entire time to inspection of factories and workshops where women or children were employed.⁷² During 1913 she conducted an investigation under the direction of Labor Commissioner O'Brien. She visited 365 establishments in which a total of 19,854 women were employed, and found that 34 per cent of the women employed received less than \$6 per week; 21 per cent worked 10 or more hours per day; and more than 50 per cent worked 54 hours per week or longer. Almost universally the women who have to work the longest hours receive the lowest wage. A great many married women are employed in the industrial world, many of them from necessity. A large percentage of the married women are mothers supporting or assisting in the support of a family. A great many are inefficient because of lack of aim or lack of training or education. Among her other duties she issues orders to factories to make certain much-needed improvements. A few are given to show the nature of the orders issued:⁷³

Place must be thoroughly cleaned.

Exits must be kept unlocked.

Provide seats back of counters for use of female clerks.

Provide handrail on stairway.

Ventilation not sufficient, provide more.

3. Free Employment Bureau.

In recent years the factory inspectors have enlarged the scope of their work by maintaining free employment bureaus. These bureaus are maintained for both men and women and have done much good in bringing together those wishing help and those wishing situations. Thus far the scope of the bureau has not been broad and provisions have been made only for a few kinds of labor. As the years go on, however, the work of the bureau promises to reach out and include an ever-increasing number of kinds of labor.

During the special session of the Kansas legislature in 1920 a law was passed

72. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1913.

73. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1914.

making the free employment bureau a special department of the Bureau of Labor and Industry.⁷⁴ One of the first effects of this law was to establish permanent free employment agencies in six of the important towns—Kansas City, Topeka, Parsons, Salina, Wichita, and Hutchinson, each of these towns being the center of a district.* The chief purpose of this bureau was to regulate the supply of harvest hands and other farm laborers, although they have not confined themselves to that kind of labor. During the rush season temporary offices were opened also at Liberal, Goodland and Dodge City. In addition to the placement of 26,000 harvest hands, 14,596 permanent positions were found for other laborers. More positions were found for men than for women. The assistance given to women is divided into three classes—domestic, industrial, and clerical and professional.

A few tables are given below so as to compare the work done in 1914 and 1915 with that of 1920, to show the great increase in the number of positions filled since the free employment bureau has become a separate department of the Bureau of Labor and Industry.

FREE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU REPORT, 1914.⁷⁵

	<i>Situations wanted.</i>	<i>Situations secured.</i>	<i>Help wanted.</i>	<i>Help secured.</i>
Chambermaids	9	4	5	4
Cooks	21	9	11	9
Dishwashers	36	7	7	7
Housework	52	18	24	18
Housekeeper	16	5	8	5
Laundresses	12	3	4	3
Nurse girls	6	2	7	2
Stenographers	31	3	3	3
Waitresses	47	12	16	12
Totals	230	63	85	63

FREE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU REPORT, 1915-1916.⁷⁶

	<i>Situations wanted.</i>	<i>Help wanted.</i>	<i>Help secured.</i>
Chambermaids	2	..	..
Clerks	2	2	2
Cooks	4	5	4
Dishwashers	3	2	2
Housework	20	7	4
Housekeepers	18	13	11
Laundresses .....	..	..	..
Nurse girls	2	1	1
Stenographers	2	..	..
Waitresses	10	6	6
Totals	63	36	30

FREE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU, 1920.⁷⁷

	<i>Registered.</i>	<i>Help wanted.</i>	<i>Referred to positions.</i>	<i>Positions secured.</i>
Total	1,758	1,596	1,218	1,073
Domestic:				
Topeka	446	645	486	439
Wichita	122	85	65	48
Hutchinson	135	123	95	74
Kansas City	256	197	131	147
Parsons	122	147	101	93
Salina	101	68	64	51
Total	1,182	1,265	942	825

74. Thirty-fifth Annual Report of Department of Labor and Industry, 1920, pp. 63, 66.

75. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1915-1916.

76. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1915-1916.

77. Thirty-fifth Annual Report of Department of Labor and Industry, 1920.

	<i>Registered.</i>	<i>Help wanted.</i>	<i>Referred to positions.</i>	<i>Positions secured.</i>
Industrial:				
Topeka	55	53	37	32
Wichita	6	4	1	2
Hutchinson	4	4	0	0
Kansas City	37	9	7	7
Parsons	70	55	45	36
Salina	2	1	1	0
Total	174	126	94	77
Clerical and Professional:				
Topeka	68	72	61	48
Wichita	14	3	3	3
Hutchinson	72	19	17	10
Kansas City	13	20	12	9
Parsons	200	83	78	67
Salina	35	8	11	7
Total	402	205	182	144

By making a further comparison of these figures we find that almost 80 per cent of the positions secured were for domestic help. According to the Thirteenth Census of the United States in 1910, there were 80,694 females over ten years of age gainfully employed in Kansas.⁷⁸ Of this group almost 30,000, slightly over 37 per cent, were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical, trade, transportation (which includes telephone operating) and clerical occupations. This would leave over 50,000 females, or 63 per cent, to engage in other occupations. While it was not definitely stated, the inference may be easily drawn that a majority of these 50,000 women were probably engaged in domestic work.

In this connection it is also interesting to note the increase in the number of positions filled in 1920 over that of 1914 and 1915. In 1914 there were 63 positions secured; in 1915-1916 the number dropped to 30. The reason for this decline is not known. It was impossible to get statistics for the years intervening between 1916 and 1920, as the Bureau of Labor did not publish reports for those years. It is therefore impossible at this time to say whether this increase will be steady, or whether 1920 was for some reason an unusual year.

B. INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION, 1915.

Another important step in the development of the labor laws of Kansas that has been taken within the last few years is the establishment of the Industrial Welfare Commission. In 1915 a law was passed which provided for this commission. This law defines the powers and duties of the commission, tells of whom it is composed, etc.

1. Provisions of the Law.

The law establishing this commission is long and divided into many sections. It is not necessary to give here all its provisions. The entire law may be found in either the General Statutes of Kansas or in the reports of the commission. Those provisions which seemed most pertinent to the discussion are given here.⁷⁹

It is the opinion of the legislators of Kansas that inadequate wages, long-continued hours and unsanitary conditions of labor exercise a pernicious effect on the health and welfare of women and children. For that reason it is made unlawful to employ women and minors in any industry or occupation detri-

78. Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 17, "Women's Wages in Kansas," 1921.

79. First Biennial Report, Industrial Welfare Commission, Kansas, 1915-1917.

mental to their health or welfare, or at wages inadequate for their maintenance.

For the purpose of establishing better conditions for woman and child laborers, the Industrial Welfare Commission is established. It consists of the commissioner of labor and two others appointed by the governor. No two of these shall be from any one congressional district, and at least one member shall be a woman. The first appointment shall be made within sixty days after the passage of the act. After the first appointment the term is four years and until the successor is appointed and qualified. The governor has the power of removal for cause and of filling vacancies. The commission elects its own members, who are paid all traveling expenses and serve without salary.

The commission is given permission to investigate, at its discretion, wages, hours and sanitary conditions affecting women, apprentices and minors in any industry or occupation in the state. Upon the request of not less than twenty-five persons engaged in any occupation employing women and minors, it shall become the duty of the commission to make investigation. To this end it has power to call for statements and to examine, either through its members or other authorized representatives, all pay rolls or other wage records of all persons, firms or corporations employing women and minors as to any matter that would have a bearing upon the question of wages, hours or labor conditions of employees. Employers must keep a register of employees according to the prescribed form.

The commission holds public hearings at such times and places as it deems fit for the purpose of investigating any matters authorized by this act. At these hearings any employer or employee may appear and give testimony, and witnesses may be subpoenaed. No order may be made by less than a majority of the commission.

If, after investigation, the commission is of the opinion that in any occupation the wages, hours and conditions, sanitary or otherwise, are prejudicial to the health or welfare of any substantial number of the classes or employees named in this act, and are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health, it shall establish a wage, hour or sanitary board as the conditions developed may demand. This board shall consist of not less than three representatives of employers in the occupation in question, of an equal number of persons to represent the employees, and of one or more disinterested persons appointed by the commission to represent the public.

Each board shall endeavor to determine the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, required in the case of a woman worker of ordinary ability in the occupation to supply the necessary cost of living, also the number of hours and other sanitary conditions necessary to maintain her health. These same questions are considered in the case of apprentices and minors. Different minimum hours and standards for each class in an occupation of different localities in the state may be recommended when in the judgment of the board local conditions justify such action. The determinations of a majority of the board, together with the reasons therefor, are reported to the commission.

If the commission approves the report of the board and a notice is published not less than once a week for four successive weeks in the official state paper

that a public meeting will be held to hear complaints. An order becomes effective in sixty days after it is made. Upon petition of either employers or employees, the commission may reopen any question that has become mandatory and is not agreeable. Provision for the employment of physical or mental defectives is made by means of a special license.

In case of dissatisfaction on the part of either the employer or the employee within thirty days from the making of the order, action may be brought in the district court of the various counties to have the order set aside. During the pending of such action, the order shall, unless temporarily stayed, remain in full force until final judgment.

An employer may be punished for discharging or in any manner discriminating against any employee for signing any request to the commission to investigate conditions, or for testifying in an investigation. He may also be punished for failure to live up to the conditions of the order.

The commissioner of labor and the several inspectors of the Bureau of Labor shall at any time give to the commission any information that may assist them in carrying out this act. The commission must publish a biennial report to the governor and the legislature.

2. Purpose of the Commission.

Not only in Kansas, but in many other of the more progressive states, it had been found that in many occupations the women and minors were working under too adverse conditions. Their hours were long, their wages small, and the conditions under which they worked were often very unsanitary. There was little that these women could do to better their conditions. Most of them worked because stern necessity compelled them to do so. If they complained they were liable to be discharged.

Before the Industrial Welfare Commission was established, in 1915, there had been very little legislation that affected the women wage earners directly. It is only in recent years that the women of Kansas have had the privilege of the ballot and have been recognized as a power to be reckoned with in political affairs.

That there is a relation between woman suffrage and the improved working conditions for women is believed by almost every thinking man and woman. Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe has ably expressed⁸⁰ this belief:

"We have proved that there is a relation between wages and the ballot. Women's wages in Denver have steadily increased since they have been given the ballot, and as a result of increased wages and better protection police authorities report that there are 3 per cent less of fallen women in the city of Denver than there were before the ballot was in the hands of women. In the District of Columbia, where so many women go to work and are compelled to take the wages of sin or starve, women constitute 17 per cent of the prisoners; in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 14 per cent; in New York, 13 per cent; and so on down the line until we come to the states where women vote, and we have Colorado and Utah with 2 per cent; Arizona and Kansas, 1 per cent; Wyoming and Idaho, none. In Massachusetts a woman school teacher gets about one-third the pay of a man. The laws in Wyoming and Utah say equal pay for equal work. In view of this, 1,400 school teachers of California in their state convention passed a resolution recommending a suffrage amendment to their constitution. The American Federation of Labor at Pittsburg

80. "Some Woman Suffrage History," Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 10, 1907-1908.

passed a resolution declaring that women can never come into the full wage scale until she comes into her full rights of citizenship. Other labor unions are now declaring for women's equality, and thus do we see the light of day."

The purpose of the Industrial Welfare Commission is to investigate the various occupations of women and minors, and where the wages are too small, the hours too long or other conditions are bad, to see to it that these wrongs are righted, and in that way to protect the women wage earners so that they may lead pure lives and keep their health in good condition.

A few examples taken from the report of the Industrial Welfare Commission for the years 1915-1917 will show how inadequate have been the wages paid to the working girl even in recent times. In the department stores, drug stores and other mercantile establishments the investigation brought out the fact that some girls are paid as low as \$2.50 per week to begin with. Of the 256 woman workers in department stores investigated, 2.3 per cent received less than \$4 a week; nearly 4 per cent received between \$4 and \$5; 16 per cent received \$6 and over but under \$7 per week.

In regard to the five- and ten-cent stores the investigation showed that of the number investigated, 87 per cent received less than \$6 a week; that 51 per cent receive less than \$5; more of them receive \$4 or \$4.50 per week.

Here is a story of twin sisters who work in a candy factory in a Kansas town. One wraps, and her week's wages show \$5.35. The sister is packing and earns \$4.65. These sisters are alone in the world. They live together and do light housekeeping. They pay \$3 a week for their room and use the rest for clothes and food. They have not been able to buy meat for their meals more than an occasional bit of bologna or sausage. They say if they might be allowed to stay on one kind of work awhile they could get ahead, but they are changed so often that they never get up any speed.

Another woman, who has worked in a steam laundry for ten years, is now making \$7 a week. She says when a rush is on they are required to work until the work is done. If late more than five minutes in one week, girls are docked 5 per cent of the week's wages, but they are not paid for overtime. If an employee loses an hour or more she is docked double time for it.

3. Work of the Commission.

The commission met with many difficulties when it first began its work. Many of the employers were opposed to the commission and felt that they were interfering where they had no business.

Orders have been adopted by the Industrial Welfare Commission affecting the following occupations: laundries, mercantile establishments, telephone exchanges, public housekeeping, and factories.⁸¹ These orders have been recommended to the commission by a board established to give consideration to the employment of women and minors in the occupation in question. These orders will not be given in full, but the main points will be enumerated to show their nature.

One order given is a sanitary code for laundries. It demands that suitable seats in sufficient numbers be provided for the women and girls when not actively engaged at their regular duties; that sanitary drinking fountains or individual drinking cups be furnished as well as adequate soap and towels,

81. Second Biennial Report of Industrial Welfare Commission, 1917-1919, p. 17.

separate toilets and proper ventilation. All plants must be kept clean and sanitary. It also provides for suitable dressing rooms and lighting.

Several orders were given to mercantile establishments. One of these orders provides a nine-hour day for clerks; another that the room shall be kept cleaned and properly lighted and ventilated; that a sufficient quantity of safe, fresh drinking water be furnished and that the common drinking cup shall not to be used; that separate toilet rooms, wash rooms and dressing rooms shall be furnished for the women workers. Another order provides that an experienced female worker shall receive not less than \$8.50 per week, one who has worked six months shall receive not less than \$7, and a beginner not less than \$6. Minors shall receive not less than \$5 per week at the beginning, with an increase in wages after they have become experienced.

Another order provides that nine hours shall constitute a day's work and fifty-four hours a week's work for female laborers in laundries in the state. The minimum wage to be paid to any female employee in laundries shall not be less than \$8.50 per week for fifty-four hours' labor, provided she shall have served a six months' apprenticeship in laundry work, during which time the wages shall be not less than \$6.50 per week.

Similar orders have been given to public housekeeping establishments, telephone operators and manufacturing establishments, regulating the number of hours to be worked in any one day or week, Sunday or night work, where that is necessary, providing extra pay for overtime, and a minimum wage to be paid the employees. In the case of the manufacturing establishment it also provides for proper heat, light and ventilation, and for proper dressing rooms and drinking water. In every case a penalty is attached for failure to observe these orders.

4. *Constitutionality of the Act.*

The constitutionality of the Industrial Welfare Commission law has not been decided by the Kansas supreme court, but similar laws have been held constitutional by the courts of other states and by the United States supreme court.⁸²

In 1917 an action was brought by G. P. Jones, a laundryman at Hutchinson, to enjoin the enforcement of the law upon the ground that it was unconstitutional. It was generally understood that this action was brought by Jones as the representative of the laundrymen of the state. After the case had been thoroughly briefed and argued, Judge Prigg of the district court of Reno county, sitting at Hutchinson, held the law constitutional. An appeal to the state supreme court was perfected by the laundrymen, but was afterwards abandoned.

In *Steitler v. O'Hara*, 69 Ore. 519, and in *Simpson v. O'Hara*, 70 Ore. 261, a law practically the same as the Kansas law was held constitutional, and on appeal to the United States supreme court the decisions in these cases were affirmed without division (243 U. S. 929).

As to the power of the state to fix hours of labor and minimum wages, especially in the case of female employees and minors, there is no question. Some of the cases that have come up in this connection are *Bunting v. Oregon*, 243 U. S. 426; *Miller v. Wilson*, 236 U. S. 373; and *Miller v. Oregon*, 208 U. S. 412.

82. Second Biennial Report of the Industrial Welfare Commission, Kansas, 1917-1919.

5. *Standards Recommended for the Employment of Women.*

The federal government urges that the standards which were adopted by the War Labor Policies Board be maintained as a part of the reconstruction program.⁸³ These standards were therefore included in the report of the Industrial Welfare Commission. They need not be given in detail here, but the various heads will be enumerated to show the nature of the standards set up.

1. Hours of labor, including daily hours, half holidays on Saturday, one day of rest in seven, time for meals, rest periods, and prohibition of night work.

2. Wages on an equality with those of men and established on the basis of occupation rather than of sex.

3. Working conditions, including the subjects of comfort and sanitation, posture while at work, safety from machinery, fire, dust or fumes, correction of bad conditions, prohibited occupations, and the question of wearing uniforms.

4. Prohibition of home work to be done in living or sleeping rooms.

5. Employment management, including the establishment of a personnel department, and the employment of a woman in supervisory positions.

6. Coöperation of workers in enforcement of standards.

7. Coöperation with official agencies.

6. *Termination of the Commission, 1921.*

The commission has done splendid work since its establishment in 1915. Miss Bresette, the woman first appointed on the commission, stayed with the work and proved to be very capable. During that time many orders were given to the employers of women and children. A more recent order than those mentioned in the preceding pages was one given in November 1919.⁸⁴ This order dealt with the hours, wages and conditions of work for female employees in manufacturing establishments. It provided a minimum wage of \$11 per week, with an eight-hour day and six-day week for women, but permitted the employment of women for fifty-five hours a week if the overtime is paid for at the rate of time and one-half. It forbids the employment of women at night between 9 p. m. and 6 a. m.

At another time it selected a new laundry board and dismissed the old one for failure to make recommendations in accordance with the views of the commission in regard to working conditions and hours of labor.⁸⁵

During the past year or two the commission, in connection with the federal government, has been making investigations of the conditions of woman and child labor in Kansas. Some of the results of these investigations will be found in the bulletin No. 17, entitled "Women's Wages in Kansas." The other results have not yet been published.

A few months ago the life of the Industrial Welfare Commission as a separate organization was terminated by an act of the state government in making it a part of the Court of Industrial Relations. This ended Miss Bresette's connection with this kind of work, and whatever investigations are made now will be carried on through the work of the industrial court.

83. Report of the Industrial Welfare Commission, 1917-1919.

84. Monthly Labor Report No. 9, Nov. 1919, pp. 218, 219.

85. Topeka *Daily Capital*, Oct. 20, 1916.

C. KANSAS COURT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, 1920.

The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations was established on January 24, 1920, at a special session of the legislature that was called by Governor Allen for that purpose. This court has jurisdiction over many matters besides the work taken over from the Industrial Welfare Commission. We are not concerned here with any of the functions of the court, however, except those directly relating to woman and child labor.

The court has been called upon to settle disputes between employers and employees many times, but most of these were in such industries that only men were employed. Relatively few women are employed by the public utilities and common carriers. In the factories and packing houses the number of women employed is small compared with the number of men employees.

According to a chart made by the court recently, the work directly affecting woman and child labor are along these lines: safety, sanitation, welfare; hours of labor; minimum wage; child employment; child-labor permits. Some of the other activities touch women's labor only in a general way, as in the case of free employment service, eight-hour day on public work, industrial accidents, and collection of wages.

The importance of the court in connection with women's work became greater when the Industrial Welfare Commission was abolished by law, and the work done formerly by this commission was delegated to the court. The main provisions of the law making this change are given below.⁸⁶

The jurisdiction conferred by law upon the Industrial Welfare Commission is conferred upon the Court of Industrial Relations, and the commission, together with all boards organized by it, are abolished. All orders and rules heretofore made by the commission and now in force shall continue in force until they are changed or repealed by the court.

All laws relating to the powers, authority, jurisdiction and duties of the commission are adopted except as amended and repealed in this act. The court may establish such standard of wages, hours and conditions of labor for women, apprentices and minors employed within the state as are considered reasonable and not detrimental to health and welfare. The court may establish different minimum hours and standards for each class in an occupation of different localities in the state when different conditions obtaining seem to justify such action.

Every employer of women, apprentices or minors shall keep a register of all such person employed by him and permit the court or any of its agents to inspect it upon request. A penalty is fixed by the court for the disobeying of their orders. At the present time the orders issued by the Industrial Welfare Commission are still in effect.

One of the most important cases arising under the jurisdiction of the court is that of the Charles Wolf Packing Company.⁸⁷ This is a meat-packing company located at Topeka, Kan. The business consists in the slaughtering of various kinds of live stock and converting it into meats of various kinds and qualities, lards, oils and other products, nearly all of which are used as food for human beings. The chief complaint is to the

86. Session 1921, House bill No. 231, amending sections 3, 6 and 8, chapter 275, Session Laws of 1915.

87. Docket No. 3926 in the Court of Industrial Relations, Kansas, May 2, 1921.

effect that a cut in wages from 7½ to 15 cents per hour had been made; that there was to have been a basic day of eight hours with a guarantee of at least forty hours per week at the regular rate, and that overtime should be paid at the rate of time and one-half. All these provisions had been abrogated by the respondent, and there was no stated time constituting a day's work and no guaranteed number of hours' work during the week. In certain of the skilled employments other modifications had been made that reduced the wage. It is not necessary to give all the findings of the court. Those orders pertaining especially to the women employed were:

1. Women workers should receive the same wages as men engaged in the same class and kind of work.

2. Toilets and dressing rooms used by the women workers should be in charge of a woman.

3. The total working time for women employees, inclusive of overtime, should not exceed fifty-four hours in any one week and not more than nine hours in any one day.

The above case is given for the purpose of showing more definitely the nature of the work carried on by the court. Recently the court has been making investigations and holding hearings in the various cities of Kansas to determine whether the minimum wage for working girls should be raised. The interest shown in these proceedings and the probable results will be discussed in a later chapter.

D. KANSAS CHILDREN'S CODE COMMISSION, 1918.

Another organization, which, though of a different nature from the Industrial Welfare Commission, yet has the interests of the children at heart, is the Kansas Children's Code Commission. This was established in 1918 by Lieutenant Governor Huffman, at the request of Dr. Lydia A. DeVilbiss.⁸⁸ It has several committees, of which one is a committee on children in industry.

The Children's Code Commission has made a survey of the conditions of children in Kansas and has found that the provisions of the Kansas child-labor law are being widely disregarded. It has proposed several additions and amendments to the present child-labor law.

The Code Commission hope to be able to do much toward lessening the employment of children in industry for which they are not fitted and during the time when they should be attending school. Their work is just begun and it is probable that in a few years they will be able to accomplish a great deal along these lines.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LABOR LAWS.

During the past few years there is a growing sentiment against the employment of child labor and a tendency toward a stricter enforcement of laws protecting child and women workers. The number of child wage earners is decreasing as is shown by figures from the Kansas Bureau of Labor report.⁸⁹ In 1906, out of 27,143 wage earners, 909 were children between 14 and 16; in 1907, out of 37,719 there were 625 children; in 1908, out of 40,303 there were 595 children; in 1909, out of 55,224 there were 139 children.

88. Report of Kansas Children's Code Commission, Jan. 1921.

89. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1910.

Before the enactment of the first child-labor law in 1909, children were employed in all kinds of manufacturing and industrial concerns in large numbers, and also in laundries, messenger service and other activities, and were required in many instances to work for excessively long hours. Since the enactment and strengthening of the law by the act of 1909, the tendency to employ child labor has decreased to such a degree that to-day there are comparatively few children under 16 years of age employed in the industries of the state.⁹⁰

Through misunderstanding of the interpretation of the child-labor law it was found that one of the coal-mining companies had been employing boys between the ages of 14 and 16 years, and when the matter was investigated it was found that 43 boys were so employed. The matter was called to the attention of the company, and the fact that boys under 16 were prohibited from being employed at any hazardous occupation. They were promptly dismissed, and the company has agreed to employ no boys under 16 years of age in the future.

In 1908 the Kansas State Federation of Labor, at its convention, passed the following resolution in regard to the child labor laws:⁹¹

"WHEREAS, The child-labor law now on our statute book applies only to factories, packing houses and mines, and that as factories are defined as places where motive power and machinery is in use for manufacturing process, thus excluding hand workshops from the application of the law: therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the legislative committee of the State Federation of Labor be instructed to labor for the enactment of an amendment to the child-labor law so as to include workshops, mercantile establishments, telegraph and passenger service."

The enforcement of labor laws had become of enough importance in 1912 so that the political parties thought it wise to put a labor plank in their platform.⁹² The following plank is found in the Republican platform.

"The enactment of a law limiting the hours of labor for women to an eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week in factories and all continuous industrial occupations, and to promote the enactment of an eight-hour day in hazardous occupations where overstrain threatens the lives of the people."

The Democratic party offered as its plank:⁹³

"The enactment of a law limiting the hours of labor for women in factories, mercantile and industrial occupations injurious to their health."

The Socialist party also favored limiting the work day of women to eight hours.

A. CHILD-LABOR LAW.

The child-labor law has caused more agitation, perhaps, than any one other law which is treated in this investigation. Investigations are made every year, and in some cases people are prosecuted for violating this law. Much of the work has been carried on in recent years by the woman factory inspector.

90. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1914.

91. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1908.

92. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1912.

93. Ibid.

1. *Conditions in 1908.*

Beginning with the year 1909, for several years the Kansas Bureau of Labor gave a report of the violations of the child-labor law. In 1908 cases were reported from Kansas City, Iola and Wichita. It is unnecessary to give here each case in detail, but one case is given to show the nature of the report.

On December 3, in Kansas City, a complaint was filed by C. E. Bramlette, deputy factory inspector, against one William Cook for employing a boy under 14 years of age in the J. R. Kelley cooperage factory at Kansas City. The case was tried in the city court and the evidence presented proved a complete violation and the court assessed a fine of \$25 and costs.⁹⁴

2. *Conditions in 1909-1911.*

In 1909 there were more violations than in 1908. There were also several violations in 1910. Conditions seemed to have improved in 1911. The Bureau of Labor felt very optimistic that year, as is shown by their report.⁹⁵

"It is with great pleasure and extreme satisfaction to say that we have not been compelled to prosecute one case under the child-labor law this year. It seems that inasmuch as twenty-one cases were prosecuted, with fifteen convictions, the employers have learned that it is not healthy to attempt to employ children under age in this state. In this connection I am pleased to advise that we feel that child-labor conditions in this state, owing to the stringent enforcement of the law the past two years, are good, and children are not being employed in any great number under the age prescribed in the law."

The people in general favor the provisions of this law, though some view it with aversion, especially the theatrical fraternity, who contend that the future success of a child possessing talent depends absolutely on its receiving early training, and the younger the better. A case came up in Topeka a few years ago which attracted the notice of many people.⁹⁶ Howard Blevins, a Topeka child, who lived with his widowed mother, had been employed at a theater to sing each evening, being paid \$2.50 per day. On account of the enforcement of the child-labor laws he had to abandon this work, and sold newspapers in the street, earning about 25 cents a day. The opposition of the theatrical people is small, however, when compared to those favoring the law.

3. *Conditions in 1912-1913.*

In 1912 the department found few violations of the child-labor law, and in no case was it necessary to bring prosecution. Numerous requests from both employees and children for permission to work in factories and workshops were received.⁹⁷

In 1913, according to the bureau report, thirty-eight complaints were received by the department during the year, alleging violations of the child-labor law, but upon investigation it was found that very few of these cases had any foundation.⁹⁸ The department found a number of children employed who were not provided with age certificates, and they were required to secure them at once. Some of these certificates showed the children to be under the age limit, and such children were discharged.

94. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1908.

95. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1911.

96. Topeka State Journal, May 28, 1910.

97. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1912.

98. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1913.

The department, in coöperation with the local truancy officers in Topeka, was instrumental in preventing three girls under fourteen years of age from running away with a theatrical troupe which was just being organized.

Complaint was received by the department that a theatrical company playing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had arrived in Topeka and that there was a girl under fourteen years of age playing the part of Little Eva. A representative of the department investigated and found that a child who claimed to be twelve years old was being carried with the company for this part. The manager of the company stated that inasmuch as the Kansas child-labor law prohibited the employment of children in and about theaters, he would not use this child in Kansas. He kept his promise while in Topeka, but information reached the department after he left Topeka that the child was being used elsewhere. Consequently a representative of the department went to Coffeyville and found them using the child in the performance in that city, and had the manager, Mr. Ackerman, arrested. He secured a conviction and fine of \$25 and costs, amounting to \$7.25.

4. Recent Conditions.

In 1914 a total of fifty-two complaints were received by the department alleging violations or irregularities in the employment of children, and in thirty-seven cases it was found that there was more or less basis for the complaints. The children who were employed at prohibited occupations or for a greater number of hours per day than permitted by statute were either dismissed from the employment or were required to conform to the legal eight-hour day.⁹⁹

The department received numerous requests from parents asking permission for their children to be employed at various occupations forbidden by the child-labor laws. The department is obliged to refuse all such requests, as the law is very explicit in its requirements and gives this department no authority to make exceptions or issue permits. In 1920 it was found that 1,375 establishments employed 59,986 persons, only 45 of whom were boys, or girls under 16 years of age.

Under the present law as amended in 1917, progress has been made in decreasing child labor in the state.¹⁰⁰ In many places where it has not eliminated all children from employment, it has caused a stricter observance of the certificate system. The federal law provides for the levying of a ten per cent tax upon the net profit of any industry employing child labor contrary to the provisions of the child-labor law. At first it was the aim of the department to assist Kansas employers in becoming familiar with the provisions of the law rather than to make any prosecutions. The period of education in this measure is now closed, and the state does not try to protect ignorant or careless employers from incurring the results of the violation of this law.

Two state-wide surveys in which the Labor Department has assisted have revealed violations of the child-labor law and child-labor conditions which have made it necessary for the woman inspector to give her entire time to the building up of this part of the work.

⁹⁹. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1914.

¹⁰⁰. Kansas Department of Labor Report, 1920.

Prosecution has not been resorted to except in the most flagrant cases. Conviction was obtained in all cases started by the department.¹⁰¹ The effect of the prosecution of the Western Union, Postal and Yankee messenger services of Wichita has proved to be beneficial in checking violations of the law in these employments.

The hotels and restaurants of the state have been aroused by the prosecution of an especially flagrant case—the employment of a fourteen-year-old girl from twelve p. m. to six a. m. in addition to a school day from eight a. m. to 4 p. m.. Cases were filed and convictions obtained against L. M. Crawford, head of the chief theatrical syndicate of the state, and G. Q. Lake, druggist, Kansas City, Kan., in each case the charge being the employment of children under sixteen years of age after six p. m.¹⁰²

The child-labor law as amended in 1917 maintains the general standard of child-labor legislation of the country, but there are many defects in it from the standpoint of enforcement. In some cases conviction is almost impossible. The poverty clause, excusing children at fourteen years of age if regularly employed for their own support or the support of those dependent upon them, has become a cause for confusion in the interpretation of the law.

5. Issue of Work Permits.

Another factor which should be mentioned in connection with the enforcement of child-labor laws is the issuing of the work permits. At first there was much carelessness in connection with the issuing of these permits. The new federal law helps to enforce the Kansas child-labor law.

Permits not in accordance with the new federal law cannot be accepted by federal inspectors. The standards of the Kansas work certificates were immediately accepted by the Internal Revenue Department, and Kansas was placed upon the list of states whose certificates were accredited, but was afterwards removed on account of carelessness of the probate judge of Wyandotte county in issuing certificates contrary to the provisions of the federal law.¹⁰³

A total of 577 vacation permits and 378 regular work permits were issued from September, 1918, to September, 1919, and 617 vacation permits and 374 regular work permits were issued from September, 1919, to September, 1920. The chief cities issuing these permits were Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita, Leavenworth, Rosedale, and Atchison, the others being grouped as all others. The kinds of work engaged in were mercantile establishments, telegraph and messenger companies, manufacturing establishments, wholesale and packing, and office help. More permits were issued to boys than to girls.

In addition to these permits, 456 age certificates for the first period and 332 for the second period were issued to boys and girls 16 years of age or over.

B. LAWS CONCERNING SEATS FOR WOMEN.

The woman factory inspector has not only been concerned with the enforcement of the child-labor law, but also with those affecting women in industry. One of the very important laws in this connection is that which requires employers to furnish seats for their female employees. Reports have been made from time to time regarding the effectiveness of this law.

101. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1920.

102. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1920.

103. Kansas Department of Labor and Industry, 1920.

1. Conditions in 1908.

In 1908 the deputy factory inspector made this report in regard to some other conditions under which women worked:¹⁰⁴

"The law providing for seats and stools to be used by women in mercantile and other establishments when not interfering with their work is one that has brought a large number of mercantile establishments and other places of employment under the factory-inspection department. We have endeavored to make the conditions in the employment of women as healthful and favorable as the law would permit, requiring seats and stools to be provided where women are to be employed, that they may be used when not interfering with their employment. Some employers rebel against this law on the ground that it encourages loafing or retards the regular work of such employees.

"We have also insisted on raised staging on wet and damp floors where female workers were employed; also comfortable dressing rooms properly heated and ventilated for such employees. I am pleased to say that very many employers have of their own volition prepared rest rooms, properly equipped with couches, easy-chairs and other necessary arrangements for female employees who may become ill while at their employment. These rest rooms are provided with lunch tables, water, heat and proper ventilation, and it is generally assented to that the result of such voluntary care and expenditure is money well spent and brings them good returns because of the appreciation shown by the employees."

2. Conditions in 1910.

In 1910 six cases were investigated where it was alleged that the law requiring seats for female employees was not being observed.¹⁰⁵ Two cases were in connection with women and girls employed in laundries, in which the department was successful in having stools provided, with permission to use them whenever the nature of their work would permit. In one case it was found that some stools had been provided in a mercantile establishment, but that they were not sufficient for the number of employees. Upon taking the matter up with the proprietors, however, they promptly installed additional stools to comply with the law. In one case complaint was received in which it was alleged that stools had been provided, the same being on a small bracket against the wall back of the counter, but that these brackets were so short that the stools were not at all comfortable; and it was further alleged that the employees were not permitted to use them, even when not engaged at work that required them to stand. This matter was taken up with the company, with the result that the stools were replaced by more comfortable ones, and permission granted to employees to use them at such times as the nature of their work would permit. One complaint investigated was found to be without foundation, as sufficient seats were provided for all female employees.

3. Conditions in 1912-1913.

In 1912 the department reported that they had secured the installation of additional seats for the use of women in a number of stores and other places, and in some places where seats were already provided they had succeeded in having the work arranged so as to make it possible for the women to sit down for a greater portion of the time during the day.¹⁰⁶

In 1913 a number of complaints were received during the year from various parts of the state, alleging that seats were not provided for women workers,

104. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1908.

105. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1910.

106. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1912.

or that if provided they were not permitted to use them as required by law. Upon investigation it was found that in most instances seats were provided for at least a part of the employees, but in some cases there were not sufficient seats for all the women employed. In a few stores and other places no seats were provided back of the counters, the employer claiming that the clerks were at liberty to go in front of the counters and sit on the seats provided for customers when they were not engaged in other work. The department has refused to accept such provisions and has insisted upon a suitable stool or seat being provided behind each counter where women or girls are employed, with permission that they be used wherever the same will not interfere with the performance of their duty. Stools are provided in all such cases without prosecution.¹⁰⁷

C. FACTORY INSPECTION.

Inspection of factories is made from year to year by the inspectors, and orders issued. With the creation first of the Industrial Welfare Commission, and later of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, the work is becoming more important each year. Much good is being accomplished in this way, and it is hoped that even greater results will be obtained in the future.

1. Report of Work in 1903.

The Bureau of Labor has published a summary of inspection for various years. As early as 1903 such a summary was published. This investigation was made before a woman was added to the corps of factory inspectors and before a very adequate inspection could be made. It is given here to show what was being done by the inspectors at that time.

FACTORY INSPECTION SUMMARY.¹⁰⁸

	Yes.	No.	Total.	Average.
Number of establishments inspected.....	...	...	205	...
Average number of stories.....	...	...	...	2.7
Number of employees—male, 21,634; female, 2,170....	...	...	23,814	...
Establishments employing children under 14 years of age, 41	164	205	...	...
Number employed under 16 years.....	...	900	...	...
Hours of labor per day.....	...	...	...	9.7
Minors allowed to clean running machinery.....	...	205	205	...
Instructions given as to handling machines.....	205	...	205	...
Accidents to employees .....	...	...	905	...
Are fire escapes on buildings?.....	28	174	202	...
Are ladders provided?	98	107	205	...
Are separate water-closets provided?	68	26	94	...
Are water-closets clean and sanitary?	188	16	204	...
Are wash rooms and dressing facilities provided?.....	130	75	205	...

2. Comparative Report of Later Years.

The following table is taken from various summaries of factory inspection to see whether any progress has been made along these lines in recent years. It will be observed in this table that more orders are given than formerly.

107. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1913.

108. Bureau of Labor Report, 1904.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF FACTORY INSPECTION.

<i>Types of activity.</i>	1909.	1911.	1913.	1915.
Industrial establishments inspected	1,327	1,373	1,940	1,328
Mercantile establishments inspected	117	9	65	71
Reinspections	298	780	75	28
Total inspections	1,742	2,162	2,080	1,427
Fire-escape inspections	116	527	593	....
Grand totals	1,858	2,689	2,673	1,427
Male employees in industrial establishments.....	29,207	37,780	33,979	30,511
Female employees in industrial establishments.....	4,769	4,665	5,962	4,708
Male children in industrial establishments.....	377	38	79	50
Female children in industrial establishments.....	114	10	51	13
Male employees in mercantile establishments.....	1,003	100	634	469
Female employees in mercantile establishments.....	1,770	481	1,394	1,046
Total male employees	40,210	37,880	34,613	30,980
Total female employees	6,539	5,146	7,356	6,354
Total children (14 to 16 years).....	507	48	135	71
Total employees	47,256	43,074	42,104	37,405
Orders issued to procure age certificates.....	65	31	17	21
Orders to guard machinery	253	352	658	1,326
Orders to guard elevators	15	23	30	41
Orders to provide suitable washrooms	28	10	20	56
Orders to provide separate water-closets.....	11	3	14	9
Orders to provide better sanitation and ventilation..	24	12	32	7
All other miscellaneous orders	164	66	297	485
Total orders	560	467	1,068	1,945

(a) GENERAL TENDENCIES SHOWN BY RESULTS. From this table we see a tendency towards a decrease in the number of children employed in industrial and mercantile establishments. Although in some instances there was a decrease in the total number of employees, the decrease was greatest in the number of children employed. Thus in 1915, while the number of male employees in industrial establishments increased by 1,304, and the number of female employees in the same industries decreased by only 61, the number of male children in these establishments decreased by 372 and the number of female children by 101.

There was a large increase in the total number of orders given to the factories. This was due chiefly to the increase in the number of orders given to guard machinery. There was a decrease in the total number of inspections made.

(b) PECULIARITIES SHOWN BY THESE RESULTS. Although there were some marked tendencies, yet in some respects some of the years were peculiar. Thus in 1911 there was a very small number of mercantile establishments inspected as compared to 1909. Also the number of reinspections that year was much larger than of any other year. This would lead to the conclusion that much of the work of the first inspections was poorly done.

Another peculiarity was the absence of any fire-escape inspections for 1915. This may be due to two reasons. Either the work of fire-escape inspection had been so thoroughly done during previous years that nothing remained to be done, or, what is more likely, the number of fire-escape inspections for that year is for some reason omitted.

Another strange result is that the number of male and female children employed in both industrial and mercantile establishments in 1911 seems to be much smaller than similar numbers for 1913 and 1915. The reason for this is not known.

The year 1913 seems to show a considerable increase in the number of orders issued of various kinds over that of 1911.

The chief purpose of this table, however, is to show that much more has been done in the way of inspection of factories in recent years than was possible in 1903.

3. Recommendations of Factory Inspectors.

In 1913 the factory inspectors made the following recommendations:¹⁰⁹ A wage commission with power to regulate in all lines of industry in which women are employed; a maximum-hour law to apply to all women and to children under sixteen years of age who are employed in gainful occupations; a mother's compensation law; the organization of the women workers; industrial education in the common schools and high schools.

In 1914 the factory inspectors found very bad sanitary conditions. A few are given here.¹¹⁰ Wooden water vessels were found again and again, and in other instances just open buckets. The common drinking cup is under the ban in Kansas. However, a condition equally as bad exists where each employee has a cup and thrusts it down into the open water bucket. Through inspectors' order sanitary water coolers have been supplied and in several places drinking fountains have been installed.

In some places there were absolutely no toilet provisions, while in others those facilities were very poor, not only from a sanitary point of view, but from a moral standpoint as well. In many places are found double accommodations labeled "Male" and "Female" and separated only by a thin board partition and having a common approach. In many cases toilets are located in dark, dingy corners, are not kept clean, are supplied with neither light nor ventilation, and are used by so many employees that they are in a filthy condition all the time. They recommended that in apportioning toilets there should be at least one for every fifteen females.

4. Recent Work Done.

The factory inspectors are still accomplishing much in the way of inspection. During the year 1920 they investigated 1,375 establishments and reported the conditions found in these places. In these establishments there were employed:¹¹¹

Adult male workers	52,784
Adult female workers	7,157
Boys and girls under 16 years.....	45
Total	59,986

There were 782 betterment orders issued covering the factors affecting the health and safety of the employees. These orders are listed below, together with the number of times each order was given.¹¹² This will show more definitely how carefully the inspectors look after all the conditions affecting the employees:

109. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1913.

110. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1914.

111. Kansas Department of Labor and Industry Report, 1920.

112. Ibid.

BETTERMENT ORDERS ISSUED.

<i>Character of order.</i>	<i>Number</i>
Guard machinery	111
Guard belts and pulleys.....	174
Guard cog gears.....	60
Guard set screws.....	42
Guard band and circular saws.....	23
Guard grinding wheels.....	19
Guard flywheels.....	43
Guard elevators.....	32
Guard shafts.....	14
Guard stairways.....	63
Guard vats and pans.....	30
Provide separate toilets.....	25
Provide separate dressing rooms.....	8
Provide fire escapes.....	11
Provide additional exits.....	2
Provide electrical wiring.....	38
Provide fire extinguishers.....	29
Number of miscellaneous orders.....	58
Total number of all orders issued.....	782

A summary of the sanitary conditions of establishments is also given:¹¹³

	<i>Good</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Poor</i>
Sanitation	1308	30	37
Light	1353	9	13
Ventilation	1342	15	18
Heat	1366	6	3
Toilets, washrooms, etc.....	1219	63	93

From the foregoing it will be seen that by far the most of the establishments are now considered in good condition as far as sanitary conditions are concerned. The greatest trouble seems to be in the proper provision of toilets and washrooms, and this is not bad.

D. MINIMUM-WAGE LAW.

Another law which has caused considerable agitation and is at the present time attracting much attention is the minimum-wage law. One of the difficulties that women have had to meet is the low wage paid for the various occupations open to her. This has always been a serious matter, as the woman employee has very little opportunity to better her conditions along that line. In many cases neither age nor length of service have made much difference in the amount paid.

1. *Protection Afforded Testifying Employees.*

In former years the employees did not care to testify against their employer for fear of being discharged. For that reason many girls and women kept still and tried in various ways to piece out the living afforded by their regular employment.

After the establishment of the Industrial Welfare Commission provisions were made for hearings, and employees were given the power to testify against employers if they were receiving less than the minimum wage, with the assurance that they would be protected by law against discharge for testifying.

In 1916 a case arose in which four women employed in two Hutchinson laundries were discharged after they had appeared before the State Industrial Welfare Commission to make complaint against the laundries.¹¹⁴ S. M. Brewster, attorney-general, threatened to prosecute the laundries. For the protec-

¹¹³. Kansas Department of Labor and Industry Report, 1920.

¹¹⁴. Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 9, 1916.

tion of employees testifying before the commission and to insure the commission's being able to get employees to testify, the following provision was inserted in the act creating the commission: "That any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has signed or agreed to sign a request to the commission to investigate wages, hours or sanitary conditions, or has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify in any investigation or proceedings, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100 for each such misdemeanor." ¹¹⁵

2. Hearings of the Court of Industrial Relations.

Although the orders issued by the Industrial Welfare Commission are still in force, and although the minimum wage set by these orders for the various industries seems to be pretty widely enforced, yet it is felt by many that the minimum is too low. As in many other cases, the cost of living rose much more rapidly than the wages of the working girls. Many of these girls have had a hard time to live on the amount paid them, and few of them have been able to save anything for old age or sickness.

The Court of Industrial Relations desires to issue new orders providing for an increase in the amount paid to the working girls. For the purpose of determining the amount that should be paid, hearings are being held in several of the larger towns of the state. At these hearings employers are asked to testify as to the amount paid by their establishment to employees, the average cost of living expenses of their employees, and whether in their estimation the girls are able to live under such conditions as they should upon the amount of wages paid to them. Many of the employers seem to think that the working girl is receiving enough for her work. The court thinks that the minimum wage should be \$16.93. This amount is reached by making up a budget of the expenses incurred in order to maintain a decent standard of living. Most of the employers think this amount is too high.

The budget recommended by the court is given below: ¹¹⁶

THE BUDGET OF COSTS.

Room	\$3.40
Board	6.35
Clothing	3.31
Sundries:	
Laundry	\$0.50
Sickness .....	.39
Dentist, oculist .....	.10
Amusements .....	.50
Vacation .....	.33
Life-insurance, savings .....	.30
Church and charity .....	.20
Organizations .....	.10
Self-improvement .....	.15
Car fare	1.05
Incidentals .....	.20
	<hr/>
	\$3.87
Total	\$16.93

Present indications are that the court will not be able to enforce a minimum wage of \$16.93 at this time. It would seem that \$10 would be nearer the mark.

115. Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 9, 1916.

116. Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, Nov. 8, 1921.

The dress budget has caused much comment during the past few weeks. The amount fixed by some of the merchants is \$87.55. The working girls do not seem to think this amount is at all adequate for the kind of clothes necessary to secure and hold their positions. In this they are probably right. Probably most of the employers would consider themselves lucky if the cost of the wardrobe of their wife or daughter for one year did not exceed three times that amount. It is encouraging to note in this connection that many of the thinking people, both of Kansas and of other states, are in favor of limiting the cost of the working girl's clothes to that amount.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND COMPARISONS.

It might be of interest here to sum up the results of labor legislation and investigation in Kansas, and to compare these results with similar ones in different states and in the United States as a whole.

A. GENERAL CONDITIONS IN KANSAS AT THE PRESENT TIME.

From investigations which have been made we find that the tendency of labor legislation is toward better conditions for the laborer. Employers are being held accountable for the conditions under which their employees work. They are being asked to furnish adequate facilities in the way of toilets, wash rooms and dressing rooms. They are required to furnish drinking fountains or individual drinking cups, and in many instances have been asked to provide rest rooms for their women laborers. Many orders have been given to factories, laundries, etc., to clean up their premises, to provide better fire escapes, to protect their machinery, and in many other ways to make the work less dangerous for those employed.

Many orders have been given also for shorter working days or weeks and for higher wages. Through orders sent out by the Industrial Welfare Commission while it still existed, a minimum wage was set for many kinds of industry in which women were employed. This is still too low, as has been found by investigation, but it is better than it formerly was.

1. *Conditions Affecting Women.*

On the whole, conditions affecting women are getting better each year. One thing that is aiding the women is the fact that more and more of them are becoming educated and enter occupations which of necessity pay higher wages and require shorter hours, or at least more freedom of choice in regard to the length of time worked. Each year increasing numbers enter the teaching profession; many others are trained for secretarial positions.

(a) ENTRY OF WOMEN INTO INDEPENDENT BUSINESSES. Many women are entering business for themselves. This was almost unheard of thirty or forty years ago. A clipping from a Topeka daily brings out this emphatically:¹¹⁷

"Topeka has many successful business and trade women. Since they have done a bit better than their neighbors, the town has made a beaten track to their doors. Time was when business women were regarded with interest, time was when they were censured for deserting the needle, the roast and the window seat. That time has passed. Thirty years ago the Santa Fe, the Topeka office, had one woman employee; now it has hundreds."

117. Topeka State Journal, June 14, 1913.

By way of contrast I have inserted a clipping from an Atchison paper in 1882:¹¹⁸

"In a neighboring city a couple of true friends have taken what is, as far as we know, a new departure. Two well-known young ladies have built and opened an extensive greenhouse. The financial plan of the establishment was their own; the buildings were put up under their supervision and a greater portion of the daily work is done by them, and they are reasonably prosperous. The care of house plants and flower gardens devolves almost exclusively upon ladies, yet the Topeka instance is the only one so far as we know of this kind."

It is unnecessary to quote many instances of this kind, but one or two more clippings will serve to show the changing position of women in the business world and the increasing numbers who are going into business for themselves.

The following extract from a Topeka paper may not be out of place:¹¹⁹

"It is perhaps not too much to say that women who have embarked in business on their own initiative in Kansas have averaged more uniform success than the body of men engaged in the same lines. There are women clerks by the hundreds in banks, railroad offices, real-estate offices, etc. There are several hundred women doctors in the state, several dozen women lawyers, women stenographers, women dentists, real-estate agents, merchants' collectors, restaurant and hotel keepers, a considerable number of women railroad telegraph operators, dairy women, drug clerks, etc. In Kansas women have invaded the farming and stock business to an extent probably not equalled in any other state in the Union."

(b) RECENT INVESTIGATION AND RESULTS. An investigation was recently made in Kansas by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. The field work was done by investigators of the Women's Bureau, the Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission, and the Kansas Department of Labor. This investigation has revealed many conditions existing in Kansas that are not ideal.¹²⁰

This investigation was made in 31 cities of the state. Three of these cities had a population of 50,000 or over; 11 had a population of from 10,000 to 50,000; 6 had a population of from 5,000 to 10,000; and 11 had a population under 5,000. These towns were chosen with the idea that they would be representative of the conditions existing in Kansas.

The period investigated began June, 1919, and ended June, 1920. This period probably covers as high wage rates as have ever been paid in the country. The investigation did not cover establishments employing only an office force, such as banks and insurance companies.

This investigation shows that less than \$9 a week was earned by 19.3 per cent of the women in all industries; less than \$12 a week by 50.6 per cent; less than \$15 a week by 70 per cent; less than \$18 by 86.9 per cent.

Women working in the 5- and 10-cent stores earned the least. Of these, 79.7 per cent earned less than \$9 per week; 97 per cent earned less than \$12 per week; 99.6 per cent earned less than \$15 per week; and 100 per cent earned less than \$18 per week.

Women working in the meat-packing industry received the best wages. Of these 0.3 per cent received less than \$9 per week; 2.3 per cent received less

118. Atchison *Champion*, Jan. 7, 1882.

119. Topeka *Daily Capital*, Aug. 11, 1907.

120. Bulletin of Women's Bureau, No. 17, "Women's Wages in Kansas," 1921.

than \$12 per week; 6.3 per cent received less than \$15 per week; and 59.8 per cent received less than \$18 per week.

In terms of annual earnings it was found that less than \$600 was received by 28.6 per cent of the women in all industries, \$600 to \$900 was received by 42.4 per cent, and \$900 or more by 29.2 per cent.

Even the low standard of \$11 a week which has been established by the Kansas minimum-wage awards is far from accepted in the industries of the state.

The minimum wage of \$11 for Kansas is low compared with the minimum wage of other states, as will be shown by these figures:¹²¹

	California.	Oregon.	Washington.	District of Columbia.
Manufacturing industry	\$16	\$13.20	\$13.20	....
Mercantile industry	16	13.20	....	\$16.50
Hotels and restaurants	16	....	18.00	16.50

(c) SUGGESTED REASONS FOR THE LOW WAGES PAID TO WOMEN. Various reasons are often urged for the low wages paid to women. One of these is the presence of a large number of foreigners among the group considered. This is not true of Kansas, however, as 91.1 per cent of those included in the survey were native-born white.

The contention that the women workers are generally young girls who will work a few years and then drop out of industry permanently was also not found in this investigation. Nearly one-half of the women were mature, being twenty-five years of age or over.

Another reason that is often given is the fact that women are only earning pin money and are for that reason willing to work cheap. The investigation shows that women in the four groups above \$15 per week have marked responsibilities for others. Of those receiving \$15 to \$17.50 per week, 12.4 per cent were supporting total dependents; of those receiving \$17.50 to \$20, there were 15.7 per cent; of those receiving from \$20 to \$25 there were 13.4 per cent; and of those receiving \$25 or over there were 13 per cent.

2. Conditions Affecting Children.

Although the conditions of the child laborer are much better in Kansas than in many other states, and has been much improved in the past few years over what it was before that time, yet there is still room for improvement. There are still many children in Kansas who are being employed when they should be at play.

(a) RECENT SURVEY OF WICHITA. A survey was recently made in Wichita by the child-hygiene division of the State Department of Health. Dr. Florence B. Sherbon, head of the child-hygiene work, made some statements concerning the investigation which would clearly show that the child-labor law is not being enforced in that city as well as it might. Quoting from her report we find these conditions:¹²²

"A house-to-house canvass of Wichita by child-survey agents showed that 745 children were working in "family industries," such as shops, truck gardens and bakeries; that of these 21 worked on an average of 10 or more hours a day; 14 worked on an average of 9 hours a day; 175 worked 8 hours; 36 worked 7 hours; 50 worked 6 hours; 42 worked 5 hours; while 405 worked less than 5 hours a day.

121. Bulletin of Women's Bureau, No. 17, "Women's Wages in Kansas," 1921, p. 18.

122. Report, Child Hygiene Division, State Department of Health.

"In seasonal industries such as harvesting, canning and berry picking, 161 children were employed.

"Twenty-nine children were said by their mothers to average not more than 6 hours' sleep; 85 averaged 7 hours; the rest averaged 8 or more.

"One hundred and thirty-eight children worked 10 hours or more daily at home, the report shows; 99 averaged 9 hours; 116 averaged 8 hours; 39 averaged 7 hours; 68 averaged 6 hours; 122 averaged 5 hours; 301 averaged 4 hours; 479 averaged 3 hours; 957 averaged 2 hours; and 1,066 averaged an hour a day.

"The survey shows that 131 Wichita children under 14 years of age work in commercial industries."

This is probably not the only town in Kansas where such conditions exist. Investigations in other towns would no doubt reveal conditions far from ideal.

(b) **BETTER ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS.** As has been shown in a previous chapter, the laws protecting children are much better enforced recently than they were just after they were passed. Special attention is given to both the child-labor law and the truancy law.

(1) *Truancy Law.* Truancy laws are being more strictly enforced, so that it is becoming more difficult for children to stay out of school in order to work. The age limit at which children may be employed is gradually being pushed upward also, thus giving children more time to grow and develop before they go to work. Much is being done also in this connection through the mothers' compensation act, by which the working mother is aided, so that it is not necessary to keep the child at home in order to help make the living.

(2) *Child-labor Law.* A rather thorough discussion of the enforcement of the child-labor law was given in a previous chapter. It suffices to say here that although much progress has been made along this line, it is hoped that the law will be still more strictly enforced in the future, so that the exploitation of the labor of the child will become increasingly difficult.

One factor that makes the administration of this law more difficult is the fact that many children prefer to go to work rather than to stay in school. The money which they can earn looks big to them, and they are too young to understand how leaving school is blighting their future prospects.

B. COMPARISON WITH OTHER STATES AND THE UNITED STATES.

The United States, as well as several of the individual states, has at various times taken steps to prohibit child labor and to better the conditions of the woman laborer.

1. *Status of the United States in Regard to Labor Legislation.*

Prior to 1880 there was very little labor legislation in the United States.¹²³ While some attempts were made to protect the interests of labor, the legislation previous to the Civil War was practically confined to the subjects of imprisonment for debt, mechanics' liens, the education of children employed in factories, and similar matters.

In 1866 Massachusetts took the lead in the direction of greater legislative protection to the working classes by the passage of an eight-hour law for children under fourteen years of age. This was unfortunately changed to nine hours the following year. A little later (1869) an act was passed providing for the establishment of the first bureau of statistics of labor. Other laws followed, fixing the hours of labor for women and for children under

eighteen years at sixty per week, and providing the factory inspection and the safeguarding of dangerous machinery. Similar legislation was enacted in other states, directed, for the most part, to protecting the interests of the weaker members of the industrial body, but the efficient administration of the laws followed their enactment rather tardily. Of legislation in favor of adult male workers there was as yet practically no sign.

According to the National Child-labor Committee, a federal law was proposed¹²⁴ which prohibits interstate commerce in goods which are the products of (1) any mill, factory, cannery or workshop in which children under fourteen are employed, (2) any mine or quarry in which children under sixteen are employed, (3) any mill, factory, cannery or workshop in which children between fourteen and sixteen are employed more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week, (4) any mill, factory, cannery or workshop in which children between fourteen and sixteen work between the hours of seven p. m. and six a. m.

The federal law, which was title XII of the revenue act of 1918, was approved February 24, 1919, and went into effect April 25, 1919.¹²⁵ It was announced by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that he would develop the service of the government to administer the provisions of the act.

(a) COMPARISON OF THE FEDERAL LAW WITH THAT OF KANSAS. The Kansas law differs in: (1) the fourteen-year limit does not apply to establishments owned or operated by the child's parents; (2) there is no sixteen-year limit for mines or quarries, although the state law prohibiting the employment of children in occupations dangerous to health or morals has been construed to cover employment in mines.

2. *Child-labor Conditions in Other States.*

It is impossible to discuss the conditions of child labor in all the states, but a few are given in order to make comparisons.

The following clipping taken from a recent number of the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World* shows the tendency of child labor to increase in some states and to decrease in Kansas. It starts with Chicago, but comments on other places:

"Four thousand more children are working in Chicago to-day than a year ago, according to Clyde A. Brown, acting director of the city vocational-guidance bureau. The increase in child labor is said to be general in the Middle West, but exceptionally noted in Missouri, Kansas and North Dakota.

"Necessity of the child helping the family meet the high cost of living, the pulling power of higher wages and scarcity of adult labor, together with the discovery by employers that women and children could take the place of men were cited by Mr. Brown among reasons for a similar increase in child labor in other parts of the United States."

(a) CONDITIONS IN MINNESOTA. Minnesota officials report that child labor is nearly doubled in that state. The greatest increase, they say, is among children of the "white-collar" class, whose parents have been forced by rising prices to permit their children to work. About 3,000 under sixteen years of age are now at work in Minnesota.

(b) CONDITIONS IN WISCONSIN. Wisconsin statistics on child labor for the year are not yet tabulated, but officials say enough returns are in to indi-

124. Kansas Bureau of Labor Report, 1915-1916.

125. Fifteenth Annual Report of National Child Labor Committee.

cate a considerable increase over previous years. Some boys under sixteen years have been reported receiving \$100 a month.

(c) CONDITIONS IN TEXAS. J. C. Jennings, state labor commissioner of Texas, reports an increase of about ten per cent in Texas child labor over last year. Postponement of compulsory school attendance, he says, has been a factor.

(d) CONDITIONS IN OKLAHOMA. State Labor Commissioner Claude E. Connelly, of Oklahoma, says more violations of child labor have been brought to the attention of his office this year than previously, from which he deduces an increase in juvenile workers. Connelly says that the increase in violations was probably due to the fact that there was thirty per cent more jobs in the state than workers.

(e) CONDITIONS ELSEWHERE. A. L. Urick, Iowa state labor commissioner, recently reported that approximately 1,000 more permits had been issued in the past year to children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen than in the year previous.

Kansas and North Dakota report child labor in these states as almost negligible. St. Louis reports a decrease. Children now employed in that city are stated to number 5,900, which is 750 less than were at work there a year ago. The state factory inspector's office says the decrease is general all over the state. The federal tax on child labor is given as the cause of the decrease.

(f) RECENT LABOR LEGISLATION IN OTHER STATES. The year 1919 seems to have been important in labor legislation.¹²⁶ Of forty-three states having legislative sessions, sixteen states were aided either directly or indirectly in securing the passage of child-welfare bills. The National Child Labor Committee visited the legislatures in Oklahoma, North Carolina, Alabama, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, West Virginia, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska, and studied labor conditions in these states.

(1) *Child-labor Laws.* Every state in the Union with the exception of New Mexico has accepted and acted upon the idea that children in factories and mills should be prevented from working too early or for too many hours.¹²⁷ Only three states are without a fourteen-year age limit for this work, and about half limit the hours for children under sixteen years to eight per day.

Out of our fifty states and territories, thirty during the past year made more effective child-labor laws or strengthened the complementary school attendance and continuation school legislation. Two states weakened their child-labor laws.¹²⁸

(2) *Minimum-wage Laws.* In 1915 Kansas and Arkansas passed minimum-wage laws which were to insure to women and minors a living wage.¹²⁹ Massachusetts was the first state to pass a minimum-wage law. This was passed in 1912. In 1913 eight more states—California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin—passed similar laws. The total number of states having such a law in 1915 was eleven. Since that time several others have joined the ranks, so that at the present time fourteen states and territories have minimum-wage laws, thus leaving a large number

126. Fifteenth Annual Report of the National Child Labor Committee, 1919.

127. Ibid.

128. New International Yearbook, 1919, p. 151.

129. Report, Industrial Welfare Commission, Kansas, 1915-1917.

of states and territories without any such law. While Kansas did not lead in this respect, it stands well among the front ranks.

Arizona, Arkansas, Utah and Colorado have been practically inactive since passing their laws, and Nebraska lacks appropriations for enforcement.¹³⁰ Five states—Massachusetts, Oregon, Washington, California, Kansas and the District of Columbia—are actually enforcing minimum-wage laws.

3. Proposed Legislation in Kansas.

As has been previously suggested, the Kansas Children's Code Commission has suggested legislation along many lines affecting child welfare. They have proposed legislation along the following lines: general interests of children, including a child-research bureau; proposals for the protection of the health of mothers and children; education; and special classes of children.

(a) **MOTHERS' COMPENSATION ACT.** The proposed legislation concerning the mothers' pension law is quite an improvement over the old law. The complaint with the law already in force is that the amount designated as a maximum is not sufficient to keep any mother in her home with her children, and that more can be obtained through the channels of poor relief than through the method of mothers' pensions. It was also stated that in eighteen counties only forty-nine mothers received mothers' pensions, while almost a thousand were left with dependent children and without adequate income.¹³¹ The Code Commission proposes that the maximum should be increased to \$50 per month, with a temporary increase in case of sickness or unusual condition. Each case should be reinvestigated every six months.

(b) **PART-TIME SCHOOLS.** Another good piece of proposed legislation is in regard to part-time schools. This bill provides that any minor legally employed under the Kansas child-labor law shall be required to attend a part-time or continuation school for at least 288 days in the year, two hours per day, four days per week, this time to be counted as part of the time employed. It also provides that part-time schools must be established in any district where fifteen minors come within the provisions of the act. Unemployed children between sixteen and twenty-one are barred. Duly qualified part-time schools shall receive federal aid.¹³²

The proposed legislation in regard to children in industry has been considered in another part of this investigation.

C. PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE.

A definite program for the future has not yet been mapped out. It seems to be the opinion of those who by reason of their knowledge of existing conditions are best fitted to speak concerning the matter, that for the immediate future the work can be best taken care of through the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. On account of the fate of the Industrial Welfare Commission it would probably be unwise to try to establish any more commissions at the present time.

The inspection of factories and industries employing women is at present being taken care of by Miss Alice McFarland, who is connected with the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. She is being supported by the women's clubs throughout the state.

130. Minimum Wage, Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto, "Standards of Child Welfare," 1919.

131. Report, Kansas Children's Code Commission, 1921.

132. Ibid.

Efforts are being made at present to increase the minimum wage of women laborers so that it will more nearly represent a living wage. It is thought that in spite of depressed business conditions at the present time, a higher minimum wage for women laborers will be established, as many are convinced that the present wage is too low.

Although much remains to be done for the children and for the women engaged in gainful occupations, yet the future looks bright, since so many men and women are becoming interested along these lines and are trying to arouse public sentiment in such a way that needed reform will be made. Even the opposition is encouraging, since it shows that enough progress has been made so as to scare those who are opposed to those measures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BOOKS AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS.

1. The Americana, vol. 16, Kansas, 1918.
2. Kansas Yearbook on Agriculture, 1920, chart.
3. Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition, vol. 15.
4. Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, F. W. Blackmar, vol. 1.
5. New International Yearbook, 1919, p. 151.
6. Economic History of the United States, Bogart, pp. 477, 478.

KANSAS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

1. Vol. 3, 1881-'84, pp. 374-376.
2. Vol. 6, 1897-1900, Story of Kansas, Daniel W. Wilder.
3. Vol. 7, 1901-'02, The Discovery and Development of Natural Gas in Kansas, Chas. F. Scott; Gypsum, Cement and Plaster Industry in Kansas, E. Haworth; The Lead and Zinc Field of Kansas, Miss Irene G. Stone.
4. Vol. 9, 1905-'06, The Victory of the Plow, Wm. D. Street.
5. Vol. 10, 1907-'08, Some Woman Suffrage History, Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe.
6. Vol. 11, 1909-'10, History of Manufactures in Kansas, Richard A. Douglas.

COMPILED LAWS, GENERAL STATUTES, ETC.

1. Compiled Laws of Kansas, 1868, ch. 67, p. 553; 1879, ch. 62, p. 539; 1885, ch. 5, p. 91; 1895, ch. 103a, p. 918.
2. General Statutes of Kansas, 1889, art. 5, sec. 5136, p. 1149; 1901, art. 30, sec. 7129; ch. 66, sec. 4140, p. 863; ch. 54a, secs. 3842, 3843, p. 816; ch. 99, 1909, art. 18, sec. 7737, p. 1669; 1915, p. 2057, sec. 10113.
3. House bill No. 688, Kansas Labor Laws, compiled for State Department of Labor and Industry by Richard E. McIntosh, Jan. 1918.
4. House bill No. 231, amending secs. 3, 6 and 8 of ch. 275 of Laws of 1915.
5. House Journal, 1903; 1905, p. 18; 1909, p. 45; 1915, p. 25; 1917, p. 28.
6. Docket No. 3926 in Court of Industrial Relations, Kansas, May 2, 1921.

BUREAU OF LABOR REPORTS.

Kansas Bureau of Labor Reports 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1893, 1897, 1899, 1900, 1903-'04, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915-'16, 1920.

GOVERNMENT AND OTHER REPORTS

1. Report of Kansas Children's Code Commission, Jan. 1921, pp. 17, 18.
2. First Biennial Report of Industrial Welfare Commission of Kansas, 1915-'17, chart.
3. Second Biennial Report of Industrial Welfare Commission of Kansas, pp. 16, 17.
4. Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 17: Women's Wages in Kansas.
5. Monthly Labor Report, No. 9, Nov. 1919, pp. 218, 219.
6. Minimum Wage, Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto, Standards of Child Welfare, 1919.
7. Fifteenth Annual Report of the National Child Labor Committee, 1919: Children Who Work in Our Streets, Ruth McIntire.

CLIPPINGS FROM NEWSPAPERS.

1. Topeka *Daily Capital*, Oct. 20, 1916.
2. Topeka *Daily Journal*, May 28, 1910.
3. Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 9, 1916.
4. Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, Nov. 8, 1921.
5. Topeka *Daily Capital*, Aug. 11, 1907.
6. Topeka *State Journal*, June 14, 1913.
7. Atchison *Champion*, Jan. 7, 1882.

SOUTHERN INTEREST IN TERRITORIAL KANSAS, 1854-1858.*

By ELMER LeROY CRAIK, A. M.†

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—This article represents a line of historical research which was begun in 1916 in the Graduate School of the University of Kansas, under the direction of Prof. F. H. Hodder, of the department of history.

The files of the *National Intelligencer*, in the library of the University, were first consulted by the author while he was casting about for a thesis, and with the material derived therefrom as a basis, the research was continued in the library of the State Historical Society of Kansas, in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, in the Mercantile Library in St. Louis, and in the Jefferson Memorial Library of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. Some material was derived from other places. The author desires to pay grateful acknowledgements to the various librarians and their assistants for the many favors extended while the materials were being assembled. Their continued coöperation has greatly facilitated the work and has been a source of encouragement.

To a great extent newspapers have constituted the sources. There are but few books dealing with the subject, aside from a few of the Missouri county histories which deal in an apologetic way with what their respective counties did toward the settlement of Kansas. Webb's Scrap Books, seventeen in number, proved to be a mine of information on early Kansas history. Through this wonderful series the author was able to secure material dealing with the Southern states which would otherwise be very hard to obtain. The publications of the historical societies of the various Southern states leave much to be desired when it comes to the southern movement to secure the territory of Kansas for their section. This and other facts have imposed limitations on the work in hand.

I. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

THE following study of southern interest in territorial Kansas will treat of that subject from the point of view of the effort of the South to gain the ascendancy in the territory from the date of the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska act to the rejection of the Lecompton constitution. It will note the incitements to southern activity, the proposals and plans laid before the southern people by individuals, associations and states, the relative degree of interest manifested, the achievements of various men and bodies of men, the inherent difficulties of the whole plan, and the failures and defeats encountered, with the reasons therefor.

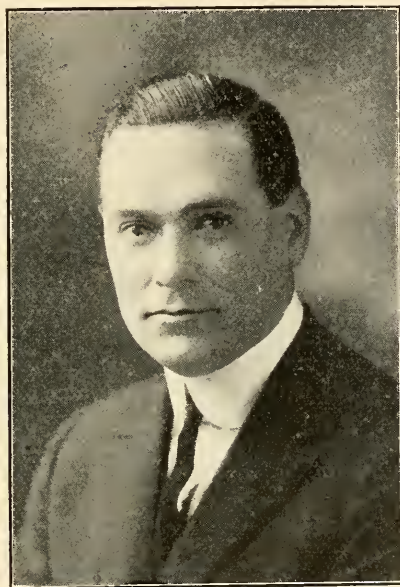
The first effort to organize what is now Kansas and Nebraska was made in December, 1852, when Willard P. Hall, a representative from Missouri, introduced a bill into the house for the organization of the territory of the Platte. This bill was referred to the committee on territories, which in February, 1852, reported a bill for territorial government for Nebraska. This bill,

*Submitted to the department of history and the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy, June, 1922.

† Elmer LeRoy Craik, son of David J. Craik, deceased, and Máry (Rink) Craik, was born March 7, 1886, near the village of Marietta, Marshall county, Kan. His early education he received in the common schools of Marysville, Kan., and Bates county, Missouri; his high-school work he did in Adrian, Mo., and Tonkawa, Okla. For two years he taught in the public schools of Kay county, Okla. In September, 1907, he entered McPherson College, graduating in 1910, when he became head of the language department of that college. The summers of 1911, 1913 and 1916 he spent in graduate study in the University of Kansas; 1915-'16 he was a fellow in American history in the University, receiving his master's degree in June, 1916. Since 1917 he has been on the faculty of McPherson College, and is at present head of the department of history and political science. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Kansas, June 5, 1922. On September 7, 1910, he was married to Elva Miller, of Lone Star, Kan., and two children have been born to them, David Warren and Eldon Lionel. Doctor Craik is a member of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association.

however, did not provide for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise line, and for that reason was opposed in the house by the whole southern delegation. The only southern senators who voted for it were those from the state of Missouri—Atchison and Geyer.¹

The facts relating to the passage of the bill, which was signed by President Pierce on May 30, 1854, need not detain us long. They have been well told and have been discussed from many angles. Its authorship, its constitutionality and its real purpose have been alike matters of controversy. It is not the purpose of the present work to enter into any technical analysis of any particular phase of the act but to comment upon the light in which the en-



DR. ELMER LE ROY CRAIK.

actment was viewed and its relation to the actual settlement of Kansas by the South.²

A large number of the leading men of the nation, both from the North and the South, took part in the debates which preceded the passage of the bill and it is interesting to note what they thought of the possible consequence of what they were doing. With an astonishing unanimity, even the southern members of congress agreed that Kansas could never become a real southern state. Said Hunter of Virginia: "Does any man believe that you will ever have a slaveholding state in Kansas or Nebraska?" Senator Douglas ex-

1. Switzer's "History of Missouri," p. 279.

2. F. P. Blair was convinced that Atchison was the real author of the bill—*St. Louis Intelligencer*, in Webb II, pp. 208-210.

Mr. P. O. Ray, in his monograph, "The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise," defends this as his thesis. The traditional view held that Douglas was the author and that his authorship was a bid for the presidency.

pressed himself thus: "I do not believe there is a man in congress who thinks it could be permanently a slaveholding country." Badger of North Carolina remarked: "I have no more idea of seeing a slave population in either of them (Kansas and Nebraska) than I have of seeing it in Massachusetts." Millson of Virginia declared: "No one expects it. No one dreams that slavery will be established there." F. P. Stanton, himself late a governor of Kansas, said: "The fears of northern gentlemen are wholly unfounded. Slavery will not be established in Kansas and Nebraska." Brooks of South Carolina gave as his opinion that, "If the natural laws of climate and soil exclude us from a territory of which we are joint owners, we shall not and we will not complain." Senator Butler, from the same state, was of practically the same mind, for he said one of the two states might be a slave state, but added: "I have not the least idea that even one will be." Governor Brown, of Mississippi, not a member of congress, said: "I do not believe slavery will ever find a resting place in those territories."³

The speech of Dodge of Iowa, delivered also on the occasion of the debate, may be quoted from at this point. He said, *inter alia*: "Now what will be the practical operation of this bill? I will tell my friend from Missouri, Mr. Atchison, and his constituents what, in my opinion, it will be. It will free several hundred Missouri and Arkansas negroes just as certain as Kansas and Nebraska are in proximity to those states. The owners of property everywhere are timid upon the point of its loss. You rarely find a man, the owner of slaves, ready to dash in among a new community like that which will people Kansas and Nebraska. There will be quite at immigration from Missouri and Arkansas to these territories, but in the main it will be of that class of citizens who are in needy circumstances and own no slaves. There may be a few persons in these states owning slaves who will emigrate to the proposed territories, taking family servants to whom they are attached; nothing, however, but a splendid town site or water privilege can induce such to do so."⁴ These clear-cut conclusions were prophetic.

Senator Benton, then a member of the house, spoke several times on the bill. In a speech delivered on April 25, 1854, he said: "What advantage do the slave states expect from this? Certainly they expect the extension of slave power and slave population. That may prove a fallacious expectation. The question of slavery in these territories, if thrown open to territorial action, will be a question of majority against slavery. And what kind of a chance would the slaveholders have in such a contest? None at all. The slave emigrants will be outnumbered and compelled to play at a most unequal game, not only in point of numbers, but also in point of stakes. The slaveholder stakes his property and has to run it off or lose it if outvoted at the polls. I see nothing which slaveholders are to gain under this bill—nothing but an unequal and vexatious contest in which they will be the losers. I deprecate such a contest and did my best to keep it out of the state of Missouri when the constitution was formed."⁵ On another occasion Mr. Benton spoke

3. From J. J. Crittenden's speech on the Leecompton constitution, in the senate, March 17, 1858, quoted by *Missouri Weekly Statesman*, April 2, 1858. Also Wilder's "Annals," October 24, 1855.

4. *Missouri Republican*, April 19, 1854.

5. *Missouri Weekly Statesman*, May, 12, 1854; *Jefferson Inquirer*, June 3, 1854, also deprecated agitation of the slavery question.

in the same vein: "I believe in the futility of the bill, its absolute futility, to the slaveholding states, and that not a single slave will ever be held in Kansas or Nebraska under it, even admitting it to be passed. Though adapted to slave labor in two of its great staples, hemp and tobacco, I do not believe that slaves will ever be held there. The popular vote will expel them. . . . In relation to Kansas and Nebraska, then, I hold the bill to be a deception and a cheat—what gamblers call gammon, congressmen buncombe, and seamen a tug to a whale; that is to say, an ambidextrous operation upon the senses of confiding people, by which they are made to see what is not, and not see what is."⁶ The New York *Tribune* contended that the bill was correct in the abstract, but wholly a barren one practically to the South.⁷

We have southern testimony indicating that the pressure for the passage of the bill came from the border states and that the extreme Southern states yielded to their solicitation, since the proximity of the former to Kansas and their consequent interest in the outcome of the settlement of Kansas made their demand of great weight.⁸ Not all Missouri papers, however, were enthusiastic in behalf of the measure, for the *Jefferson Inquirer* openly expressed great fear that a dangerous precedent might be created in the repeal of the Compromise restriction, one which might embarrass the admission of other states; and also voiced the belief that the repeal was hostile to the true interests of the South.⁹

Some years after the bill was passed, Senator Douglas took the pains to point out that the South was, after all, not so anxious to establish slavery in Kansas as might be supposed. He quoted as substantiation part of a speech delivered in the house of representatives by S. A. Smith, a Tennessee member, on June 25, 1856, in which the latter said in part: "I say here as a southern man, and I believe the sentiment will be sanctioned by nearly every southern representative on this floor, that if a bill were introduced in congress to establish slavery in Kansas or any other territory of the United States, I should unhesitatingly *vote against it*."¹⁰ So far as the boasted popular-sovereignty principle of the act was concerned, it was very evident that it was more theoretical than real, for in the territorial form the people have no voice in either the election of the governor or the judges. The legislature, moreover, although elected by the people, is subject to the veto of the governor—an appointed official.

It is further evident that the squatter-sovereignty principle, if carried to its logical conclusion under the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act, was fraught with possibilities distasteful to the South. It was understood by the leaders on both sides, indeed, that should a liberal homestead law follow the act, the South would inevitably be outdistanced. Several homestead bills were presented in congress, all of which were perceived to be real antidotes to the Kansas-Nebraska law. There was some effort on the part of the South to secure

6. From congressional reports of *Washington Globe*, May 20, 1854, in *Jefferson Inquirer*, June 3, 1854.

7. *Jefferson Inquirer*, June 17, 1854.

8. *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, August 16, 1854, in Webb, I, p. 93.

9. Issue of June 3, 1854. The same paper accused Atchison of violating instructions when he voted for the bill with the repeal feature.

10. Speech of February 23, 1859, in reply to A. G. Brown, of Mississippi.

the postponement of any homestead law until the Kansas-Nebraska law could be tested out. Dawson's homestead bill was killed in the senate by the Hunter substitute, a southern measure which contemplated a graduate system of prices for public lands thrown open to settlement. The attitude of the South in this regard was rather decided.¹¹

The South made a strenuous effort to play safe in settling Kansas by securing in one section of the original bill a proviso, fathered by Clayton of Delaware and supported by numerous southern senators, for the exclusion of foreigners from the exercise of the suffrage.¹²

Unless the South adopted this sort of tactics it must consent to kill the bill, for the simple reason that practically all foreigners that would without doubt pour into Kansas would come from the North, and of course would not tolerate the "peculiar institution." Senator C. C. Clay, of Alabama, said that if the homestead feature of the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed unamended the public could expect to see a powerful organization of the Know-Nothing party growing up in the United States, especially in the South. The Whigs of the South were found to be favorable to the Clayton amendment for the reason that they feared, in case the bill passed without amendment, Kansas would soon become the home of numerous Germans known to be prejudiced against slavery and who would soon become leaders in the antislavery agitation. In reality these southern Whigs were in a very embarrassing position, for it was evident that they could no longer work harmoniously with the northern antislavery Whigs, and yet they had no sympathy with the course adopted by the South.¹³ Missouri took occasion to rebuke Atchison most severely for his known adherence to the principle embodied in the Clayton amendment. The census of 1850 revealed the fact that the twelve southern states included in their population but four per cent who were of foreign birth. The half century following showed but a small increase in the percentage.¹⁴ Manifestly, the South, with so small a foreign population, was ill prepared to contest with the North the possession of Kansas. Thus the bill contained within itself the elements which would defeat those who expected the most from it. The bill as finally carried omitted the Clayton amendment.

One cannot understand the temper of the South in 1854 without observing that numbers of southerners in their calmer moments realized that their section was in many respects inferior to the North. True, this conviction is often set forth in a style less classical than that used by Calhoun in 1850, but it was a conviction nevertheless. Thus, Albert Pike described the situation in an address at one of the New Orleans southern commercial conventions:

"From the rattle with which the nurse tickles the ear of the child born in the South, to the shroud that covers the cold form of the dead, everything comes to us from the North. We rise from between sheets made in northern looms and pillows made of northern feathers, to wash in basins made in the North, dry our beards on northern towels, and dress ourselves in garments woven in northern looms; we eat from northern plates and dishes; our rooms

11. Stephenson, "Political History of the Public Lands," p. 169 ff.

12. "Provided, That the right of suffrage and holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States."—*Jefferson Inquirer*, April 15, 1854.

13. Cole, "The Whig Party in the South," p. 311 ff. In 1856, however, the South was ready to advocate a union of the proslavery men of the South with the antismigrationists of the North. They felt that the laborers and mechanics of the North would do so. This would plainly check the numerical growth of the North.—*Montgomery Mail*, January 1, 1856, in Webb, VIII, p. 53.

14. *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, vol. II, p. 87.

are swept with northern brooms; our gardens are dug with northern spades and our bread kneaded in trays or dishes of northern wood or tin; and the very wood which feeds our fires is cut with northern axes, helved with hickory brought from Connecticut or New York." 15

The *Commercial Journal* thus describes the almost hopeless dependence of the South on the North:

"The slaveholders in their hopeless efforts in Kansas contribute to the enriching of that very class of men whom they would rather starve if they could. Probably three-fourths of the money expended by slaveholders in the purchase of rifles, agricultural implements, etc., goes directly into the pockets of those who act with Professor Silliman in giving Bibles and rifles to men who go to Kansas to carry freedom into and to exclude slavery from that region. So that when Mr. Aikin, the owner of 1,000 slaves, contributes \$1,000 to send settlers to Kansas, a large portion of that sum goes very soon into the pockets of Professor Silliman's constituents and other free-soil manufacturers, and thus enables them to present more Bibles and rifles to other emigrants. So that had the legislature of Alabama passed instead of negating the proposed bill giving \$50,000 to send southern settlers to Kansas, the manufacturers in the Northern and Eastern states would have received a very cheering impulse by the expenditure of money drawn from the pockets of their envious opponents. Besides, these emigrations give employment to large numbers of steamboats, and probably three-fourths of their earnings go into the pockets of northern steamboat owners. And when the southern emigrants who are nonslaveholders arrive in Kansas and come to compare the condition of the laboring class in the North with that of the same class in the slave states, not a few refuse longer to aid in the mad policy of degrading themselves so as to form convenient footstools for the slaveocracy and become zealous free-soilers." 16

The state of Missouri was keenly aware of her relative inferiority in the Union of the states. In 1850 she stood thirteenth in population among the thirty-one and was destined in 1860 to be the eighth among thirty-three. 17

The economic reasoning of those who would make Kansas a slave state is set forth in an article in the *Washington Republican*. "A glance at the map will show," says the article in question, "that slaveholding Missouri, jutting far north to between the fortieth and forty-first parallel of latitude, has heretofore forced free emigration from its normal direction, which was and is toward the Southwest, toward the extreme Northwest. It was to maintain slavery in Missouri as a breakwater to the natural movement of free labor to the Southwest that the attempt was made to establish slavery in Kansas. The sagacious men who manage the fortunes of the institution understood well the volume and force of that vast human current which is setting towards the interior of the continent and are deeply concerned to give it a direction in harmony with their own peculiar interests. It is a significant circumstance that the bill which has passed the late congress making large and even magnificent land grants for railroads in the Territory of Minnesota should have been offered by the able and distinguished senator from Georgia, Mr. Toombs.

How did he happen to interest himself so much in the development of a region so remote and foreign to his constituents? Is not the answer found readily in his political motive to stimulate the Northwestern movement of the population of the free states, which would still longer postpone its pressure upon the institution of slavery? Can anyone who has watched the vigilant,

15. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 29, 1855.

16. Issue of May 6, 1856.

17. *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. II, p. 30.

restless and exclusive devotion of Mr. Toombs to that institution doubt for a moment that its interests were uppermost in his mind when he presented his Minnesota bill in the senate?"¹⁸

In Missouri there were several prominent leaders who thought that Kansas must inevitably become a slave state. Among these was Benjamin F. Stringfellow, who in 1855 gave out some candid statements regarding the prospects of the South in that territory. He was convinced that Kansas could never be a free community for several reasons. He thought it ill fitted for town life or small farms, but held that those who could command labor could easily subdue it. The cost of breaking the sod, too, he thought, would be too great for the poor man from the North. "In no instance," said he, "has prairie land ever been first settled by poor men." By poor men he meant poor tillers of the soil and not poor mechanics.¹⁹ The reasoning of Mr. Stringfellow was not lost on the restless spirits of the border counties of Missouri. The *Charleston* (S. C.) *Mercury* pronounced Kansas the best slave country to be found anywhere in our latitude. Many people held that by the division of the Nebraska country into two territories Nebraska *might* be free, while Kansas *must* be slave.²⁰ Col. D. C. Allen, of Liberty, Mo., justified the going of Missourians to the Kansas elections on the ground that the North had broken the tacit understanding that the North was to have Nebraska and the South Kansas.²¹

The generally accepted view, and the one which I have not up to this point attacked, is that the South wished to have Kansas in order to preserve and extend the institution of slavery.²² Without attempting an exhaustive proof of the contrary, a few statements may be submitted in modification of the widely accepted view. There is much evidence to prove the proposition that numbers of men in the South had already foreseen the doom of slavery.

Early in the struggle a Bostonian wrote home from the West: "The rush from this state [Missouri] to Kansas territory is *not so much to secure a foothold for slavery there as to secure a fortune*, notwithstanding what the newspapers say about it. No, most who go from here are young men in want of farms, and slavery, to say the least, is a secondary matter with them, if indeed they are not opposed to its introduction into Kansas, which is certainly the case with many."²³ It is thus evident that what the Missourians wanted in Kansas was a population that would insure farms, good roads, and the extension of the great Central Pacific railroad to the western coast. Some writers represent this feeling as general over the state. Missouri, indeed, had no slaves of her own to spare, even had she been anxious to spread the favorite institution of the South. Her slaveholders had everything to lose and nothing to gain by taking slaves to Kansas. Moreover, the twenty-two million acres of land obtainable within her borders at one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre was enough attraction for the poorer Missourians to induce them to stay

18. *Herald of Freedom*, January 16, 1858.

19. Letter of Gen. B. F. Stringfellow to P. S. Brooks *et al.*, p. 5 ff.

20. Blackmar, "Life of Charles Robinson," p. 123.

21. Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri," p. 196.

22. Even James S. Rollins, of Missouri, thought this. See his letter to Maj. John Dougherty, December 11, 1854, in the Reynolds papers.

23. Webb I, p. 75. Colonel Switzler was perhaps the first to point out or emphasize Missouri's noninterest in slavery, or rather her desire to keep only what she already possessed.—Trexler, p. 168.

in the state of their nativity. In many cases emigrants expecting to move to Kansas sold their slaves as the first step in their preparations.²⁴

There were others in Missouri who appreciated the real animus of the excitement. An editorial in the *St. Louis Evening News* denied that the abolitionists cared anything for the making of Kansas a free state. "And, on the other hand," it continued, "we have good reason to know that the few demagogues who are now moving heaven and earth, erecting gibbets for Methodist preachers, and tearing down printing presses on the border for the love of slavery don't care a straw about slavery. They seek their own interests. They seek to make Kansas a slave state, not for the benefit and behoof of slavery, but for the benefit and behoof of themselves personally. As soon as they shall have succeeded and the admission of Kansas into the Union with a slavery constitution shall have crowned with success their arduous labors, then will they demand their pay. They will present to the people of the young state an account for labor done, and in payment thereof will demand all the offices of honor and profit. Atchison will claim a senatorship in lieu of the one he lost in Missouri, and Stringfellow, no doubt, will rate the value of his work as high and demand the other, while the Atchison and Stringfellow hind-riders and subordinates will take seats in congress or small state offices." ²⁵ "The politicians," says Carr, "saw in the Kansas struggle the last issue of slavery possible." ²⁶

The Whig party of Missouri, not necessarily hostile to the institution of slavery, nevertheless adopted at an early date the principles of Colonel Benton to the extent of discountenancing the agitation of the slavery issue. In December, 1854, the Whigs of the state legislature took definite action to that end. Moreover, they pledged themselves not to vote for any person for speaker of the house or for United States senator who did not acquiesce in this determination.²⁷

Senator James S. Green, of Missouri, thus stated the attitude of Missouri relative to the existence of slavery in Kansas:

"The real question for the South is not the permanent existence of slavery in Kansas; that it but the John Doe and Richard Roe of the case. The South, of necessity, as well as the North, with the energy and enterprise of the American character, will need expansion. It must have expansion. If penned in with a Chinese wall applied only to the blacks, with the privilege of exit to the whites, when the country ever becomes overpopulated the disparity will become greater between the two races, and insurrection, civil war and extermination will be the natural consequences. This you seek to hasten; this the Republican party of the United States proclaim to be their supreme purpose. It is not the importance of holding slaves in Kansas that is the great question, but the decree is to go forth from the decision of this question whether the South shall be permitted to expand as well as the North." ²⁸

After 1856 all but the extreme fire eaters of the South were constrained to acknowledge the futility of attempting to make slavery the issue. Late in the contest one paper said:

"The question of slavery in Kansas no longer interests southern men, unless

24. *New York Times*, in Webb, I, p. 113. In 1855, according to the address prepared after the Lexington convention, there were 100,000 slaves in Missouri, valued at \$50,000,000.—Kansas History Pamphlets, 1.

25. *St. Louis Evening News*, May 16, 1855.

26. "Missouri, A Bone of Contention," p. 246.

27. *St. Louis Evening News*, December 27, 1854.

28. Speech on the Leocompton Constitution in the senate on March 23, 1858.

it be a few demagogues who still keep it agitated for corrupt and selfish purposes. The recent election in that territory for members of the legislature and congress has dissipated all hopes of its being anything else than a *free state*, the free-soilers having a majority of at least two to one. . . . However, much we may desire the establishment of slavery in Kansas, we cannot force it down the throat of that community, and those are not true to the South who attempt it, knowing that an overwhelming majority of the people are opposed to it."²⁹

Emphasis should be laid on the importance of the struggle for Kansas. To the South its importance was obvious.

"It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of Kansas to the South. If we lose Kansas we lose Missouri, bring free soil to the borders of Arkansas and Tennessee, and will have to struggle for the Indian Territory behind Arkansas. Kansas is emphatically the key to the future. . . . From the best information I can get upon the subject, I am satisfied the current is setting against us in Kansas. . . . If we intend to struggle for Kansas we must likewise combine these ideas [fanaticism and money-making]; we must form joint stock companies for the purpose of colonizing Kansas from the South. The money thus raised will be expended in aiding colonists to get to Kansas at the cheapest rates and buying land there. The shares should be put at a small price so that the entire South may go into the matter. Thus, all may southernize Kansas and make money at the same time."³⁰

Abroad Kansas attracted unusual attention. "An ex-minister of Louis Philippe not long ago wrote to a friend in the United States that the Kansas question was viewed in Europe with the profoundest solicitude, and that even the result of the war in the Crimea was not considered as having a more interesting relation to the progress of human liberty."³¹ A speaker in the Alabama legislature made the statement that Kansas was worth to the South a tax of ten per cent on her \$250,000,000 worth of slave property.³² Senator Toombs, of Georgia, said: "Kansas is the key to the great West, the high road to the Pacific. The struggle in the Territory is for empire; it is worthy of our best, our noblest efforts."³³

It thus appears that slavery was not the only object which the South had in view in its Kansas policy, and that those who may reasonably be supposed to have been most solicitous for the welfare of the slave interests were in grave doubt of the feasibility of securing Kansas for their section. It will be the province of the succeeding chapters of this work to elaborate on the more probable objectives which were sought in the territory and to describe the means and plans for their realization.

II. SOUTHERN IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT.

No sooner was the Kansas-Nebraska bill a law than emigrants began to pour into Kansas. Early in June, 1854, Missourians were "setting their pegs" in the new territory. By July thousands of people were reported on the way. They came from all parts of the Union, but more especially from Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, the proslavery party seeming to be in the ascendancy.³⁴

29. *Palmyra Sentinel*, quoted in *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, February 23, 1858. Slaves were, however, bought and sold in Bourbon county as late as August, 1857.—Robley, "History of Bourbon County," pp. 66, 67.

30. W. W. Boyce, M. C., in *Winnsboro Register*, quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, March 29, 1856.

31. *Bangor Daily Mercury*, December 1, 1855.

32. Address of G. W. Martin, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 9, p. 131.

33. Speech at Columbus, Ga., October 27, 1855. See Wilder's "Annals," p. 86.

34. *New York Herald*, quoted in *St. Louis Evening News*, July 29, 1854.

The South was at first somewhat discouraged by the stupendous program of emigration proposed by the New England Emigrant Aid Company. When, however, they saw that the company was unable to send to Kansas the 20,000 men advertised to come, they took heart. "Had there been no effort to stimulate emigration," says Connelley, "but every one left to pursue his own course in the matter of settling Kansas, the great influx of free labor would have secured it forever to freedom." Nevertheless, the strenuous efforts of the North to promote emigration were of value to the South, inasmuch as they were used as an incentive to arouse that section to outdo the North. Indeed, the proslavery party avowed the intention of using the program of the Emigrant Aid Company as a club with which to beat the South over the head.³⁵

The overadvertising which accompanied the operations of the Emigrant Aid Company in the North irritated the South. "From the noise made by the antislavery papers calling for settlers for Kansas," said the *New York Herald*, "one would have supposed that half the North was going bodily to Kansas to establish a thorough abolition state on the border of Missouri." This was of course far from the truth, but it served as a spur to southern effort. The number of abolitionists in the North was naturally greatly exaggerated by the proslavery party.³⁶ There was no doubt too much publicity accorded northern emigrants to allow them to escape persecution on the way through Missouri. A less boastful press would perhaps have insured less opposition on the part of the border ruffians.

Sources differ as to the date of the emigration societies organized in the South, many insisting that none were in existence until after the North began their use. However, Doctor Robinson testified that he heard of such organizations in Missouri before he left the East to come to Kansas. Perhaps the question of priority of organization need not be discussed here.³⁷

In October, 1854, it was still apparent that the Missourians were yet in the majority in Kansas, although some of them had become weary of keeping out abolitionists and were preparing to return to their former homes. Pennsylvanians were probably next in numbers. Just then it seemed that the more extreme Southern states were lagging a bit in getting men into the territory.³⁸ Still the *Independence Dispatch* was optimistic over the prospects for the South, saying: "We have not the slightest doubt but that the future population of Kansas territory will be composed of southerners and friends of slavery." Of the northerners it said: "They are the loose population who have no permanent abode, no determination of purpose, no settled character—men without means who are bought up by the Emigration Aid Society for the double purpose of abolitionism and land speculation. They are selected with a view of their antislavery principles, it is true, yet land speculation is the basis of the fraud." Hundreds of old farmers in Kentucky and Tennessee

35. Connelley, "An Appeal to the Record," pp. 122, 123, 126, 127; *Kansas Free State*, March 3, 1855. On the other hand, Eli Thayer was of the opinion that if the repeal had not been carried Kansas would eventually have become a slave state. See his speech on the "Suicide of Slavery," in H. R., March 25, 1858.

36. Webb, II, p. 106. It is also true that the Emigrant Aid Company never claimed the character of a benevolent institution. It was organized primarily for dividends. *Chicago Tribune*, quoted in *Freedom's Champion*, February 18, 1858.

37. Sherman's Scrap Book, p. 10; Congressional Report of the Howard Committee, p. 900.

38. Holloway, p. 496; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 29, 1854.

were reported to be waiting merely until they could dispose of their property in those states before coming to Kansas.³⁹

Not all southerners were disposed to sneer at the efforts of the Emigrant Aid Company. The oft-repeated assertion that the Yankees were paupers criminals and the offscourings of the earth was too extreme to be credited by scores of moderate men who were naturally allied with the southern position. The *Louisville Journal* freely granted that the North was placing *bona fide* settlers in the new territory. "The people who have gone to Kansas from the Eastern states," said that paper, "have gone there to settle. No one but a fool can suppose that men from the East would be at the heavy expense and the vast trouble of going 2,000 miles, a large proportion of them with their families, to give their votes in a legislative election and then to be at the heavy expense and vast trouble of returning home again. No, the eastern emigrants went to Kansas to establish themselves there and to identify their fortunes with the fortunes of the territory. If they desired that it should be a free territory and a free state they had a right to indulge the desire and to vote accordingly. They have gone to make Kansas their home and their children's home. They are, in general, men of character—intelligent, enterprising, order-loving. They have taken with them, far more generally than emigrants usually do, the conveniences and necessities of life. . . . The papers of all the cities through which they have passed have spoken highly of their appearance and deportment. There have been no squalid wretches among them. . . . The late proceedings [alluding to the destruction of the *Parkville Luminary* the Platte county resolutions, and other disturbances] are infinitely more to be deplored by the south than the North."⁴⁰

It was customary for certain Missouri papers to assume that all men from the South were necessarily in favor of making Kansas a slave state, and to conclude rather hastily that Indianans and Illinoisians were friendly to slavery.⁴¹ Of course, many of the latter were favorable, or became so through the charm and hospitality of the southerners whom they met in Kansas. It is easy, however, to exaggerate their number.⁴²

By the summer of 1855 it was estimated that of the abler people who were in the territory four out of every five were proslavery. During the spring of that year most of the emigrants passing through Independence were from the South.⁴³

In certain parts of the South it was beginning to dawn upon the leaders, however, that the mere drawing up of resolutions would not make Kansas what they wanted her to be, although a heavy emigration from the South in the fall was confidently expected.⁴⁴ The election of a congressional delegate from the territory had a tendency to cause a general feeling of relaxation in Missouri, inasmuch as the election turned out favorably to the proslavery

39. Quoted in *Richmond Weekly Mirror*, December 1, 1854.

40. Quoted in *Chicago Daily Journal* May 21, 1855, in Webb, IV, p. 68; *Richfield Enterprise*, June 8, 1855; *St. Louis Intelligencer*, December 31, 1855. And yet this same *Louisville Journal* proposed that southern states institute systems of licenses to strain out Massachusetts goods, asking that legislatures pass laws declaring it to be fraud in case merchants sold goods without stating to the purchaser that said goods were made in Massachusetts.—*Boonville Weekly Observer*, June 30, 1855.

41. *St. Joseph Gazette*, quoted in *St. Louis Evening News*, September 21, 1854; *New York Tribune*, September 21, 1854, in Webb, I, p. 138.

42. *Louisville Intelligencer*, December 29, 1854, in Webb, II, p. 121.

43. Correspondence of *Missouri Democrat* in *National Intelligencer*, June 14, 1855; *Missouri Republican*, April 8, 1855; *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, June 29, 1855.

44. *Parkville Southern Democrat*, in Webb, V, p. 198.

forces. This period of relaxation was followed by gains for the North, and the *Randolph Citizen* was led to remark:

"Unless we can regain our numerical ascendancy it is evident that Kansas is lost to the South, and the people of Missouri should at once and promptly look this matter in the face. The contest certainly *must* and *will* be decided by numbers. To colonize, then, . . . seems to us the most feasible; if not the only method, of regaining what we have lost. . . . Every day we see wagons pass our office bound for Kansas, and about one dozen from free states to one from the slave states."⁴⁵ B. F. Stringfellow, who made a visit to Washington, D. C., during the winter of 1854-55, was under the impression that 2,000 slaves stationed in Kansas territory would secure it to the South.⁴⁶

As before intimated, Missouri and the South greatly overestimated the number of settlers actually placed in Kansas through the agency of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Only one colony had arrived in Kansas before the election of March 30, 1855. According to the figures given by some, only 3,000 persons came through its efforts. Never over \$100,000 was in the hands of the company as paid-in capital.⁴⁷ Even the *Boston Advertiser* granted in 1855 that not over one-tenth of the people of the territory were from New England. It conceded the fact that the great Northwestern states were furnishing the greater numbers of emigrants, and sought to explain their presence in Kansas by their love of change, their desire to emulate the example of their fathers, their eagerness for political excitement, and their endurance against the cold winters.⁴⁸ The editor of the *Liberty Weekly Tribune* must have seen the abolitionists through a magnifying glass when he wrote:

"Citizens of Missouri, you must *act*; talking won't do. *You must go to Kansas*; nothing else will do. And if you don't do it, not only Kansas but Missouri will be taken by the abolition party, and you will have to give up your *homes in Missouri*, for you could not live in peace with them any more than you could with Mormons. . . . *You must go to Kansas now*, for an election is soon to take place for a delegate to congress and territorial legislature, and it is all-important that the abolitionists should be defeated in the first election, for by the territorial law their legislature *can* exclude slavery; and if they should do so this winter, you who wish to take your slaves there will be excluded, or else you have got to fight your way through until a convention is called to form a constitution, and then the abolitionists will have

45. Various other reasons are assigned for the slackened southern emigration in 1855. The *Salem Observer* (see Webb, IV, p. 26) thought it could be attributed to delusive notions of Kansas, several months of unprecedented drought, the un navigable condition of the Missouri river, and the deterring effect of political excitement upon the better sort of emigrants. No doubt the nature of the land law, which in 1855 allowed no more than 160 acres to each settler, was hostile to plantation life.—*The Democracy* (Buffalo), May 24, 1855, in Webb, IV, p. 89.

Then, too, the South was not yet convinced that it was possible for the North to make Kansas free by means of emigration.—Trexler, p. 192.

Some in the South were disposed to think that the North began "playing 'possum" after the election of the legislature in 1855, hoping thereby to lessen emigration to the territory from the southern states.—*Kikapoo Pioneer*, quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, May 28, 1855.

The *Squatter Sovereign* felt certain, in spite of the visible diminution of the supply of southerners that the election had removed all uncertainty and that this deterrent having been removed a large emigration would inevitably result.—*Herald of Freedom* April 21, 1855. See, also, reference in *Randolph Citizen*, November 8, 1855.

46. Smith, "Parties and Slavery," p. 126; Spring, "Kansas," p. 27.

47. Klem, "Missouri in the Kansas Struggle," p. 14; Thayer, "History of the Kansas Crusade," p. 57; Congressional Report, pp. 881, 889.

48. The winters of 1855 and 1856 were of almost unparalleled severity in Kansas.—*Herald of Freedom*, January 16, 1858.

The winter of 1856 was especially hard on slaves. Judge Elmore, probably the largest slave owner in Kansas, experienced great difficulty in keeping his nineteen slaves alive. He was compelled to keep them in bed and to cut wood to keep them warm. One aged slave died of freezing and one was permanently injured by being frostbitten.—Rhodes, vol. II, p. 13.

gained so much on you that you will have to abandon your slaves. You must 'nip the thing in the bud' or else there is imminent danger."⁴⁹

The Missourians thought they possessed as clear a right to vote in Kansas elections as did the New Englanders. One of the chief Kansas promoters in Missouri, B. F. Stringfellow, thus defined what he considered the requisites for voting in Kansas:

"If the very day of his returning is not fixed, if he is uncertain, he is in strictest law 'a resident' and 'an inhabitant.' By the Kansas act every man in the territory on the day of the election is a loyal voter if he has not fixed a day for his return to some other home. Every man has a right to go to Kansas for such purposes as he pleases. The presence of a voter is all the proof of residence he is required to give. If present, it is not necessary to show he has not a right to vote."⁵⁰

That they availed themselves of this liberal interpretation is proved by reference to the Report of the Congressional Committee. Holloway quotes:

"By an organized movement which extended from Andrew county in the north to Jasper county in the south, and as far eastward as Boone and Cole counties, Missouri, companies of men were arranged in irregular parties and sent into every council district in the territory, and into every representative district but one. The members were so distributed as to control the election in each district. They went to vote, and with an avowed design to make Kansas a slave state. They were generally armed and equipped, carried with them their own provisions and tents, and so marched into the territory."⁵¹

In this election of March 30, 1855, the total number of proslavery votes cast was 5,427; of free-state, 791; scattering, 89. But there were but 1,410 legal voters in the territory. The census gave but 2,905 residents, while the number of voters was 8,601.⁵² Evidently there was a great influx for election purposes.⁵³

The first census of the territory had been taken in January, 1855, as a preliminary step toward the election of the territorial legislature. The work was undertaken without any public announcement—a thing which highly insulted the feelings of the Missourians, who were accordingly disposed to make many accusations against the authorities, chief of which was that the failure to advertise the census was part of a scheme to swell the Yankee population over that of the South, and over that of Missouri in particular. This census shows that out of a total of 8,601 souls more than one-half were from the South. There were then fewer than 700 from New England.⁵⁴ It is also well established that in the March following the census the number of *bona fide* settlers from the Southern states was greater than in any equal time previously.⁵⁵

The year 1856 was the highwater mark of southern emigration to Kansas, although some then thought that the better land had already been taken.⁵⁶ It also marks the advent of a better type of settler. The great majority of the thousand Kansas settlers arriving in St. Louis in March and April, 1856,

49. Issue of November 10, 1854.

50. Holloway, p. 140, 141.

51. Holloway, p. 141; *Portland Inquirer*, January 5, 1855, quoting *St. Louis Intelligencer*. in Webb, p. 171.

52. Holloway, p. 149, quoting figures from Congressional Committee's report.

53. Wilders' "Annals," February 8, 1858.

54. Holloway, p. 138.

55. Report of Congressional Committee, p. 74.

56. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, January 8, 1856.

were from the South.⁵⁷ Before the year was over, however, there seems to have been a scattering. Elections favorable to the South appear to have been disastrous to the determination to stay in Kansas. Some had fully planned to migrate to the territory if Mr. Buchanan were elected, but the fact of his election did not cause any perceptible increase in population as far as the South was concerned. This failure to succor the cause at this juncture was plainly disconcerting to southern leaders.⁵⁸ It was also reported in August, 1856, that over 1,000 proslavery men had been driven out of Kansas since April.⁵⁹ The climate, if we are to believe a free-state publication, proved distasteful to the southern emigrants, many of whom were filibusters, who, coming in the spring of 1856, beat a hasty retreat on the approach of winter, "saying hard things about the climate."⁶⁰

From data available in the spring of 1856, the *New York Herald* gave the following figures on emigration to Kansas that year: From the South: Missouri, 1,100; South Carolina, 230; North Carolina, 120; Georgia, 100; Alabama, 30; Tennessee, 120; Kentucky, 100; Louisiana, 50; and Virginia, 50—a total of 1,900. From the North: Massachusetts, 350; Connecticut, 120; Rhode Island, 30; Vermont, 20; New York, 300; Ohio, 250; Pennsylvania, 50; New Jersey, 40; Indiana, 60; and Illinois, 130—a total of 1,350.⁶¹

In many places in the South a well-organized propaganda was carried on for the purpose of inducing emigration to Kansas. This was particularly true in 1856. Gladstone, a relative of the great English premier, before coming to Kansas in the summer of 1856 was for a time in the state of Mississippi. Of his experience in the South he wrote:

"When in South Carolina and other Southern states I witnessed extraordinary meetings, presided over by men of influence, at which addresses of almost incredible violence were delivered on the necessity of 'forcing slavery into Kansas,' of 'spreading the beneficent influence of southern institutions over the new territories,' and of 'driving back at the point of the bayonet the nigger-stealing scum poured down by northern fanaticism.'" ⁶²

Speakers were sent under various auspices to stir up the South to her duty. Two of the more widely known were Alpheus Baker and Henry D. Clayton, who toured the South in behalf of Kansas. Their letters were published in the *Leavenworth Herald*. Writing from Cuthbert, Georgia, Baker said:

"The men are plenty if we had the money—I can hear of them everywhere. . . . We will be back again by the 15th of August. We will bring some of the wealthiest men in our county besides the emigrants. . . . Col. E. S. Ott on Saturday at a meeting pledged himself to be one of ten to raise \$5,000 by subscribing \$50 each."

Clayton, writing from the same place, said: "We found everything cold and indifferent—all is in a fever now." Clayton also mentions one L. F. Johnson, who was engaged in speaking with Baker. These two had before them about thirty speaking engagements in the state of Alabama. On June

57. *Missouri Democrat*, April 23, 1856.

58. *Lexington Citizen*, quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, December 23, 1856.

59. *Missouri Republican*, August 31, 1856. The census taker of Woodson and Greenwood counties found in the last-named county, in 1857, ninety voters, of whom only nine were proslavery. Three of these were formerly Buford's men.—*Herald of Freedom*, August 1, 1857.

60. *Herald of Freedom*, January 10, 1857.

61. *New York Herald*, quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, April 22, 1856; *The Atlas*, April 16, 1856, in Webb, XI, p. 105.

62. Wilder's "Annals," p. 163.

21, 1856. Clayton spoke at Hawkinsville, Georgia, and secured \$700 and twenty-three men for Kansas.⁶³

General Whitfield, once delegate from Kansas to congress, and Jones, the editor of the *Lecompton Union*, also conducted a speaking tour in the South. We are led to believe that they were largely successful in their efforts to interest people in Kansas. They spoke in all the principal cities of the South. S. H. Woodson, representing the proslavery organization of Buchanan county, Missouri, did considerable personal work, but in what communities of the South does not appear. It is probable that about \$12,000 was subscribed through the efforts of Baker, Johnston and Doctor Jones, and that about \$1,000 was turned over to Henry D. Clayton, who was organizing a company to start to settle in Kansas.⁶⁴

While there was, of course, considerable hostility between the free-state and proslavery forces in Kansas, yet we note that it was the policy of some of the more far-sighted papers of free-state proclivities to extend a welcome to southern emigrants. Those who knew the real problem of the South in putting men into the territory were ready to bide the consequences unterrified. The *Kansas Free State*, speaking editorially said:

"We are informed that a number of agents of the southern aid companies have visited the territory preparatory to forwarding their stock. Some of them spent a short time in conference with Atchison for the purpose of arranging their plans of operations. It is reported that the agent from Alabama has gone back cursing the country, Atchison, and the whole movement. Judging from the results of northern aid companies, we have little to fear from this source. In the first place, the funds will be found rather shorter than anticipated. This they already acknowledge themselves. The legislature of Georgia, the banner state of the movement, has refused to make any appropriation for this purpose. In the second place, the Kansas climate and mode of life will be found unsuitable to those accustomed to a southern clime, and at least half of them will abandon it. In the third place, more than half of those who remain will vote the free-state ticket. All we ask of the slave states is that they send on as many as they can hire to come; give them money to set up in business—we need it in the territory; and let them select the best places to be found in Kansas and make themselves permanent homes. We will welcome them into our midst and put ourselves to some trouble in finding them locations, well assured that when they have seen the advantages and prosperity of free society and find themselves rid of the incubus which has kept them in poverty and serfdom they will not wish to vote themselves back into the same miserable condition which they have left."⁶⁵

Of all the proslavery papers in Kansas, the *Squatter Sovereign*, of Atchison, started by R. S. Kelley and J. H. Stringfellow, on February 3, 1855, was the most outspoken and enthusiastic champion of southern institutions. Perhaps it did more than any other agency to stir up enmity between the two sections. Its tone may be judged from the following extract:

"Emigrants from Southern states are invited to settle in this neighborhood. They will meet with a cordial welcome from our citizens, and every assistance will be rendered them to procure for themselves and friends good claims. One 'Yankee' will crowd us—ten thousand southerners will not be in our way in the least. Come on, then, ye honest and intelligent southerners, and occupy our rich lands to the exclusion of the 'Yankee paupers' and 'criminals.'"⁶⁶

63. Quoted in *New York Times*, August 12, 1856.

64. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 27, 1856; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, August 23, 1856.

65. Issue of March 24, 1856.

66. *Squatter Sovereign*, March 25, 1856.

Without doubt this paper by its extreme proslavery position did much in 1856 to precipitate northern emigration to Kansas.⁶⁷ During 1855 it carried the name of David R. Atchison on its front page as candidate for the presidency.⁶⁸

Perhaps the general feeling in Kansas was voiced by the *Leavenworth Register*, which made law-abiding the sole qualification for settlers:

"We do not want fanatics either from the North or South, East or West; we want business men with capital; farmers with cattle, horses and mules; enterprising young men; mechanics, especially brick makers, plasterers, stone-masons, coal heavers, ironmasters, blacksmiths; in fact, all the branches of legitimate trade will find encouragement."

Faithfulness to the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and a disposition not to meddle in the affairs of one's neighbors, this paper held, were prime requisites in the territory.⁶⁹

Late in 1855 rumors were afloat that the South contemplated buying land on a large scale as the basis of the subjugation of Kansas. It was peculiarly fitting that the *Charleston Mercury* should be the first to propose such a scheme. In brief the plan was as follows: Each county in the Southern states should organize a "Kansas Land Company" and officer it properly under a state charter. Stock should be sold in shares of twenty-five-, fifty-, or one-hundred-dollar amounts, the funds raised therefrom to be invested in Kansas land under the supervision of the treasurer of the local organization, together with the president and one or more of the directors. It might be reasonably expected that the counties of the South would thus raise, on an average, \$20,000 each. The total sum thus raised would suffice to buy enough land in Kansas to reduce materially the area of free soil in that territory and would serve as a lure to southern settlers, who might be rewarded with a portion of the land upon going to Kansas. The idea of the whole scheme was to insure a genuine interest in the territory on the part of the South.⁷⁰ It does not appear that this plan was ever taken seriously enough to bring about its adoption. Money was raised in Missouri, however, at a somewhat later date for the purpose of buying out free-state men's claims in Kansas. It was raised by the Missouri Blue Lodges and was said to mount up to hundreds of thousands of dollars. It was to be lent at a high rate of interest and a mortgage taken on the property.⁷¹ This scheme is corroborated, for a correspondent writing to the *New York Tribune* said:

"The South has sent more than \$200,000 already—not to Kansas, but into the border counties of Missouri—and will double that amount within the next three months. Do you ask what for? I will tell you, for I have got hold of the secret. *To buy Kansas lands!* It is understood by those in the secret and confidence of the slave power at Washington that all the best lands in Kansas are to be brought into the market some time this summer and the southern oligarchy are to have enough money deposited in the neighborhood to buy them all up. The thing is kept dark. Nothing is said about it in the papers, and it is seldom mentioned in public speeches, yet it forms an *undercurrent* throughout the South; agents are at work and thousands and thousands of dollars are being subscribed, collected and carried off and deposited with banks and responsible merchants in the upper counties of Missouri. The free-state

67. Andreas, p. 139.

68. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, September 29, 1855.

69. *Leavenworth Register*, in Webb, V, p. 12.

70. Quoted in *New Hampshire Patriot*, November 14, 1855, in Webb, VI, p. 210.

71. *Chicago Tribune*, July 9, 1856, in Webb, XIV, p. 133.

men and northern 'squatters' are all to be driven out of the territory and the way cleared before the land offices are opened. . . . I speak what I do know."⁷²

No facts are available to show to what extent this land scheme was carried out.

For a variety of reasons, we are not supplied with the details of the activities and interests of the southern emigrants to Kansas. There are, indeed, scattered notices in the papers of those times, but they are rather indefinite and inconclusive. Fuller information would perhaps clear up several points, but since it is not obtainable we must draw our conclusions from what meager data we have.

Of all the counties of Kansas, Leavenworth was undoubtedly from the very first the most thoroughly proslavery in its sentiments. Both Leavenworth and Atchison counties were devoted to slavery, but in Leavenworth county the free-state element, if we are to believe Pardee Butler, scarcely existed at all, or, if it did exist, it kept well under cover while disturbances were agitating the country.⁷³ The city of Leavenworth was organized on June 13, 1854, by thirty-two persons of Weston, Mo., representing both free-state and proslavery proclivities. On June 11 they had secured the title to two quarter sections of land where the city now stands. This land was divided into 175 shares, which sold at first at \$250 each. George W. Gist was the first president of the town company and H. Miles Moore secretary of the board of directors. In 1857 H. J. Adams became the first free-state mayor. The *Leavenworth Herald*, a proslavery paper, started under an elm tree on the levee, on September 15, 1854, was the first newspaper in the territory.⁷⁴ This county manifested a grossly intolerant spirit toward the antislavery party and sought to carry out to the fullest extent the desires of the rabid proslavery leaders across the river.

The city of Atchison, in Atchison county, was organized on July 27, 1854, by a company of Platte county (Missouri) men. The first lot sale took place on September 21, 1854. Peter T. Abell, a prominent proslavery leader, was president of the company, and Ira Morris was secretary of the first board of directors.⁷⁵ Until 1857 Atchison enjoyed the reputation of being the most violent proslavery town in the territory.⁷⁶

Doniphan county was strongly proslavery. In a list of old settlers registered at the old settlers' reunion held at Troy on September 22, 1881, at least 127 were Missourians, 23 were Kentuckians and 8 were Virginians. All of these persons came to Kansas before 1860, most of them before 1859.⁷⁷ The first paper in Doniphan county was the *Constitutionalist*, started in 1855 by Thomas J. Key, in the town of Doniphan. Key was formerly an editor in Tusculum, Ala. It was a proslavery organ and was published for two years.⁷⁸

Paola, in Miami [formerly Lykins] county, was early regarded as a pro-

72. It is generally believed in the South that only the wealthier could stay in Kansas. Hemp and stock raising would draw capitalists thither, while the poor sent by northern aid societies must soon return to their former homes. The poor man, without money or control of labor, was regarded as foolish in attempting to go to the territory.—*Georgia Triweekly Examiner*, in Webb, I, p. 168.

73. Atchison County Clippings, vol. I, pp. 48, 49.

74. Wilder's "Annals," June 13 and September 15, 1854; Holloway, pp. 108, 109.

75. Wilder's "Annals," July 27, 1854; Holloway, pp. 108, 109.

76. Holloway, p. 109.

77. Doniphan County Clippings, vol. I, pp. 29-33.

78. Gray's "History of Doniphan County," p. 13; *St. Louis Intelligencer*, March 25, 1856.

slavery stronghold. At the county election for members of the first territorial legislature, on March 30, 1855, all of the proslavery candidates were elected, most of the votes having been cast by Missourians. The census taken prior to this election showed a slave population of twenty-six in the representative district. The year 1855 marked the coming of many permanent settlers. A body of Georgians and Alabamans, probably a part of Buford's company, established a fort about a mile from Osawatomie, professing to be about locating another town. Another report stated that 240 men were erecting a fort ten miles south of Osawatomie, on Middle creek. Buford's followers committed some depredations in the county, chief among them being the sack of Osawatomie and the robbing of the local hotel of some \$3,000 worth of property. In August, 1856, however, he was driven from the country.⁷⁹

We hear but little of Linn county during the period under discussion, but the dominant element of this thinly settled county was without doubt safely proslavery.⁸⁰

The first invasion of the proslavery party into Bourbon county was in the spring of 1856. At that time a party of some thirty South Carolinians, headed by one G. W. Jones, came in and stopped temporarily in Fort Scott, pretending to be looking for homes in the territory. Under this pretense they visited most of the settlers in the county, ascertained where they were from, their politics, what property they had with them, and their means of defense. They made a complete list of the free-state men. Later in the season, probably in July, the free-state men were again visited and were told they must leave the territory. A system of espionage was instituted, intimidation was employed, arrests were made, and much stock was driven off by these men, who were considered a part of the Buford expedition.⁸¹ Late in the summer of 1856, a squad of "Texas Rangers" came into Bourbon county from the South. All were well armed and mounted. Their spurs were said to be as large as plates. They soon allied themselves with the Jones party, after which, with Jones, William Barnes and Jesse Davis in command, they marched toward Osawatomie in search of John Brown. On about August 5 they were engaged in battle on Middle creek, in Linn county, and were defeated, fleeing precipitately to Fort Scott. The Texas Rangers were alleged never to have stopped until they got back to the Red river.⁸² By the time for the election of the second territorial legislature enough of the free-state men had been driven out to insure the election of two proslavery men to the legislature. The good, stable southern citizens began to come to the county during the fall of 1856. The free-state influx started in the spring of 1857, many of the men constituting it being northern men who had once been driven out by the proslavery men. When the Lecompton constitution was voted on it will be noted that Bourbon county cast nearly one-half of the total number of votes in the territory which favored the constitution with the slavery feature in it.⁸³

Reference to other activities of proslavery localities will be made later in this discussion.

The first expression of principles which were to obtain among the settlers in

79. Miami County Clippings, vol. I, pp. 49-60; *New York Sem'weekly Times*, July 28, 1856, in Webb, XV, pp. 153, 166.

80. Tomlinson, "Kansas in 1858," p. 166.

81. Robley, "History of Bourbon County," pp. 56, 57.

82. Robley, p. 57.

83. Robley, pp. 60, 69, 73, and 92.

the territory was made at a squatters' meeting held on June 10, 1854, at Riveley's store, one-half mile west of the bridge over Salt creek, on the Fort Riley road, about two miles west of Fort Leavenworth. There were perhaps 200 settlers present, most of them from Platte county, Missouri. Lewis Burnes, of Weston, Mo., was chairman, and J. H. R. Cundiff, of St. Joseph, secretary of the meeting.⁸⁴ The resolutions there adopted were the first to be passed in the new territory. They expressed a faith in squatter sovereignty, and acknowledged the right of any citizen of the United States to take a claim in Kansas, such claim to be held inviolate until such time as the *bona fide* intention of occupying it was apparent. It was agreed that all such claims should be protected. To have shown *bona fide* intentions of erecting a dwelling on land was regarded as sufficient proof of a claim.⁸⁵ In order for the claim to be good, however, not over two weeks should elapse before a tent should be pitched or a cabin begun, unless the claim should be found to be on military or Indian reservation. Two weeks from June 10 was set as the limit for the construction of the improvements above mentioned. No person was to be protected by the squatters' association who tried to hold in his own right more than one claim. Slavery was recognized and slaveholders were invited to come to Kansas. Abolitionists, on the other hand, were promised no protection.⁸⁶

A second squatters' meeting was held on June 24, 1854, at the home of J. R. Whitehead, in Doniphan county.⁸⁷ Another association was here formed. Col. A. M. Mitchell was chairman of the meeting and James R. Whitehead secretary. The resolutions adopted were very similar in character to those adopted at Salt creek. However, thirty days were allowed squatters in which to begin their places of abode, and any person building within one-half mile of another was to be regarded as an intruder. A register of claims was appointed and fifty cents was to be charged for the registration of a claim. Forty-four persons signed the resolutions, which were rather strongly proslavery. A vigilance committee of thirteen was delegated to carry out the intent and purposes of the resolutions.⁸⁸

A general mass meeting of squatters was held on September 1, 1854, near M. P. Riveley's store, three miles from Fort Leavenworth. J. A. J. Fisher was chairman and R. S. Kelley and T. J. Thompson secretaries. When an inquiry was made as to how many were in favor of making Kansas a slave state, it was reported that a "countless number of hands were raised in response to this call"; in fact, there were but four who preferred a free state. According to the opinion of our informant, nine-tenths of the settlers then in Kansas were embraced in this proslavery organization.⁸⁹

A large meeting of proslavery men was held on February 29, 1856, at Franklin, the purpose of which was to form an organization for sending information

84. Moore, "Early History of Leavenworth City and County," p. 19; Wilder's "Annals," June 10, 1854.

85. Holloway thus describes the method by which the Missourians became Kansans: "They would mark them [their claims] with stakes, or four poles thrown quadrangulary upon the ground, as the *initium* of a cabin, and then return to their homes—some to prepare to emigrate, others merely to watch and hold their newly acquired possessions. Thus they continued to scatter themselves over the best country of eastern Kansas, in many instances disregarding the Indian title by which the lands were held, until almost every gentleman in western Missouri had a claim upon which he had moved, intended to move, or designed to hold."—Holloway, p. 106.

86. Holloway, p. 107; *Parkville Luminary*, June 20, 1854, in Webb, I, p. 42.

87. *Troy Chief*, August 16, 1883; Wilder's "Annals," June 24, 1854.

88. *Troy Chief*, August 16, 1883.

89. *Missouri Republican*, September 11, 1854.

to southerners who were contemplating coming to Kansas.⁹⁰ It is doubtful whether the South was ever as well informed on the activity of its citizens in Kansas as were the New Englanders. It is rather a singular fact that the *Kansas Free State*, an able and uncompromising antislavery paper, should have received its chief support in North and South Carolina. The explanation lies in the fact that its editor was once a resident of those states.⁹¹

It is now the purpose of this dissertation to describe in some detail the efforts made in the various Southern states to appropriate the new territory for their section. Since Missouri's interest, because of her proximity, was most early manifested, we shall begin with that state, proceeding next with the various other Southern states in which Kansas evoked any note of interest. Since the pouring of settlers into Kansas was the chief means used, much will be made of emigration movements in the South.

III. THE INTEREST OF MISSOURI IN KANSAS.

For obvious reasons, the southernization of Kansas depended to a great extent on the attitude taken by the state of Missouri, and our discussion of her interest in Kansas will be drawn out to some length, due to certain acute situations which were already in existence when our period opens or began to develop after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Before showing what various Missouri counties did in the way of peopling Kansas, our attention must, therefore, be directed to a few other issues, which very much colored what Missouri was able to do for the southern cause. This preliminary discussion will center largely around such topics as the Atchison-Benton controversy, the decided free-state stand taken by the city of St. Louis, and the fact, very alarming to the South, that Missouri was actually becoming free from the shackles of slavery.

There was hostility in Missouri toward Senator Benton as far back as his refusal to vote for the treaty of peace with Mexico; indeed, after that time the opposition to him was almost continuous.⁹² But it took on a more determined form in the case of the so-called Jackson resolutions passed by the legislature of Missouri in the session of 1848-'49, and declaring, among other things, that any attempt to interfere with the institution of slavery in the United States would be a violation of the principles underlying the constitution of the nation; that the territories, being common property of the states, were included in this prohibition of interference, and that squatter sovereignty was the true dictum of democracy. Benton was flatly opposed to these resolutions; in fact, it seems rather conclusive that they were framed for the express purpose of embarrassing him and of making his political hold on the state precarious if not impossible.⁹³

Benton's reply to his instructions was a memorable one. In his remarks he said:

"I was born to the inheritance of slaves, and have never been without them. I have bought some, but only on their own entreaty and to save them from execution sales; I have sold some, but only for misconduct. I have

90. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 15, 1856.

91. *National Antislavery Standard*, August 18, 1855.

92. According to the pamphlet entitled "A Statement of Facts and a Few Suggestions in Review of Political Action in Missouri," the Missouri leaders began in about 1844 to question the political faith of Colonel Benton.

93. Trexler is convinced that the resolutions, and, in fact, the whole slavery agitation in Missouri, was gotten up merely "to get" Benton. (pp. 152, 153.)

had two taken from me by the abolitionists and never inquired after them, and liberated a third who would not go with them. I have had slaves, now in Kentucky, who were elevated to the dignity of real estate by being moved from Missouri to Kentucky, and will have to descend next fall to the low degree of a chattel interest in spite of the laws of Kentucky, when I shall have to move them back to Missouri. And I have slaves in Washington City—perhaps the only member of congress that has any there—and am not in the least afraid that congress will pass any law to affect this property either there or here. I have made no slave speeches in congress and do not mean to make them. Property is timid, and slave property above all. It is not right to disturb the quietude of the owner—to harrass him with groundless apprehensions. It is a public evil to disturb a whole community. It creates a general uneasiness, generates animosities, deranges business, and often leads to hasty and improvident legislation. I have seen no danger to the slave property of any state in this Union by the action of congress, and cannot contribute to alarm the country by engaging in discussions which assert or imply danger."

The distinguished statesman added as a further reason for his not engaging in the slavery controversy, his conviction that the name of democracy would thus be brought into disrepute abroad, and that the wrangle over slavery would in general leave a bad taste for republics.⁹⁴

This utterance, it may well be imagined, aroused a storm of indignation in the hosts of the proslavery party, and plans were laid forthwith to supplant Mr. Benton in the senate, which was done in 1850 by the election of H. S. Geyer in his stead. His return as a representative in 1853, however, provoked further opposition, which continued throughout the Kansas excitement. Benton on more than one occasion declared himself opposed to abolition in Missouri, and emphasized the fact that his policy was to keep all slavery agitation out of the state which he represented.⁹⁵

Thus it came about that every move which Benton made in Missouri was bitterly assailed by a faction made up largely of the uncompromising proslavery forces. When Representative John G. Miller, of Missouri, introduced a bill in congress for the organization of Nebraska, the mere rumor that Benton was joint author of the bill was sufficient to enlist their active and unyielding opposition, although the bill provided for squatter sovereignty. Benton's only connection was the addition of two amendments, the one securing to settlers the right of preëmption and the other providing for an appropriation for a wagon road to Oregon.⁹⁶

As explained elsewhere in this work, Benton was regarded everywhere as the chief protagonist of the Pacific railroad, but his claim to this distinction was subjected to serious challenge by the Atchison faction. "Of all the humbugs the old sinner has ever mounted," wrote Atchison, "of all the lame, blind, wind-broken and spavined hobbies the old villain ever bestrode, he has now mounted the most shabby; his sitting astraddle of the big gun when it bursted was nothing to it."⁹⁷ Benton's criticism of Atchison was that the latter

94. Speech delivered at the capitol at Jefferson City, May 26, 1849, p. 15.

95. Letter to Gales and Seaton, February 23, 1856, in *Boonville Weekly Observer*, April 5, 1856. Walker, the filibuster, felt the same aversion to the agitation of the slavery issue. He wrote (August 12, 1864): "The true friends of the South are those who repudiate the ideas and acts of the South Carolina school and who believe the true policy of the slave states is conservative and not aggressive. All agitation of slavery, whether North or South, only tends to fan the flame of abolitionism and make that formidable which would otherwise be contemptible." *Scroggs*, p. 69.

96. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, April 22, 1854.

97. Letter of Atchison to Judge Samuel Treat, dated May 29, 1853, in Reynolds' Papers, Jefferson Memorial Library, St. Louis.

opposed the Pacific railroad, but actively interested himself in behalf of roads either favorable to the South or entirely outside the United States. The *Washington Union*, on the other hand, pointed out that Benton himself, in a speech made in December, 1848, advocated that six million dollars be given to aid a road in Panama.⁹⁸ Another critic, commenting on Benton's policies, objected to his being considered so great a friend of the railroad project, since he is represented as referring to the directors through his organ, the *Missouri Democrat*, as "debauched wretches"; but he demanded of the directors a \$15,000 contribution for Fremont's Mariposa expedition. "The fact is that in this attempt to represent Mr. Benton as the champion of railroads in our state, the thing has been run into the ground, as much so as when he told us that Europe as well as America were holding their breath in anxiety over the chances of his election."⁹⁹

The Benton party, on the other hand, give us quite another version of the story. Benton himself felt the unqualified opposition of the whole Pierce administration, which was ever ready, to use Benton's own words, to spend money "making expeditions to the frozen North, to the barren sands South, and to send West Pointers on the central road to condemn it."¹⁰⁰ As before suggested, the impression was strong in parts of Missouri, and since that time has gained favor, that the whole slavery agitation in that state was fomented for the express purpose of weakening Benton's influence and thus defeating the project of the Central route to the Pacific.¹⁰¹

Much of the relation of Missouri to the Kansas struggle is bound up with the political fortunes of David R. Atchison. That senator, defeated for re-election, left the senate, of which he was president *pro tempore*, on December 4, 1854, and returned to Missouri, where, from his home in Platte county, he entered into the Kansas controversy with a vengeance.¹⁰² There are diverse statements regarding his motives, but the one outstanding reason for his intense proslavery activity seems to have been his desire to cling to senatorial honor.¹⁰³

There seems to be no doubt that Atchison depended upon his connection with the Kansas-Nebraska bill to curry favor with the Missourians in order to retain public office. He was insistent in his claim to have aided the proslavery party in its efforts to take Kansas. In a speech delivered in Atchison, Kan., he said, among other things, that "he was entirely devoted to the interest of the South, and that he would sacrifice everything but his hope in heaven to advance her welfare. He thought the Missouri Compromise ought to be repealed—he had pledged himself in his public addresses to vote for no territorial organization that would not virtually annul it—and with this feeling in his heart he desired to be chairman of the senate committee on territories when a bill was to be introduced. With this object in view he had

98. Quoted in *Missouri Republican*, July 11, 1854. See, also, *Jefferson Inquirer*, May 27, 1854, which represents Atchison as favoring three roads to oppose the Central.

99. *Missouri Republican*, August 1, 1856.

100. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, July 4, 1856.

101. *Daily Jefferson Inquirer*, May 31, 1856; *Parkville Luminary*, quoted in *Boonville Weekly Observer*, June 10, 1854.

102. Atchison was reported to be contemplating moving to Kansas in the spring of 1856, bringing with him his slaves and some 200 of his neighbors.—*Squatter Sovereign*, in *Missouri Statesman*, February 8, 1856.

103. Senator Cambreling said there would not have been half the trouble about Kansas but for Atchison's struggle to get back into the senate.—*National Antislavery Standard*, February 23, 1856.

a private interview with Mr. Douglas and informed him of what he desired—the introduction of a bill for Nebraska like what he had promised to vote for, and that he would like to be chairman of the committee on territories in order to introduce such a measure, and if he could get that position he would immediately resign as president *pro tem.* of the senate. Judge Douglas requested twenty-four hours to consider the matter, and said if at the expiration of that time he could not introduce such a bill as he (Mr. Atchison) proposed, which would at the same time accord with his own sense of right and justice to the South, he would resign as chairman of the territorial committee in Democratic caucus and exert his influence to get him (Mr. Atchison) appointed. At the expiration of the given time Senator Douglas signified his intention to report such a bill as had been spoken of.”¹⁰⁴

Two years later Atchison further expanded on his part in opening Kansas to the South. Said he:

“I was a prominent agent in repealing the Missouri Compromise and opening the territory for settlement. The abolition orators drummed up their forces and whistled them on the cars and whistled them off again at Kansas City; some of them had ‘Kansas and Liberty’ on their caps. I saw this with my own eyes. These men came with the avowed purpose of driving or expelling you from the territory. What did I advise you to do? Why, to meet them at their own game. When the first election came off I told you to go over and vote. You did so, and beat them. Well, what next? Why, an election of members to the legislature to organize the territory must be held. What did I advise you to do then? Why, meet them on their own ground and at their own game again; and cold and inclement as the weather was, I went over with a company of men. The abolitionists of the North said, and published it abroad, that Atchison *was there with the bowie knives, and, by G—, it was true. I never did go into that territory, I never intend to go into that territory, without being prepared for all such kinds of cattle.* They have held an election on the 15th of last month and they intend to put the machinery of a state in motion on the 4th of March. Now, you are entitled to my advice, and you shall have it. I say, prepare yourselves. Go over there. Send your young men, and if they attempt to drive you out, damn them, drive them out. Fifty of you with your shotguns are worth 250 of them with their Sharps rifles. Get ready, arm yourselves, for if they abolitionize Kansas you lose \$100,000,000 of your property. I am satisfied I can justify every act of yours before God and a jury.”¹⁰⁵

It was openly charged that Atchison prepared the amendment which was called after Clayton of Delaware, and further that it was done for the purpose of striking at Benton, whose chief strength in Missouri lay with the Germans of St. Louis. Benton would be compelled to vote for the amendment or suffer political martyrdom. If he accepted it the Germans would desert him, and if he voted against the Kansas-Nebraska bill the state of Missouri would repudiate him. This scheme was denominated “stabbing the Germans in Missouri under the fifth rib in order to get at the vitals of Old Bullion.”¹⁰⁶ This information was used to good effect to appeal to the Germans in Missouri to drop Atchison. Mr. Atchison spoke in behalf of the amendment when it was under discussion. He said in part:

“The objection I have is that foreigners, men who are not citizens, will mold and form the institutions of these territories under the provision of the bill

104. This speech was probably delivered on September 21, 1854. See *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, November 17, 1854; *Missouri Republican*, October 3, 1854.

105. Holloway, p. 278, speech delivered at Platte City, on February 4, 1856.

106. *Jefferson Inquirer*, March 18, 1854; *Missouri Republican*, March 6, 1854.

as it stands, unless we concur in the amendment. The first legislature may decide the question of slavery forever in these territories, and decide as to the right of the people of one-half of the states in this Union to go there or not. It is because they have the right of suffrage and the right to hold office in these territories when their institutions are first formed and first molded that constitutes my chief and principal objection."

He agreed, however, if the bill were so amended that in the year 1857 or 1858 persons who had declared their intentions to become citizens might exercise the right of suffrage and hold office, he would waive his objection.¹⁰⁷ In the senate, on the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Mr. Atchison, speaking of alien suffrage in the territory, said:

"The foreigners are not the pioneers; they are not the first to enter the territories of the United States; they are not the first to encounter the perils, the toils and the dangers of settling a new territory. They follow in the footsteps of the pioneers and inhabit the cities and the villages. They are not generally the agricultural portion of the community. The great mass of them are traders, mechanics, paupers and peddlers."¹⁰⁸

These remarks brought down upon the speaker a great storm of denunciation from St. Louis in particular, and from many liberal-minded editors. "He now stands recorded," said the *Missouri Democrat*, "as the only Democratic senator who has dared to cast a stigma upon our foreign-born population, and who has publicly aimed a deadly blow at their rights and their interests." This is all the more scandalous because Atchison had previously, as was pointed out, concurred in bills granting suffrage to peons, half-breeds, and the polygamists of Salt Lake, when he sustained the territorial acts of 1850.¹⁰⁹

In spite of his protestations of distinguished services in behalf of the South and of the state of Missouri, however, it is plain that his prestige had suffered an eclipse. More and more it was evident that he was not the man to lead Missouri in the path of progress. "We hope," said one paper, "that his political career as a senator from Missouri is closed. The State will be much better off with a good Whig senator . . . Missouri never received anything at the hands of congress until she got a Whig senator and some Whig members in the lower house."¹¹⁰ Atchison was recognized as the representative of but one interest, and that an interest which was rapidly becoming a snare and a delusion, namely, slavery. "Apart from Atchison's views upon the slavery question, the Kansas-Nebraska act, and the sovereignty of the territories, we have no sympathies in common with him and must oppose him now, as we have ever done, as wholly unfit to serve Missouri either in national councils or elsewhere. He is not only a very moderate man in ability, but far below the standard of public men generally. In the senate of the United States he would be a mere cipher, nor could he bear with him in that position the moral forces of his constituency, for the simple reason that he would be regarded as an extremist."¹¹¹ The Whigs were warned against allowing themselves to be fused with the Democrats in electing Atchison again to the senate on the mistaken assumption that he was sounder on the

107. *Jefferson Inquirer*, April 15, 1854.

108. *Jefferson Inquirer*, June 17, 1854. The June 3 issue of this paper said that Atchison had always opposed the organization of Kansas because it would deprive Missouri of her frontier and her Indian trade.

109. *Jefferson Inquirer*, March 25, 1854.

110. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, March 2, 1855.

111. *Lexington Express*, quoted in *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, July 6, 1855.

slavery issue than was Doniphan and the other candidates, and on the further assumption that no Whig could do justice to the South.¹¹²

On July 2, 1855, a monster meeting was held in Platte City, the purpose of which was to get Atchison recommended to the next legislature for election as senator. But it chanced that several Doniphan men were present. A set of resolutions was introduced, in one of which was a blank for the name of the person to be recommended to the legislature. A preconceived plan had been made, whereby Whigs and Democrats would at the proper juncture fuse and declare for Atchison. When the critical moment came, however, a Doniphan delegate arose and moved the insertion of Doniphan's name. The political wirepullers were now afraid to put the question, fearing a rupture in the convention, and arose explaining that they had changed their minds about the advisability of instructing the people's representatives.¹¹³

In the legislature the feeling against Atchison was very strong. After a strong speech in his behalf made by Mr. Carr, of Pike county, Frank P. Blair began a philippic against the chief apostle of slavery in Missouri. In his speech Mr. Blair plainly contended that the speedy opening up of Kansas was to be compassed only by the defeat of Atchison. "I take it for granted," said he, "that the population of Kansas will increase with greater rapidity as a free state than as a slave state, because our whole history as a nation shows that the free states have outstripped the slave states in point of population. To prove and illustrate this proposition I refer to the fact that at the formation of our constitution the state of Virginia was the most populous state in the Union; but New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio have outstripped her in the race, and that which makes this more pointed is the fact that Ohio was then a wilderness without sufficient population to permit the organization of a territorial government. I may also cite the examples of Arkansas and Michigan, which were admitted into the Union at the same time and with equal population. Michigan now has twice the population of Arkansas and has four representatives on the floor of the congress, while Arkansas has but two. Iowa and Florida, twin sisters, born into the Union in the same hour, might also be cited. Iowa has two representatives in congress and Florida but one . . . Statistics show that there have been constructed three miles of railroad in the free states for every one in the slave states of this Union."¹¹⁴ James S. Rollins also spoke in opposition to Atchison (February 2, 1855), asking what claim Atchison had upon the Whig party of Missouri. After showing up several unpopular measures which he had espoused, Rollins proceeded to prove that Atchison was the exponent of but one issue—slavery—while Doniphan could be depended on to represent this and all others as well.¹¹⁵

Atchison was defeated in the election and thus became a political derelict. The champion of slavery, he had come to see that in Missouri slavery was already decadent. "It is this foreshadowing of the fate of slavery in Missouri," said a correspondent in an eastern paper, "which has so alarmed and

112. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, July 6, 1855.

113. *St. Louis Evening News*, July 14, 1855.

114. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, February 6, 1855; *St. Louis Evening News*, October 12, 1854. The *New Orleans Picayune* was disposed to defend the South as a railroad builder. It maintained that in 1850 Georgia had more miles of railroad in its limits than any other state in the Union. In 1855 it had thirteen railroads.—*New Orleans Picayune*, May 25, 1855.

115. *Missouri Republican*, March 10, 1855.

agitated the Atchisonites in that state."¹¹⁶ Another correspondent to the same paper said:

"David R. Atchison in his own state is politically dead. In crushing his great rival (Benton) he committed involuntary suicide. This has been evident for some time; it became morally certain on his failure to secure a re-election to the United States senate. Skilled as he is in the tactics of the times, he is not the man tamely to endure defeat. To be banished from the senate would be to fill the same grave with Colonel Benton. He retained a band of desperate and unscrupulous adherents whose fortunes were dependent upon his own, and in spite of his intemperate habits he still possesses much of his original vigor and energy. A single chance was left, and that chance was Kansas. With the remains of his popularity and talent, his control of a large portion of the newspapers of the state and the machinery of his party, and the great advantage of proximity to his proposed field of labor, it seemed to him not impossible to convert the new territory into a slave state and make it a ladder by which to climb again to senatorial dignity and power. This was the germ of the conspiracy; and in the propaganda which gives Kansas to slavery Atchison is to be her first United States senator."¹¹⁷

The Atchison faction accordingly resorted to a system of intimidation calculated to deter northern men from entering the territory, and rushed large numbers of Missourians over the border to influence the elections. It was this procedure which caused thoughtful Missourians to diagnose the situation and to foster northern emigration in their effort to rebuke Atchison, much to the chagrin of the South and to the utter discredit of Atchison and his entire following. The effects of ruffianism on the border will be discussed later. Meanwhile we shall speak of Atchison's labors in behalf of southern emigration to Kansas.

His appeals to the South to rescue Kansas from the abolitionists were numerous and fervid. I quote a fair sample, written shortly after the Wakarusa war, which was closed partly because Atchison chose to act the part of peacemaker, a rôle which he declared he would never again play. Said he:

"We are in a constant state of excitement here (Platte City). The 'border ruffians' have access to my rooms day and night. The very air is full of rumors. We wish to keep ourselves right before the world, and we are provoked and aggravated beyond sufferance. Our persons and property are not for a moment safe, and yet we are forced by the respect we owe our friends elsewhere, by the respect for the cause in which we are engaged, to forbear. This state of things cannot last. You are authorized to publish the whole or part of what I have written. But if Georgia intends to do anything, or can do anything for us, let it be done speedily. Let your young men come forth to Missouri and Kansas. Let them come well armed, with money enough to support them for twelve months, and determined to see this thing out. One hundred true men would be an acquisition; the more the better. I do not see how we are to avoid civil war; come it will. Twelve months will not elapse before war—civil war of the fiercest kind—will be upon us. We are arming and preparing for it. Indeed, we of the border counties are prepared. We must have the support of the South. We are fighting the battles of the South. Our institutions are at stake. You far southern men are now out of the nave of the war; but if we fail it will reach your doors, perhaps your hearths. We want men—armed men. We want money—not for ourselves, but to support our friends when they come from a distance. I have now in this house two gallant young men from Charleston, S. C. They are citizens of Kansas and will remain so until her destiny is fixed. Let your young men

116. *New York Tribune*, May 16, 1855.

117. Quoted from the May 8, 1855, issue, found in Sherman's Scrap Book, p. 5.

come in squads as fast as they can be raised, well armed. We want none but true men."¹¹⁸

Under Atchison's lead, the Law and Order party, through a committee composed of Atchison, W. H. Russell, Joseph C. Anderson, A. G. Boone, B. F. Stringfellow and Jefferson Buford, issued a stirring appeal to the entire South, setting forth the details of the Kansas troubles and ending with a plea for men and money. It was urged that agents be appointed in the South whose sole business should be to solicit aid for the South in Kansas. Nominations of tried and true men were called for. All funds were to be sent to A. G. Boone, at Westport, Mo.¹¹⁹

About the time of the coming of Lane's party to the territory a report gained currency in Missouri that the Kansas troubles were all settled. The Law and Order party was quick to refute this allegation, which according to its opinion emanated from two classes of men, the first of whom wished some excuse for not assisting their friends in Kansas, and the second of whom were too sordid to part with their money. Lane's coming to Kansas, therefore, afforded the basis of an appeal for aid from the South. At that time there were in the forces of the Law and Order party in Kansas about 1,000 men.¹²⁰

In 1857 Atchison's solicitation of the South began to suffer discouraging consequences. By midsummer there was a very noticeable decline in enthusiasm, while Atchison began to think that the North would raise ten dollars where the South would raise one.¹²¹ In the *Charleston Mercury* of August 11, 1856, he said:

"I see that not even thunder and lightning will arouse the South. I doubt whether an earthquake, a moral and political earthquake, shaking the institution of slavery to the earth and bringing ruin upon the whole South would arouse her to action. In a word, my only hopes now for Kansas are in the border counties of Missouri; and, by the by, any one of the ten counties I could mention have expended more money than any other one state of the whole South in this cause."¹²²

The tone of the letter leads one to conclude that the South had found a pretext for its refusal to give in affecting to believe that the money was to be applied to Atchison's personal use.¹²³ In a letter written to Col. Alpheus Baker and dated July 20, 1857, he said:

"At times I have almost come to the conclusion to curse Kansas and quit the cause of the South. It is hard for a man to devote all his time and energies and money to a cause and to receive nothing but abuse and slander in return from those who should sustain and coöperate with him; and to be the object of suspicion, even to good men, is worse than all. Yet, in defiance of all this, I will not abandon our cause so long as there is the shadow of a chance for success, and this is the determination of most of our friends in Kansas and Missouri. Our cause is not a hopeless one. We always have had, up to the first of March last, a majority of friends in Kansas, and I believe we still have. I will give you my reasons for still thinking so: The registered voters amount to near 10,000, and this registry was made last winter and spring, and at least nine-tenths of those voters are proslavery men, for the abolitionists refused, as a general thing, to register their names, and the reason for the first refusal

118. Holloway, pp. 281, 282. This was published in many southern newspapers.

119. *Missouri Republican*, July 11, 1856.

120. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, September 2, 1856; Wilder's "Annals," August 29, 1856.

121. *Columbia (S. C.) Times*, in Wilder's "Annals," June 12, 1857.

122. *Kansas Chieftain*, September 17, 1857.

123. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, August 18, 1857.

was, in my opinion, that they knew they were in a small minority. It was not to preserve their consistency, for the abolitionists are consistent in nothing except villainy. Now if our delegates to the convention shall refer the constitution to the registered voters for ratification or rejection, then we will ratify the constitution. If it is to be referred, as Governor Walker says, to all the people who shall be in the territory on the day of voting, then we must and will have a big majority on that day. If the South would make but one speedy and united effort, all would be safe. If Walker's plans, however, prevail, it will give us infinite trouble, but it will give the abolitionists more. Walker has done us and our cause more injury than Hale, Chase or any other abolitionist could have done, yet, I repeat, I do not despair. *One more effort!* It is the last we can make, and we will succeed. I am happy to find that Walker is fully understood at the South. A great many southern men have gone to Kansas this summer, and many more will go from this region (Clinton county). We do not give it up. I regret that I cannot devote my whole time to our Kansas affairs in this crisis. Now is the time for the South to act."¹²⁴

A letter which Atchison wrote (June 12, 1857) to Mayor J. D. Treadwell, of Columbia, S. C., turned out to be a constant source of embarrassment in the South. Among other things he remarked in the letter:

"I cannot tell what will be the result in Kansas. Our friends in the Southern states are very apathetic, and some of our friends who have heretofore strained every nerve, spent their money and their time, are beginning to despair, and others are turning their attention to speculation and money-making. I therefore suggest that no more money be raised in South Carolina. The people of that state have been liberal above all others of the Southern states. Yet I fear the North has and will raise and expend in Kansas to effect their unholy purposes ten dollars to where we can raise one. Yet I do not despair."¹²⁵

This letter seemed to cast discredit upon Alpheus Baker, a Kansas agent and money raiser who had canvassed many of the Southern states. It also contained the rather damaging thought that South Carolina had done more than her share in carrying the burden of the South. In a very short time the unwholesome effect of this letter became known to Atchison, and he hastened to issue a statement in which he explained that South Carolina had done her duty and more only with reference to what other Southern states had done. Money, and plenty of it, was still needed.¹²⁶

The determination of Atchison and his friends to terrorize the border so as to eliminate northern emigration to Kansas¹²⁷ in order to give the South a chance to people the territory was destined to reap a bitter fruitage. There was a reaction most unfortunate for the state of Missouri. Her plight is thus described at length by the *St. Louis Intelligencer*:

"The emigration to Kansas has been entirely checked. Emigrants from the Northern or free states have ceased to go to Kansas because they can find good roads elsewhere not cursed by mob law nor ruled by nonresident bullies.¹²⁸ Emigrants from the Southern states do not go to Kansas because they will not put their slave property in peril by taking it to a territory where there is a strong free-soil element, threatening the securing of the slaves. . . . Alabama and Georgia may hold public meetings and resolve to sustain the

124. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, August 18, 1857; *Missouri Democrat*, August 18, 1857.

125. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, July 14, 1857; *Missouri Republican*, July 12, 1857.

126. *Spirit of the South*, quoted in *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, September 25, 1857.

127. Atchison himself denied that any such policy was favored by the majority of the better class of Missourians. He asserted that the leading men in Kansas and in Westport assured him of this fact.—Webb, I, p. 105.

128. The *National Intelligencer* of July 12, 1856, says that Colonel Sumner's turning back of some southern companies led to a plan of retaliation.

slaveholders in Missouri in making Kansas a slave state; but their resolutions comprise all their aid—which is not ‘material’ enough for the crisis. When slaveholders of Alabama and Georgia emigrate they go to Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas. They do not come with their slaves to Missouri or Kansas. Call they that backing their friends? . . . Matters are gloomy enough in western Missouri. Business is stagnant, money is exceedingly scarce and a panic pervades the people. The 50,000 emigrants that ought this season to have poured into Kansas are not there. The prairie and sod remains unbroken. . . . Western Missouri towns are not thronged with settlers buying their outfits and their equipments of husbandry. The farmers find no market for their horses, mules, oxen and cows. There is not a new and large trade springing up in Kansas. The much-vaunted Kansas towns lie neglected—a mockery to their owners and a laughingstock for all men. . . . In May last the editor of the *Intelligencer* was in Kentucky and he met numerous of the most respectable farmers of the state, such as form a large portion of the population of Missouri, who inquired earnestly about the condition of things in Kansas and western Missouri. They spoke of the intention they had of removing to Kansas or western Missouri, but said that they had abandoned it utterly for the reason that they would never think of taking their families to a region where law was set aside, presses mobbed, and men driven from the country by irresponsible and unknown bands of regulators. Between these fires Missouri is leading on her languid existence. St. Louis is retarded in a most woeful way. Our railroads creep at a snail’s pace. We build ten miles while other western states build one hundred. In every department we feel the paralysis. . . . These are the bitter fruits of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—a wicked and wrongful deed that will yet bring a hell of bitter self-reproaches to its authors. Missouri did not demand that repeal. The South never asked it. Atchison solicited it—and in a moment of political insanity the South consented to the wrong and made it her own. This was the suicide of slavery.”¹²⁹

Opposition to this scheme of intimidation centered in the city of St. Louis. The *Daily Missouri Democrat* styled the whole Atchison propaganda a “new Know-Nothingism” and laid at its door a long list of grievances felt by the state of Missouri and by St. Louis in particular. Said the *Democrat*:

“Upon us in St. Louis the operation of this novel phase of ‘Know-Nothingism,’ like its original, has resulted in an extent of commercial injury and paralysis of which we certainly are not aware. It has prevented in no inconsiderable degree immigration to Kansas, and hence the building up on our borders of a flourishing young state whose natural dependence in all commercial respects would be upon St. Louis. It has diverted the stream of immigration, which is continually taking place, to another thoroughfare—Iowa—which is now largely reaping the benefits of the transit of settlers in Kansas from the North and East, and is securing for her own chief cities, and ultimately for Chicago, the future trade of that territory by creating a bad feeling. And what have we gained in return by the desperate course of Atchison and his brigands? . . . We ask the steamboatmen who ply upon the great Missouri river if their freight and passenger trade would not have been doubled last season but for the violence of this conspiracy, deterring emigrants from going to Kansas and driving others around by the Iowa route. And what has been the loss to the merchants of St. Louis who would have furnished the greater part of the outfit to the emigrants and who would now have supplied them with goods for their trade on their arrival in Kansas? And what have the farmers in the border counties and throughout the state of Missouri lost who would have supplied these emigrants with provisions for the first year, and perhaps for the succeeding years? They, like

129. Quoted also in *New York Times*, August 30, 1855; *Herald of Freedom*, October 6, 1855; *Kansas Free State*, September 24, 1855. The *St. Louis Evening News* sought to minimize the havoc wrought by the Kansas border troubles, maintaining that St. Louis was prospering. See issue of June 14, 1856.

the other interests, have lost the profits upon such supplies to all those emigrants who have been deterred from going to Kansas on account of Atchison's violence. And the slaveholders of the border counties themselves have to lament and will on some future day pay the penalty for the outrages committed by this Atchison Know-Nothingism which has converted men who would otherwise have been peaceful and good neighbors to them, like the people of Iowa, into the most vindictive and implacable enemies to them and to the institution of slavery. . . . But as bad as is this schedule of injuries inflicted on the state of Missouri, it is not all or the worst injuries which have been inflicted by the same men. They have aroused against the state of Missouri the especial animosity of one-half the people of this Union. The fair fame of our state has been sullied and the money credit in the great financial markets of the country has been tarnished by the assaults of influential journals to such a degree as seriously to retard and embarrass our great works of internal improvement. Immediately prior to this outbreak and the formation of this organization, the bonds of the state of Missouri sold for \$105, \$106 and \$107 upon the hundred—higher than those of any other state in the Union except Kentucky. They have since sunk down to 85 cents on the dollar. The difference in the bonds already sold at this reduced rate in order to carry forward our railroad system is more than enough to buy all the Negroes owned by all the nullifiers in the state of Missouri."¹³⁰

B. Gratz Brown, in a speech delivered in the Missouri house of representatives in 1857, estimated that one single foray into Kansas by the Missourians, or rather one act of violence on the Missouri river, injured Missouri to the extent of over \$150,000, in the shape of discouragement offered to emigrants bound for Kansas.

This loss of public confidence in the state of Missouri greatly irritated the business interests of the state. "Confidence in us," said the *Missouri Democrat*, "has been greatly shaken among foreign as well as domestic capitalists to a degree which would be scarcely credited by such as have not found it to their interest to pay particular attention to the subject. Our bonds have gone down to 86½, with the prospect of a still further depression should the causes now operating to sink them continue to exert their bad influence. . . . I believe, however, that with the advent of Colonel Benton to the gubernatorial chair of Missouri there would succeed such a restoration of confidence in us among capitalists abroad that our bonds would in a short time come up to par. His influence would be to allay all existing causes of domestic excitement."¹³¹

The wrath of even some of the slaveholding class was aroused by the strenuous efforts of Atchison to impose upon the territory by force a system already hateful to Missouri, and that too by methods which were bound to react unfavorably upon that state. One of these slaveholders, writing from western Missouri, said:

"Not one voter in thirty throughout the state of Missouri owns even the sore shin of a Negro. Some do own, have an interest—a reversionary interest—of one-eighth part of an old gray-headed Negro man. Now, is it not plain to the eyes of the most obtuse understanding that Davy Atchison and Stringfellow and such like have done more to open the eyes of slaves to their condition and their rights (if they have any) and render them unhappy, untractable, disobedient and worthless, than all that has ever been said or done or that can be said or done by all the abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic

130. *Missouri Democrat*, December 28, 1855; *Weekly Jefferson Inquirer*, March 29, 1856.

131. July 9, 1856.

put together? These blind men have injured slave property 100 per cent. They have opened the eyes of hundreds and of thousands of Missourians who own no slaves, and hundreds and thousands who do own them, to the fact that slaveholders are a very small minority in this great state, and should it ever come to the test—for most assuredly it will come—you will find two-thirds of the voters going one way and one-third or less going the other.”¹³²

The *Philadelphia Gazette* placed great confidence in the statement of a southerner in the *Mobile Daily News* to the effect that many of the large and wealthy planters of northern Missouri were selling out their property and moving further south, fearing lest they might lose what slaves they had. Their removal only tended to increase the power of the free-state element in the localities which they left.¹³³

The charge of Know-Nothingism lodged against Atchison was believed at least in some quarters. The *Missouri Democrat* was especially insistent upon its truth, or rather upon the truth of the statement that he had been in that order. “Several gentlemen in Weston have been heard to say that General Atchison told them that he did join the K. N.’s, and that he did so for the express purpose of killing old Benton, and that as soon as he had accomplished this object, and as the K. N.’s of the North had become free-soilers and abolitionists, he had left the order.”¹³⁴ The accusation received some point when at a political meeting held in Platte City, Mo., on March 3, 1856, James Moss, a Know-Nothing candidate, made a speech which elicited from Atchison, who happened to be present, the remark, “Jim, I indorse all you have said.” This remark created consternation in the Democratic ranks, whereat Mr. Atchison arose and made a speech denying the imputation of Know-Nothingism and taking occasion to flay the newspapers which were opposing him. He avowed that he had succeeded in killing Benton, but was forced to admit that in so doing he had practically accomplished his own political ruin.¹³⁵

Border-ruffianism, a name which after a time ceased to be considered opprobrious in Missouri, nevertheless was an expensive project for the state. The *Missouri Democrat* made the statement that one of the “wars” cost Missouri \$2,500,000. The demands of the leaders of military companies were more imperious and more dangerous to refuse than those of any despot in Europe. Merchants were compelled to advance gratis goods to supply the needs of the crusade against Kansas. If one refused he was forthwith stigmatized as an abolitionist and therefore became a marked man. Indeed, so bad did this menace to business become that a leading merchant of Independence said he could not have stayed in business six months longer if the invasions had continued.¹³⁶ Candidates for offices fared no better. Any unsympathetic remark might be construed to one’s undoing. Gen. George R. Smith attributed his failure of election to congress in 1856 to his views on the Kansas question.¹³⁷

The proslavery policy of intimidation on the border, as has already been suggested, stirred up the thinking people of Missouri to consider what ought to be their attitude toward the settlement of the territory on their west. While the various parties and classes of the state were finding themselves in this

132. *Herald of Freedom*, February 16, 1856.

133. *Philadelphia Gazette*, November 30, 1855.

134. Quoted in *Buffalo Daily Republic*, February 21, 1856, in Webb, IX, p. 177.

135. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, March 21, 1856.

136. *Missouri Democrat*, quoted in *National Antislavery Standard*, September 19, 1857.

137. Harding, “Life of George R. Smith,” p. 233.

matter it is noteworthy that the great city of St. Louis took from the first a firm free-state attitude. Two papers of that city were exponents of the free-state and proslavery sides, respectively, the *Daily Missouri Democrat* favoring the North and free-state policies, and the *Missouri Republican* espousing the cause of the South. Soon after the beginning of the race of the two sections for the new territory the *Democrat* said:

"The settlement of Kansas is chiefly important to our city and state in two points of view: first, the position of the territory will make it dependent upon St. Louis as a market to supply its wants, and as an outlet for the produce which will spring from its exuberant soil under the hand of cultivation. This makes its early settlement of vast importance to our city, especially at this moment when apprehensions are felt that we shall lose the trade of the upper Mississippi with the lakes by railroad. Will it conduce to the speedy settlement of Kansas to make it a slave state? The facts prove that the population of the nonslaveholding states increases with greater rapidity than the slaveholding states—in a ratio of two to one. It is clear, therefore, in this aspect of the case, that it is not to our interest to assist in making Kansas a slave state. . . . Even if the population of Kansas should increase as rapidly as a slave state as it would as a free state—which is contrary to all experience—it would still affect it injuriously, because the commerce of a free state is more valuable than that of a slave state of the same amount of population, because the wants of the slaves to be supplied by commerce are neither so great nor of such valuable articles as the wants of the same number of white persons." 138

Equally emphatic is the opinion of the correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*:

"Our chief city is the appropriate mart for that vast country westward. . . . Imagine the difference between the trade of Kansas free, with numerous white population, with villages, schools, churches, small farms, and railroads, and Kansas slave, a black population in shanties, consuming a few yards of jeans, a straw hat, and one pair of shoes per annum, widely scattered neighbors, no schoolhouse except in town, parishes thirty miles square, and no railroads but by the exertion of the government. . . . The prosperity of Missouri is not identified with slavery, and it is against nature to make it so." 139

To quote again the *Missouri Democrat*:

"Missouri will best consult her interest by assisting in making Kansas a free state. But, says the *Republican*, the abolitionists will settle in Kansas and run off with our slaves. Has our state no interest except in her slaves? Must every interest in our state be stricken down in favor of that single interest? How does the income from the slaves compare with the profits of our trade with the people of that state? And even if a half dozen of slaves should escape every year through the instrumentality of the abolitionists in Kansas, how would their value compare with the increased profits of our trade and the speedy extension of the Pacific railroad, which would be insured by Kansas becoming a free state." 140

Northern papers found it to their advantage to urge upon the Missouri metropolis an attitude favorable to making Kansas a free state. The paramount importance of Kansas is set forth thus by the *Salem Gazette*:

138. Issue of October 4, 1854. Blair, Brown *et al.*, at a meeting of St. Louis Democrats held on January 9, 1854, declared that all who opposed the admission of Kansas, on whatever pretext, were hostile to the best interests of Missouri.—*Missouri Republican*, June 21, 1854.

139. Issue of December 22, 1854.

140. Webb, I, p. 170.

"The interests of Missouri are more deeply involved in having Kansas a free state than are those of any other portion of the Union excepting Kansas itself. No sooner will the question be settled in favor of making freedom the law of Kansas than northern capital will flow in for the purpose of making railroads as well as other improvements, and the iron horse will be pacing onward toward the Rocky Mountains. The whole state of Missouri will feel the impulse of its progress, and St. Louis will be placed beyond question at the head of all western cities. But if Kansas should become a slave state there would be no important railroads there for at least one generation; the advantage which St. Louis would derive from its rapid development would be lost, and Chicago would in ten or twenty years cast it completely into the shade." ¹⁴¹

On the night of September 21, 1855, Senator Douglas spoke in St. Louis. He was vehement in his denunciation of the Know-Nothings. A voice from the crowd interrupted his remarks with the question, "Would it be best for St. Louis that Kansas should be a free or a slave state?" After much confusion caused by the question, Mr. Douglas replied: "I answer that the pecuniary interest of St. Louis has nothing whatever to do with the question of freedom or slavery in Kansas." ¹⁴²

St. Louis was able, to a great extent, to discern her best interests in the great struggle which convulsed the state of Missouri. On July 12, 1855, there was to be a state proslavery convention at Lexington, Mo., and St. Louis was asked to send delegates. The meeting for the election of delegates was appointed at the courthouse. Few came, however. "Some half dozen persons took seats on the courthouse steps and talked about railroads and other subjects." The *Missouri Republican* of the next day said: "So far as the city is concerned and the county of St. Louis, it may be taken for granted that they do not see the necessity for this convention and do not respond to the call." ¹⁴³ It was thus seen that a very influential part of Missouri was by interest either hostile or lukewarm in the whole Kansas program of the proslavery party.

Connected very closely with the interest of St. Louis in the speedy settlement of Kansas territory was her desire for the completion of the great Central Pacific route, with herself as the eastern terminus. The *Missouri Democrat* was constantly holding the vision of this project before its readers.

"The second great object of interest to the people of this state and city involved in the early settlement of Kansas, and upon which the question of its becoming a slave or free state bears directly," said that organ, "is in regard to the early completion of the great Central Pacific railroad from St. Louis to San Francisco. The settlement of Kansas under the organized government will certainly contribute to the extension of this great road to the west of the Missouri. Will its completion be hastened or delayed by making Kansas a slave state? This is the question of moment to the state of Missouri. How do facts answer the question? Why, the facts assure us that the slave states do not begin to compare with the free states in the building of railroads. There are more miles of railroads built in one free state (New York) than in all the slave states put together. There is not a free state in the Union which has not more miles of railroad finished than any slave state of the same population." ¹⁴⁴

141. Issue of June 15, 1856. Eli Thayer said three-fourths of the merchants of St. Louis were aggressively favorable to Kansas as a free state.—Webb, II, p. 35.

It was estimated that five-sixths of the citizens of St. Louis favored a free-Kansas.—*Missouri Democrat*, in Webb, IV, p. 221.

142. *St. Louis Evening News*, September 22, 1855.

143. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, July 9, 1855.

144. Webb, I, p. 170.

On another occasion the *Democrat* said:

"We think every man of sense must be satisfied that if it is of any importance to the state of Missouri to have the Pacific railroad extended west of her boundaries that the object will be accomplished sooner by the formation of a free state in Kansas, and it is therefore the interest of Missouri to make Kansas free."¹⁴⁵

It was because of the manifest determination of St. Louis to secure the terminus of the Pacific railroad that that city became so bitter an opponent of David R. Atchison and all of his plans to southernize the new territory. During the balloting for senator in the state legislature in 1855, Frank P. Blair attacked Atchison in a vigorous speech, making a number of allegations regarding the unfaithfulness of the latter to the best interests of Missouri, chief of them being that of railroads. Said Mr. Blair:

"While Benton has been working to secure the Pacific railroad for the people of Missouri, Atchison has been working day and night to defeat it. In proof of this I point to the fact that he appointed the enemies of the Missouri route and excluded every friend of the route from the committee of the senate appointment. He went in person to the Secretary of the Interior to protest against the exploration of the Central route by Lieutenant Beale and to induce the Secretary to order him to California by the Isthmus route; and finally gave his vote to ratify the Gadsden treaty, by which \$10,000,000 was paid to secure the right of way for a rival road intended to delay and defeat the Missouri road."¹⁴⁶

Rollins of Missouri corroborated this statement of Blair's.¹⁴⁷ This clash between Atchison and the merchants of St. Louis was an effective damper on Missouri's aiding in any effective way the cause of the South in Kansas.

Until about 1855, in a large degree St. Louis relied upon her advantageous situation to secure for her merchants the trade of the interior, thinking that that trade must of necessity flow into her lap. For that reason there was little exertion on the part of her merchants to solicit trade. As a result, in 1855 her trade began to languish owing to the strenuous efforts of competitors. There was accordingly at that time a revival of the interest in railroads which had been experienced to some extent six years before.¹⁴⁸ Senator Benton had been the practically undisputed champion of the great Central route to the Pacific. During the debates on the Kansas-Nebraska bill especially, this subject in the practical bearings it would have on the settlement of Kansas came to the front. Mr. Benton's contention in discussing Mace's measure to repeal the clause in that bill which abolished the Compromise line was, in brief, that much excitement would be produced thereby; that the settlement of Kansas would be retarded, with the consequent postponement of the building of the Pacific road. The pressing need of the road would largely disappear when emigrants ceased to rush to Kansas.¹⁴⁹

The *Missouri Democrat* was the ever-active champion of St. Louis as the eastern terminus of the Central route.¹⁵⁰ In discussing a bill in congress in

145. Quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, January 20, 1855. See, also, *Herald of Freedom* editorial, May 5, 1855. The speedy settlement of Kansas was regarded as essential to the protection of emigrants on the way to California and Oregon.—*Lancaster (Pa.) Whig*, in *Herald of Freedom*, April 14, 1855.

146. Webb, II, p. 210.

147. Webb, III, p. 37.

148. *Boston Daily Traveler*, July 11, 1855, in Webb, IV, p. 210.

149. Webb, II, p. 82.

150. The *Missouri Republican* magnified Fremont's hardships in order to discourage the Central route.—*Jefferson Inquirer*, June 17, 1854.

It was pointed out by some that the Central route, had it been completed, would have prevented or quelled Mormon and Indian troubles.—*Missouri Democrat*, November 25, 1857.

the summer of 1854, which contemplated two routes, one to strike the Mississippi river between Memphis and New Orleans, and the other between Rock Island and St. Paul, that paper thus vented its indignation:

"Thus it is intended by a fusion between the doughfaces and the nullifiers to gain for each extreme section of the Union a sectional route, and between the two to defeat the Central railroad to the Pacific. Such are the first fruits of the Kansas-Nebraska strife, over which some persons in Missouri are pretending to rejoice so much—for it was that union between the nullifiers and doughfaces which made such a thing as two extreme sectional roads possible, and which united a strong opposition to the Central road upon the principles of the spoils—the Gadsden plunder, the steamship bounties, and the government patronage."¹⁵¹

The wrath of St. Louis against Atchison for his alleged hostility or at least lukewarmness toward the Central route was unbounded. It was believed that a systematic war was being waged upon Benton and others favorable to such a road and that a coalition between Douglas and the Memphis school of politicians was at work for the express purpose of assuring the completion of two roads and the consequent crushing of the Central.¹⁵² Atchison's vote to confirm the Gadsden treaty was most severely condemned, inasmuch as it contemplated the giving of ten millions of dollars for a right of way for a railroad outside the United States, which road would inevitably rival the Central route,¹⁵³ or at least delay and greatly embarrass that project. Atchison's efforts to prevent the settlement of Kansas were held to be prompted by his fear that the speedy settlement of that territory would determine the question in favor of the Central route. His attitude regarding the settlement on Indian lands is thus stated:

"He denied the right of the people to settle on the land of the territory belonging to the government to which the Indian title had not been extinguished and not appropriated to any Indian tribe, although we know that the preëmption law permitted and invited such settlement, and that it had been done in all the new territories and was being done now in Utah, Oregon and Minnesota, where the Indian title is not extinguished. He not only denied the right of the people to settle in the unappropriated lands in Kansas, but used his influence with the government to have the settlers expelled at the point of the bayonet. He also prevailed upon Manypenny, the Indian commissioner, to nullify the law requiring him to make treaties with the Indians and extinguish their title to lands in Kansas, and treaties were never made until Benton forced him to do so by dragging him before congress with a resolution of inquiry, and when the treaties were at last made, 'precedence in time was given to the territory of Nebraska north of Missouri, where the Indian title was extinguished for months before Atchison would allow treaties to be made with the Indians of Kansas in the line of the Central route.' When at last these contemplated intriguers were forced to make the treaties, more than a year after the passage of the law, it was so contrived that the Indians should be sent to Washington and the treaties made under the personal supervision of Atchison in such manner 'as to deprive the settlers of the right of preëmption and the lands put up to the highest bidder, thus giving the speculators the whip hand of the pioneers and settlers, and of course discouraging settlements in the territory. Atchison was in every instance outspoken in his opposition to the Central route.'" ¹⁵⁴

In an address to the people of Missouri he defended his railroad policy

151. Quoted in *Jefferson Inquirer*, June 17, 1854.

152. *Ibid.*

153. Two arguments against the Central route were that it was likely to be snowbound and that the Rocky Mountains were too high where it would cross that system.—*Missouri Democrat*, July 6, 1857.

154. *Missouri Democrat*, quoted in *Jefferson Inquirer*, July 1, 1854.

and indulged in a long diatribe against Benton, whom he strongly accused of free-soilism and of attempting to do too big things, but stated his own case in a somewhat confused manner; indeed, he posed as the champion of three roads to the Pacific.¹⁵⁵

A North Carolinian urged upon the people of the territory of Kansas the necessity of becoming a free state if they wished to encourage railroad building:

"Do the people of Kansas desire railroads? Then they must eschew the peculiar institution. Look at Illinois and Missouri. Fifty miles against twelve hundred and sixty-two! Yet Missouri is older than Illinois and possesses a large and prosperous city (prosperous at the expense of Illinois hitherto), while until recently the latter had no considerable town. It is true that free labor and the enterprise which always accompanies it is rapidly building up a city in Illinois which in five years will eclipse St. Louis, but up to 1850, when the census was taken, every circumstance, if slavery be left out of view, favored the building of railroads in Missouri rather than in Illinois. But in addition to the twentyfold proportion of railroads in Illinois, she has one hundred miles of canal, forming a most important connection between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi river. Missouri, blessed as it is with slavery, has not one foot of canal to offset this valuable improvement which was built at an expense of millions of dollars."¹⁵⁶

That there may have been some ulterior motive in the unseemly controversy over slavery in Missouri was sensed as early as 1856 by certain Missouri leaders. A letter, in all probability written by Edward Bates, appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, and a quotation from the same will not be amiss at this point:

"I have never been able to comprehend how it happens," said the writer, "that the Negro question could become the all-absorbing question of the country, and especially how southern men of sense and talent and high hopes could engage in such a dangerous controversy or allow it to exist. *They put up all the stakes that are played for, and may lose, but cannot win.* . . . I have sometimes been so uncharitable as to suspect that the sensitive Negro question, the agitation of which had been quieted by the Compromise legislation of 1850, condemned by the platforms of both parties in 1852, and denounced by the respectable press all over the nation, *was thrust upon the first congress under Mr. Pierce for the purpose of smothering what was undubitably the great question of the day, and escaping the supposed peril of deciding upon the really grand and necessary proposition of a national railroad from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific ocean.* Whether or not it was designed for that end, it has certainly produced the effect."¹⁵⁷

The immense pecuniary interest of St. Louis in Kansas trade caused northern societies and public opinion in the North generally to hold that city to

155. *Richmond Weekly Mirror*, July 7, 1854; *Missouri Republican*, June 21, 1854. Gen. George R. Smith was informed by President McPherson in a letter from London (October 20, 1856) that the Kansas troubles prevented the borrowing of money abroad for the completion of the Union Pacific.—Harding, "Life of George Smith," p. 233.

156. Goodloe, "Is It Expedient to Introduce Slavery into Kansas?" Kansas Historical Pamphlets, vol. I.

157. Statement of Facts and A Few Suggestions in Review of Political Action in Missouri," 1856, p. 77 ff. There were some who looked askance at the proposed Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad because it was owned largely by Boston capitalists, chief among them being the Thayers, who were accused of having planned to use it for the purpose of abolishing Missouri. This fact was substantiated in the minds of many, inasmuch as the company owned 60,000 acres of land in Missouri. R. M. Stewart's enemies suggested that he, as president of the road, was naturally hostile to Missouri and her best interests.—*Weekly Missouri Statesman*, July 10, 1857.

account for the border outrages. The *New York Times* was especially disposed to do this:

"The state of Missouri begins to feel the violence of Atchison and Stringfellow and their reckless associates returning upon her own head. And unless she vindicates her character in the eyes of the public by putting down these outrages and establishing the dominion of law and justice within her own territory and towards the abused people of Kansas she may read her fate in that of Erie [an allusion to the railroad mobs of Erie]. She will shut from her borders all desirable emigrants more effectually than she could by building a Chinese wall against them. . . . Our neighbors in St. Louis need not hope to escape their share of the curse. . . . They should remember that capital and enterprise are timid and seek the protection of law and order. . . . But suppose they [the South] decide to enforce their dominion upon the people of Kansas. . . . Before Missouri enters this war she will do well to count the cost, and especially to consider how it will affect her relations with the free states as a commercial and agricultural state. These [free] states contribute vastly more to her prosperity than the Southern states possibly can. She can by a hostile attitude towards them quickly sink the whole value of her slaves a hundred times over, even though direct and open violence exists merely between herself and Kansas, . . . and she should reflect upon the possibility that this may not be the limit. . . . Many of her people, especially the citizens of St. Louis, are in the habit of visiting the East every year, and they must meet the people whose friends it is proposed to oppress and butcher or drive out of Kansas. If they join in the outrage, or if their behavior in respect to it is pusillanimous, it will not soon be forgotten, nor will their relations with the people of the free states be very agreeable." 158

It was estimated in the early spring of 1855 that from 3,000 to 5,000 emigrants would go from the East to Kansas. By far the greater number were obliged to visit St. Louis. The business men of the city were admonished to attempt to conciliate the good will of these emigrants and to secure their custom. Each of the 5,000 people would perchance require from twenty to thirty dollars' worth of provisions to sustain him through the spring and summer, thus bringing to the metropolis between \$100,000 and \$150,000.¹⁵⁹

The siege of Lawrence in 1856 determined the merchants of that town to do their utmost to compel the city of St. Louis to stand sponsor for the Missouri mobs that were menacing immigrants. The initial protest to St. Louis went unheeded. A meeting was therefore held by the merchants and other citizens of Lawrence in the Free State hotel on March 27, 1856, in response to a call signed by sixty-eight business houses of the town. Resolutions were passed declaring the severance of commercial relations with Westport, Kansas City, Independence, Liberty, Weston, Parkville and Platte City, the Lawrence merchants agreeing to transfer their business relations to such Leavenworth merchants as discountenanced border-ruffianism. It was also pointed out that Alton, Ill., possessed many advantages as a terminal for river packets. It was the terminal for two railroads and had direct connection with the East. It was also the head of navigation for boats from New Orleans and was accessible to all. Moreover, Alton was an excellent market for pine lumber, its wholesale business was increasing, and coal cost but one-half as much there as at St. Louis. These considerations in favor of Alton weighed so heavily with the Lawrence merchants that a delegation was sent to Alton. It was

158. Quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, October 6, 1855.

159. *St. Louis Evening News*, March 10, 1855.

composed of G. P. Lowry, G. W. Brown, G. W. Hutchinson, James Blood and Ephraim Nute, jr. They met with the Alton citizens on April 11, 1856, and resolutions resulted, courting the favor and trade of the Yankee settlement. A liberal policy toward emigrants was outlined.¹⁶⁰

Kansas City very judiciously endeavored to clear herself of all complicity with the border assaults upon the persons and property of those going to Kansas. A trade association was formed in the city with one hundred or more members, the object of which was to protect emigrants who chose to land at her levee and to defend those who came to the city to buy or sell, regardless of their politics or place of residence.¹⁶¹

The *Missouri Democrat* read the signs of the times aright and warned St. Louis that her failure to cause the evildoers to cease molesting emigrants would inevitably lead northern capitalists to construct a railroad through Iowa. The persistence of intimidation did eventually constrain Kansas-bound emigrants to come through Iowa.

The North was eager to help carry out the plan instigated by Lawrence to transfer the Kansas trade from St. Louis to Alton. The saving of forty miles in transit, good hotel service, less crowded steamers and other conveniences appealed especially to the North, and the plan received wide publicity.¹⁶² St. Louis detected the trend of events, and on August 23, 1856, held a meeting, with some 1,500 persons present, to set herself right in the eyes of her neighbors. Hon. John F. Darby presided and Basil Duke and Andrew Park were secretaries. Col. L. V. Bogy, E. M. Ryland, N. J. Eaton, Thomas H. Larkin and Robert Campbell constituted the committee on resolutions. Considerable confusion characterized the meeting, for Colonel Bogy's voice, when he read the resolutions, could not be heard. Compelled, because of the confusion, to remain outside, the crowd listened as Charles D. Drake read the resolutions, which were carried, but against a large minority. They condemned lawlessness on the Kansas border and contemplated the raising of money in St. Louis for the relief of the victims of the disorders alluded to. A desire that the federal government step in to quell the border disturbances found expression in the resolutions. On the whole the meeting was disappointing as giving evidence of the sincerity of St. Louis in redeeming the state from the charge of ruffianism.¹⁶³

Although St. Louis did attempt, at least formally, to place a check to interference with northern emigrants coming to Kansas, the proslavery party continued to follow a policy of obstruction.

In the spring of 1855 evidence began to accumulate to prove that the various river packet lines on the Missouri river were actually in a great combine. It was charged that the companies bought up the services of all the pilots who were licensed to run boats on that river, but they were unable to make use of them all, the idle men, therefore, earning their pay by leisurely walking about the streets of St. Louis. The *St. Louis Intelligencer* angrily arraigned the monopoly, the existence of which it never for a moment doubted. "The monopoly keeps produce and money away from the city,

160. *Missouri Democrat*, February 23, 1856; *Springfield Republican*, February 20, 1856, in Webb, IX, p. 169.

161. *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1856, in Webb XV, p. 239.

162. *Chicago Tribune*, in Webb, XI, p. 37 *et passim*.

163. *Missouri Republican*, August 26, 1856; *St. Louis Intelligencer*, August 26, 1856.

which might be here. It keeps emigrants away who are bound for Kansas and Nebraska—and they are thousands in number—most of whom buy much of their outfit here, if they could get up the Missouri at living rates." The merchants of St. Louis were appealed to to take a hand in ending this destructive monopoly.¹⁶⁴ Perhaps ninety per cent of the boats were owned in that city.¹⁶⁵

Lexington was especially vexed at the conduct of the river boat owners. She proposed that the business men along the Missouri river form a counter monopoly with a view of doing the whole carrying trade of themselves and the public in general. This project found general favor along the river. As an alternative it was proposed to withdraw all patronage from St. Louis and to concentrate it on New Orleans. This plan, however, met with little response.¹⁶⁶

We have already noted the action taken by Lawrence to secure relief from the depredations of the border ruffians. Perhaps there were other protests, but we have record of only two. On April 21, 1855, a meeting of the business men of St. Joseph was called to consider the matter of the steamboat monopoly. May 10 was set as the date for a similar meeting in Kansas City. No details of the proceedings of these meetings are at hand.¹⁶⁷ The *Kansas Weekly Herald* was of opinion that the completion of the St. Louis & Western railroad would be the best remedy for the situation.¹⁶⁸

Complete relief was not secured from the evil. The year 1857 found the same condition of estoppel. It was estimated that 20,000 emigrants had been turned from the normal course of the flow of population and had been compelled to get to Kansas through Iowa, or else were deterred altogether from entering Kansas.¹⁶⁹ Three hundred thousand dollars loss to St. Louis was regarded as a conservative estimate. There should be added to this, perhaps, another \$300,000 for the provisions which naturally would have been bought in St. Louis. Thus there was a loss of half a million dollars due to interference with the natural course of emigration, and the blame attached largely to the Atchison following in Missouri.¹⁷⁰

The proslavery forces of Missouri exerted themselves in an heroic way to commit the state definitely to their program, so as to further the cause of the South in Kansas. The suggestion of a state proslavery meeting originated at a meeting held in Independence in the early summer of the year 1855.¹⁷¹ It was apparent from the first, however, that Lexington, as the location of the convention, did not please all concerned. St. Louis was hostile to the selection of Lexington. Editorially, the *St. Louis Evening News* said:

"We cannot for the life of us see why Lexington, away out on the western frontier, should have been selected as the place for holding this convention, unless because the people of the eastern half of Missouri were never expected

164. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, April 3, 1855; also April 26, 1855; *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, May 4, 1855; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 11, 1855.

165. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, April 13, 1855.

166. *Lexington Express*, quoted in *St. Louis Evening News*, April 30, 1855. Kansas City was constantly on the anxious seat during the Kansas disturbances. Her people were quite generally favorable to the proslavery party, but had no sympathy with its methods, since they threatened to interrupt the profitable trade with Kansas territory.—Miller, "History of Kansas City," p. 61.

167. *Missouri Republican*, May 5, 1855; *St. Louis Evening News*, May 5, 1855.

168. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 11, 1855.

169. By August, 1856, the Iowa route was being used.—Holloway, p. 378.

170. *Herald of Freedom*, January 24, 1857, quoting *Missouri Democrat*.

171. *Missouri Republican*, June 21, 1855.

nor desired to participate in its proceedings. It is called a state convention, and yet perhaps not one-fourth of the state—not one-tenth of the counties, we dare say—will be represented. The western Missouri convention would have been a more appropriate name.”

The *News* was solicitous that the convention should be dominated by actual slaveholders. Such gatherings were too often in the hands of idle, restless young lawyers and upstarts who had but little to attach them to the communities which they represented, and for that very reason were ever ready to urge radical measures. It was therefore highly desirable that they be kept away from the convention.¹⁷²

Proslavery men in Missouri looked forward with much expectation to the Lexington meeting. Some doubtless entertained fears regarding the outcome, but many tried to comfort themselves by suggesting the hope that its deliberations would not jeopardize the peculiar institution in Missouri. The *Lexington Express*, in a warning tone, said:

“In regard to the action of the convention, our opinions have already been expressed. Heretofore meetings and conventions have been characterized by buncombe speeches and empty resolutions imposing impossibilities, and sometimes treason. Such, we are satisfied, will not be the character of the convention of the 12th of next month. If it should be, we will wash our hands clean of it. We have had enough of such meetings and they have done no good.”¹⁷³

Delegates to Lexington were chosen by most of the largest slaveholding counties of the state. In many of them the sentiment seemed unanimous, but in some it was divided and showed some positive opposition. St. Louis, as has been said, was not in sympathy with the convention. A meeting was called for the election of delegates, but since it was so poorly attended the *Missouri Republican* announced that it “might be taken for granted that they do not see the necessity for this convention and do not respond to the call.”¹⁷⁴ When the convention met, however, Messrs. Loughborough and Hill of St. Louis claimed seats and were admitted.¹⁷⁵

The convention met in Lexington on July 12, 1855, according to arrangement. There was a fairly large representation, but not as large as had been anticipated. The proceedings covered over six columns in the *Lexington Express*, but the *Weekly Missouri Statesman* abridged them in three and one-half columns. For the most part the sessions were stormy and confused. Col. S. H. Woodson, of Jackson county, was president *pro tempore* and Col. Sam A. Lowe, of Pettis, secretary *pro tempore*. Field, of Lafayette county, moved that D. R. Atchison and A. W. Doniphan be asked to make addresses. Atchison replied that inasmuch as it was openly charged that the meeting was gotten up for the purpose of furthering his candidacy for the senatorship, he hoped that his name would not be in any way associated with the action of the convention. General Doniphan replied in the same vein. A formal declination came from both after the motion was carried. Austin A. King, of Ray county, reported in behalf of the committee which named the permanent officers. Hon. W. T. Wood, of Lafayette county, was elected president;

172. *St. Louis Evening News*, June 28, 1855.

173. Quoted in *Missouri Republican*, July 3, 1855; *Boonville Weekly Observer*, June 30, 1855.

174. *Missouri Republican*, July 8, 1855; *St. Louis Evening News*, July 9, 1855.

175. *St. Louis Evening News*, July 16, 1855.

J. T. V. Thompson, of Clay, and J. J. Lowry, of Howard, vice presidents; and Samuel A. Lowe, of Pettis, and L. A. Wisely, of Platte, secretaries. On the committee on resolutions the following counties were represented: Cooper, Platte, Clinton, Boone, Howard, Lafayette, Carroll, Saline, Caldwell, Livingston, Linn, Cass, Jackson, Clay, Ray, Henry, Andrew, Johnson, Pettis, Daviess, Benton, Randolph and Cole. In voting each county cast the same number of votes that it was allowed in the lower house of the general assembly. Delegates were present from twenty-five counties and totaled 226. Governor Price was present and occupied a seat within the bar. A motion prevailed to ask President Shannon of the state university to deliver an address after the deliberations of the convention. Much opposition was incurred to this motion, since it was held that Shannon, himself a delegate, should, like the other delegates, take his chances on getting the floor. Shannon, along with Professors Hudson, Price and Head, represented the university.¹⁷⁶

The resolutions were reported through Judge W. B. Napton, of Saline county. They were ten in number. They expressed the belief that the diffusion of slavery ameliorates that system of society, advances the prosperity of the slaveholder, and is the only guarantee of safety to the slaveholding states. It was charged that the New England Emigrant Aid Company was similar to the Roman military colonies in its method of operation. The eighth resolution estimates that the eighteen counties lying near or bordering on Kansas contained a population of about fifty thousand slaves, worth twenty-five millions of dollars, and comprising one-half of the slave property of the entire state. The tenth resolution provided for a committee of five who should draw up an address to the people of the United States, setting forth the history of the Kansas excitement and the views and action of the people of Missouri thereon, "in conformity with the principles and positions of the foregoing resolutions." A resolution proposing retaliatory measures to be taken by the legislature against the state of Massachusetts and other antislavery states that had set at naught the fugitive-slave law was not in the original set of resolves, but was given orally by Judge Napton. The original resolutions were adopted unanimously, the visitors present voting on the final count. The retaliatory resolution occasioned some discussion. It was upheld by Torbert of Cooper and General Clark of Howard. Oliver of Ray opposed it as unconstitutional. Torbert's substitute, calling for such retaliatory measures only as were not unconstitutional in the eyes of the constitution of the United States and of the state of Missouri, was passed. A resolution against free-soil publications was also passed.

On Friday afternoon, the 13th, came the climax of the whole convention. President Shannon spoke for two hours, and unfortunately permitted his own personal difficulties in Boone county to form the larger part of his theme. The request that he furnish a copy of his address for publication brought forth angry opposition. The Chairman, thinking to settle the quarrel by adjournment, tried to get the matter of adjournment before the house, but was confronted by the question as to how the vote of adjournment should be taken—by counties or otherwise. At this point the convention began to dwindle in numbers, the more sedate and considerate men becoming disgusted and leaving. Finally the resolution for publication of the address was carried. "It

^{176.} *St. Louis Evening News*, July 16, 1855.

was generally concurred in, and so stated by the delegates and speakers, that the adoption of this resolution was merely a courtesy accorded on such occasions to President Shannon, and was not an indorsement of the speech." The second day ended in confusion, anger and discontent.

On the third day [July 14] the name of Major Rollins was before the convention. It was alleged that the night before Major Rollins had written a communication favorable to breaking up the deliberations of the meeting unless resolutions were passed to his liking. He was not now present. The disposition of the matter occupied a long time, but it ended in his complete exoneration. The chair named Judge Napton, Governor Price, Mordecai Oliver, Austin A. King and S. H. Woodson as the committee to draw up a memorial to the people of the United States. This completed the work of the convention.¹⁷⁷

It will perhaps not be amiss to speak of the effects of the Lexington convention and the comment which it excited in the state. The *Boonville Weekly Observer* took occasion to criticise most severely the conduct of President Shannon, who should, according to the notion of that paper, have stayed at home. "A proper feeling of delicacy would have kept the Rev. James Shannon from acting as a delegate to a political assemblage, and we trust that his bad example and its consequent unpleasantness will have a proper weight in determining the license which should be extended political ecclesiastics in such assemblies hereafter." There was indeed a statute in the state of Missouri which forbade clergymen holding state offices, and the conduct of President Shannon at Lexington determined his enemies to appeal to this law in their effort to undo him, in which effort they were eventually successful. It would have been infinitely better, thought the *Observer*, had the convention adjourned immediately after the resolutions were passed.¹⁷⁸

The *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, commenting, said, in speaking of Shannon's speech, that it was "replete with treasured malice and abounding in bitter invective rather than classical lore." It was the "apple of Paris" hurled into the convention. "It was palpable that his motive was to have the state convention take part in the Boone county strife and secure an indorsement of the Lee resolution and the Shannon faction." The St. Louis delegates, two in number, and both of them with scant authorization, cast thirteen votes and controlled the convention.¹⁷⁹ Their seating had caused the first discord in the body. The *Statesman* closed with this piece of philosophy: "The convention, we fondly hope, has done some good. It has opened the eyes of some and convinced some of the great imposition that was attempted to be practiced upon their credulity by a set of men who have no love for the Union, and who, if placed in a different locality, would be as warm in the cause of the abolitionists as they are now in the cause of the South."¹⁸⁰

On the other hand, in many localities the resolutions and the proceedings in general met with approval. The *Independence Dispatch* thought the convention and its after effects would "no doubt have a very beneficial effect in harmonizing opinions at home as well as giving confidence to our friends

177. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, July 20, 1855.

178. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, July 28, 1855.

179. Messrs. Loughborough and Hill were not delegated by the mass meeting held for that purpose, but by a "highly respectable meeting of members of the bar, members of the medical profession, merchants and others."—*Missouri Republican*, July 18, 1855.

180. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, August 10, 1855; also August 3, 1855.

abroad." The *Glasgow Times* said of the resolutions: "They will be generally indorsed." The *St. Joseph Gazette* pronounced them "strong and unequivocal and breathing a spirit of firmness." "It adopted a platform," said the *Gallatin Sun*, "of principles such as will meet the hearty indorsement of all true southerners, and at the same time cannot be gainsaid by any portion of the Union as setting forth other than the doctrines of the constitution."¹⁸¹ The *Richfield Enterprise* liked the resolutions, but had hoped that there would be some of a more practical character. The editor had presumed that the convention was called to defeat the efforts of the North to settle people in Kansas, and accordingly prepared a set of resolutions with that end in view, but finding they were about to be tabled, withdrew them.¹⁸² Editorially, the *Liberty Weekly Tribune* regretted that greater harmony did not prevail in the meeting, but was confident that the soundness of the platform adopted would far outweigh any evil effect that might otherwise flow from the convention.¹⁸³

We shall now indicate somewhat the nature of the aid extended by the various counties of Missouri toward the settlement of Kansas, or at least toward the safeguarding of southern interests in the territory. The counties will be alphabetically arranged, even though strict chronology is thereby violated.

Benton county sent a company of men to Kansas in 1856. They left in September and were called "emigrants"—all of them fully "equipped." They were commanded by Capt. James McElwrath. The citizens of the community contributed about \$2,000 to the enterprise. All of these men were young and were described as "all of the right sort of grit, and a finer looking set of fellows is hard to find."¹⁸⁴

Col. W. F. Switzler is responsible for the statement that the desire to plant the institution of slavery in Kansas assumed in Boone county very alarming proportions.¹⁸⁵ The people of that county, however, were very much divided on the question, as we shall presently see.

One of the very earliest meetings held by the citizens of Boone county to foster interest in Kansas proved a fiasco. In March, 1855, a meeting was called, but owing to the lack of credit which the call received, and to the fact that it was during the busy time of the year, but few responded. Some university students took advantage of the outcome, for the meeting was held in Columbia, and after adjournment rallied the departing citizens, and with others of their number, reorganized with Mr. Thomas, of Texas, as chairman, and Prof. B. S. Head, secretary. The resolutions adopted were sarcastic to say the least, for they taunted their elders with having failed "either from the fear of a full expression of their republican sentiments or of a full opening of the purse." They further "condemned the course this day pursued by those whose age and mature judgment should have prompted them to set a noble example to the rising generation."¹⁸⁶

That Boone county citizens were apprehensive, and justly so, lest shrewd

181. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, July 27, 1855.

182. *Richfield Enterprise*, July 20, 1855.

183. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, July 20, 1855.

184. *Jefferson Inquirer*, September 18, 1856, quoting the *Warsaw Democrat*.

185. "History of Boone County," p. 384.

186. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, March 30, 1855. This paper said, "No one was heard of who desired to go to Kansas to live."

politicians might pervert the Kansas propaganda to their own selfish ends is made very evident by the press of those days. Referring to a proslavery meeting held on June 2, 1855, at the call of 328 citizens, the *Missouri Statesman* said:

"The few wireworkers who were at the bottom of this affair in its incipency and some of those who were most active in circulating the 'call' had no idea, and least of all desired, that either Rollins, Gordon, Guitar or Switzler would attend the meeting. Indeed, they purposely so worded the 'call' that neither of those gentlemen, together with large numbers of our citizens, could sign it. Their object was to get a meeting ostensibly of the whole people without regard to party, but really and in fact a meeting composed of men of their own stripe, and to send out their voice, uttered without either discussion or reproof, as the voice of the county."

It was believed that one of the purposes of the prime movers was to get the assembly to approve of the destruction of the *Parkville Luminary*, to censure Representatives Rollins and Guitar, to cripple the *Missouri Statesman* and its editor, and finally to create sentiment favorable to Atchison for the United States senate. The sessions were stormy throughout, and their fury increased when the resolutions were presented. There were two sets of resolutions. The *Randolph Citizen*, in commenting on the meeting said: "No paper will ever publish, for no stenographer could report, a full account of what was done and said at the Kansas meeting. We never witnessed more disorder and excitement at a grand swell in a city." One outstanding feature of the deliberations was an impassioned address by Rev. James Shannon, president of the University of Missouri, which only served to confuse further the minds of the members of the convention and to bring great discredit upon himself. After the address the minority faction of the convention, devoted to the resolutions presented by Dr. W. H. Lee, withdrew and made Colonel Young chairman. He mounted a stump and presided over the deliberations of the seceders, who promptly passed Lee's resolutions. These resolutions were violently proslavery. Rollins and Guitar managed the regular meeting and prevented any radical measures being taken.¹⁸⁷

The failure of the radicals to control Boone county excited widespread comment. The Switzler resolutions were received with approval in most places. Said one editor:

"They are full and to the point and purpose, sound and conservative, and we believe will be cordially indorsed by every true proslavery man in Missouri."¹⁸⁸

Another declared:

"They are to the point and cover the whole ground of difference between the slave and nonslaveholding states, and indicate the sane position which Missouri ought to occupy on the grave question before the country."¹⁸⁹

The *Independence Messenger*, in the course of its comments, remarked:

"We fear those public meetings on the Boone county order will destroy the effect of a victory abroad by showing that the proslavery party is not a unit at home, but rent asunder by a conflicting policy and the whole community

187. *Randolph Citizen*, June 14, 1855; *Missouri Republican*, May 27, 1855. It was this meeting which "primed" President Shannon for the Lexington proslavery convention described before.

188. *Randolph Citizen*, June 21, 1855.

189. *Missouri Republican*, quoted in *Randolph Citizen*, June 21, 1855.

aroused by the very worst of passions. But the fire eaters charge all this mischief upon those proslavery men who will not go into the extreme crusade with them, and denounce all such as abolitionists, free-soilers, and sympathizers with the Negro-stealing hordes of the North. This class has been reckoning without their host; the mass of the people will not fall into the measure. . . ." 190

On July 28, 1856, Columbia was the scene of a Kansas meeting of which Col. S. A. Young was chairman and Lewis H. Pemberton secretary. P. T. Abell, of Atchison, Kan., was present and made an address which was marked by ability, fairness and candor. A committee was named to solicit funds to aid Kansas.¹⁹¹ Another meeting following on August 18, of which James Harris was chairman and William L. Victor secretary. Colonel Switzler, Colonel Young and Col. W. H. Russell spoke on this occasion. Exactly one week thereafter more effective steps were taken to further southern interests, for at that time a committee was selected to see to the outfitting of a company of men. To do this the meeting decided to memorialize the county court to make an appropriation for those going to Kansas. A number of volunteers for Kansas were present, and after the meeting they proceeded to elect officers.¹⁹² S. A. Young was elected captain. He, however, resigned and was probably succeeded by S. B. Hatton, formerly first lieutenant of the company. By August 27, they were ready, forty in number, to proceed to Kansas. The news of the fight at Osawatimie caused the Kansas fever in Boone county to mount higher and higher. By September 5 it was learned that the county had contributed for the equipment of the Boone county volunteers \$330, one gun, and 200 pounds of bacon, and that \$345.50 had been given to sustain the proslavery men in Kansas.¹⁹³

Further substantial aid to the cause of the South was made possible at a meeting held in Columbia on September 8, 1856. John Slack presided over this gathering and J. W. Hickam was secretary. Dr. W. H. Lee, in behalf of the finance committee, recommended that the county court be called upon for the sum of \$5,000 to equip and arm a company of 100 men. A committee was appointed to wait upon the court. Two members of the court came to Columbia at the invitation of the committee, but, strange to say, nothing was said to them relative to the \$5,000 and for that reason no assistance was offered from that source.¹⁹⁴ The next day, *i e.*, September 9, the citizens donated about \$200 to help defray the expenses of the company, which was composed of some twenty men. Young's company met before starting to Kansas and passed resolutions to the effect that they went to Kansas "not as volunteer soldiers, but as citizens free to act as our judgment and circumstances may dictate after we shall have arrived in the territory; and that we will not do anything in violation of the laws of Kansas, the laws and constitution of the United States, or that is not right." On September 12, Captain Draffin, of Cooper County, proposed to unite his troops from Cooper county with those of Boone. This was agreed to and S. A. Young became captain of them all, and the company became known as company P in the First regiment of infantry. Nothing is known as to what they did in Kansas, but peace was

190. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, June 29, 1855.

191. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, August 1, 1856.

192. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, August 22, 1856.

193. "History of Boone County," pp. 384, 385; *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, September 5, 1856.

194. "History of Boone County," pp. 384, 385; *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, September 12, 1856.

soon restored, and by September 20 General Hatton, Colonel Young, Mr. Robinson and most of the Boone county men had returned home.¹⁹⁵

Buchanan county was the first county in the state of Missouri to organize for the purpose of sending men to settle in Kansas. The *St. Joseph Cycle* agitated for a tax of one or two per cent on all real and personal property to make possible the organization of a society for the colonization in Kansas of 1,000 proslavery men.¹⁹⁶

A Kansas association was formed in St. Joseph on December 31, 1855, and at that time about \$12,000 was subscribed to further the interests of the proslavery party in Kansas. It was the intention to spend a part of the money in purchasing land in the territory.¹⁹⁷ The association appointed Silas Woodson to visit Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and other Southern states to receive money and to make addresses urging the emigration of proslavery men to Kansas.¹⁹⁸ The effort to "raise steam" in Buchanan county resulted, however, in a dismal failure.¹⁹⁹ The association was very moderate in its stand, its leading spokesman declaring it would give freely of its means to actual residents, but further declared, "We will aid them with bread and meat to live on and implements of husbandry to open up their farms; but while we do this cheerfully, not one cent will we give to encourage or countenance illegal voting or illegal movements in the territory of Kansas." This sentiment was uttered at a St Joseph meeting held to get funds for Buford, and was said to express the general opinion of the county.²⁰⁰

We first hear of interest in behalf of Kansas in Carroll county on January 21, 1855, when a meeting was held in the courthouse in Carrollton. Col. S. Stephen Stafford was chairman and John F. Houston secretary. Henry L. Rouett, of Lafayette county, was present and gave an address. Resolutions were of course adopted, and the young men of the South were urged to rush to the rescue of Kansas.²⁰¹

It is believed that in this county there were some three or four lodges or camps of an organization akin to the "Knights of the Golden Circle." At any rate, the county did what it was able to make Kansas a slave state. In the fall of 1855 Col. Stephen Stafford took thirty or forty men, well armed, to Kansas. They marched directly to the Wakarusa and joined the proslavery men there encamped. "It is presumed that the Carroll county men in Kansas did their duty by their side while they were there and voted as early and as often as occasion required and necessity demanded. They were in no fights or other collisions with the free-state forces, and soon most of them returned to their homes and to the bosoms of their families to rest on the laurels they won when doing duty for old Missouri in 'bleeding Kansas.'" ²⁰²

Carroll county did quite well in raising money for Kansas. On July 7, 1856, Col. P. T. Abell, of Atchison, spoke at a meeting and the county pledged

195. "History of Boone County," pp. 384, 385; *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, September 19, 1856.

196. Trexler, p. 196.

197. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, February 2, 1856; *Independence Western Dispatch*, January 24, 1856, in Webb, VIII, p. 192; Trexler, p. 197.

198. *Weekly Liberty Tribune*, February 22, 1856.

199. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, June 8, 1855.

200. *St. Joseph Cycle*, quoted by *Randolph Citizen*, June 5, 1856.

201. *Richmond Weekly Mirror*, January 19, 1855.

202. "Twentieth Century History of Carroll County, Missouri," vol. II, pp. 225, 226.

itself to raise \$10,000. It was then predicted that the county would raise \$20,000 and 100 men. Over \$1,590 was subscribed on the spot.²⁰³

Clay county early manifested a deep interest in the settlement of the Kansas question and continued to play a conspicuous part on the proslavery side.²⁰⁴ On July 3, 1854, at a meeting held in the courthouse at Liberty, the following was passed as one of a series of resolutions:

"Resolved, That Kansas ought of right to be a slave state, and we pledge ourselves to coöperate with the citizens of Jackson county and the South generally in any measure to accomplish such ends."²⁰⁵

This resolution called forth condemnation in certain parts and was probably considered by many as rather extreme in its scope and purpose.²⁰⁶ The *Liberty Tribune*, however, was warmly in favor of drastic measures for the securing of Kansas for the South, and was wont to deprecate so much "gas" and to urge more acts and less bluster.²⁰⁷

David R. Atchison spoke in Liberty on November 6, 1854, urging the people of the county to go to Kansas. His address was followed by that of a young man from Kansas named Grover. A meeting presided over by Maj. John G. Price followed. A call was issued for a mass meeting to be held on December 1, 1854. It was probably at this meeting that an organization was effected for the purpose of settling of Kansas, or at least of arranging to help carry the Kansas elections.²⁰⁸

Little if any effort of an effective character was made in 1854, but 1855 began with some activity. A military company had been organized in Liberty under the leadership of A. J. Calhoun, and little attempt was made to conceal the fact that this company would be used, if necessary, to the settlement of political questions in Kansas.²⁰⁹ A meeting of the county association was held at the courthouse on January 8, 1855, at which time it was voted to memorialize the legislature of the state for the sum of \$100,000 in order to protect the border settlements west of the Missouri river, and at which it was resolved not to encourage Boston merchants or those persons who persisted in buying their stock from those merchants.²¹⁰ A meeting held not long afterwards [February 5, 1855] revealed the fact that all the subscribers to the association had not yet paid in. Under the pressure of an emergency, a resolution was passed asking thirty-six persons, whose names were given, to lend the organization \$50 each until a collection of funds was made, and if any of the thirty-six failed to respond, the others would be expected to lend \$100 each, so that \$1,600 could be raised at once.²¹¹ Before the election of March 30, 1855, a handbill was published in the *Liberty Tribune* announcing the election, calling on friends of the South to rally to the defense of southern institutions, and setting the 29th of March as the date of a meeting to take such measures as might be considered proper under the circumstances. This meeting was held and men were delegated to cross the border. All who went

203. *Squatter Sovereign*, July 22, 1856.

204. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 168.

205. *Jefferson Inquirer*, July 15, 1854.

206. *Jefferson Inquirer*, July 15, 1854.

207. Quoted in *Boonville Weekly Observer*, November 11, 1854.

208. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, November 10, 1854.

209. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 168 ff.

210. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, January 12, 1855; *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, February 21, 1855, in Webb, III, p. 7.

211. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, February 9, 1855.

to Kansas were armed. They voted largely in the third and sixteenth districts. At Tecumseh, in the third district, the Clay county men were commanded by S. H. Woodson.²¹²

The destruction of the *Parkville Luminary* by a mob stirred up a strong sentiment of approval in Clay county. On April 21, 1855, a meeting was held in Liberty to approve the action of the mob. Maj. John Dougherty was chairman and Geo. W. Morris secretary. The resolutions which were passed were severe on the northern Methodists because of their known antislavery principles. Delegates were appointed to attend a proslavery meeting to be held at Parkville on May 5, and a committee of five were appointed whose duty it was to wait on all persons suspected of free-soilism and to notify them to leave the county immediately. All persons subscribing for papers in the least tainted with free-soilism or abolitionism were requested to discontinue such papers at once. It was steps of this character that prompted a late historian to remark that the people of the county in the course of the Kansas troubles became so intolerant that they have since regretted their actions.²¹³

Throughout the year 1855 men and money were being raised for the proslavery cause in Kansas. At the time of the Wakarusa war, Mayor Payne of Kansas City came over to Liberty and raised 200 men and \$1,000 to aid Sheriff Jones in capturing Lawrence. The Clay county volunteers, about 100 strong, on December 4, 1855, under the command of Maj. Ebenezer Price, seized the Liberty arsenal, commanded by Maj. Luther Leonard, and took government supplies, which they appropriated for their Kansas campaign. Among other things they took a flag with a large purple star, which they later hoisted on a tree in the center of their camp on the Wakarusa. After the campaign was over they returned to Clay county. An effort to recover the property taken from the arsenal was not altogether satisfactory, as some four thousand dollars' worth of the goods could not be accounted for.²¹⁴

In March, 1856, a large meeting was held in the courthouse at Liberty and a considerable sum of money was subscribed in aid of the southern cause. In the following June a Proslavery Aid Association was formed, with Michael Arthur as president; David Roberts, secretary; and T. C. Gordon, D. J. Adkins, J. T. V. Thompson, A. W. Doniphan and others as directors. Through the agency of this association, men and money were sent to Kansas from time to time. It was agreed that the capital stock of the association should be at least \$10,000 before it could go into operation or any part of the funds used. Dependence was placed in voluntary subscriptions. Shares were \$25 each, and a share made the owner thereof a member of the association and entitled him to a vote at all meetings. No assignment of stock was allowed except by consent of the directors. The association was to continue its existence until Kansas should become a state. Gains or losses were to be divided in an equitable way among the members.²¹⁵ Some of the Clay county men were present and fought at Osawatimie, Turkey creek and elsewhere.²¹⁶

There were many more meetings held than those alluded to in this discussion, but they need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that they were all

212. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 173.

213. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 173.

214. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 174.

215. "History of Clay and Platte Counties, p. 177; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, March 21, 1856.

216. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 168 ff.

marked by intense enthusiasm, and at times really contemplated the securing not only of Kansas, but Nebraska as well. On one occasion it also appears that solicitors of funds were to receive five per cent for their services.²¹⁷

In explanation of Clay county's great zeal in sending her men to Kansas it should be said that this county had a slave population of 3,500, and that their safety was a matter of prime importance, in the minds of their owners. Whatever was done, thinks one historian, was done more in a spirit of self-defense than in wantonness or recklessness.²¹⁸

But little activity is recorded in the case of Clinton county, a fact for which we have no explanation. Of course, it was latterly the home of Atchison, and for that reason was indeed the source of considerable propaganda, but in the way of colonizing agencies it was remarkably deficient. However, an unusually large and respectable meeting was held in the courthouse in Plattsburg on July 3, 1854. Judge George William Culver was chosen chairman and A. Funkhouser secretary. Little or nothing of a practical nature was done. A set of resolutions was passed approving the action taken by the citizens of Jackson, Platte and other counties, and pledging coöperation in every lawful effort to countervail the machinations of the northern abolitionists in Kansas.²¹⁹

Cooper county first evinced her interest in Kansas by the passage of conventional resolutions. A meeting was held at Bell Air on June 30, 1855, of which L. S. Stephens was chairman and Bennett C. Clark secretary. The conviction was expressed that if Massachusetts and other Northern states should persist in their aggression the Southern states should pass laws against the introduction of Yankee goods into the South. Delegates were also appointed to the Lexington convention by this assembly.²²⁰

A Boonville Kansas meeting was held on July 28, 1856. Col. William P. Speed was in the chair and J. W. Draffin served as secretary. The purpose was to raise funds to assist *bona fide* proslavery settlers in going to Kansas. P. T. Abell, of Atchison, was present and delivered an eloquent address, after which a committee of solicitation was named.²²¹ A private letter written the same month makes the assertion that \$5,000 had already been raised to further emigration.²²²

Caution seemed to be necessary in Cooper county, and mixed with it was a disposition to criticise the rich slaveholder who did not contribute to the cause. At a meeting held on August 23, 1856, several speakers indulged in criticism of this sort. Eight hundred dollars in cash and horses was donated by those present. Eventually about twenty-eight or thirty men volunteered to go to Kansas. On the following Wednesday they elected J. W. Draffin captain, and that afternoon proceeded, mounted on their horses, to Santa Fe, in Jackson county, the place of rendezvous. The following tribute was paid to this company:

"Captain Draffin's company consists of citizens of the county, not stragglers enlisted for the occasion, but law-abiding men, and whatever may be the difference of opinion of persons as to the advisability of their going to Kansas, those who know the characters of the men, two of whom are among the oldest

217. *Richmond Enterprise*, January 6, 1855.

218. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 168 ff.

219. *Missouri Republican*, July 13, 1854.

220. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, July 7, 1855.

221. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, August 2, 1856.

222. *Missouri Republican*, August 23, 1856.

citizens of the county and state, are satisfied that they will not knowingly nor heedlessly dishonor themselves and their county by swelling the list of outrages upon private individuals and private property in Kansas."²²³

Draffin's troops saw but little service in Kansas and were back in Cooper county early in September. They found too many abolitionists in the territory and also found out that cavalry was only an impediment. It was therefore their plan to return to Kansas as infantry. One of Draffin's men, writing from Westport, said there was absolutely no discipline among the troops. On September 2 the company was upon the point of dissolution. Several reasons were assigned for this manifest collapse of the Missourians. Many of them were mere youths who were at first carried away by indignation and by the desire for a frolic, and who enlisted with but slight reflection. There were also some who had left families uncared for and were compelled to return. Others were too much unused to hardships and were unable to withstand the rigors of a campaign. There were many desertions. In fact, General Reid's forces dwindled down in the course of one week from 1,500 to fewer than 400.²²⁴ On September 5, 1856, Draffin, with a company of infantry, returned to Kansas, but Reid's army, of which it was a part, disbanded upon receiving from Governor Geary, of Kansas, assurances that order would be restored in the territory.²²⁵

There was little interest in the Kansas issue in Greene county until September 1, 1856, on which day there was a large meeting of citizens at the courthouse in Springfield. Resolutions of the strongest character were adopted, denouncing free-soilism and abolitionism, and pledging aid of a substantial character to the proslavery party in Kansas. A committee on finance was appointed and considerable money was raised forthwith. Stirring speeches were delivered by Hon. W. C. Price, of Springfield; R. W. Crawford, of Mount Vernon; and W. H. Atter, of Bolivar. A number volunteered for service in the territory.

In the latter part of August, 1856, "Judge" R. G. Roberts, formerly of Cedar county, then of Fort Scott, Kan., spoke in Springfield. Great interest was excited by this address, we are told. Roberts, it appears, was canvassing southwestern Missouri in behalf of the proslavery party in Kansas. Just how much was accomplished we do not know, but a dozen or so men from Greene county joined the forces which left Dade and Polk counties for the scene of conflict. They were armed and mounted, chiefly at their own expense, leaving their homes under cover of darkness. Even the name of their leader is kept secret. When they reached the border they found that hostilities were over, and were therefore glad to return to their homes.²²⁶

The first Howard county men to go to Kansas probably went there as *bona fide* settlers. In the summer of 1854, R. A. Cornelius, Jesse Cornelius, Reuben Cornelius, John Frazier, William Hunegan and David Hunegan—all substantial proslavery men—crossed into the territory from Missouri.²²⁷ Others of

223. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, August 30, 1856.

224. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, September 6, 1856.

225. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, September 13, 1856.

226. "History of Greene County," page 241, ff. A day or two before the Springfield meeting a similar gathering took place at Greenfield, in Dade county. It was presided over by Gen. John P. Fields and an address was delivered by Col. John T. Coffee. Dr. S. M. Sproul was made captain of a military company organized for the invasion of Kansas.—"History of Greene county," p. 241 ff; *Jefferson Inquirer*, September 3, 1856.

227. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, June 30, 1854.

like character followed early in the year 1855. In March, 1855, perhaps 200 persons proceeded from Howard county to Kansas with intentions of becoming permanent settlers.²²⁸

On January 5, 1855, a Kansas meeting was held in Glasgow. Capt. M. B. Collins was chairman and W. M. Rush secretary. H. L. Rouett, of Clay county, delivered an address. The resolutions adopted strongly urged that permanent settlers go to Kansas. A committee of six was appointed to further the ends named as objectives by the meeting.²²⁹ On January 6, 1855, a meeting was held in the courthouse at Fayette. Samuel C. Major was chosen chairman and P. M. Pinckard secretary. Major Rouett, of Clay county, spoke, after which the usual resolutions were adopted, pledging means to promote proslavery emigration to Kansas. Committees were appointed to coöperate with that of Glasgow in securing funds.²³⁰

A large meeting of Howard county citizens was held in Fayette on June 4, 1855, of which meeting Owen Rawlins was chairman and R. C. Hancock secretary. The resolutions took a strong stand against patronizing any merchant who bought his wares in Massachusetts. One resolution recommended that no one be permitted to teach in any school [Sunday school included] who avowed free-soil or abolition sentiments. Ministers who were hostile to slavery were denounced and their dismissal called for. The chair was authorized to name five persons from each township of the county to attend the Lexington convention, which was called for July 12.²³¹

The events of the year 1856 renewed the interest of Howard county in Kansas. Before the middle of the summer about \$600 had been raised in the county to aid the "law and order" men in the territory.²³² On August 27, 1856, a company of 100 well-armed and mounted men, conducted by Col. Congreve Jackson, started to Kansas, their purpose being to offer their services in sustaining the laws of the territory and to dislodge the forces of Gen. James H. Lane.²³³

The expenses incurred by the Kansas invasions were provided for by the citizens of Howard county in behalf of her volunteers. A meeting was held at Fayette on November 3, 1856, at which time it was agreed to allow each man who went to Kansas thirty dollars to cover his expenses, more or less, and a committee consisting of one from each township was delegated to carry out the sense of the meeting in this regard.²³⁴ In September, 1856, it was estimated that there were about 200 Howard county men in Kansas territory.²³⁵

Independence perhaps made the first move in Jackson county which betrayed an interest in the peopling of Kansas with proslavery men. The resolutions adopted by the meeting at Westport were sanctioned the very next day (June 4, 1854) by a gathering in Independence, and a vigilance committee was appointed to keep watch of the settlement of Kansas and of any infringement on the rights of southerners therein, taking "proper steps to prevent and resist the same." A committee of correspondence was appointed to

228. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, March 24, 1855.

229. *Glasgow Times*, in Webb, II, p. 187.

230. Webb, II, pp. 187-188.

231. *Randolph Citizen*, June 14, 1855; *Boonville Weekly Observer*, June 16, 1855.

232. *Randolph Citizen*, June 12, 1856.

233. *Randolph Citizen*, August 28, 1856.

234. *Randolph Citizen*, August 28, 1856.

235. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, September 13, 1856.

take up the task of advertising to the South the new territory. An urgent request was voiced that Buchanan, Platte, Clay and other border counties organize themselves for the settlement of Kansas. There was great satisfaction in Independence over the prospects opened up by virtue of the lately passed Kansas-Nebraska act.²³⁶

A county organization was effected on February 4, 1856, with Independence as its headquarters. Col. James Chiles was chairman of the meeting and N. R. McMurray secretary. S. H. Woodson was the speaker on this occasion, although there were probably other orators before the meeting. The best of feeling prevailed. One of the resolutions passed urged the formation of similar societies throughout the state.²³⁷

For some reason or other but few facts regarding the activity of Jackson county during the Kansas struggle have come to light. It was apparently one of the counties that failed to secure the advertising which usually went with the proslavery propaganda. It is of course possible that Kansas City exercised a sort of restraining influence for the purpose of guarding her trade interests in the territory. At any rate, there is nothing of interest to chronicle concerning what Jackson county did in Kansas.

The enthusiasm for Kansas was destined to find staunch opposition in Johnson county. A meeting was held in Warrensburg, the county seat, on August 13, 1855, of which H. Harrison was chairman and H. R. Dobyns secretary. The resolutions adopted were clear cut and straightforward. Two of them ran as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the constitution and laws guaranteeing to us the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience we regard as sacred, and the course pursued at meetings held in our own and sister counties in proscribing ministers of the gospel of certain denominations is tyrannical, arbitrary, illegal, unjust and unworthy the intelligence of an enlightened community."

"*Resolved*, That the present excitement upon the subject of slavery in Missouri is uncalled for, and, as we believe, only to advance the interests of a few demagogues, who to accomplish their own aggrandizement would sacrifice our glorious Union itself. Therefore, we regard any person who from choice agitates the subject of slavery as the enemy to the best interests of the slaveholding communities of our state."

J. M. Shepard made a speech at this meeting. Dr. J. M. Fulkerson tried to get the resolutions as presented tabled, but was voted down; whereupon his faction attempted to break up the meeting, but in vain.²³⁸ We are unable to learn that Johnson county took any worth-while part in the whole Kansas controversy.

Emigrants for Kansas were early on the move from Lafayette county. Forty or fifty persons started from Lexington about the middle of August, 1854.²³⁹ In December, 1854, the shippers, merchants, planters and citizens of the county resolved against steamboats carrying abolitionists, and promised their patronage only to such as refused to carry such persons.²⁴⁰ There were in all probability many other Kansas meetings of which we have no record,

236. *Missouri Republican*, June 13, 1854.

237. *St. Louis Evening News*, February 14, 1856; *Randolph Citizen*, February 14, 1856; *Randolph Citizen*, March 6, 1856.

238. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, September 21, 1855.

239. *St. Louis Evening News*, August 21, 1854.

240. Wilder's "Annals," December 25, 1854.

but it is certain that in 1855 the interest grew more intense. A meeting was held in Lexington on February 19, 1855. Col. T. M. Ewing was chairman and Dan A. Veitch secretary. Gen. William Shields explained the object of the meeting, and addresses were also made by F. C. Sharp and F. A. Kownslar. On motion of Col. Oliver Anderson it was decided to assist settlers from the slaveholding states in emigrating to Kansas. A large part of the \$10,000 called for was subscribed immediately, and prospects were bright for the raising of the remainder in the near future.²⁴¹ It was probable that this organization was later called a Know-Nothing council, for the *Missouri Democrat* began to denounce such an organization in Lafayette county, saying that the mere suggestion of the necessity of thus aiding southern slaveholders would of itself cause alarm and inflict defeat on the southern cause.²⁴² It was advertised that Atchison and A. W. Doniphan would address a meeting held in Lexington in March 1855, but the former was too much indisposed to speak and Doniphan was not present. Addresses were made, however, by Col. Sam Young, of Boone county, Judge Napton, of Saline, and Mr. Torbert, of Cooper. Judge Napton's effort was pronounced by one who heard it as the best he had ever heard on the subject.²⁴³

The state proslavery convention held in Lexington has been discussed at another place in the present work and need not detain us here. It originated in an invitation issued by a county meeting held in Lexington on May 21, 1855, of which Dr. I. S. Warren was chairman and John C. Bledsoe secretary. This meeting was addressed by Gen. William Shields and Mr. A. Jones.²⁴⁴

Shortly after the Lexington convention a paper was circulated in Lexington, the purpose being to boycott the Northern states. In brief, it declared, "We will not hereafter patronize, or in any way encourage, any merchants or others who shall hereafter introduce into this market any of the products, manufactures or imports of the state of Massachusetts, unless the said state recedes from the notoriously odious position she now occupies in relation to the slave question."²⁴⁵

The Kansas Emigration Society published what was called an appeal to the South in 1856, in which it voiced the fears entertained by many Missourians on the border. From its own statement it is apparently true that Lafayette county expended more than \$100,000 in fighting the battles of the South in Kansas. The gravity of the situation in 1856 was thought to be great enough that the entire South should speedily organize emigration societies and rush men into the territory so as to be able to carry the election of October. Lafayette county was plainly alive to the real situation.²⁴⁶

We hear of but two Kansas meetings held in Macon county. Early in September, 1856, a body of citizens met in Bloomington and passed resolutions favorable to the settlement of Kansas by proslavery men. A finance committee to further the object of the meeting was appointed. Col. L. Robinson pro-

241. *St. Louis Evening News*, March 7, 1855; Webb, III, p. 33.

242. *Missouri Democrat*, September 12, 1855.

243. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, March 24, 1855; *Missouri Republican*, March 22, 1855.

244. *Missouri Republican*, May 29, 1855; *Washington Sentinel*, May 29, 1855, in Webb, IV, p. 109.

245. *St. Louis Evening News*, July 26, 1855. The passion for Kansas, it is generally acknowledged, became very strong in this county. One of Gen. George R. Smith's correspondents wrote: "You might as well try to oppose an avalanche as the influence of this Kansas excitement."—R. C. Ewing, Lexington, June 18, 1856, in Smith papers.

246. May issue of *DeBow's Review*, in Webb, 635-637.

posed to be one of one hundred men who should contribute the sum of \$2,000 for the purpose of equipping a company to go to Kansas from Macon county. The meeting adjourned to meet again on a day named.²⁴⁷ No further details regarding the activity of this county are available.

The people of Pettis county were not on the whole radically prosouthern. A public meeting of the citizens was held in Georgetown on March 19, 1855, at which meeting Judge A. M. Forbes was chairman and J. M. Fox secretary. The resolutions adopted urged that all who designed taking homes in Kansas should move to the territory before March 30, so as to be able to vote in a legal way on that date. A committee appointed by the chair was assigned the duty of ascertaining the number of persons expecting to go by March 30.²⁴⁸

Another Kansas meeting was held at Georgetown in May of the same year. This gathering found a firm obstacle, however, in the representative from Pettis county in the state legislature, Gen. George R. Smith, who on another occasion had refused to unite with a Missouri Blue Lodge. Smith was called on for a speech, and, acceding to the request, frankly expressed his opinion. He was born in the South and was himself a slaveholder, but flatly opposed the idea of sending men over into Kansas to vote unless they were *bona fide* residents of the territory. He was in accord with the meeting, he said, if its purpose was to induce actual settlers to move to Kansas; otherwise not. "Important as I consider it to my own interests in slaves that Kansas should be a slave state, I would not violate the laws of my country to make it so, nor would I advise others to do so. . . ." Smith made these statements fully confident that his constituents would sustain his position.²⁴⁹

A meeting held at Heath's creek, on May 19, 1855, with Amos Fristoe chairman and J. M. Glasscook secretary, adopted resolutions providing that all doubtful and suspicious persons in the vicinity be waited on and their sentiments on the Kansas question learned by a duly appointed committee. It was resolved further not to trade with any merchant, mechanic or other tradesman whose political principles were opposed to southern institutions.²⁵⁰ We note but one other Kansas meeting in Pettis county. It was held at Georgetown on July 2, 1855, and the object was to elect delegates to attend the Lexington proslavery convention. Forty-seven men were accordingly chosen for that purpose.²⁵¹

Information regarding what Polk county did during the Kansas struggle is hard to obtain. A meeting was held in the Bolivar courthouse on August 30, 1856, however, and resolutions of sympathy were adopted relative to the border people of Kansas who were being subjected to invasions, and aid was invoked to secure immunity of life and property. E. M. Campbell was chairman of the meeting and I. W. Davis secretary. Four persons in each township were delegated to call on the citizens for contributions of money and provisions. Later a military company was organized, of which J. F. Snyder and "Jake" Clark were the leading spirits. It went to Kansas and aided some settlers to move into Missouri. Its fifty or sixty men were absent from home about a month.²⁵²

247. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, September 4, 1856.

248. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, March 31, 1855.

249. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, May 26, 1855; "Life of General George R. Smith," by Harding, pp. 216, 219.

250. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, June 9, 1855.

251. *St. Louis Evening News*, July 11, 1855.

252. "History of Hickory, Polk, Cedar, Dade and Barton Counties, Missouri," pp. 313, 314.

Platte county, because of its proximity to Kansas and the presence of so many slaves within its confines, was naturally from the very first actively interested in the settlement of Kansas. An adequate account of its relation to the Kansas movement would take more space than we are able to give in this dissertation. Perhaps the first Kansas meeting in the state of Missouri was held at Westport on June 3, 1854. The purpose was to organize those persons who were expecting to locate in Kansas. The resolutions adopted were decidedly friendly to southern emigrants. Notice was also served on all hostile to slavery that these Missourians purposed to take slave property with them and that they were determined to defend it. Missouri and Arkansas were urged to organize themselves for emigration to Kansas in view of the patent fact that the institutions of those states were bound up with those of the embryo commonwealth.²⁵³

Weston citizens were equally energetic in their enthusiasm for the South. On July 20, 1854, the so-called Bayliss resolution was passed at that place. It provided "that this association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas territory, hold itself in readiness to go there to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the northern emigration aid societies."²⁵⁴

Before the passing of the Bayliss resolution, however, there had been formed in Platte county what was called the Platte County Self-defensive Association (June 15, 1854), whose purpose was to defend and vindicate under all circumstances the proslavery men and the proslavery program of action. In carrying out its will the Self-defensive Association made use of the Kansas League, a sort of subsidiary organization, composed largely of the same persons, bound by oath and holding meetings wherever and whenever called out.²⁵⁵ According to the statement of the historian of the county, the Self-defensive Association counted at one time about 500 members. It was secret and had its grips and lodges. For a time its password was "Kansas." Its badge was a skein of bleached silky hemp tied in a buttonhole of the coat. The organization lasted only about one year, when it passed into oblivion. "As is often the case with secret societies of a political cast or controlled by political influence, it went to some very unjustifiable extremes." "It died," said one paper, "the death of the ridiculous and has gone to the tomb of the Capulets, unwept, unhonored and unsung."²⁵⁶

The merchants and staunch business men of Weston and other western Missouri towns, however, were too shrewd to be insensible to the advantages of squatter trade, no matter whether that patronage came from northern or southern men. Accordingly, on September 1, 1854, there took place a protest meeting, which asserted that the good name of the county had suffered through the action of the Platte County Self-protective Association. Resolutions signed by 175 names were adopted. The *Weston Reporter* maintained that not over one-twentieth of the citizens of the county were really in accord with the purposes and tactics of the association, the program having been mapped out largely by B. F. Stringfellow, very few of the business men of

253. *Missouri Republican*, June 7, 1854; *ibid.* June 13, 1854.

254. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. IX, p. 136. In Webb, I p. 112, it appears that the date of the resolution was August 20.

255. Klem, "Missouri in the Kansas Struggle," p. 28.

256. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, March 11, 1856.

Weston participating therein. The protest meeting in question was presided over by G. W. Gist, and Joseph B. Evans was secretary. Among the resolutions were the following:

(2) That we are Union men; we love the South much, but we love the Union better. Our motto is, "The Union first, the Union second, and the Union forever."

(3) That we disapprove of the Bayliss resolution as containing nullification, disunion and disorganizing sentiments.

(4) That we, as consumers, invite and solicit our merchants to purchase their goods wherever it is, most advantageous to the buyer and consumer.

(5) That we hold every man as entitled to equal respect and confidence until his conduct proves him unworthy of the same.

(8) That we are competent to judge who shall be expelled from our community and who shall make laws for our corporation.

(9) That mere suspicion is not a ground of guilt; mob law can only be tolerated when all other law fails, and then only on proof of guilt.

(10) That certain members of the Platte Self-defensive Association have proclaimed and advocated and attempted to force measures upon us contrary to the foregoing principles, which measures we do solemnly disavow and disapprove, and utterly disclaim as being diametrically opposed to common and constitutional law, and as having greatly disturbed and well-nigh destroyed the order, the peace and the harmony of our families and community, as well as being too well calculated seriously to injure us in our property and character both at home and abroad. We will thus ever diavow and disclaim.²⁵⁷

During the summer and fall of 1854 a heavy emigration took place from Platte county. Probably no fewer than 500 persons took claims in the territory. At the Salt creek squatters' meeting held on June 10, 1854, at Riveley's store near Fort Leavenworth, most of the 200 men present were from Platte county.²⁵⁸ But there were difficulties in the way of emigrating to Kansas. Many opposed colonization on principle, even though the other side did resort to it. Others were favorable to directing their energies and means toward looking after their own slave property at home, for the holding of such property was becoming increasingly precarious. Moreover, colonists were not so plentiful, and for that reason the colonizing zeal soon burned itself out. Then, again, the right kind of men for the enterprise were usually too self-reliant to accept aid, and the other kind were not to be considered. Practically all the leading Platte county men who went to Kansas were elected to the Kansas legislature on March 30, 1855.²⁵⁹

On November 6, 1854, David R. Atchison spoke in the courthouse in Weston. He urged that at least 500 emigrants should decide to go to help make Kansas a slave state.²⁶⁰ That some of the Platte men were but temporary residents of Kansas merely for the purpose of voting is illustrated by Paxton, who was urged to go to Leavenworth to vote (October 8, 1855), but who refused. His name, nevertheless, was voted three times on election day.²⁶¹ Some of the Platte men, pretending to be emigrants, infested the roads from Westport to

257. Webb, I, p. 114½; *Jefferson Inquirer*, September 9, 1854; Paxton's "Annals," p. 184, 185; *St. Louis Evening News*, September 21, 1854.

258. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 631 ff; Moore, "History of Leavenworth, city and county," p. 19.

259. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 631 ff.

260. Paxton's "Annals," p. 189.

261. Paxton's "Annals," p. 204.

Kansas and deterred with arms free-state men from entering the territory. They were ordered to leave, escorted by the military.²⁶²

Free speech was abhorrent to the more zealous of the Platt county pro-slavery men. After the destruction of the *Parkville Luminary* a meeting was held in Weston to approve the proceedings of the mob which destroyed that newspaper. It was held on April 28, 1855, in the Weston courthouse, with George Galloway as chairman and D. P. Wallingford secretary. A series of nine resolutions was passed. The destruction of the *Luminary* was expressly approved, and the resolutions passed by a Parkville assembly were extended in their application so as to condemn all free-soil preachers in addition to the Methodists. "We look with amazement," said one resolution, "upon the forbearance of our friends in Jackson, Cole, St. Louis and other counties in Missouri, in so long tolerating the publishing in their borders of abolition sheets, and recommend to them the example set by our Parkville friends. There is no remedy against the abolition papers in our state but the Missouri river or a bonfire for the presses and a hemp rope for the editors."²⁶³

A Platte County Emigrant Aid Society was organized in Platte City in March, 1855. About 2,500 or 3,000 people were present in the court room. Judge Almond called the house to order. The speakers were General Stringfellow, Rev. L. Kerr, Amos Reese, Mr. McCalla (of Kansas) and others. There was much enthusiasm and a "determination (if necessary) to emigrate *en masse* to Kansas before she should become the home of a lawless set of infidels and abolitionists, the asylum for Negro thieves and free Negroes."²⁶⁴

When Governor Shannon called out the Kansas militia at the beginning of the Wakarusa war there was a good response in Platte county. Speaking of the eagerness with which they responded, the Governor said: "Missouri sent not only her young men, but her gray-headed citizens were there. The man of seventy winters stood shoulder with the youth of sixteen. There were volunteers in that camp who brought with them not only their sons but their grandsons to join, if need be, in the expected fray."²⁶⁵ The first to go was a squad under Capt. L. F. Hollingsworth. Two considerable squads went from Weston, one commanded by Capt. William Martin and numbering probably 50 or 75. Perhaps a grand total of 300 went from Platte county. Daniel Cary was captain of one company of 125. Atchison was commander in chief. "There was no regular organization, however; no drills or anything of the kind. It was simply a spontaneous uprising of volunteers to go over to Kansas."²⁶⁶ In 1856 the trouble of Sheriff Jones at Lawrence brought out the Platte county men again. Several hundred men went under Maj. Jesse Morin, among them a company under Capt. John Wallace. After the destruction of Lawrence, the Missourians, with the exception of Captain Wallace and his company and a few others, returned to Missouri.²⁶⁷

The passing of the Self-defensive Association, mentioned before, made necessary another organization to carry out the Kansas propaganda. There was accordingly effected, at a meeting held in Weston on March 16, 1856, a

262. Paxton's "Annals," p. 215.

263. *Platte Argus*, May 1, quoted in *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, May 11, 1855; *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, June 1, 1855.

264. *Squatter Sovereign*, March 13, quoted in *Booneville Weekly Observer*, March 24, 1855; *Missouri Republican*, March 23, 1855.

265. Holloway, p. 226.

266. Speaking of the Wakarusa war, Holloway says: "At no time in all the encampments of the invading forces were there more than eighty residents of the territory." (p.227.)

267. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 631 ff.

Proslavery Emigration Aid Society, gotten up on the principle of a joint-stock company with the shares at \$25 each. After the stock was all sold it was proposed to furnish each individual who was poor, and at the same time a proslavery man in sentiment, with means to enter 160 acres of Kansas land and to give him his own time to refund the money. It was also proposed to furnish the settlers with the provisions necessary for one year's stay in Kansas. It was hoped that this organization might make possible the sending of at least 2,000 settlers to the territory. "We trust," said the *Weston Reporter*, "that these gentlemen who have been making such a noise and confusion over the subject will now come forward and make good their professions by taking stock to an amount that will set an example to the people of the county worthy to be followed." Gen. B. M. Hughes, of Buchanan county, made a very pointed address at this meeting. His position was that the free-soilers and abolitionists had a legal right to vote in Kansas, and that for that reason the South would have to beat them at the polls, and that by sheer numbers. The *Weston Reporter* commented upon this remark as constituting a light shining in dark quarters, since such a frank statement three months before would have been branded as the rankest abolitionism. The *Reporter* also found solid comfort in the statement made by General Stringfellow to the effect that he did not intend to be quite so prominent hereafter as he had been heretofore.²⁶⁸ It began to look as though the moderates were asserting themselves after radicalism had subsided. In fact, James Redpath, who was well informed on the border troubles, estimated in March, 1856, that a strictly secret vote in Platte county would discover two-thirds of the people in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state. He classed Platte county as the most ultra-slavery county in Missouri, but held that the slave propaganda minority had its way by virtue of its noise, its boldness and organization, and its firm hold on the local press. The indisputable fact is that it was but a minority.²⁶⁹

The trouble with John Brown over in Kansas brought out more Platte county men for the fray. It is estimated that 400 went under Atchison, although Col. J. W. Reid was the active military commander. The force camped on Bull creek. The agreement with Shannon, known as the treaty of Lawrence, made the presence of the Missourians in Kansas hard to explain and they proceeded to find their way home.²⁷⁰

It now became quite clear that the free-state emigration to Kansas was gaining, and that the supreme effort of the South was yet to be made. Armed military forces from Missouri could not accomplish what the South desired. It was a question of numbers and a question of *bona fide* residents.²⁷¹ For that reason southern colonization must be encouraged more than ever. This fact accounts for the resolutions passed at Westport in the fall of 1856, which resolutions confess the failure of armed interference, and after passing some fine compliments upon the heroic work which the Missourians have done for the South, lay down a plan for extensive colonizing projects in the whole

268. *Weston Reporter*, quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, March 11, 1856; *Randolph Citizen*, March 27, 1856; *Missouri Democrat*, March 12, 1856.

269. *Missouri Republican*, March 18, 1856.

270. "History of Clay and Platte Counties," p. 631 ff.

271. Holloway says (p. 275) that by 1856 Missourians began to appreciate the fact that the conquest of Kansas was not so easy. They began to realize that the conquest must be completed within that year to make Kansas a slave state.

South. It is proposed that those southern people who have already settled in Kansas organize themselves into companies or societies consisting of not fewer than twenty-five or more than fifty men, and that these colonies settle at convenient distances from each other as a means of mutual protection. The meeting appointed representatives to canvass the Southern states for money to aid the southern cause in Kansas. The following names were ratified: For Alabama, H. D. Clayton, B. F. Treadwell, C. R. McCord, W. L. Moon, M. A. Brondet, J. C. Sims, W. S. Hyatt; for Kentucky, J. C. Reynolds and J. O. Shelby; for Virginia, W. R. Welch, J. S. Rucker, H. C. Pate, T. H. Rosser, R. Ridgeway; for Georgia, Q. A. Jernigan, R. Ellis, R. H. Cook, M. J. Crawford, M. R. Murphy; for South Carolina, William Beard, E. B. Bell, P. S. Brooks, O. M. Dantzler, Colonel Cunningham, W. W. Boyce; for North Carolina, James C. Fulton, J. H. Flannor, A. Nixon, Owen Kennan, J. W. Kelley; for Missouri, A. A. King, Joseph Higgins, C. M. Oliver, Joseph Anderson; for Maryland, F. X. Richardson, T. V. Ward, J. R. Bartol, R. B. Carmichael; for Delaware, L. B. Dawson, William Ross, Charles Jones, John Powell; for Florida, William R. Deter, H. T. Titus, W. G. R. Davis, R. L. Campbell, L. M. Elry; for Tennessee, J. G. Zollicoffer, John Eley, Mr. Carson; for Arkansas, Albert Pike, Albert Rust, Judge Watson, W. E. Powell, Cornelius Locker; for Texas, J. L. Hunter, F. W. Bowden, N. G. Shelley, G. Turner; for Louisiana, J. C. Anderson Samuel Hayms, J. C. Blackman, Alex McRae, and editors of the *New Orleans Delta*; for Mississippi, J. A. Quitman, James Phelan, Hon. Mr. Barksdale.²⁷² This was certainly doing business on a much larger scale than had hitherto been the custom. We have record, however, of the activity of but a few of the men whose names are above listed; indeed, we do not know whether all of them accepted their positions or not.

By the spring of 1857 peace was so much desired on the border that we find a meeting at Westport actually passing resolutions welcoming emigrants from all sections of the United States, insinuating that the abolitionists were really the first cause of all the previous trouble. H. C. Pate, a leading border character, was led to conclude that this looked somewhat like the dawn of peace.²⁷³

In Randolph county the Kansas enthusiasts secured but little favorable publicity. It happened this way: A meeting was scheduled to take place at Huntsville on June 25, 1855, for the purpose of indorsing in general the actions of the western Missouri counties in relation to the Kansas excitement, and also to elect delegates to the Lexington state proslavery convention. The editor of the Huntsville paper, called the *Randolph Citizen*, insisted that the gathering be a mere mass meeting, which could, when organized, deal more properly with the matters referred to in the "call." For this interference with the plans of the promoters he lost the job of printing the "call," but got his revenge by giving the meeting unfavorable publicity. It was apparently attended by something like 200 people, according to the highest estimate. These 200 represented the 1,500 voters of the county. Hancock Jackson was chairman and J. B. Taylor secretary. The thirteenth resolution adopted by the meeting proposed a boycott against merchants purchasing goods in Massachusetts so long as the personal-liberty laws were on her statute books. To this the editor of the *Citizen* interposed a protest, saying: "We doubt the policy

²⁷² *Lecompton Union*, quoted in *New York Tribune*, November 15, 1856.

²⁷³ *Missouri Republican*, March 6, 1857.

as well as the justice of such a resolution. It is well known that the greater portion of the 'ready-made shoes' worn in our state is manufactured in Massachusetts; that some of our merchants trade directly with the people of Boston; others indirectly by making their purchases in St. Louis. Are the masses of the people both East and West to be deprived of the necessities of life by reason of the fanaticism and ultraism of the few? The Massachusetts shoes in use are manufactured chiefly by the quiet, industrious citizens of Lynn, who take no part and have no interest in the action of the abolition politicians of that state." Surprise was expressed that the meeting was attended by some good, old-fashioned Whigs who took part notwithstanding the fact that the meeting was strongly pro-Atchison.²⁷⁴

A meeting of those interested in Kansas was held in the courthouse in Huntsville on February 25, 1856. Addresses were delivered by Hon. W. P. Hall, General Wilson and Capt. Hancock Jackson. M. H. Austin was made chairman and William R. Samuel secretary. The articles of association of Buchanan county were adopted for guidance. It was decided that shares of stock be sold at twenty-five dollars each, a purchaser of one share becoming a member of the association. Twenty-eight shares were taken at once.²⁷⁵

In the summer of 1856 active steps were taken to send men to Kansas from Randolph county. On August 25 a meeting was held for that purpose. Thomas P. Coates was chairman and James D. Head secretary. Speeches were made by Messrs. Jackson, Burckhart and Quinn. After some discussion the meeting settled on three propositions, viz., to raise a company of some forty volunteers to be ready to go to Kansas on a moment's notice, to raise money and provisions, and to aid in peopling the territory with permanent proslavery settlers. About \$500 was raised in money and provisions.²⁷⁶ A meeting held on September 8, 1856, after an address by Hancock Jackson, made an effort to raise a company of volunteers. About forty volunteered and Jackson was elected captain. A promise was made to sustain these men to the extent of \$1,000. On September 9 the men, now about seventy or eighty strong, departed in wagons and other vehicles for Kansas.²⁷⁷ The Kansas experience of these men was rather short, for the *Randolph Citizen* of September 25 chronicles their return. A meeting was called in October for the express purpose of making up the balance of the thousand dollars promised to the volunteers. Whether it was ever raised or not does not appear.²⁷⁸

Ray county celebrated the opening of the year 1855 by holding a Kansas meeting on New Year's day. Judge Daniel Bransteller acted as chairman and H. J. Coner secretary. Maj. H. L. Rouett, of Liberty, delivered an address, and resolutions of the usual type were passed. The meeting approved of a call for a general meeting to be held in Liberty on January 8, and the chair appointed fifty delegates to be in attendance.²⁷⁹ On February 5, 1855, a meeting was held in the Richmond courthouse and a committee of three from each township was appointed for the purpose of soliciting funds to further the objects of the meeting.²⁸⁰ For the month of February Kansas meetings were

274. *Randolph Citizen*, June 21, 1855.

275. *Randolph Citizen*, February 28, 1856; *St. Louis Intelligencer*, March 6, 1856.

276. *Randolph Citizen*, August 28, 1856; *St. Louis Intelligencer*, September 2, 1856.

277. *Randolph Citizen*, September 11, 1856.

278. *Randolph Citizen*, October 9, 1856.

279. *Richmond Weekly Mirror*, January 5, 1855.

280. *Richmond Weekly Mirror*, February 9, 1855.

scheduled for the county as follows: Camden on the 15th, Elkhorn on the 17th, Buffalo on the 20th, Millville on the 22d, Knoxville on the 24th, and Richmond on the 26th. The various township committees were expected to make reports at these meetings held in the county.²⁸¹ On March, 1855, another meeting was held in Richmond, at which Colonel Sharp, of Lexington, spoke for the period of two hours. A finance committee was created at this meeting for the purpose of raising money to aid *bona fide* settlers going to the new territory.²⁸²

No record is at hand to show how many Ray county men went to Kansas either as partisans in the border troubles or to become actual settlers, but we read of one company of nearly 100 men passing through Lexington under the command of Captain Brown. They were without a flag, and the city of Lexington graciously supplied this need. It was suggested that another like company was to follow.²⁸³ This was probably the body of men which proceeded under Capt. George Carson. This company was organized under the military laws of the state of Missouri and was ready for the Kansas fray if need be, but was not especially organized for that purpose.²⁸⁴

Saline county appears to have furnished a good many *bona fide* settlers for Kansas, many of whom fought for the southern cause upon occasion.²⁸⁵ Most of them were under the command of John W. Reid, formerly of Saline but later of Jackson county. Some fought at Osawatomie, Leavenworth and other places. Some were with Captain Hamelton at the Marais des Cygnes. In extenuation of what they did, the historian of that county said, when telling of the killing of certain free-state men, that the Saline men "did it very reluctantly and did only what they were compelled to do."²⁸⁶

We find record of but one Kansas meeting held in the county. On July 21, 1855, the citizens met at Marshall, where a gathering was presided over by Col. John Brown. Robert Field and H. H. McDowell were vice presidents and W. H. Letcher and T. W. B. Crews secretaries. The meeting called upon the whole South to coöperate with Saline county in her lawful efforts to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave state. It was decided to appoint fifty delegates to attend the Lexington convention on July 12.²⁸⁷

It is probably true that other meetings were held, for from time to time provisions, such as bacon, flour, potatoes, etc., were sent along with arms and ammunition to Kansas. Occasionally, also, "visiting statesmen" from Saline county journeyed to the territory, among them T. W. B. Crews, Hon. W. H. Letcher, Hon. Frank Mitchell, Governor Jackson and others.²⁸⁸

We are able to ascertain but a few facts regarding the activity of St. Clair county in relation to Kansas territory. In common with other Missouri counties back from the border, St. Clair had nothing of the early ardor to rush to the defense of southern institutions. However, on September 10, 1856, a Kansas meeting was held at Osceola. Edmund Vance was chairman and James W. Beck secretary. Alexis Wamsley spoke and presented the

281. *Richmond Weekly Mirror*, February 9, 1855; Trexler, p. 195.

282. *Richmond Weekly Mirror*, March 10, 1855.

283. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, September 2, 1856.

284. *Weekly Jefferson Inquirer*, September 13, 1856.

285. *The St. Louis Evening News* of December 2, 1854 says that about one hundred persons started the week before from Saline county for Kansas.

286. "History of Saline County," p. 257 ff.

287. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, July 21, 1855.

288. "History of Saline County," p. 259.

resolutions. Sentiment was favorable to the raising of a military company. Other speakers were William J. Mayo, Judge Johnson, William A. McClain. On motion of Henry J. Speed it was voted to adjourn to the following Monday. A county committee of five from Osceola township and three from each of the other townships was to give notice of the meeting and to solicit subscriptions. No other facts are at hand.²⁸⁹

This completes the list of Missouri counties which were most active in the Kansas struggle. It will be noted that most of them are either near the Kansas border or on the Missouri river. In other parts of the state, apparently, sentiment was too hard to work up, and this fact, as we shall later show, worked strongly to bring about the final defeat of the South in its expectation of securing Kansas through the medium of Missouri.

IV.

INTEREST OF OTHER SOUTHERN STATES IN KANSAS.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* was doubtless one of the first of the Southern newspapers to advocate securing Kansas to the South by means of emigration. To quote: "One of these territories—Kansas—is said to be well adapted to slave labor, and it is a question worthy of consideration at the South whether this fine territory or state shall be quietly yielded up to the enemies of her domestic institutions. . . . The South has the advantage of proximity; let it be wisely improved. The border states were quite anxious for the bill [Kansas-Nebraska] and aided its passage; let, then, the former which are more immediately interested, and are nearer to the territories and can better spare citizens, pour into Kansas as many friendly to the South as possible, either with or without slaves, and if money is wanted for the work let it be raised by associations, as at the North. . . . But one of the territories can be secured; and of the two, Kansas is far the more desirable to the South. It would, therefore, be folly to divide southern emigration between them. Let the North have Nebraska, but let not the South yield up Kansas without at least a decent struggle to secure it. What say Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia? Shall Kansas be a slave or free state? The states mentioned have it in their power to determine, and the Atlantic and Gulf states would undoubtedly respond liberally to any feasible plan of immigration thither that they might adopt."²⁹⁰

Reports were early in circulation showing what Alabama would do for the cause of Kansas. One hundred and fifty men, possessed of means, were ready in one county, late in 1855, and other counties were marshaling their hundreds. Emphasis was usually laid on the fact of the wealth which would thus be poured into Kansas.²⁹¹ A public meeting was held in Montgomery on January 6, 1856, in order to raise money to assist the Buford expedition. A committee of solicitation was appointed, and Colonel Gayle, formerly a member of congress, pledged Dallas county for \$5,000.²⁹² A large company of Kansas emigrants was reported to have been raised at Auburn.²⁹³ S. H. Woodson, of

289. *Jefferson Inquirer*, September 18, 1856.

290. Issue of June 6, 1854; *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, November 4, 1855.

291. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, December 22, 1855.

292. Webb, VIII, p. 55.

293. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, February 15, 1856.

Buchanan county, Missouri, delegated by an association in his home county to speak in behalf of Kansas in the Southern states, did at least some work in the state of Alabama.²⁹⁴

Allen Eiland, of Crawford, Ala., wrote a letter to Gen. James N. Bethune, in which he proposed that southern emigration societies be established in every town in the Southern states, with a view to sending forward slaveholders to Kansas, and to purchase lands in that territory, which were to be resold only to slaveholders. He proposed to go himself if he could only meet suitable encouragement, contemplating leaving home about the first of February and taking with him twenty-five voters who could be depended on in the territory.²⁹⁵ General Bethune received support in various places in Alabama and Georgia. Thirteen persons in Columbus, Ga., pledged to contribute \$100 each to his cause. One representative-elect in Alabama gave \$200, and other Alabama gentlemen promised support.²⁹⁶

On October 29, 1855, the citizens of Lowndes county, "without regard to old or existing party divisions," met at Haynesville and organized an association known as The Kansas Emigrant Aid Society of Lowndes County. A constitution was adopted, and on November 2 officers were elected. Hon. George W. Stone was chosen president, John L. Powell vice president, and Ben Harrison secretary and treasurer. The executive committee was composed of John H. Powell, H. C. McCall, C. B. Lanpley, R. M. Williamson, E. H. Herbert, Robert McQueen and George S. Cox.²⁹⁷ Just what this organization accomplished is not stated.

There were some Alabamians in the early movements of settlers to Kansas in the spring of 1856, for about 300 men left Mobile late in April, going to St. Louis via New Orleans.²⁹⁸ Two hundred and sixty men, Kansas bound, arrived in Mobile on May 31, 1856. Most of them had banners and ribbons on their breasts with the motto, "Alabamians for Kansas. Bibles instead of rifles."²⁹⁹ A company of seventeen men from Livingston were on the road to Kansas in September, 1856, with Capt. A. M. Browning in command. They expected to join a similar company from Lauderdale county, but that company was not yet ready to start.³⁰⁰ The city of Montgomery raised a company of emigrants, all of them young men—sober, steadfast and true.³⁰¹

According to the *Alabama Journal*, an effort was made to have the legislature of Alabama appropriate \$100,000 to be used under proper auspices to aid in colonizing Kansas.³⁰² On January 12, 1856, Mr. Beck introduced the bill providing that in case a company of 100 emigrants was formed under a leader, and that fact was made known to the governor of the state, the latter was authorized to draw upon the treasury for an amount not to exceed \$25 for each man in the company. The money thus expended was to be returned to the state by means of a tax levied upon all slave property. The passage of the bill was urged by Messrs. Beck, Smith of Mobile, Cochran, Lynch and Davis. At the

294. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, April 7, 1856.

295. *Herald of Freedom*, December 15, 1855.

296. *Eutaw Whig*, in Webb, VI, p. 34.

297. *National Era*, November 29, 1855.

298. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, April 22, 1856; *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, May 2, 1856.

299. *Squatter Sovereign*, June 17, 1856, quoting *Mobile Daily Tribune* of June 1.

300. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 20, 1856.

301. *Missouri Republican*, September 18, 1856.

302. *New York Morning Express*, November 13, 1855; *Randolph Citizen*, November 29, 1855.

second reading it was referred to the committee on federal relations with instructions to report soon.³⁰³ What happened to this bill cannot be ascertained, but the legislature finally appropriated \$25,000 toward equipping and transporting emigrants to Kansas.³⁰⁴

Of all the efforts of the South to capture Kansas, the most talked-of and most spectacular was that of the chivalrous Col. Jefferson Buford, of Alabama. Colonel Buford was a practicing lawyer at Eufaula, who became interested in the prospect of making Kansas a slave state. A very complete and correct account of the so-called Buford expedition to Kansas, written by Dr. Walter L. Fleming, is found in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1900, and for that reason the details of that enterprise will not need retelling here. Suffice it to say that after disposing of his Alabama estate, Colonel Buford collected a force of men and set out to make the colonization of Kansas a business venture. The purpose was to place southern men in Kansas and to keep them there until slavery should be firmly established in the territory. By advertising in various papers in the South, Buford reached an encouraging number of prospective colonists. The company left Montgomery on April 8, 1856, and arrived at Mobile on the 10th. This city gave them a grand reception and money to the extent of \$5,000. They left Mobile on the 13th on the boats *Oceana* and *America*, bound for St. Louis, stopping a few days in New Orleans.³⁰⁵ Alpheus Baker and L. F. Johnston, both of them proslavery leaders in Kansas, were with the expedition.³⁰⁶

On April 20 the advance guard arrived in St. Louis, followed closely by the main body.³⁰⁷ In a few days they were at Westport, where they were outfitted, and by May 3 they had all entered the territory.³⁰⁸ In a speech delivered in Kansas City on April 26, Buford declared that he had come to Kansas trusting to the Bible and to moral suasion and that the bayonet would be the last resort. He further pledged himself that he and his company had not left their distant homes for other purposes than for a pure love of southern rights.³⁰⁹

Premonitions of disaster early manifested themselves in the Buford experiment. Capt. E. B. Bell's company of forty-four men had twenty on the sick list at Westport, measles probably being the disease. Of this company some one wrote: "We are under no military control; only a sense of duty, which is sufficient for a Carolina boy."³¹⁰ The town of Leavenworth was in an uproar during the few hours' stay of the Buford men. Some of the volunteers there expressed their great dissatisfaction and disappointment in the enterprise. They clearly intimated that they had been "taken in" and that they wished they were out of the "scrape." One of the men said he would willingly give \$1,000 if he had never joined the ranks.³¹¹

By the middle of the summer the southerners of this company of 360 men had begun to scatter; indeed, the *Mobile Daily Tribune* of July 26, 1856,

303. *Mobile News*, January 12, 1856; *St. Louis Intelligencer*, February 5, 1856; *Randolph Citizen*, February 21, 1856.

304. Holloway, p. 280.

305. *Randolph Citizen*, April 24, 1856, quoting *New Orleans Delta*; *Missouri Republican*, April 24, 1856.

306. *Jefferson Inquirer*, June 5, 1856.

307. *Missouri Republican*, April 21, 1856.

308. *Missouri Republican*, May 6, 1856.

309. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, May 9, 1856.

310. *Charleston Courier*, May 20, 1856, in Webb, XII, p. 152.

311. *Chicago Democratic Press*, in Webb XII, p. 96.

thought that not over fifty of them were then in the territory. "Most of the others," said that paper, "have returned home to hang around their mothers' apron strings, leaving the energetic and persevering Yankees to rule Kansas." The *Tribune* referred in disparaging tones to them as "the flower of southern chivalry," and suggested that they had proved false just at the time when they were expected to do or to die for southern rights. They were accused of dissipation in Kansas, and, after having seen the country, of having resorted to violent denunciations of the territory, for which conduct they deserved only the contempt and indignation of their old neighbors and friends.³¹² It was soon noted by the Yankees that Buford's men knew nothing about plowing or sowing.³¹³

Colonel Buford himself experienced a hard lot in Kansas. Passing through St. Louis on his way back to Alabama in the late summer of 1856, he reported himself wholly disgusted with the Kansas business, according to common report, for he found himself unable to persuade his men to take claims and settle down. They preferred to roam over the country in organized bands, depending on their too-hospitable friends in Kansas and Missouri. Naturally, these friends eventually became tired of their presence and really welcomed their departure.³¹⁴ On one occasion the men became so "hard up" that Doctor Stringfellow had to come to their rescue, raising for them on one Sunday the sum of \$500. While in Kansas City and vicinity they had been an expense to the community.³¹⁵

Buford subsequently became agent for certain of his Missouri friends, and while in the South wrote an address in Richmond in which he laid further plans for the conquest of Kansas. Receiving contributions, he proposed to form a central colony in Kansas, and required all emigrants taken there to promise to abstain from liquor so long as necessary and to promise implicitly to obey orders. He promised a town site of 300 acres to any such company, and promised to allow the members to take preëmptions, agreeing to transport them free to the territory with enough provisions to last until the middle of the following April.³¹⁶

After the attack on Lawrence and the other free-state towns in May, 1856, the Buford forces were billeted on the people of Missouri. They divided themselves into bands and camped about, erecting forts, setting themselves up as voters, and seeking to deter free-state men from entering the territory. There were some ten or twelve of these fortifications. Three were in Douglas county, two were at Osawatimie, and the rest were along the Missouri river.³¹⁷

The feeling of disappointment which pervaded the Buford contingent is illustrated by a letter from one of the men written to the *Montgomery Journal*. In his communication he describes himself as "perfectly tired out." "I am coming home," said he, "just as soon as I can make a 'raise.' The South

312. *Mobile Daily Tribune*, July 26, 1856, in Webb, XV, pp. 144, 213; *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, August 15, 1856.

313. Rhodes, II, p. 155.

314. *St. Louis Evening News*, July 24, 1856, in Webb, XV, p. 111.

315. *New York Semi-weekly Times*, May 20, 1856, in Webb, XII, p. 150. Compare with this the New Haven colony, less than one-half as large, which paid out some \$6,000 in St. Louis and some \$4,000 more in Kansas City.

316. *Chicago Daily Journal*, August 6, 1856, in Webb, XVI, p. 231.

317. *Daily Democrat Press* (Chicago), August 28, 1856, in Webb, XVI, p. 168; *Chicago Tribune*, August 20, 1856, in Sherman's Scrap Book, p. 93.

ought to send 20,000 men here this fall, well armed and provisioned. If she don't begin to stir her 'stumps' Kansas will be a free state sure."³¹⁸

Upon his return to the South in the summer of 1856, Buford began to canvass for emigrants to Kansas. His operations were conducted in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, where he spoke, in company with General Bethune, of Mobile, in the leading cities.³¹⁹

The business end of the Buford expedition was especially distasteful to his men.³²⁰ And his failure was of some magnitude. In his published account of the expedition it appears that Buford paid out \$24,625.06, and that the total contributions ran up to only \$13,967.90, leaving a deficit of \$10,657.16.³²¹ He had not counted on putting over \$20,000 into the venture. The expedition, however, in addition to being a patriotic crusade, was a spirited bit of land speculation. Each colonist was bound to deliver to Buford his preëmption claim for 160 acres of land and to receive back but 40 acres. Had the plan been successful Buford would have had for his \$20,000 some 36,000 acres of Kansas land, for which at some future time he would have to pay \$1.25 an acre, after having settled his men, 300 in number, on 12,000 acres of land in this community. The scheme would, if successful, have netted Buford perhaps \$50,000.³²²

Of less importance than the Buford expedition is that led from Eufaula, Ala., by Capt. Henry D. Clayton. In fact, the Clayton expedition followed closely on the heels of Buford. According to his own account, Capt. Henry D. Clayton left Eufaula, Ala., on August 20, 1856, with a company of twenty-nine emigrants. Others joined them, and by the time they reached Atlanta, Ga., there was a total of ninety, including children. There were seventy-three adult passengers, several of them being women. On August 23 they left Atlanta, their way taking them through Chattanooga and Nashville and down the Cumberland river. Then they ascended the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, landing at Kansas City on September 2. "On the third of September," says Clayton, "I announced to the emigrants that in accordance with my published circular, upon the faith of which they had accompanied me to Kansas, my obligations to them and theirs to me, ceased. With this announcement they expressed themselves satisfied, and all signed the certificate, a copy of which accompanies this report."³²³

Among those who joined the company at Atlanta were four families going to Kansas to join the Georgia colony in the territory.³²⁴ It happened that this colony had now been driven over into Missouri about forty miles south of Westport. Clayton got the four families to them and paid \$100 to help the Georgia colony buy supplies.

After providing for the women and children he organized a military company. He paid over \$500 to the Missouri executive committee to buy muni-

318. Quoted in *Boonville Weekly Observer*, August 9, 1856.

319. *New Orleans Delta*, September 24, 1856, quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, October 2, 1856.

320. Holloway, p. 304.

321. Wilder's "Annals," December 16, 1856; *Randolph Citizen*, January 1, 1857.

322. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 7, 1856, in Webb, XI, pp. 40, 41.

323. Clayton's Report to the Kansas Executive Committee of Barbour county, Alabama, in *Kansas Historical Pamphlets*, vol. I; *Columbus (Ga.) Times and Sentinel*, quoted in *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 13, 1856.

324. The *Missouri Republican* said: "They come as emigrants ought to come, with their wives and their children, their Negroes, and their goods and chattels.—*Randolph Citizen*, September 4, 1856.

tions of war and to aid the destitute. On September 15 he met Governor Geary, and upon the promise of the latter that the "laws of the territory shall henceforth be observed," the Clayton military company disbanded. Next a place for settlement was sought out, and a place four miles south of Tecumseh was selected.

Clayton perhaps exceeded his instructions in advancing means for men to get through the winter, but he justified this measure by the reflection that he made the trip to Kansas cheaper than anticipated—at least, at a cost of about thirty dollars a man. He spent about \$50, all told, on each man. Cash was received to the amount of \$7,396.68, and there was left a balance on hand of \$3,128.97. In commenting on the prospects in Kansas, Clayton said: "And never was there a field of enterprise more inviting to a southern man or a land open to welcome him to a better home than Kansas this day presents."³²⁵ Clayton's men were characterized as "mostly laboring men of industrious habits and high moral character."³²⁶ We hear nothing further of Clayton or his emigrants after their arrival in the territory.

After the year 1856 it seems that the zeal of Alabama in regard to Kansas subsided, even though a heavy emigration was predicted for the following spring.³²⁷ As far as can be ascertained, the emigrants never materialized. It is probable that the failure of the Buford and Clayton expeditions had become sufficiently advertised to discourage further efforts. The legislature of the state, however, toward the close of the session of 1857-'58, adopted a resolution which provided that a convention of the people of Alabama be called in the event of the refusal of congress to admit Kansas as a state under the provisions of the Lecompton constitution. Their anxiety in this respect was quieted, of course, by the defeat of that constitution.³²⁸ The large interest of Alabama, as is shown elsewhere in this work, was in the work of Buford and Clayton, and not in the attempt of scattered localities to accomplish their own small programs.

Arkansas was doubtless, along with Missouri, one of the very first states of the South to work up an interest in Kansas. It was also one of the first to lose its enthusiasm. Soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill we hear the *Van Buren* (Ark.) *Intelligencer* saying: "We hear some talk among the farmers about getting up a company to go to Kansas. We hope they will do so and take their Negroes along. The South ought to make an effort to secure a slave state out of this territory. Arkansas is especially interested. If Kansas becomes a free-soil state, farewell to slave property in northwest Arkansas."³²⁹

A committee from Johnson county, Arkansas, consisting of Col. J. F. Hill and J. S. Bennett, made a trip to the region of the Neosho, Verdigris and Grand rivers in Kansas, where they secured holdings—perhaps the first to settle in that section.³³⁰ The trip of the committee seemed to be productive of results, for the summer of 1856 was just well begun when emigrants commenced to move northward. One paper said:

"The Kansas fever is beginning to prevail in Arkansas to a consider-

325. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 13, 1856.

326. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 13, 1856.

327. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, March 6, 1857.

328. Transactions Alabama Historical Society, vol. V, p. 64.

329. Webb, I, p. 59.

330. *Fayetteville Independent*, in Webb, I, p. 208; *Missouri Republican*, October 17, 1854.

able extent. A party of emigrants of some eight or ten families with some sixteen wagons, cattle, horses, etc., passed through Van Buren last week en route for Kansas. They were substantial farmers from Johnson and Crawford counties in that state. Besides a number of families who will leave this spring, we are assured that more than a hundred families will leave in the fall. A company of emigrants with their families will leave Van Buren next week for Walnut Creek, and others will follow for the same destination the week after. The emigrants to Kansas from that part of the state generally go to the Big Bend of the Arkansas."³³¹

But the slaveholding element of the South was to suffer a bitter disillusionment in the Arkansas settlers in Kansas. The testimony is unanimous that they proved false to the South; or rather were really free-state men in the first instance. They were persons who had seen the evils of slavery and desired to escape from the influence of the institution. These free-state men reported that emissaries from the South came into their country in Arkansas asking proslavery men to emigrate to Kansas and aid in making it a slave state, but got no response and no volunteers for that purpose.³³² Some negroes were indeed brought to Kansas from Arkansas,³³³ but that the majority of emigrants from that state were free-soil in sympathy is easily demonstrated. It is probably this fact that accounts for the abrupt subsidence of the colonization fever in Arkansas. It is a fact, too, that Arkansas had within her borders vast stretches of idle land which was calling for settlers and to people which was proving a task beyond the power of the state.³³⁴

There is some evidence to lead one to conclude that while Georgia was a trifle late in entering actively into the race of the South for supremacy in Kansas, she was the state in which the idea of organized emigration first took hold.³³⁵ According to one contemporary the emigration schemes of that state made more noise than did those set on foot elsewhere, but with no corresponding advantage.³³⁶

One of the first calls was issued by the *Augusta Constitutionalist*. It said:

"Now that the excitement of the recent election is in a manner over, we invite the attention of the people of Georgia to a practical movement for securing Kansas as a slave state. It is nothing more or less than a counter-acting movement to the emigrant aid societies of Boston and other free-soil communities of the North organized to send free-soilers and abolitionists into Kansas to put down slavery. The movement is to raise funds at the South for the purpose of equipping and sending to Kansas sound and reliable southern emigrants and slaves with a view to sustain their southern influence and to give to the South there a preponderating influence. What say you, wealthy and patriotic men of Georgia? Will not each of you contribute from your abundance \$100 each to achieve this great political good for the South? If so, send your names to the editors of the *Southwestern Cornerstone*."³³⁷

331. *Weekly Brunswick*, quoted in *Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 25, 1855; *St. Louis Evening News*, April 26, 1855.

332. *National Antislavery Standard*, November 10, 1855; *Springfield Republican*, November 1, 1855.

333. *St. Louis Evening News*, April 11, 1856.

334. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 7, 1856, in Webb, XI, pp. 40-41.

335. *Providence Journal*, October 22, 1855, in Webb, VI, p. 67.

336. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 7, 1856, in Webb, XI, pp. 40-41. The efforts of Alabama were said to be more businesslike.

337. Webb, VI, p. 37.

The Cornerstone, it should be remarked, had undertaken to be sponsor for an old-line Whig [name not given] who proposed to be one of 1,000 persons each contributing \$100 to a fund to be used in Kansas. By October, 1855, five subscribers had been found.³³⁸

In the fall of 1855 a public meeting was held in Griffin, Ga., at which resolutions were adopted calling upon the people of the slaveholding states to adopt such measures as would encourage southern emigration to Kansas. The *Griffin Empire* stated that Col. Augustus Cargile, of Kansas, was working vigorously in the cause. He had in mind the taking of 1,000 emigrants with him to Kansas that fall.³³⁹ That number, of course, never materialized.

Late in October, 1855, there was held in Columbus, Ga., a meeting of the Muscogee County Kansas Emigrant Aid Society. Addresses were delivered by Senators Toombs and Iverson. Nine hundred dollars was raised for Kansas.³⁴⁰ Says the *Savannah Georgian*:

"Upon a proposition of John A. Jones, Esq., to equip a company of emigrants to Kansas, a short discussion arose, participated in by Mr. Jones, Judge Crawford and others, . . . as to the best and most expedient method of raising funds for the use of the society. Judge Crawford suggested that every man should subscribe one dollar for each slave he possessed; that if every slaveholder in the state would do so, a fund of not less than \$400,000 could be raised, which could be increased at least to half a million of dollars by the subscriptions of others. . . . Give southern emigrants four millions of dollars in addition to the inducements and the bright prospects of slave labor in Kansas, and ere long she will be seeking admission into the Union as a slave state."³⁴¹

On March 5, 1855, a number of prominent citizens of Macon met in the city council chamber with Hon. B. F. Ross in the chair. Major Moore, of Americus, addressed the meeting on the subject of Kansas. A committee consisting of Col. R. H. Clark, E. D. Tracy and James A. Nisbet was appointed to collect subscriptions to aid Capt. Charles Hamelton in raising a company of Kansas emigrants. A committee of seven was appointed, to be known as the central executive committee of Bibb county. It was composed of Col. James Dean, Hon. W. Poe, Hon. E. A. Nisbet, Dr. E. L. Strohecker, Dr. Robert Collins, Clifford Anderson and Samuel Hunter, jr.³⁴² Forty Georgia emigrants arrived in St. Louis late in November, 1855, on their way to Kansas. They were among the first to make the trip.³⁴³

A large audience in Milledgeville, on February 6, 1856, listened to an address by J. W. White, of Kansas. A correspondent of the *Savannah Republican*, commenting on this gathering, said: "If Kansas is what he represents her to be, any poor man who is willing to fight for the interests of the South might promote his welfare by emigrating thither." His contempt for abolitionists was clearly manifested, and especially for such as have been sent to that territory by societies in the nonslaveholding states with a view to the formation of an antislavery constitution. He said that the object of his friends in Kansas was to triumph at the ballot box; but that if they failed in this, they were de-

338. Webb, VI, p. 27; *Herald of Freedom*, December 15, 1855.

339. *Herald of Freedom*, October 23, 1855; *Missouri Republican*, September 23, 1855; *Randolph Citizen*, October 11, 1855.

340. Wilder's "Annals," p. 86; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, December 1, 1855.

341. Quoted in *New York Tribune*, November 2, 1855.

342. *Macon Journal and Messenger*, March 12, 1856.

343. *Missouri Democrat*, December 5, 1855.

terminated to achieve a victory at the cannon's mouth. He urged that the legislature would promptly aid his enterprise or refuse to do so, in order that he might, if they failed, go before the people at once and raise funds by private subscriptions.³⁴⁴

On March 29, 1856, a Kansas meeting was held in Savannah. A large crowd was in attendance. John Boston was chairman and B. H. Hardee secretary. A committee of ten, headed by John Bilbo, reported the resolutions. A. H. H. Dawson, who had been in Kansas, addressed the meeting while the resolutions were being prepared. It was decided to call the association the Chatham County Kansas Association, and a committee of ten was appointed to raise funds. On motion of Captain Bilbo the chair appointed a committee of three to take the names of all willing to join the association, and when 100 were obtained the chairman was to call a meeting to organize. James P. Screven, Hon. John W. Anderson and Col. Robert D. Walker constituted the last-named committee.³⁴⁵

The town of Newman sent a committee of five, consisting of Col. W. F. Wright, one of the first lawyers of Georgia; Dr. W. W. Bruce, Dr. A. B. Northern, J. L. Dodds and J. L. Collier, to Kansas to explore the territory politically. They arrived early in April, 1856, and said that upon their recommendation several thousand Georgians would come to Kansas in time to vote in the October election. The committee were present at a mass meeting held at Westport on April 7, at which time it was reported that Messrs. Wright and Bruce made "intellectual speeches."³⁴⁶

In Upson county a Kansas meeting was held on May 7, 1856, and a company of thirty men was raised. Twelve hundred dollars was promptly contributed to the furtherance of the enterprise. The company was led by Captain Moore. In Merriwether county a company of twenty-five or thirty assembled under Capt. F. A. Boykin. In Cass county Captain Cook gathered a party and prepared to leave on May 5. Capt. A. S. Hamilton also took some men from that county. The *Charleston Mercury* of May 17, 1856, said: "Under the auspices of Charles A. Hamilton, Esq., over 100 men are now en route for Kansas."³⁴⁷ In all probability it was these aggregations that went to form the company headed by Col. J. W. White, who is reported as bringing emigrants from the counties of Monroe, Merriwether, Marion, Spaulding, Pike and Upson. About half of the company consisted of women, children and servants.³⁴⁸ Fain, a Georgian, and formerly a deputy sheriff of Douglas county, Kansas, raised a company of men in Calhoun county and was expecting to leave for Kansas on September 18, 1856.³⁴⁹

The Georgia movement was not the easiest to sustain, as is proved by the experience of Macon. The *Macon Telegraph* has this item:

"Pursuant to a call, the members of the Macon Kansas Emigration Association met at the council chamber of this city on Friday evening, June 27, 1856, and the following resolution passed:

"*Resolved*, That in consequence of a failure on the part of our citizens to raise funds sufficient to defray the expenses of the Macon Emigration Associa-

344. *New York Herald*, February 18, 1856, in Webb, IX, p. 148.

345. *Savannah Daily Morning News*, March 31, 1856.

346. *Missouri Republican*, April 7 and 14, 1856.

347. Webb, XII, p. 137; *New Orleans Picayune*, June 7, 1856.

348. *Squatter Sovereign*, August 12, 1856; *Randolph Citizen*, July 3, 1856.

349. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 27, 1856.

tion to the territory of Kansas, and at the same time the strong tide of opposition given to this enterprise by a portion of our fellow citizens, that this association now disband.' " 350

The Georgia company headed by White arrived in Kansas and held a meeting on July 1, 1856, near Kansas City. An organization was effected by the election of Capt. John Couch president, Capt. John L. Grant vice president, and A. S. Hamilton secretary. Captain Cook explained the object of the meeting. The body was organized as a colony, with the idea of including any and all Georgians then in the territory and who desired to become actual settlers and law-abiding citizens. A vigilance committee was designated, composed of Messrs. C. Fait Deupree, R. R. Barber, Jesse Holmes, William Caruthers and Dr. J. E. Skaggs. Capt. E. M. McGee and Capt. H. Jones were appointed to act as agents for the company in the state of Georgia.³⁵¹ The two last named went back to Georgia, and probably exaggerated the advantages of the Kansas project.³⁵² Jones' appeals for money brought forth great enthusiasm and many glowing resolutions in the South.

A man by the name of J. W. White, presumably the Colonel White before mentioned, played havoc with the plans of certain enthusiastic Georgians. *The Independence (Mo.) Messenger* said:

"A man by the name of J. W. White has been recently raising a company of emigrants in Georgia for Kansas. After the company had collected at Ringgold for the purpose of starting, White absconded with all the funds which had been contributed by the citizens of Georgia for the emigrants, leaving them in a destitute condition. Means were at once taken to raise more money to send the emigrants forward.³⁵³

The *Georgia Platform*, published at Calhoun, contained a card signed by some forty persons, warning the people to beware of White. There were perhaps seventy emigrants in the party which he deserted.³⁵⁴

In July 1856, a company of over fifty men under Captain Taggart, of Kansas, arrived in St. Louis. They were headed for Osawatomie, where they hoped to start a town, to be called New Georgia. The colony was agricultural and brought their wives and children with them.³⁵⁵ A company of 130 Georgians similarly situated had landed in St. Louis on June 22.³⁵⁶ By mid-summer, 1856, there were at least 150 Georgians located near Osawatomie on Pottawatomie creek.³⁵⁷

Meanwhile a bill had been presented in the Georgia legislature proposing state aid to the emigration to Kansas. Its provisions may be noted in brief. It provided that whenever any citizen of the state of Georgia should have collected a company of citizens desiring to emigrate to the territory of Kansas but lacking the necessary means, he should apply to the governor of the state. Thereupon the governor should require the leader of the company to give bond to the state in such amount and with such surety as might seem to him proper. This bond required the leader to transport to Kansas within twelve months 100 emigrants, with a guarantee to care for their subsistence. The governor was to issue a warrant in favor of the principal obligor in the sum

350. Quoted in the *Boston Journal*, July 17, 1856.

351. *Kansas City Enterprise*, July 18, 1856.

352. *Mobile Daily Tribune*, September 6, 1856.

353. Quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, November 15, 1856.

354. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, October 25, 1856.

355. *St. Louis Evening News*, July 19, 1856.

356. *Springfield Republican*, June 27, 1856.

357. *Squatter Sovereign*, July 22, 1856.

of \$50 for each one of the emigrants who was destitute. Not over \$50,000 was thus to be expended, and the state treasury was to be reimbursed by a special tax on slaves.

This bill passed to the third reading in the house. Representative Crook advocated its passage in a speech which is described as a "stirring appeal, sometimes pathetic, sometimes patriotic, and not a little inflammatory." The debate assumed rather wide range. Ward of Butts county opened the opposition to the measure. He favored the formation of local societies in the counties to foster the movement to Kansas. This policy commended itself to him from the fact that it would furnish more opportunity for keeping tab on Georgians disposed to vote and lend their influence in a way displeasing to the South. He warned his hearers not to depend too much on the loyalty of emigrants, enforcing his admonition by the statement that out of eighty-nine men sent from Tennessee to Kansas, eighty proved false to the cause of the South, and that of nine men sent from Gordon county, Georgia, only one remained loyal. Harris of Fulton opposed the measure for several reasons. He held that it would depopulate the state, and raised the question as to whether the destitute would have any interest in maintaining the institution of slavery in Kansas. Said he: "I hold it, sir, to be philosophically true that the system of slave labor is antagonistic to the system of free labor in the organization of territories, and that in proportion as you increase the number of laborers you diminish the wages. Apply these truths to the present case and the conclusions are plain to every man, viz., that he who owns no slaves in Kansas has (nothing to the contrary being shown) two reasons for opposition to their introduction there; and those of our destitute who are sent there are very accessible to these two reasons." The enthusiasm of the legislature was hard to warm by the friends of the bill, and the measure was defeated by a vote of 63 to 43.³⁵⁸

Commenting on the defeat of this bill, the *Kansas Weekly Herald* said: "The opposition to the bill was predicated on the ground that it was not wise policy for Georgia as a state, by legislative enactment, to aid in populating Kansas; that matter had better be left to the enterprise and support of private companies."³⁵⁹

The whole Georgia movement for the colonization of Kansas was disappointing from the very start. Numbers of men had no faith in it whatever. Interest was hard to sustain. Lane's plunder of the Georgia colony for a time furnished an incentive, and in Savannah it was possible to collect \$1,100 in two nights for the purpose of affording relief.³⁶⁰ But this is an isolated instance. One of the men who came to Kansas with White wrote from St. Louis telling of his experiences. There were about eighty men in his contingent and the finances of the company were reduced to the point where there was but five dollars for the entire following. With twenty companions this man deserted and started back to St. Louis. He was a mechanic and was able to make his way better than were his companions. In disgust he signed himself "One of the 5,000 voters in St. Louis who hope to see a free constitution in Kansas."³⁶¹ There are other intimations that Kansas

358. Webb, IX, pp. 159, 160; *Herald of Freedom*, March 22, 1856; Rhodes, II, p. 150. The vote, according to another authority, was 62 to 42.

359. Issue of March 15, 1856.

360. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 27, 1856.

361. Webb, XII, p. 132.

might not prove profitable to the slaveholding class in Georgia. The *Savannah Republican*, in speaking of the several companies bound for the new territory, says few if any of those going are slaveholders, and that no slaves accompany them. It further expresses a doubt whether the votes of these emigrants can be counted on as favorable to the South. The paper is plainly pessimistic about the outcome.³⁶² Many Georgians were disgusted with Kansas and returned home after a short stay in the territory. Of fifty who came to Lawrence in 1856, perhaps forty made their way back to Georgia by April.³⁶³ It is the opinion of many that the men from Georgia in many instances did little to maintain the good name of their native state while in Kansas.³⁶⁴

In Kentucky we hear of few organized efforts to send men to Kansas. This may be due in part to the fact that practically all parties of Kentuckians who came to Kansas were of somewhat ample means. No appeal was made to send the poor to do the bidding of the slaveholding class in the territory. Details of Kansas meetings, such as we find in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, are not obtainable in Kentucky. It is probable, of course, that they were further not necessary since Missouri was the natural outlet for the moving population of Kentucky, and to come to Kansas would be to come but one step further. One is struck by the fact that Kentuckians showed a marked tendency to go in a northerly direction, as is evidenced by the presence of great numbers of them in southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. These facts, as just stated, removed the necessity of machinery for promoting Kansas emigration—a movement which everywhere else in the South required more or less stimulus.

There were rumors of a large emigration to Kansas in the fall of 1854.³⁶⁵ Forty or fifty persons were scheduled to leave Lexington about the middle of August,³⁶⁶ but there are few evidences of other organized emigration that year. Twenty substantial farmers from Kentucky came to Kansas in October, 1854, bringing their slaves with them.³⁶⁷ A small company of some sixteen came up the Missouri river on December 8 and settled on Salt creek near Leavenworth.³⁶⁸

The next spring, however, found many Kentuckians on the road to Kansas.³⁶⁹ There were many mechanics and men of substantial worth in their ranks. One of the earliest parties was the Ashland company. An Ohio paper said of that enterprise:

"A party of excellent families from Kentucky, called the Kentucky Kansas Association, have chartered the steamer *Express* and will start to-day or to-morrow. About 200 will leave at this trip and as many more will follow in a few weeks, as fast as preparations can be made in Kansas for their reception. This party is composed of men of the right stamina; they are all strong antislavery and temperance men, in easy circumstances, with a good sprinkling of educated and professional persons. They take with them a frame schoolhouse, ten of Hinkle's cottages, a steam engine, sawmill, several yoke of oxen, horses, Durham cattle, etc. Mr. Clark, formerly a sur-

362. *Savannah Republican*, quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, April 19, 1856.

363. *New York Semiweekly Times*, April 4, 1856, in Webb, XI, p. 27.

364. Goodlander, "Early Days of Fort Scott," p. 13.

365. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 29, 1854.

366. *St. Louis Evening News*, August 21, 1854.

367. *Missouri Republican*, October 28, 1854.

368. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, December 29, 1854.

369. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 30, 1855.

veyor on the Lexington & Covington railroad, is president of the association. He is now in Kansas and has laid out a town for his associates on the Kansas river eight miles below Fort Riley, and named it Ashland."³⁷⁰

A large company of a different stamp was soon to follow. J. W. G., writing from Louisville, on March 17, said:

"There are about 300 emigrants in our city at present bound for Kansas, among whom are many slaves. The steamer *Virginia* left here yesterday with about 250 whites and blacks, and large numbers are arriving from the interior of the state. . . . I understand there are about 100 families at Carrollton, at the mouth of the Kentucky river, awaiting transportation. Very near all of the families ready to start take their slaves with them."³⁷¹

It is altogether probable that some of these settlers were from Bourbon county.³⁷²

In the fall of 1855 an agent came to Kansas representing some 5,000 German and Irish residents in Kentucky, particularly in Louisville. These people found Kentucky rather an inhospitable state on account of the prevalence of Know-Nothingism, and looked to Kansas as a refuge. They were a sober, industrious and well-to-do class of people.³⁷³ The year 1856 opened with prospects of more emigrants. St. Louis chronicled larger numbers of arrivals than usual.

"The *Highflier*, which arrived at noon yesterday (March 26) from Louisville, had one of the largest trips of passengers that has ever come here. They numbered 302 in the cabin and 150 on the deck, 100 of the latter being slaves, male and female, of all sizes, and all very dark in color. Nearly the whole number, 458, were en route for Kansas, in which they intend locating permanently should events in that territory be such as they desire. Along with the Negroes these emigrants have their cattle, wagons, farming implements, etc."³⁷⁴

The same day the steamer *J. H. Lucas* arrived in St. Louis, having on board from Jefferson City about 350 passengers, principally from Kentucky and Alabama, bound for Kansas, "which they anticipate will become, partly through their influence, a slave state."³⁷⁵

On May 1, 1856, Dr. G. W. Cooper, of Louisville, arrived in Kansas City on the way to Kansas. He was a free-state man, and for that reason entertained some fears for his personal safety in the territory. He applied to General McClain in Wyandotte for a letter of recommendation as a safeguard against the Buford company which had just arrived in Kansas. After a brief stay in Kansas he returned to Louisville to organize a town company. Of this company W. A. Garnett was chosen president. Under its auspices, in August, 1857, a Louisville colony settled in what is now the town of Garnett.³⁷⁶

Certain citizens of Louisville laid out a town in Kansas and called it Prairie City. It was located about seventy miles west of the Missouri river on the Santa Fe Trail. One hundred families left Louisville about June 1.

370. *Cincinnati Gazette*, February 23, 1855.

371. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 6, 1855.

372. *Herald of Freedom*, February 10, 1855; *New Orleans Picayune*, March 26, 1855.

373. *Kansas Free State*, October 22, 1855; *Madison Daily Banner*, November 9, 1855; *Kansas Territorial Register*, October 13, 1855.

374. *Missouri Democrat*, March 27, 1856.

375. *Missouri Democrat*, March 27, 1856.

376. Johnson, "History of Anderson County, Kansas," pp. 59-67.

1856, for this new Kansas town.³⁷⁷ During the summer just before this event the emigration from Kentucky had apparently been rather light.³⁷⁸

In the fall of 1856 a party of over forty from Lexington arrived in Louisville under the command of Joseph O. Shelby. Their expenses were paid to Kansas and they were each to receive upon their arrival in the territory a quarter section of land. They were also guaranteed a livelihood for one year.³⁷⁹ Shelby subsequently became prominent in the army of the Confederacy.

There were perhaps other Kansas companies which have not been noted. Two others might be mentioned. Scott county equipped fifty young men for Kansas, all of them Kentucky sharpshooters. They held a meeting at Georgetown in March, 1856, to make final arrangements to start to Kansas. There was a large attendance.³⁸⁰ Lincoln county sent through Louisville in the spring of 1857 a company of settlers who are described as having "some fifty Negroes and as many dogs."³⁸¹

There were influences at work in Kentucky, however, which made impossible a strong and impelling Kansas propaganda. In the early fifties Know-Nothingism swept over the state and practically captured all opposition. In August, 1855, that party elected as governor Charles S. Morehead. It elected six congressmen and gained a decided majority in the state legislature.³⁸² For a time the excitement generated by Know-Nothingism overshadowed everything else, including the slavery issue. This is rather a curious fact, since Kentucky had but few foreign-born citizens and the native Catholics constituted a highly respectable class.³⁸³ Nevertheless, the excitement militated against the Kansas crusade.

Filibustering in the fifties found a ready response in Kentucky, and for that reason the attention of the restless was directed rather toward Cuba and Central America than toward Kansas. A correspondent from Owensboro, writing to the *St. Louis Evening News*, said 1,000 men from his community were ready to go to Cuba, and that 300 were available in a neighboring county.³⁸⁴ A filibustering expedition which had hoped to set out from Louisville with a force of 1,500 men was compelled to disband because of a lack of funds.³⁸⁵ A plan was on foot late in 1856 to send a force under a Mexican war officer from Louisville to Nicaragua.³⁸⁶

Then there was also prevalent, according to some, a sort of pride in past achievements, which was content to dwell on the glories of the past and to refuse to exert itself to realize a greater future. It was pointed out that Missouri, the firstborn daughter of Kentucky, far outstripped her mother in her zeal for southern interests. However, the belief that Kentucky was a victim of an "unhealthy stagnation of lifeblood in the veins of indolent youth" was answered by the statement that—

377. *Louisville Journal*, May 16, 1856; *Louisville Gazette and Courier*, May 12, 1856.

378. *Missouri Republican*, August 30, 1856.

379. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 13, 1856; *Boonville Weekly Observer*, September 6, 1856.

380. *Squatter Sovereign*, April 19, 1856.

381. *Lecompton Weekly Union*, April 18, 1857.

382. Speed, "The Union Cause in Kentucky," p. 1.

383. Shaler, "Kentucky," p. 219.

384. Issue of August 10, 1854.

385. Collins, "History of Kentucky," vol. 1, p. 73.

386. *Jefferson Inquirer*, December 12, 1856.

"Kentucky cannot be charged with a lack of that spirit of adventure which migrates from home in search of new fields for the exercise of its powers. Missouri and Illinois can testify to their worth as citizens when transferred to a new region and roused by that restless desire to go forward which springs so vigorously from virgin soil. The Kansas and Nebraska fever has spread to this state, and the people evince that restless desire to know something of the new territories which betokens their interest. Many substantial and thrifty farmers in this part of the state are preparing to go to Kansas and 'look at the country' in contemplation of removing thither. Many have spoken to me about the nature and adaptation of the soil, timber, climate and productions, and the probable character of its future institutions. Of course, they desire that Kansas shall be a slave state, since their removal would involve the transportation of their slaves also. They think it fair and just that Nebraska be a free state, while Kansas should be slave. This is virtually compromising the question, at least, and is the sentiment all over the state."³⁸⁷

But a more fundamental reason for the small part played by Kentucky is to be found in the fact that she was only mildly a slave state.

"Kentucky was a slave state, but slavery in its mildest form was the characteristic of the servitude. Indeed, there is scarcely a doubt that the majority of the better-informed people of the state would have been pleased had there not been a slave within her borders. But the members of no considerable political party in the state had sympathy with the radical views of those who bore what was then the opprobrious name of abolitionists."³⁸⁸

The manifest destiny of Kansas to become a free state finally dawned upon the Kentucky agitators. Before the year 1858 was six months old they saw their doom. The *Lexington Observer and Republican* speaks of a certain class in the South, many of whom never owned a "nigger," who lived on the slavery agitation, but now that the peculiar institution was receiving so little encouragement in the legislative halls, their power was manifestly broken.³⁸⁹

Practically all of the activity of the state of Louisiana in relation to Kansas affairs was confined to the city of New Orleans. "Our citizens," wrote a correspondent from New Orleans to the *Baltimore Sun*, "look with much interest to the settlement of Kansas and Nebraska, because their settlement and increase will promote our commerce. It is conceived that they will both likely be free."³⁹⁰ The enthusiasm of the city sprang largely from the well-known J. D. B. DeBow. On March 25, 1856, a Kansas meeting was held in the St. Charles hotel in New Orleans. Of this meeting Gen. Isaac E. Morse was chairman and V. H. Ivy secretary. Mr. DeBow was chairman of the resolutions committee. The resolutions adopted asserted the right of promoting emigration to Kansas, but disavowed any desire to intervene in the domestic affairs of that territory. The sentiment of the meeting was that aid to Kansas settlers should be tendered in a private way. A committee of nine was appointed for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions, making rules for the association, appointing officers, and in general of carrying out the will of the meeting. It was recommended that similar organizations be formed throughout the state.³⁹¹

Kansas enthusiasts in New Orleans counted much on the success of Major Buford's expedition. The *Picayune*, commenting on this enterprise, said Buford

387. *St. Louis Evening News*, August 7, 1854.

388. Johnson, "A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians," vol. 1, p. 288.

389. Quoted in *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, May 4, 1858.

390. Webb, I, p. 163.

391. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, April 8, 1856; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, March 26, 1856, quoted in Webb, X, p. 194; *DeBow's Review*, May, 1856, p. 640.

would probably arrive soon with a force numbering from 500 to 800 men. "They are not merely emigrants seeking a new home, but representatives of a principle and defenders of great constitutional rights against a daring and dangerous conspiracy." Buford's expedition is said to be the "first which has been organized on a scale of magnitude sufficient to be of essential service." The hope is held out that Louisiana will perhaps do something to further the end which Buford has in view.³⁹²

There were several other meetings held in New Orleans—just how many does not appear. On the night of August 27, 1856, about 400 or 500 persons gathered at the St. Louis hotel to "devise ways and means to aid southern emigration to Kansas." Gen. H. W. Palfrey called the meeting to order and nominated Mayor Waterman chairman. There were a number of vice presidents and secretaries. No details of the business transacted are available, although it was either at this meeting or at one held shortly afterwards that a long series of resolutions was passed and warm speeches made by Col. William McChristy, John W. Chilton and Gen. Isaac E. Morse. Colonel McChristy wished to see \$250,000 raised, and offered to place himself at the head of 1,000 men who would invade Kansas.³⁹³ The meeting of the 27th of August recommended that the governor correspond with the governors of all the Southern states with a view of effecting concerted action among the several legislatures of the South. About 600 persons, including a number of the wealthiest and most influential of the city, were present upon this occasion.³⁹⁴ Some money was raised in New Orleans, for J. W. Whitfield was credited with having raised \$1,151 on November 7, 1856.³⁹⁵

The hand of the designing politician was not absent from the persistent efforts made in New Orleans to secure substantial aid for the peopling of Kansas. The *True Delta*, speaking of a recent Kansas meeting held in September 1856, said it was called under the most auspicious circumstances, the best citizens in the community signing the call. "Like all such things in this city," complains that paper, "charlatans and humbugs managed to 'ring' themselves in, and the result was that from its inauguration to its termination it was a stupendous humbug, and for all practical purposes was a ridiculous failure." The same paper further criticizes the steps thus far taken in the Kansas matter:

"We have been called upon by several enthusiastic and patriotic young southerners who, relying on the action of the late Kansas meeting in this city, have organized themselves into a company for emigration, but now find themselves in a very awkward and disagreeable position, as the committee appointed to raise the sinews of war do not, when applied to, give them any encouragement. Our enthusiastic young friends who have made their preparations to emigrate to Kansas on the strength of the action of the meeting of last Wednesday evening may therefore make up their minds to turn their swords into ploughshares if they have not the means to go it on their own hook."³⁹⁶

The only other place in which there was any effort made to raise money for the Kansas propaganda in Louisiana was in the parish of St. Bernard, the citi-

392. Quoted in *Missouri Republican*, April 10, 1856.

393. *New Orleans Bulletin*, August 28, 1856, in Webb, XVI, p. 177.

394. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, September 9, 1856.

395. Wilder's "Annals," p. 142.

396. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, September 8, 1856.

zens of which raised \$650 for the purpose of sending proslavery men to hold the territory for the South.³⁹⁷

Kansas emigration agitators early invaded Mississippi, and were successful in organizing a good number of societies to further the movement to the territory. In spite of this fact, however, the *Squatter Sovereign* of June 17, 1856, alluded to Mississippi as the "eleventh-hour arrival" in extending aid to save Kansas. On December 10, 1855, a meeting was held at Gainsville, in Hancock county, at which an organization was perfected and \$503 raised to send five men to Kansas. Each charter member was required to pay one dollar into the organization.³⁹⁸ On January 10, 1856, this organization memorialized the legislature for the appropriation of \$25,000, subject to the order of the governor, to be used to send men to uphold the southern cause in Kansas. Of this organization J. B. Toulne was president and Dr. R. Eager secretary-treasurer.³⁹⁹ A correspondent of the *Platte Argus*, writing from Washington, is authority for the statement that a company of 300 men left the state of Mississippi on January 5, 1856, bound for Kansas.⁴⁰⁰ No further facts regarding this company are available.

Governor McRae, of Mississippi, in his annual message to the legislature in 1856, said:

"Fully impressed with the importance of securing that territory [Kansas] to our interests and for the extension of our own institutions, after the most mature reflection I have not been able to see how the state in her sovereign capacity can take measures to effect that object. Yet I am ready to coöperate with the legislature in any constitutional measures which their wisdom may suggest or their better judgment devise to secure so desirable and important a result. Were it in the sphere of my duty to address the people on this subject, I would make every appeal to them which would arouse their sympathies or their interests to encourage the spirit and aid the progress of emigration to that territory. The people of the South have it in their power to secure it, and they have only to make the effort to do it."⁴⁰¹

Early in March, 1856, a proslavery aid meeting was held in the city of Jackson. It was addressed by Governor McRae, Sam. H. Woodson, of Missouri, and other speakers. The *Mississippian* stated that a subscription paper was presented and that a number of citizens "came forward and gave practical evidence that their hearts were with the good cause."⁴⁰² It appears that Natchez was for a time the field of operation of Alpheus Baker, who was sent South as a representative of the proslavery forces resident in Kansas territory. He spoke in the courthouse in April, 1856, and probably aroused much enthusiasm, for Capt. Campbell March, of the Natchez Fencibles, was quick to respond with money and to subscribe himself as the first of an emigrating party. In a short time forty recruits were reported, with March as their captain.⁴⁰³ The men of this company, most of them young, active and intelligent, according to the description, pledged themselves for a one year's stay in Kansas, and if conditions of climate, soil and social institutions were favorable and up to their expectations, to become settlers. Many of them, however, were poor.

397. *Jefferson Inquirer*, October 3, 1856.

398. *Mobile Daily News*, January 8, 1856, quoted in Webb, VIII, p. 73.

399. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, January 26, 1856; Holloway, pp. 280-281.

400. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, January 19, 1856.

401. *National Intelligencer*, January 31, 1856.

402. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, March 18, 1856.

403. *Squatter Sovereign*, May 20, 1856.

and it was necessary to raise money by subscription to provide for their removal.⁴⁰⁴ A company of emigrants was organized at Holly Springs with a fund of \$15,000 with which to defray their expenses and to aid them in settling in their new home.⁴⁰⁵ In Claiborne county about \$10,000 had been raised by June, 1856, and prospects were favorable for an additional \$5,000. This community was thoroughly aroused to the necessity of rescuing Kansas from Yankee control.⁴⁰⁶ A company of men organized at Yazoo City, met on August 16, 1856, at the courthouse in that city, and elected Jonathan Vancleve captain and James D. Houston lieutenant.⁴⁰⁷ Aberdeen county furnished for Kansas a party of some thirty young men, all of them of ample means to care for themselves. Of them the *Missouri Republican* said:

"They are no adventurers, hunting novelties or civil broils, but honest, legitimate emigrants. We understand several of them intend purchasing largely in the Delaware trust lands. Their motto is to abuse no honest citizen of Kansas because of political difference in opinions, but by pure and legitimate means to assist in sustaining the laws and the equal rights of all, and to restore peace to that much-disturbed territory."⁴⁰⁸

General Whitfield was in charge of these young men as they passed into Kansas.⁴⁰⁹

Mississippi had its ups and downs in its efforts in behalf of the South. The Kansas propaganda had the advantage of the prestige of the name of General Quitman, who gave \$2,500 cash to aid the cause, and whose arrival in Kansas with a large body of recruits was most confidently expected early in 1856, but whose name never became connected with Kansas history.⁴¹⁰

Reference should be made to one of the best-thought-out schemes ever proposed for the southernization of Kansas—a plan presented by United States Senator A. G. Brown, of Mississippi. To begin with, Senator Brown suggested as a financial basis for his plan a tax of one dollar a head on every Negro slave. Continuing he wrote:

"My plan would be this: For each state to purchase the slaves in her own name and send them in charge of reliable persons into the territory, to be held there as the property of the state and used for the benefit of the persons having them in charge. Mississippi is certainly part owner of the territory, and the power that could rightfully confiscate or expel her property from the territory would have to be something greater than an equal—I think greater than those of an individual. The first point gained by this movement would, as I think, be to plant slavery in the territory, backed by the sovereignty of the state, and thus place it upon the most solid and certain basis. The persons going out in charge could be chosen by commissioners to be appointed for each county by the governor, and these commissioners could also purchase the slaves. A young Mississippian, thus made the master of a slave by his state, and sent free of charge to such a territory as Kansas, would do the necessary voting, and, if needs be, the fighting also, required to sustain the acts of his state in the territory."

Senator Brown would have Mississippi undertake to send 300 men, with as many slaves.⁴¹¹ The *New Orleans Delta* said it presumed that the coming

404. *Natchez Courier*, May 20, 1856, in Webb, XII, p. 61.

405. *Squatter Sovereign*, July 1, 1856.

406. *Squatter Sovereign*, June 17, 1856.

407. *Squatter Sovereign*, August 26, 1856.

408. Issue of September 27, 1856.

409. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, October 4, 1856.

410. *New York Herald*, January 13, 1856, in Webb, VIII, p. 122.

411. *New York Herald*, December 27, 1855; *Jefferson Inquirer*, January 19, 1856.

legislature of Mississippi would discuss the expediency of the plan of Senator Brown.⁴¹² The intention of the Brown scheme was that the emigrants should become permanent settlers.⁴¹³

In commenting on this project the *Boston Daily Advertiser* pointed out some sober facts that would readily doom it to certain failure. It appears that Mississippi had developed a chronic difficulty in levying taxes and that there were already certain obligations of that state afloat that were as yet unpaid. Said the *Boston Advertiser*:

"If she [Mississippi] should invest any considerable sum in Kansas it might happen that some ill-natured state abroad or at home, into whose treasury some of these repudiated obligations have fallen, would institute suit in the supreme court of the country for the recovery of these demands, and attach the Kansas investment to satisfy the claim if judgment should be obtained. The constitution has provided expressly for such suits between the states. This is our ground for suggesting that the dollars of the Mississippi voters are safest in their own pockets."⁴¹⁴

There was some determined opposition in the state to any effort to send men in Kansas. In Tishimingo county there were many antislavery men. Some of them were so strong that they were willing even to resort to secession to attain their ends. In 1851 there were said to be 300 abolition voters in the county.⁴¹⁵ Criticism was brought against one B. N. Kinyon, a senatorial appointee of Henry S. Foote, that he took ground against the Kansas policy of his own state. The *Mississippian* was disposed, however, to regard him with charity, since "the principles imbibed from his locality in his youth have something to do with his opposition to this movement."⁴¹⁶ That Mississippi never contributed largely to the permanent peopling of Kansas is evidenced by the fact that from 1850 to 1860 there was an increase of only 128 in the number of native Mississippians resident in Kansas.⁴¹⁷

North Carolina had the reputation of being a good state from which to move, according to some reports. The emigration was exceedingly large, but much of it was apparently to the free states.⁴¹⁸ We can find mention of but one association whose purpose was to settle Kansas, and it does not appear whether it purposed to further the cause of the South or not. It was formed at Charlotte, N. C., and reported sixteen candidates for Kansas settlement. No further facts are obtainable.⁴¹⁹

Of all the Southern states South Carolina was always the most zealous for what were called "southern rights." It is not strange, therefore, that we find her one of the more ardent champions of the movement to capture Kansas for the South.

Preston S. Brooks, destined to be associated with the assault on Senator Sumner, was a leading agitator for active interference in the new territory. Under date of December 31, 1855, he wrote from the House of Representatives to Capt. E. E. Bell:

412. Issue of January 7, 1856.

413. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, February 2, 1856.

414. Issue of April 7, 1856.

415. *New Orleans Bulletin*, quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, April 28, 1857; *Bangor (Me.) Daily Mercury*, February 16, 1856, in Webb, IX, p. 135.

416. *Bangor (Me.) Daily Mercury*, February 16, 1856, in Webb, IX, p. 135.

417. Publications Mississippi Historical Society, vol. VIII, p. 250.

418. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 7, 1856, in Webb, XI, pp. 40, 41.

419. *Wilmington (N. C.) Herald*, March 3, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 26.

"In reply to your letter of the 28th, I must repeat my proposition: The pledge was to give \$100 to each company of 100 men that might go to Kansas under pledge to remain two years. Whenever you organize a company of 100 men and start to Kansas I will pay to your treasurer the amount pledged. If my colleagues are not called upon to contribute to companies which may be raised in their own districts, they authorize me to say that each will contribute handsomely to the aid of your company. Your intention of appealing through the press to the spirit and patriotism of the people of the state is admirable. There are men scattered all over the state also who are willing to go, but not in sufficient numbers to form a separate company in each district. Come out with your publication, and when you get 100 men solemnly pledged to go to Kansas, I feel authorized to pledge the South Carolina delegation for \$250. You will certainly have the hundred dollars from me whenever you are ready to move with a hundred men. Or, should you fail in getting the full number of 100 men, then you may call on me on the day that you start for as many dollars as you have men under pledge to go to Kansas and to remain for two years."⁴²⁰

L. M. Keitt, also a South Carolina congressman, wrote to the *Charleston Mercury*:

"I will cheerfully and earnestly aid in any mode which may be adopted to colonize Kansas by the South."⁴²¹

Naturally, much of the urgency for Kansas emigrants came from the city of Charleston, the papers of which metropolis, especially the *Mercury*, teemed with Kansas news and reports of meetings held at various places in order to secure emigrants and money. A meeting was held at Fairfield on February 4, 1856, with O. Woodward as chairman and D. B. Kirkland secretary. Capt. H. C. Davis and J. M. Rutland were present and spoke. At the evening session ex-Governor Means was present. Resolutions were passed and a committee of five appointed to solicit funds and to secure men for the enterprise.⁴²² In Abbeyville district there were signs of phenomenal interest. A meeting was held late in February, 1856, at which time nine or ten young men of the first families of the district signified their intention of going to Kansas.⁴²³ The sum of \$2,200 had already been collected for their use. The Kansas society of this district was largely sponsored by a committee of nine, composed of Edward Noble, Gen. S. McGowan, John A. Calhoun, Andrew Giles, James M. Perrin, Dr. J. W. W. Marshall, Dr. J. H. Wardlaw, B. P. Hughes and James A. Norwood.⁴²⁴ The Abbeyville emigrants were to receive each \$200. Thursday, April 10, was the day set for their departure. Those accepting of the money were required to remain in Kansas "until a constitution shall be adopted by the people of the territory in due form of law." The men had no military equipment or organization, but took with them only the implements useful in the private and peaceful pursuits of life. They did not expect to be compelled to engage in any military expedition or enterprise, but the *Abbeyville Banner* gave assurance that "if it becomes necessary to defend the constitution of the country or the cause of the South by the might that is in a freeman's arm, they will be expected, every man of

420. *Edgefield Advertiser*, quoted in Webb, IX, p. 72; *Weekly Liberty Tribune*, January 4, 1856; speech of Henry Wilson in senate, February 18, 1856.

421. Issue of March 5, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 43.

422. *Charleston Mercury*, February 9, 1856, in Webb, IX, pp. 82, 83.

423. *New Orleans Delta*, March 31, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 221.

424. *Pittsburg Evening Chronicle*, March 10, 1856, in Webb, X, pp. 77, 78.

them, to do their duty.⁴²⁵ According to one report, 300 men were enrolled for Kansas under the direction of a Mr. Posey, late of the *Independent Press*.⁴²⁶

Kansas meetings and expeditions followed one another in rapid succession. Late in February or early in March, 1856, Major McArthur, of Thickety Fork, left with a company of twenty-seven men and two slaves.⁴²⁷ In March, 1856, a meeting was held at the courthouse at Camden. Gen. J. W. Cantey was chairman and Thomas J. Warren and W. R. Taylor secretaries. Hon. James Chestnut explained the purpose of the meeting. A society was organized, and one could become a member by paying in such sum of money as he saw fit, but the interest of each member in the association was to be in proportion to the amount paid in. The directors, eleven in number, were elected by the membership and were given power to organize themselves, make by-laws, appoint emigration agents, supply equipment for emigrants, and "if it shall be by them deemed expedient, to merge this company in any other company or companies in this state formed for like purposes." Thirteen hundred and fifty dollars were raised for the society. The directors were James Chestnut, jr., W. E. Johnson, A. H. Boykin, J. B. Kershaw, William M. Shannon, L. W. R. Blair, L. J. Patterson, L. L. Whitaker, W. G. Kirkland, Thomas J. Ancrum and W. Fletcher.⁴²⁸

The citizens of Orangeburg met in the courthouse of their county in March, 1856, to adopt measures for men and money for Kansas. Dr. Thomas A. Elliot was chairman of the meeting and Henry D. Kennedy secretary. General Jamison made an address and presented the resolutions. Negotiations with Captain Bell were authorized for the purpose of ascertaining his competency and reliability, the plan being, if his enterprise were approved, to pay over to him the funds collected from Orangeburg, upon the condition that in the expenditure of said funds the men from Orangeburg receive the first benefits, the surplus going for the cause in general.⁴²⁹ Ten men were appointed to canvass for men and money. Anderson held a Kansas meeting the same month, with Hon. A. Evans chairman and Ibzan J. Rice secretary. It was resolved to levy a tax of fifty cents upon each slaveholder of the district in order to secure funds to send actual settlers to Kansas. A committee of twenty-four was appointed to do the solicitation.⁴³⁰ An enthusiastic Kansas meeting was held at Union on March 4, 1856. Nathaniel Gist, jr., was chairman and T. B. Jeter secretary. A. W. Thompson and Gen. J. M. Gadberry made addresses, the latter offering to give \$300 toward starting a company to Kansas, and volunteering his services. The meeting voiced the conviction that the legislature ought to place a tax of one dollar on each slave in the state to create a fund to aid emigrants to Kansas. Solicitation was placed in the hands of a committee of twenty. It appears that about \$5,000 was subscribed at this meeting, Maj. R. Boyce, T. B. Jeter, Col. R. Beaty and Maj. B. H. Rice each subscribing \$300.⁴³¹ About the same time the courthouse of Georgetown was the scene of a meeting held to aid emigrants to Kansas. R. F. W. Allston was chairman of the meeting and W. S. Croft secretary. It was decided to give all funds raised into the hands of John R. Allston, leader of the All Saints emigrants, and also to entrust to his leadership any men that might

425. Quoted in *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, April 5, 1856, in Webb, XI, p. 35.

426. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 1, 1856.

427. *Wilmington Herald*, March 3, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 26.

428. *Charleston Mercury*, March 7, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 61.

429. *Charleston Mercury*, March 7, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 61.

430. *Pittsburg Evening Chronicle*, March 10, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 78.

431. *Charleston Mercury*, March 10, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 78.

choose to emigrate.⁴³² Twenty-three men were equipped and left Georgetown on May 8. They went seeking permanent homes in Kansas, expecting to be joined by four others at Charleston.⁴³³

Many meetings are reported in Charleston. In that city there was what was called the Kansas Association of Charleston. At the instance of this organization a large meeting was held on the night of March 14, 1856, the first body of men having been sent forward by the association on March 6. Ten thousand dollars was collected by the association in one forenoon, which sum was applied to the financing of these emigrants, and arrangements were perfected whereby fifteen persons were to be sent to Kansas every Thursday thereafter, supplied and equipped for a three or four years' stay. "They do not go," said the Charleston correspondent to the *New York Herald*, "as border ruffians nor squatters for an hour to disturb elections, but as actual settlers and producers on the soil." That the association was active is evinced by the fact that up to the middle of March, 1856, it had collected \$4,025.⁴³⁴ A second expedition, made up of twenty men, set out a few days later. As to their purposes and intentions the *Missouri Daily Democrat* said:

"The object of this emigration we cannot fully gather, as the party pretends to be composed entirely of engineers and surveyors. However, . . . we learn that some of the Carolinians had declared their intentions to be 'to see Kansas through.'" This paper says that this is the first emigration from the South that it has seen, and further declares that, judging from the military outfit of the emigrants, it is "inclined to the belief that their intentions are more warlike than pacific, as squatters should be."⁴³⁵

Another meeting was held in Charleston on the night of March 14, 1856, at which it appears the chief item of business was the passing of a series of resolutions. Several addresses were delivered, and the resolutions declared that slavery was a political element in the Confederacy, inseparable from the present system of government, and claiming the right to promote emigration to Kansas as private individuals, but disclaiming any state attempt at an armed intervention in the affairs of that territory. Committeemen were appointed to solicit funds to further the cause.⁴³⁶

One of the most widely advertised companies that left Charleston was composed of twenty-eight men who took their departure on March 27, 1856, under Capt. Frank G. Palmer, a graduate of the State Military Academy. They were all well equipped. "The equipment of this corps has exceeded the amount yet realized by the collections and receipts of the association, but we cannot doubt that the liberality and sympathy of the community will continue and will meet the demand."⁴³⁷ When this company reached St. Louis it numbered forty-two. According to contemporary report, they were largely artisans and mechanics. Little doubt was entertained that they would prove faithful to South Carolina's best interests.⁴³⁸ Subsequent to their arrival in Kansas they

432. *Charleston Mercury*, March 14, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 101.

433. *Gazette and Courier*, May 12, 1856, in Webb, XII, p. 78.

434. *N. Y. Herald*, March 10, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 76; *Charleston Courier*, March 15, 1856, in Webb, X, pp. 108-110.

435. *Missouri Democrat*, March 17, 1856.

436. *National Era*, March 20, 1856, in Webb, X; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, March 28, 1856.

437. *Charleston Courier*, March 28, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 208.

438. *Charleston Courier*, March 28, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 30. The *Squatter Sovereign* of April 15, 1856, says of this company, that "the necessity of an early local and political influence was the paramount end."

were organized into a military company.⁴³⁹ A party of nineteen followed them to Kansas on April 6, which occasioned another call for funds.⁴⁴⁰

The second company which came under Captain Palmer was organized into what was known as the Palmetto company, and made settlement in Marshall county, where Marysville is now located, calling their town Palmetto. A rather detailed account of this project has come down to us from the pen of Dr. Albert Morrall, himself not a member of the colony, but associated with it. The avowed object was to make Kansas a slave state. However, before making a settlement the men were called on to do military service for the South. They were present and fought with the proslavery forces at the sack of Lawrence by Sheriff Jones, at Hickory Point and at Slough creek.

Doctor Morrall secured the one-half section of land for a town site and laid it out, giving it the name Palmetto, and really owning the whole town. On July 8, 1856, the colonists arrived, chief among them being J. S. Magill, J. P. Miller, O. D. Prentiss, Albert Morrall, W. B. Jenkins, J. R. Allston, John Vanderhorst, A. S. Vaught and Robert Y. Shibley. According to one authority, the colony was largely sustained by Shibley's allowances from relatives in the South. These disappearing, and the men not being adapted to farm labor, the colony soon experienced gloomy times. But few improvements were made, a log cabin erected by J. P. Miller being about the only worth-while improvement. The existence of the colony was only about seven months, after which the members scattered to parts unknown.⁴⁴¹

Edgefield district took an active interest in Kansas, but what it did is rather uncertain, for, as its historian has said, "Edgefield was not backward in this work . . . The district did its part, but how many went to Kansas and how many, if any, became actual settlers, my information on this point is too defective to allow me to speak with certainty."⁴⁴²

The *Edgefield Advertiser* of March 6, 1856, quoted in the *Leavenworth Herald*, speaks of several Kansas meetings in South Carolina. At Darlington several hundred dollars were subscribed with ease, and Col. J. D. Wilson, of the Darlington district, offered to arm and equip five volunteers for the cause. Volunteers for Kansas were reported from Marion, Orangeburg and Edgefield.⁴⁴³ An adjourned meeting of the Kansas Association of Marion was held in the courthouse on March 25, 1856. Dr. Robert Harlee was chairman and D. J. McDonald secretary. A fund of \$1,000 for emigrant aid was announced at this meeting. It was recommended that each slaveholder be assessed fifty cents for each slave he possessed. Addresses were made by S. W. Mullins,

439. *Charleston Courier*, May 23, 1856, in Webb, XII, p. 182.

440. *Herald of Freedom*, April 12, 1856.

441. Palmetto saw many hardships. Atchison agreed to lend the settlers all the spare teams he had and to go security for the purchase of enough others to allow the emigrants to start farming. One of the colonists confessed the settlement was made at Palmetto partly in order to oppose an Ohio settlement ten miles away on the Vermillion. Speaking of the Palmetto men, he says: "The men sent out here by the committee I do not think are the right sort, for most of them have been clerks and are not accustomed to the work required of them here. There are very few of those sent from Charleston who are doing anything at all towards a support. Many have not the first dollar in their pockets, and how they intend summing it out I cannot see."—*Charleston Courier*, quoted in *Boston Daily Evening Traveler*, June 25, 1856, in Webb, XIII, p. 198.

Major Warren D. Wilkes was appointed agent to solicit money in the South to sustain this South Carolina colony.—*Charleston Courier*, June 19, 1856, in Webb XIII, p. 154.

See, also, Andreas' "History of Kansas," p. 917. The Morrall account of Palmetto is found in the Kansas Historical Collections, vol. XIV, p. 123-142. See, also, Forter, "History of Marshall County," pp. 86, 185, 416.

442. Chapman, "History of Edgefield County, S. C.," p. 212.

443. *Kansas Free State*, April 7, 1856; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 29, 1856.

Thomas Evans and J. B. LaBorde, after which the meeting was organized under the name of the "Old Liberty Kansas Association." Mr. LaBorde agreed to take a company of men to Kansas if his district would defray the expenses.⁴⁴⁴

According to previous announcement, the citizens of Whippy Swamp Cross Roads met on April 26, 1856, for the purpose of encouraging emigration to Kansas and of enhancing Southern influence in that territory.⁴⁴⁵ Dr. J. W. Wyman served as chairman of the meeting and A. L. Edwards as secretary. Addresses were made by F. W. Fickling, George P. Elliott, Leroy Youmans, Doctor Pooser and Capt. Henry Smart.⁴⁴⁶ About eight or nine men, under the leadership of D. G. Fleming, left Richland for Kansas on May 7, 1856, all of them young men of good character.⁴⁴⁷

W. W. Herbert, of Fairfield district, was responsible for the collection of a company of emigrants in his locality, some thirty in number, most of whom were poor men. He was compelled to appeal in their behalf to the generosity of friends in the South in order to provide for their passage to Kansas.⁴⁴⁸ This small company had an undue amount of trouble coming up the Mississippi river. There were ten robberies on the boat and measles and the mumps broke out to add to their discomfort.⁴⁴⁹

Twenty-three young men enrolled themselves in Laurens county under the leadership of Gen. Adam Crane Jones. Three thousand dollars was subscribed as material aid to this enterprise. The Jones party was accompanied by Mrs. Ann C. Jones, the wife of the leader, who went as "a maternal guide to the gallant band."⁴⁵⁰

At a meeting of the Sumter Kansas Association, on June 2, 1856, about \$200 or \$300 was subscribed, after which an effort was made to raise \$3,000 by means of one-hundred-dollar donations. One-half of this amount was secured on the spot.⁴⁵¹

A Kansas association was organized at Newberry, but no date is available. However, definite steps were taken on June 6, 1856, to place men in Kansas. Emigrants were on that day selected, an address was made by Robert Garlington, and Bibles were distributed by the Rev. William Berlery. The next day the company, apparently a small one, left on the cars.⁴⁵²

There was considerable activity in Columbia at an early date. Men and means for twelve months were forwarded to Kansas. On June 24, 1856, a large body of citizens met in the city hall to hear an address by Warren D. Wilkes, who was associated with the Palmetto colony. Resolutions were passed forming the meeting into a second Kansas association, the former association having accomplished its purposes. A committee of fifteen was delegated to secure funds, and either to send forward more emigrants or "otherwise maintain the just rights of the South in Kansas."⁴⁵³

444. *Charleston Mercury*, April 4, 1856, in Webb, XI, p. 28; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 29, 1856.

445. *Charleston Mercury*, April 21, 1856, in Webb, XI, p. 137.

446. *Charleston Mercury*, May 12, 1856, in Webb, XI, p. 100.

447. *Columbia Carolina Times*, May 8, 1856, in Webb, XII, p. 80.

448. *Mobile Daily Tribune*, March 15, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 110.

449. *Winnsboro Courier*, May 21, 1856, in Webb, XII, p. 158.

450. *New Orleans Delta*, March 31, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 221; *Charleston Mercury*, May 22, 1856, in Webb, XII, p. 172.

451. *Boston Journal*, June 9, 1856, in Webb, XIII, p. 75.

452. *Newberry Mirror*, June 11, 1856, in Webb, XIII, p. 114.

453. *Charleston Mercury*, June 27, 1856, in Webb, XIII, p. 210.

Beaufort district citizens met on July 7, 1856, at Gillsville, Gen. J. H. Howard serving as chairman and Capt. James Beck as secretary. Six persons in each parish of the county were appointed for the purpose of receiving money and the names of any parties willing to migrate to Kansas. Any money collected was to be sent to the treasurer of the Charleston Kansas Association to be used first to supply the needs of any force sent from Beaufort, and the balance to be applied to the use of the Charleston association.⁴⁵⁴

A company of twenty emigrants, under Gen. Lewis M. Ayer, left Blackwell about the middle of July, 1856, for the purpose of becoming *bona fide* settlers in Kansas. They were all young men and were "armed to the teeth," according to the *Missouri Democrat*. They arrived at Atchison on July 23.⁴⁵⁵

St. Bartholomew's parish met at Bell's Cross Roads on July 28, 1856, in order to raise means to aid the southern cause in Kansas. Dr. Richard B. Rice was chairman of the meeting and Josiah B. Perry delivered an address. A committee of fourteen was appointed to receive the names of emigrants who proposed to go to Kansas, and also to solicit funds.⁴⁵⁶ This locality was in L. M. Keitt's congressional district.

Some nineteen emigrants who enrolled themselves under Capt. R. W. Murray at Chester, and who were described as "fine, substantial emigrants, who may be relied on both as to voting and fighting," subscribed the following pledge: "We who have here enrolled our names as emigrants to Kansas, being sensibly alive to the importance of strengthening the institutions of the South by establishing her principles in that territory, do hereby pledge our lives and sacred honors to emigrate to Kansas and there sustain Southern rights and her institutions at any and every peril." The company united with the force of Major Wilkes and took their departure from Columbia.⁴⁵⁷

Charleston kept up her interest in Kansas and contributed more consistently to the southern cause than did any other city of the South. The fourth body of emigrants left that city on August 7, 1856, with Captain Palmer in command. It will be remembered that he piloted the Palmetto colony to Kansas.⁴⁵⁸

There were doubtless many more Kansas meetings held in South Carolina of which no mention is made. Enough has been said, however, to indicate somewhat the extent of interest in Kansas and the means employed to accomplish the purposes of the South. By 1857 the ardor of the most enthusiastic began to wane. This fact is emphasized in the report of one of the South Carolina delegation in congress who returned from a trip to Kansas. Upon his return he gave out the opinion that it was not to be supposed that southern emigrants would take their Negroes to the territory, which determination on their part would of itself undo the efforts of the South to effect colonization. He conceded that the proslavery men had long been outnumbered in the territory, and saw that the only hope for the South was in the sending of some 10,000 more proslavery men to Kansas. "If they will not do so," he continued, "all the governors and presidents in the world cannot prevent it from becoming, sooner or later, a free state."⁴⁵⁹

454. *Charleston Mercury*, July 11, 1856, in Webb, XIV, p. 195.

455. *Hartford Evening Press*, July 16, 1856, in Webb, XIV, p. 243; *Missouri Democrat*, July 18, 1856; *Squatter Sovereign*, July 29, 1856.

456. *Charleston Mercury*, July 31, 1856, in Webb, XV, p. 188.

457. *Squatter Sovereign*, August 26, 1856.

458. *Charleston News*, August 6, 1856, in Webb, XV, p. 236.

459. *Southern Monitor* (Phila.) quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, August 1, 1857.

Maj. Warren D. Wilkes was particularly active in stirring up Kansas sentiment in South Carolina. He worked in conjunction with the proslavery men of Kansas and did considerable speaking in the South. In July, 1856, he wrote that after a ten weeks' speaking tour he was too much fatigued to complete a tour of South Carolina which he had begun. He said he had met a good response in South Carolina and that between 200 and 300 men from that state were then in Kansas. He was able, also, to give assurances of aid to any who might in the near future decide to go to Kansas, guaranteeing all necessary expenses to each *bona fide* emigrant who would deposit in his hands the sum of \$75.⁴⁶⁰

However, in spite of these promises, it is evident that it was increasingly difficult to secure men willing to hazard their fortunes in the new territory.⁴⁶¹ Incentives had to be supplied from without the state, it appears, for a letter written from Kansas to the *Columbia South Carolinian* held forth glowing promises: "The border ruffians will furnish them [the South Carolina men], without cost, meat and bread, and also assist to furnish them with the means of commencing farming. They will give them cows and calves and sows and pigs, and lend them horses, mules and oxen; indeed, do all that we can for them."⁴⁶² Pressure to aid the Kansas project was also applied to a certain degree. The *Charleston Mercury* proposed that the names of the subscribers to the Kansas fund be published daily, and that the names of those who refused to contribute also be published. A contributor to the paper suggested that a vigilance committee be appointed to deliberate in secret on the disposition to be made of those thus refusing. He felt that this arrangement would insure abundant funds for Kansas.⁴⁶³

South Carolina, however, entered the struggle poorly equipped in several respects. The message of the governor delivered before the legislature which was organized on November 27, 1854, dwelt chiefly on the financial distress of the state—the worst, the governor believed, that the state had experienced since 1837.⁴⁶⁴ That the state was languishing is further proved by the following quotation from an address of an agricultural convention held in Columbia in 1855:

"Your committee would earnestly bring to the attention of this convention the mournful fact that the interest heretofore taken by our citizens in agricultural improvement has become stationary; that our old fields are enlarging, our homesteads have been decreasing fearfully in numbers, and our energetic sons are annually seeking the rich and fertile lands of the Southwest, upon which they imagine that treble the amount of profits can be made upon capital than upon our own soil. Nor is this all. We are not only losing some of our most energetic and useful citizens to supply the bone and sinew of other states, but we are losing our slave population, which is the true wealth of the state."⁴⁶⁵

Facts are not obtainable to show what was done in Tennessee in the effort of the South to secure the dominant position in Kansas. In but few Southern states are there so few details extant. While there was emigration, it was

460. *Charleston Courier*, July 4, 1856, in Webb, XIV, p. 68.

461. In 1856 Charleston was so particular that she took only one out of every four applicants in order to get only those of the best character.—*Missouri Republican*, April 17, 1856.

462. Webb, XIV, p. 124.

463. Webb, XIV, pp. 123, 124.

464. *St. Louis Evening News*, December 7, 1854.

465. *Kansas Free State*, September 10, 1855.

probably not organized or advertised as much as was the case in South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. The Nashville correspondent in the *New York Tribune* makes the statement that "they are forming companies all through South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee," but offers nothing as to what Tennessee was doing.⁴⁶⁶

In Chattanooga county a company of twenty-five was formed to go to Kansas.⁴⁶⁷ The temper of some others who went may be seen in the following notice: "A number of wagons loaded with emigrants have passed through Belleville during the past week. They are mostly from Tennessee, bound to Kansas and Nebraska. They go on their own hook with no Buford or Atehison to lead them, and are mostly opposed to bringing slavery into their new homes."⁴⁶⁸ This notice indicates pretty clearly why there was little advertisement in the South of some of the Tennesseans who were emigrating.

Late in October, 1854, a small cavalcade of Tennesseans was in St. Louis on the way to Kansas. They started on September 25 from Anderson and White counties, coming through Kentucky and Illinois. They were equipped with ox teams and came of their own accord. According to their report, there was much feeling for Kansas in middle and east Tennessee.

"Many small farmers who were not able to dig a fortune from the soil of the mountain counties of that state are preparing to migrate to the new territory, where they can raise more bread with less labor. We wish them success. We look with interest to the speedy settlement of Kansas, and rejoice that its future population will be a mixed one—a commingled society of shrewd handicraftsmen from the North and sturdy pioneers from the South, embodying energy, spirit, independence and industry. As for the cry of the mischief-makers about disputes and animosities in regard to slavery, it is all bosh. Kansas emigrants, from whatever locality they come, are practical men whose least object in migrating to their new home is the propagation or exclusion of slavery."⁴⁶⁹

On the evening of March 15, 1856, a large number of citizens of several of the surrounding counties met at Tullahoma, in Coffee county, on the Nashville & Chattanooga railroad, to organize to send some emigrants to Kansas. The seventh of a series of resolutions provided for a public dinner for Buford and his 400 Alabamans as they passed through Tennessee.⁴⁷⁰

The *St. Louis Intelligencer* of April 22, 1856, chronicles the arrival in that city of the *Helen Mar* from the Tennessee river, having on board between 100 and 200 persons bound for Kansas. All of them were from the state of Tennessee.⁴⁷¹

As already suggested, the facts that so many of the Tennesseans who migrated to Kansas were opposed to slavery, and that so many of them preferred to make their own arrangements independent of any leader or society, conspire to make a connected history of the movement almost impossible; but enough has been presented to indicate clearly that the South had little to expect from that state which would advance or foster her own interests.⁴⁷² There apparently lingered in the Tennesseans too much of the old-time

466. *Herald of Freedom*, May 3, 1856.

467. *Springfield Republican*, February 17, 1855, in Webb, I.

468. *Belleville Advocate*, October 29, 1856.

469. *St. Louis Evening News*, October 23, 1854.

470. *New Orleans Delta*, March 31, 1856, in Webb, X, p. 221.

471. See, also, *Boonville Weekly Observer*, April 26, 1856.

472. Of the eighty-nine men sent from Tennessee, word was sent back that eighty proved false to the South.—*Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 7, 1856, in Webb, XI, pp. 40, 41.

Revolutionary pioneer and individualist to allow them to go out of the way to befriend an institution repugnant to the known interest of all mountaineers. During the period of the Kansas excitement many Tennesseans were nevertheless on the move, for Dunklin, Stoddard and Butler counties, Missouri, received a welcome stream of emigrants from Tennessee.⁴⁷³

The legislature of the state of Texas, through its committee on resolutions, headed by Judge Ochiltree, took action favorable to emigration, as is evidenced by the following resolutions:

"(1) That the sum of \$50,000 be and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any public moneys in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of equipping and fitting out emigrants for the territory of Kansas.

"(2) That for the purpose of carrying out the object of this resolution, the governor is authorized, whenever a company of emigrants not less than sixty in number shall be organized for the purpose of emigrating to the territory of Kansas, and have elected a captain, to draw from the sum hereby appropriated a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of such company to the territory of Kansas in the cheapest manner and by the most expeditious route, and to support them after their arrival there for the space of three months: *Provided*, That the sum so distributed shall in no case exceed \$12,000 for every company of emigrants, sixty in number, so emigrating to Kansas.

"(3) That it shall be the duty of the governor to place the sum of money so drawn in the hands of the captain of the company of emigrants, to be by him expended in accordance with the intention of these resolutions: *Provided*, That before the governor shall pay over the said money he shall require of the captain of said emigrant company a bond, with two or more good and sufficient securities, to be approved by the governor, conditioned that he will faithfully and honestly disburse the funds so placed at his disposal, and that he will, to the best of his ability, conduct said company in the cheapest manner and by the most expeditious route to the Territory of Kansas.

"(4) That should said captain be deposed from his command by said company of emigrants, he will nevertheless continue to be disbursing agent for said company until their arrival in said territory.

"(5) That these resolutions be in force from and after their passing."⁴⁷⁴

This bill passed the legislature and became a law.⁴⁷⁵ There are some discrepancies in statements regarding the law. The *Kansas Weekly Herald* said the amount appropriated was \$60,000, while the *Springfield (Mass.) Republican* placed it at \$25,000.

The large and sparsely settled state of Texas could scarcely afford to sacrifice any of her population in any such hazardous undertaking as making Kansas a slave state. She has, moreover, never been distinctively propagandistic in her attitude. The materials dealing with the whole Kansas question are, as far as Texas is concerned, extremely meager. In fact, we hear only of a steady stream of immigration from both the North and the South to various parts of Texas. The *Fort Smith Herald*, late in 1854, reported 180 wagonloads of immigrants from Illinois, Iowa, Missouri and Wisconsin, totaling possibly 1,700 souls.⁴⁷⁶ In 1855 it was estimated that nearly 100,000 people, largely from Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky and other states south of the Ohio river, had settled in Texas within the last twelve months.⁴⁷⁷ The alarming fact to the few Kansas enthusiasts in Texas was that so many of the immigrants were

473. *St. Louis Evening News*, November 30, 1854.

474. *National Intelligencer*, August 21, 1856; *St. Louis Intelligencer*, August 26, 1856.

475. Letter of Hampden, written to *New York Tribune*, August 22, 1856, and found in Sherman's Scrap Book, p. 93; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 27, 1856.

476. *St. Louis Evening News*, November 2, 1854.

477. *Missouri Republican*, June 27, 1855.

free-state in their beliefs and would for that reason prove no asset to the southern cause. Western Texas received so many of these antislavery immigrants that the *San Antonio Texan* predicted that within ten years that section would be prevailingly free-state in its political and social complexion.⁴⁷⁸ In the fact of this stream of incoming population, much of which was manifestly trying to get away from the blight of slavery, it was difficult to prove the beneficence of that institution, and doubly difficult to induce men to propagate what was considered by multitudes in Texas as of very doubtful advantage.

From all the hints and predictions from the South that Texans would fly to the rescue of the southern cause in Kansas, we can find but one definite statement that anything tangible was done toward colonizing the territory. The mere announcement, "A train of fifty wagons left Corpus Christi, Tex., a few days since for Kansas," is reported in the *Weekly Missouri Statesman* of September 14, 1855, and in the *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, of August 3, of the same year. One may well conclude from the data on the subject that the interest of the state was practically negligible.

Virginia has from the earliest times furnished emigrants to other states, and her contribution to Kansas was fairly generous, but it was not altogether favorable to southern interests. There appears to have been a strenuous effort to appeal to the slaveholders, but with no noteworthy success. A letter to the *New York Tribune* from Lexington, Va., said that numbers of young men in western Virginia were going to Kansas and that they were all opposed to slavery.⁴⁷⁹ The *Boston Daily Advertiser* said:

"In Virginia we have accounts of a single meeting held in one of the agricultural counties to promote the emigration of those who wished to make Kansas a slave state. But no money was raised, and, so far as we are informed, the meeting adjourned without day. The fact that one Virginia planter with six negroes started for Kansas last autumn was widely announced in the southern prints and more widely copied at the North. The other fact of greater importance and interest, that when he came to St. Louis he was discouraged and never went to Kansas at all, has not been so widely repeated. Indeed, the state of Virginia, as now cultivated and ruled, is an excellent place to move from. The emigrants from Virginia are not attached to what is commonly called the southern interest. Kentucky is always spoken of as settled from Virginia. Yet in 1850 there were but 54,000 Virginians residing in Kentucky, while 85,000 had chosen their residence in the free state of Ohio. Of nearly 400,000 persons who have emigrated from Virginia to other parts of the country, almost two-thirds have chosen to remove into free states. We may add, however, that unless we are deceived by the Virginia advertisements in northern papers, offering large districts of land to northern settlers, there is more reason to expect a considerable emigration of free labor into Virginia than of slave labor from it."⁴⁸⁰

That northern settlers did have designs on Virginia is apparent from the efforts of Eli Thayer of the Emigrant Aid Company to project a colony in that state, and that with the approval and advocacy of several influential newspapers and even of Governor Wise himself.⁴⁸¹

About October 10, 1855, a company of men left Staunton for Kansas. One of the emigrants was Simpson F. Taylor, who sold his plantation near Staun-

478. Quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, April 8, 1856.

479. *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, August 11, 1854.

480. Issue of April 7, 1856, in Webb, XI, pp. 40, 41.

481. *Herald of Freedom*, May 30, 1857.

ton for \$19,000 cash. There were others of merit and worth. The party went to Minnesota before coming to Kansas.⁴⁸² The same month a party of about fifty from Rappahannock and Culpepper counties left Washington in the former county for Kansas.⁴⁸³ A more ambitious scheme, however, was that of Doctor Somers, of New Market, of whom the *Missouri Republican* said:

"The *Frontier News* has information from Doctor Somers, of New Market, Va., then on his way to Kansas in company with several other gentlemen from Virginia, that they were then seeking locations for 1,000 persons who propose to emigrate from the Old Dominion this fall. The emigration will be from the eastern part of the state—sixty families from Richmond, thirty from Staunton, fifty from Rappahannock, and the remainder from counties adjoining. A large emigration is expected from the western portion of the state next spring."⁴⁸⁴

Something happened, however, to this plan for the thousand emigrants were never heard of in the territory.⁴⁸⁵

The year 1856 was ushered in by the coming of fifty families who started from Mason county on April 1, and by fifty young men from Grayson county.⁴⁸⁶ In April a minister of the United Brethren church was in Kansas looking for a location for fifty families of his congregation who purposed to emigrate should they receive a favorable report. These church people were all free-state, men. They located south of the town of Lawrence.⁴⁸⁷ The season of 1856 was expected to yield a large emigration from Virginia to this community. Some expected at least 1,500.⁴⁸⁸

Early in April, 1856, a number of young men, citizens of Richmond, left Virginia for Kansas. Some of them were mechanics, and all of them were accustomed to business. Among them were Messrs. Jacob C. Child, Joseph H. Wilkinson, Henry P. Lyon, Braxton Selden, John S. Snead, Andrew Preston and Joseph Downer. They all paid their own way and were simply going west to better their fortunes.⁴⁸⁹ At Petersburg two meetings were held this spring to forward emigration to Kansas.⁴⁹⁰ On May 7, 1856, a convention met at Richmond and resulted in the formation of an organization called the "Friends of Kansas." Membership in the organization called for one's pledging himself favorable to making Kansas a slave state. If he migrated to the territory the association would pay his traveling expenses and also give him \$50 upon arrival. Traveling expenses for wives and children were also to be paid by the association and an additional bonus of \$10 was given for each slave taken along.⁴⁹¹

Col. Thomas H. Rosser, of Petersburg, Va., spent some time in his own and the neighboring counties in the spring of 1856 stirring up sentiment for emigration to Kansas. By June he was reported as having about 100 young men of "the right stripe," and having on hand for the purpose of transporting them the sum of about \$2,000.⁴⁹² Colonel Rosser and his com-

482. *Missouri Democrat*, October 10, 1855.

483. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, November 3, 1855.

484. Quoted in *Pittsburg Gazette*, November 7, 1855.

485. *Herald of Freedom*, February 2, 1856.

486. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 15 and 22, 1856.

487. *Kansas Free State*, April 7, 1856.

488. *New York Semi-weekly Times*, April 11, 1856, in Webb, XI, p. 68.

489. *Richmond Dispatch*, quoted in *Norfolk Herald*, April 14, 1856.

490. *Squatter Sovereign*, May 20, 1856.

491. *Boston Journal*, June 2, 1856.

492. *Richmond Whig*, June 11, 1856.

pany arrived at Westport on August 9. Most of the members were mechanics and farmers.⁴⁹³ By the end of the year 1856 the Rosser company had had enough of Kansas. They were called upon to take a very active part in the border troubles. Evidently their funds were spent, and upon their return to Virginia in December they were compelled to ask aid along the road. Little complaint, however, seemed to escape them, and they spoke well of the treatment they had received at the hands of Governor Geary, and were grateful for what favors they received in the way of relief.⁴⁹⁴ On September 3 another company left Petersburg. It was under the command of Capt. H. C. Pate and A. W. Jones, agents for the "Friends of Kansas." A large number were enrolled for the expedition.⁴⁹⁵

It seems that by the summer of 1856 the well-to-do emigrants were not so plentiful in Virginia. There was held in Richmond in July at the time of the county court a meeting for Kansas settlers, at which numerous addresses were made. Among other items of business was the appointment of a committee of sixteen, whose duty it was to be to ascertain those deserving to be Kansas residents, and to receive contributions "to aid emigrants whose private resources are insufficient to defray their expenses."⁴⁹⁶ Most of the Virginians had come to Kansas entirely upon their own resources, we are told, and sustained themselves for a time without any assistance from without, but 1856 found them in many instances in want.⁴⁹⁷ It is a matter of remark that the Virginians were usually men of excellent type.⁴⁹⁸ Emigration, however, did not cease, but continued in a volume that caused alarm in at least western Virginia.⁴⁹⁹ Many Virginians, indeed, went West, but they settled in great numbers in Missouri, Ray county receiving a good number of farmers from Virginia.⁵⁰⁰ There was also a large influx into Stoddard, Dunklin and Pemiscot counties.⁵⁰¹ Others from the Old Dominion went to Arkansas and Texas.⁵⁰²

Virginia was rapidly becoming a nonslaveholding state. Especially was this true in the western part of the state. Marion county, with a population of 10,552 in 1850, and with a growing population, had in 1854 but 21 slaves. There were in that year some twenty counties in the state which could not muster 100 slaves each. Hancock county had in 1850 but three slaves.⁵⁰³ Indeed, Virginia was becoming much interested in Thayer's plan of colonization, and many large landowners were reported to be anxious to dispose of their farms to him.⁵⁰⁴ This movement was also strong in Kentucky and Tennessee, we learn.

493. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, August 23, 1856.

494. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, December 27, 1856; *Randolph Citizen*, January 8, 1857.

495. *Squatter Sovereign*, August 26, 1856.

496. *Richmond Whig*, July 18, 1856.

497. *Squatter Sovereign*, September 9, 1856.

498. Webb, XVI, p. 226.

499. *Virginian Republican* (Charleston), quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, May 16, 1857.

500. *Missouri Republican*, May 25, 1855.

501. *Cape Girardeau Eagle*, quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, January 6, 1857.

502. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, December 2, 1856.

503. *St. Louis Evening News*, August 14, 1854.

504. *Wheeling Intelligencer*, in *Freeman's Champion*, July 9, 1857.

V. THE SOUTH AND THE KANSAS GOVERNORS.

Having now shown, in some measure, what the various Southern states did by way of exerting their influence upon the new territory, we shall for a time consider the attitude of the South in general toward the territorial administration of the various Kansas governors.

When A. H. Reeder became governor of Kansas territory he was thought in the South to be favorable to that section. Jefferson Davis said his free-soil proclivities were entirely unknown at the time of his appointment; and since Davis was perhaps the most influential man in the Pierce cabinet, he may be presumed to have known whereof he spoke.⁵⁰⁵ Reeder, in the minds of some, committed a breach of etiquette just before his arrival in Kansas. He was tendered a public dinner in Weston by the Platte County Self-defensive Association, which was announced in the *Platte Argus*. His declination was received with dismay. "From this day forth," says one authority "Governor Reeder was branded as an abolitionist and said to be in league with the Emigrant Aid Company."⁵⁰⁶

Several reasons were assigned for Governor Reeder's removal, but it may be said in general that he was unacceptable to the South. The Pierce administration removed him avowedly for his speculations in Kansas lands, but the *Washington Sentinel* held that the graver reason was his encouragement to northern free-soil immigration, saying, moreover, that it could almost prove that the majority of the cabinet who urged his removal based their requests on the latter reason alone.⁵⁰⁷

Granted that Reeder was a land speculator, it is easy to see why this activity made him inevitably unfriendly to the South and its whole Kansas propaganda. The southern program depended upon making Kansas a country of large estates upon which large gangs of slaves could labor. That would mean that the territory would be compelled to settle slowly. Its speedy settlement would demand that the land be cut up into small tracts, and that some be sold in town lots. That arrangement would easily attract free-soilers. Governor Reeder and his associates may be credited with enough business foresight to be able to consult their best interests between two such alternatives. The *New York Herald* was of the opinion that this piece of business shrewdness was probably the sum and substance of Reeder's free-soilism. It also ventured the remark that "the political principles of a land speculator may be pretty safely summed up in dollars and cents."⁵⁰⁸

Reeder's successor, Wilson Shannon, was generally understood to be of southern principles, although his northern residence was objectionable to some. The experience with Reeder had doubtless caused suspicion in the minds of great numbers of people. The *Weekly Missouri Statesman* tauntingly queried: "Where is General Atchison that he permits his friend Pierce thus to be hunting among free-state politicians for a governor of Kansas? Is he asleep, or, being awake, is his whole time occupied in 'fixing the triggers' for his own

505. *Missouri Republican*, July 1, 1855, quoting *Vicksburg Whig*, of June 9.

506. "Three Years on the Kansas Border," p. 113.

507. Quoted in *Boonville Weekly Observer*, September 1, 1855.

508. *New York Herald*, May 21, 1855.

reelection?"⁵⁰⁹ Shannon's part in the treaty of Lawrence was condemned by some, but the better-minded men approved of his conduct.

The great task awaiting Governor Geary was the adjustment of all existing difficulties and the pacification of the territory. Both sides demanded and expected this consummation. The South required that this be done speedily, for emigration from that section, as we have already emphasized, was sensitive to civil commotion.⁵¹⁰ If the South could not people Kansas under Governor Geary their chances were indeed few. And Geary was acceptable to the South. H. T. Titus wrote: "Governor Geary is doing his duty to all. He is a firm, resolute and commanding patriot and skillful executive."⁵¹¹ The *Missouri Republican* editorially applauded Geary's course in Kansas, saying: "If he has not fully met the wishes of some, he has done much toward the permanent settlement of all the difficulties in Kansas."⁵¹²

The brief gubernatorial career of F. P. Stanton was marked by his complete and continued devotion to southern interests. His speech at Lecompton in the winter of 1857 was all that could be expected in the way of an avowal of his desire to see Kansas a slave state. His first speech in Kansas is reported to have pleased his hearers, who were impressed by his prepossessing appearance and gentlemanly deportment as well as by his integrity and ability to perform the duties of his office. In a later speech he promised to safeguard the work of the Lecompton convention, to suppress violence, fraud, etc. On October 20, 1857, however, he came in for a share of criticism in a series of resolutions passed by proslavery men at Lecompton, which resolutions were strongly anti-Walker.⁵¹³

The South was destined to make its great fight on Gov. Robert J. Walker, who is generally conceded to have been the most able man ever appointed to office in Kansas by the federal government. Governor Walker, somewhat like Reeder, sounded a doubtful note to the South soon after his coming to Kansas. In his inaugural address he maintained that isothermal lines, instead of man's laws, would finally determine whether Kansas would be free or slave.⁵¹⁴ While this doctrine was preëminently true and so acknowledged by leading Southern statesmen, still it did not appeal to the ears of the fire eaters. State Democratic conventions in Georgia and Mississippi took exception to the inaugural message. The Georgia convention asked for Walker's recall.⁵¹⁵

When Walker first went to Kansas the papers contained much political gossip as to his probable policy. One paper professed to have information from Washington to the effect that Walker was disposed to concede the largest part of the territory to freedom, but to reserve a small slice on the southern side to be added to a portion of the Indian territory for the formation of a new slave state west of Arkansas, which country was supposed to be

509. Issue of August 17, 1855.

510. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, September 13, 1856. The *Weston Reporter* now advised the Missourians to return home, saying if their presence in Kansas were desired they would be specially invited.—Quoted in *Jefferson Inquirer*, September 17, 1856.

511. *Missouri Republican*, October 16, 1856.

512. *Missouri Republican*, February 28, 1857.

513. *Missouri Democrat*, December 4, 1857; Andreas, pp. 157, 158.

514. *Missouri Republican*, July 11, 1857.

515. *Missouri Republican*, July 11, 1857. "The proslavery men saw in him a member of their own party, sympathizing fully with southern institutions and ready at all times, as they hoped, to advance their interests at whatever sacrifice."—Brown, "Reminiscences of Gov. R. J. Walker," p. 21.

adapted to the culture of hemp, tobacco and cotton.⁵¹⁶ Nothing was ever done to prove the existence of any such project.

Walker's insistence that the Lecompton constitution should be submitted *in toto* to the people of Kansas for their acceptance or rejection stirred up the more radical of the South to a fierce war upon the governor. In justification of his official conduct Halloway says:

"It was at that time evident and incontrovertible that slavery could not be fastened upon Kansas by fair means, and equally plain that the use of unfair means to effect this object would be attended with civil war and a disruption of the federal government. The policy of Governor Walker contemplated the abandonment of the attempt to make Kansas a slave state, and instead thereof, to so shape and mold political elements in the territory as to make it a Democratic state. The motto of Governor Walker was, 'Yield justice to Kansas in order to save the Union; annex Cuba and make slave states out of the southwestern Indian territory, to secure the final triumph of slavery.'"

Walker wrote Buchanan that this plan would enable his administration to "close in a blaze of glory."⁵¹⁷

According to Holloway, the mass of the proslavery party in Kansas who had never been pecuniarily interested in slavery took up with Walker's policy. The more rabid, however, not caring for the Union of the states, and being in constant communication with the clique of ultras at Washington, bitterly attacked the governor and attempted to force slavery upon Kansas regardless of the consequences.⁵¹⁸

The resolutions of the Democratic party in Georgia, to which reference has already been made, condemned the governor for his advocacy of the submission of the Lecompton constitution to the direct vote of the people, and because he had furnished arguments in favor of making Kansas a free state.⁵¹⁹ Severe condemnation is everywhere evident in such organs as the *New Orleans Delta*, the *Jackson Mississippian*, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, the *Augusta (Ga.) Constitutionalist*, and the *Richmond South*. All of these papers were severely critical of both the governor and of President Buchanan. Some of them express the suspicion that the whole Kansas matter was "cut and dried" before the governor's appointment was made. The *Jackson Mississippian* thought that Walker was ambitious for the presidency, and that he could see it only through the "dismal mists of free soil." The *Montgomery Advertiser* held that the southern Democrats were ready to throw their party overboard the instant it conflicted with southern duty. The *Richmond South* accused Buchanan of "enormous ingratitude to the South, to say nothing of apostacy from principle."⁵²⁰ In the Democratic convention of Alabama, Yancey succeeded in getting tabled a resolution expressing "unabated confidence" in Buchanan.⁵²¹ L. M. Keitt, the pet representative from South Carolina, wrote a cutting letter for the press, in which he condemned Walker for losing Kansas to the South, adding that this could

516. *Missouri Republican*, May 22, 1857.

517. Holloway, pp. 527, 528.

518. Holloway, p. 528.

519. *Missouri Republican*, July 11, 1857. Walker's anti-Lecompton speeches were especially resented in Mississippi because he was from that state.—"Lamar: His Life, Times, and Speeches," p. 66.

520. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, August 7, 1857.

521. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, August 7, 1857.

not have been done but for the support of the President. He charged that the South was sacrificed in Kansas in order to strengthen the free-soil Democracy in the North, and said it booted little whether the South was thus sacrificed or whether that was effected by black Republicanism.⁵²²

Walker, however, was not without his friends in the South. It was reported that Governor Wise of Virginia was about to write letters to the Southern states approving his course in Kansas. It was also expected that the southern Democratic senators would sustain his course before the people.⁵²³ The *Washington Union*, commenting on the rash action of Georgia and Mississippi in condemning Governor Walker, said:

"But there are certain considerations which will insure Governor Walker a just if not a kind judgment from every fair-minded man, especially in the South. A southern man himself, he has been a uniform and consistent champion of southern rights. The extremest men of that section pressed him upon Mr. Buchanan for the highest place in his cabinet. He is, besides, an able, far-seeing and sagacious statesman, as little likely as any other in the country to impale himself on a point of mere prudence. This alone might raise a presumption that he neither did harm nor intended any to southern interests. But when we see, in addition to this, that he is actively coöperating with the Democratic party in Kansas, including all the proslavery men in the territory; when we find his whole course sustained by the proslavery presses there; when we hear no complaint whatever from the quarter whence complaint ought to come, if there were any cause for it, we are constrained to think that the Georgia and Mississippi democracy have pronounced their judgment rather hastily."⁵²⁴

The *National Intelligencer*, one of the oldest and most conservative of southern publications, in a loyal way supported Governor Walker and his Kansas policy.

VI. THE SOUTH DEFEATED.

After the South had spent its efforts in vain to capture Kansas there came from certain quarters an insistent demand that a statement be published showing exactly how much money had been spent in the effort, for what it had been spent and to whom it had been paid. Particularly did this demand come when it became known that the proslavery party in Kansas had become the 'national Democracy.' This apparent desertion from true southern principles was the last straw on the camel's back in the minds of western Missouri editors. Said the *Lexington Express*:

"We should like to see the account current of the proslavery interest in the territory published. We should like to see, and no doubt thousands of others would like it equally as well as ourselves, the receipts and expenditures itemized that all might be able to arrive at a fair conclusion as to the falsity of the charge [*i. e.*, that the South had failed to come to the rescue of her institutions in Kansas] and the fidelity of the party. The fact is—and the antis know it—that Kansas was bartered to the free-soilers in the last election for President, premeditatedly and maliciously, and we doubt much whether all the money in the South could change the result. It is unfair to the South to say that she has not done her duty, and still not give the people the benefit of a knowledge of what she has done. Let us have a statement of the expenditure of the \$100,000 given by Lafayette county,⁵²⁵ and the amounts given by

522. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, August 28, 1857; *St. Louis Intelligencer*, August 20, 1857.

523. *Missouri Republican*, July 16, 1857.

524. Quoted in *Missouri Republican*, July 11, 1857.

525. Trexler, p. 196.

Jackson, Cooper, Saline, Cass, Platte, Carroll, Ray, Howard and other counties contributing to make Kansas a slave state. Will the managers publish it? We believe not."⁵²⁶

The *Missouri Weekly Statesman* also took up the cry for a rendering of accounts, and suggested that in consideration of the fact that some counties in Missouri contributed as much as \$10,000 each, and that liberal contributions had also been made in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, the aggregate ought to run up into the hundreds of thousands. It urged that the committee at Atchison render a detailed account of their stewardship.⁵²⁷

A reply came from P. T. Abell, of Atchison, secretary of the committee having in charge the general movement to people Kansas with southerners. Mr. Abell greatly deprecated the remarks about the sums spent which placed them in the "hundreds of thousands of dollars." He held that such remarks, originating with the abolitionists, were not calculated to do the southern cause any good. He maintained that reports of large donations were generally untrue. After one of his trips to Missouri to collect funds the report was current that he received \$60,000; whereas the fact was the total amount was only \$125—\$100 of which came from Boonville and \$25 from Carrollton. "Without knowing positively," said he, "I venture the assertion that when all is told, not exceeding \$10,000 or \$12,000 have been sent to our committee." Boone county, one of the wealthiest counties in the state and one containing the most slaves, sent to the committee only \$659.50. Mr. Abell explained that much of the money had been spent upon those who came across the border merely to vote and then returned to Missouri, while those who stayed in Kansas for the past two years had received but little aid. In rather a severe tone he laid the blame for the reverses of the situation upon the slaveholders.⁵²⁸

Abell's letter contained enough insinuations that the editor of the *Weekly Missouri Statesman* ventured a reply. The former had insisted that the reports of large offerings for the proslavery cause had been put forth by the abolitionists in order to bring discredit upon the South. This the editor stoutly denied, saying that the reports came from southern newspapers and proslavery lecturers, and that these lecturers, particularly in Boone county, used them to provoke the people of that wealthy county to measure up well in their giving. Moreover, Mr. Abell and others in their speech-making held that Boone county ought to give at least \$50,000. The editor found Mr. Abell's explanation altogether unsatisfactory, but found one thought that was consolatory—the fact that Boone county seemed to be the banner county of the whole South, according to the Abell figures, since she herself had raised about one-eighteenth of the grand total. Finally the editor hazarded the guess that Mr. Abell's failure to give in a frank manner the exact figures which ought to be in his possession would prove more disastrous to the Southern cause than the original request that they be made public.⁵²⁹

526. Quoted in *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, July 24, 1857.

527. Issue of October 10, 1856. Rather large figures are presented by various Missouri counties. At the beginning of the Wakarusa war the town of Liberty raised 200 men and \$1,000 to "assist Jones."—Holloway, p. 222.

A correspondent writing to the *Missouri Weekly Statesman* in 1857 claimed that his county spent an aggregate of \$150,000 in what he denominated the "Kansas swindle."—Issue of March 20, 1857.

528. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, October 31, 1856.

529. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, October 31, 1856.

The burden of showing up the figures now devolved upon Atchison, who, in a letter in the *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, addressed "To the people of the South," paid high tributes to the liberality of the friends of the South in Kansas and in the border counties of Missouri, but for whom the southern settlers would have been compelled to abandon the territory. He suggested that the money advanced by these friends be now repaid. In explanation of the failure to make an exact account of money contributed to aid the South in Kansas he hinted that without doubt much unauthorized solicitation had been taking place in the South. Outside of Kansas he named as the authorized agents of the committee the following: Colonel Buford, Colonel Baker, and Captain Johnson, of Eufaula, Ala., and A. W. Jones, of Kansas. From all the states, except Missouri, he had received up to date but a total of \$1,151. He promised that in the future solicitation for money would be done by agents with proper credentials.⁵³⁰

There were no more attempts made to secure figures on the amount of money spent in Kansas. The figures seemed impossible to get, and other practical questions were arising. We have no means of knowing, therefore, what the total sum was; for, as Holloway says, "large sums of money were raised in the South for the support and pay of these men [in Kansas] by property tax and by voluntary contributions. . . . The South liberally granted her funds towards the cause with her characteristic want of system, keeping no account or record of what was done or the manner of doing it."⁵³¹

In John Sherman's Scrap Book there is a letter dated June 4, 1856, from New Orleans. It is signed by J. H. J. and is addressed to the North. It contains the information that the South has already raised more than \$200,000, which sum was sent not to Kansas, but to the border counties of Missouri. This sum, continues the letter, will be doubled within the next three months. The pretext of raising this huge sum was to purchase Kansas land.⁵³² A Lawrence paper was of opinion in 1856 that the whole South, up to that time, had raised a total of one million dollars for the purpose of making Kansas a slave state.⁵³³ There were doubtless large individual givers who contributed enough to make the total amount of money very considerable. Col. B. F. Treadwell, of South Carolina, was reported to have contributed \$1,000 cash.⁵³⁴ W. D. Wilkes expected in 1856 to take \$50,000 from the South to Kansas.⁵³⁵

Many Missourians were utterly unable to believe that the committee at Atchison was innocent of misappropriation of funds. A contributor to the *St. Joseph Journal* of August 3, 1857, wrote:

"We find Stringfellow, Atchison and Abell and the notorious Lane lying down together, 'hail fellows well met' and partners in trade; growing fat in their purses and persons by speculations in town sites; eating roasted turkeys and drinking champagne with the very money sent there from Missouri and elsewhere to make Kansas a *slave state*; and refusing to render an account, although demanded, as to how they have disbursed funds."⁵³⁶

In reply to this slur B. F. Stringfellow said that Doctor Strinfellow had not received a cent of money contributed, that he [B. F. S.] had received about

530. Issue of November 7, 1856; *New York Tribune*, November 15, 1856.

531. Page 368.

532. Kansas Historical Collections, vol. IX, p. 131, in an address by G. W. Martin.

533. *Herald of Freedom*, December 13, 1856.

534. *Herald of Freedom*, April 12, 1856.

535. *Kansas Tribune*, September 5, 1856, in Wilder's "Annals," p. 147.

536. *Missouri Republican*, August 12, 1857.

\$130, and that Abell's share was about \$1,800.⁵³⁷ It is but reasonable to suppose that many of the reported gifts of the South were in the form of pledges and not in cash, and that for various reasons many of these pledges were not collected. This supposition would in some measure explain the uncertainty shown by various sets of figures.

The formation of the Lecompton constitution, as has already been said, raised the question whether that instrument should be submitted to the people of the territory for ratification. In the North there was a general demand that it should be thus submitted, while in the South there was less pressure. A Richmond paper maintained that the convention had no power to refer the constitution to the people, but that such power resided in the body or act which authorized the convention, which in the present case was silent. For practical purposes, also, this organ opposed the expedient of a popular referendum, for such procedure "would inflame and prolong the controversy and would ultimately throw Kansas into the arms of the abolitionists."⁵³⁸ It was indeed an embarrassing moment for the politicians in Washington. F. P. Blair, jr., gleefully wrote to Gen. George R. Smith: "We have got the national demagogues split irretrievably on the Lecompton constitution, and we shall now go on conquering and to conquer."⁵³⁹

Since it is generally held that the rejection of the Lecompton constitution marked the end of the attempt of the South to dominate Kansas, it may be well to discuss briefly the steps by which the South came to a realization of the futility of further effort to attain that end.

The change whereby the proslavery party in Kansas became the national Democracy was the signal for the pouring out of the indignation of those who for some time had been intuitively feeling that they were in the process of being duped.⁵⁴⁰ The *Lexington (Mo.) Express* spoke in unmeasured terms of its disillusionment:

"It has come, and the world beholds the South betrayed and Missourians duped and swindled. If those persons who a short time ago claimed to be the proslavery party in Kansas territory are to be believed, then the Kansas excitement was a most stupendous humbug and swindle, without a solitary mitigating feature."

The editor then refers to the address of the twenty-one men appointed by the Lecompton convention to draw up a statement explaining their change of front, in which address they refer to themselves as the "National Democracy of Kansas." The address closes with these words:

"In doing so, as a party, we forget slavery and antislavery in the high purpose of serving our country; and whether we have heretofore been Whig or Democrat, proslavery or antislavery, we now unite together under the Democratic banner to aid our friends all over the Union in waging war upon the enemies of the Union and the rights of the people of the states and the territory."

The *Express* continued:

"This document we have read with great care, and have come to the con-

537. *Missouri Republican*, August 12, 1857.

538. Holloway, p. 452, 453.

539. Smith papers, December 16, 1857.

540. The *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, a Know-Nothing organ, from the first opposed vigorously the formation of a proslavery party in Kansas, saying that its formation would alienate the friends of the South in the North and promote sectionalism, thus endangering southern and proslavery interests. See issue of March 14, 1856.

clusion that if the statements in it are true, the South has been shamefully betrayed and the Missourians duped and swindled—duped politically, and swindled out of their money, their property and their time. The address is before us in pamphlet form, and throughout its eighteen solid pages is devoted to proving that the question of slavery was not the issue in the Kansas troubles—that the late organized opposition to the Free-state party in Kansas was not and never was a proslavery party, and the whole winding up with an appeal to the free-soilers of the territory to come to the standard of Democracy as set up by the convention. This is indeed strange talk to come from those who for two years past have flooded Missouri with appeals for aid—material aid, men and money—to save Kansas from the vandal hands of anti-slaveryism, to make Kansas a slave state. Such has never been our understanding of the contests in Kansas. We thought it was slavery and nothing but slavery that was at issue.⁵⁴¹ To accomplish the establishment of slavery in Kansas, we are sure, was all that induced the people of this county to turn out by hundreds, and almost by thousands, to sustain their pretended friends in Kansas. To that end they subscribed hundreds and thousands of dollars and paid it without grumbling, under the assurance that it was necessary in order to decide the contest going on in Kansas in favor of proslaveryism. To that end they organized in this county an aid society with a capital of \$10,000."

The address, in speaking of the Leavenworth convention of November, 1855, said:

"From the meeting of that convention to the present time no question of whether Kansas should be a free state or a slave state has been before the people."

To which the *Express* replies:

"And now, after the people of this county have expended from one to two hundred thousand dollars in the cause, the very men among whom this money was disbursed coolly tell us that 'no question of whether Kansas should be a free state or a slave state has been before the people.' To what end, we ask, was the people's money, so freely given, expended, if not to make Kansas a slave state? The committee may deceive others, but they can no longer deceive the people of Missouri. Experience has been their teacher, and they have *paid*—paid largely—for their knowledge. So far as we are concerned, we have nothing to retract for the past. What we said and did we would say and do again under like circumstances. We labored honestly and zealously to make Kansas a slave state, and we acted upon the information then before us. We could do no less. But the mask is torn off and all is lost—worse than lost."⁵⁴²

This extended question leaves no doubt that those of the proslavery party near enough to know of conditions in Kansas knew perfectly well that the territory was lost to the South, even though opinion in Washington in the winter of 1855 inclined to its becoming a slave commonwealth.⁵⁴³ Others were gradually convinced and sought to make suitable explanations for the failure of the southern program. No less a figure than James L. Orr, of South Carolina, later

541. There is ample substantiation of this belief. For example, in speaking of certain Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee emigrants, a correspondent of the *Boston Journal*, said (Webb, X, 135, 136): "They have no fixed motive in going to Kansas except to vote to make it a proslavery State." On the other hand, a certificate borne by members of a certain South Carolina company was to the effect that the bearer went to Kansas as a *bona fide* settler.—*N. Y. Tribune*, quoted by *Herald of Freedom*, May 3, 1856.

Some opposition to the change of front was manifested in the territorial house of representatives, where, on August 30, 1855, Speaker J. H. Stringfellow opposed the "National Democracy of Kansas," then proposed, in a resolution declaring that the Union-loving men of Kansas knew but one issue—slavery—and designating any party making any other issue as an ally of abolitionism and disunionism.—Wilder's "Annals," August 30, 1855.

542. Quoted in *St. Louis Intelligencer*, March 17, 1857.

543. Rhodes, II, p. 81.

speaker of the house, said that the South failed for want of men. It had indeed contributed large sums of money, but not over 5,000 voters, while the North had 17,000 voters on the ground. These statements are of some weight, inasmuch as Colonel Orr was regarded as an eminent authority.⁵⁴⁴ Col. H. T. Titus, one of the dashing proslavery leaders in Kansas, was repeatedly heard to say that it was impossible to overcome the great preponderance of free-state settlers.⁵⁴⁵ A member of the Leecompton convention wrote relative to the fact that the South had been outdistanced by the North:

" . . . Although we have been a minority ever since I came to Kansas, we have denied this to prevent discouraging emigration from the South, and have bullied and swindled them (the abolitionists) in our elections until even I admit they have a right to feel outraged. To-day they outnumber us at least four to five to one. This disproportion is too great for us to fight any longer, the more so from the fact that the ensuing spring's emigration will swell their majority to probably eight to ten to one; for our men are daily leaving and others are pouring in."⁵⁴⁶

We also find some of the extreme southerners willing to accept the result philosophically, even though they were tardy in realizing the odds against which the South had been contending. Thus, a Columbia (S. C.) paper made its confession:

"It is because the country of Kansas is not *under Providence* doomed to *slave labor*, and our people, even though ever ready to fight for principle, found that in this matter of Kansas we are *fighting against the winds of heaven and the power of the elements, and that we had made a wrong issue*. If the people of the South had really believed that our fate depended on Kansas we would have succeeded in taking the country. The *Gazette* [the *Cheraw Gazette* had abused the Carolinian] says: 'We have yielded post after post until the coils of black abolition, like the deadly embrace of the boa, is felt on all sides of us.' We disagree with our friends of the *Gazette* as to the outposts of Kansas, which would do no service because they are untenable by us—they are not upon soil that we can claim truly as southern soil—soil adapted for southern labor. Why should we expend our blood and treasure on an issue where our immediate interests are not concerned?"⁵⁴⁷

The *Lexington Express* was led to deny in no uncertain terms an allegation put forward by the proslavery party in Kansas after its change of name had been effected. To quote:

"The late proslavery party of Kansas say now that they had to surrender because the South failed to come to the rescue of her institution. It is not true. They servilely surrendered before it was ascertained that the South could not meet the demand of the party there. The surrender was as early as the Cincinnati convention; the sale began there, if indeed it did not take place when Pierce appointed Reeder to be governor of the territory. The South did respond, and nobly too, so far as effort was made in that direction, and it is the meanest subterfuge to charge otherwise. . . . Pierce, while sanding the eye of the South with proslaveryism, sent a Reeder, a Shannon and a Geary to govern—all free-soilers! Buchanan sends a Walker—the big I and the little you—another free-soiler, as governor. These things and the

544. *New York Courier and Inquirer*, quoted in *Missouri Democrat*, August 11, 1857. Holloway (p. 451) says that in Walker's administration the proslavery men acknowledged themselves beaten by sheer force of numbers. The *Squatter Sovereign* gave up the ghost. The only hope for the South now lay in electing proslavery men to the Leecompton constitutional convention.

545. *Herald of Freedom*, December 13, 1856.

546. Letter of February 24, 1858, in the *Vicksburg Whig*, quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, April 10, 1858.

547. *Missouri Democrat*, August 20, 1857.

well-understood position of the administration in regard to Kansas has produced the result that Missourians deplore there, and no lack of interest on the part of the South. The Loco-focos have sold the proslavery interest."⁵⁴⁸

Explanation of the change in name referred to was made by several parties. P. T. Abell, secretary of the Atchison committee entrusted with the funds sent to Kansas, emphatically denied that the proslavery men in Kansas had sold out to the free-state faction. At first, he said, there were but two parties in the territory—the proslavery and the free-state. The later influx of northern men often belonged to neither party. Accordingly, the proslavery men took upon themselves the name "Law and Order party," this action being taken at Leavenworth on November 14, 1855. It was in the nature of a reply to the formation of the Topeka movement. This name had a pleasing effect, but it was not of national reputation. The name Whig could not be used because that party had passed out of existence, and obviously the name Know-Nothing was equally inapplicable. These reasons, Mr. Abell explained, dictated the choice of the designation "National Democracy."⁵⁴⁹ Holloway maintains that the change in name was brought about by Doctor Stringfellow and that the reason lay in the fact that the Kansas proslavery men could only by that means claim favors from the new administration in Washington.⁵⁵⁰ It was a common belief in certain quarters that the plan of the leading squatters was to kindle the excitement as long as possible in order to cause both sections to rush men into the territory, hoping, after the price of land had been by this means enhanced to their profit, to compromise the issues which had divided them politically. This trick was detected early in the struggle.⁵⁵¹

The failure of the Lecompton constitution, as has been before stated, sealed the fate of the South in Kansas.⁵⁵² Even before its rejection, however, there was some sentiment in the South unfavorable to its adoption. J. H. Stringfellow, for one, held that since slavery in Kansas was already decided against by force of numbers, the constitution should be rejected, for to accept it would break down the Democratic party in the North and seriously endanger the peace and interests of Missouri and Kansas, and possibly of the whole Union.⁵⁵³

548. Quoted in the *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, July 24, 1857. In speaking of the efforts in the South to raise money, Rhodes says: "The results at the South were not commensurate with the efforts, mainly for the reason that ready money was hard to obtain, while the men who were willing to go would be dependent for their support on the contributions of the wealthier citizens."—Vol. II, p. 151.

In justification of the party realignment whereby the proslavery party in Kansas became the National Democracy, D. R. Atchison said: "This policy was, after full consideration, concurred in alike by Whigs, Democrats and native Americans, all of which political shades were fully and ably represented in the convention; at least, such considerations reconciled me to the use by my friends of my name in the address, although I was not in the convention."—Letter of July 26, 1857, to Gen. W. C. Morange, of Edgefield, S. C., quoted in the *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, of September 25, 1857.

549. Address of P. T. Abell at Platte City, July 30, 1857, in *National Antislavery Standard*, August 15, 1857.

550. Page 437. The free-state men made another counter movement in organizing the Kansas Legion, a society for the purpose of accomplishing the ends of their party but never descending to interfering with Missouri people in their own territory.—Blackmar, "Life of Charles Robinson," p. 137.

551. Editorial in the *Louisville Herald*, in Webb I, p. 114.

552. As to when the North gained the numerical ascendancy there is some question. Eli Thayer held that always after 1854 they were in the majority, while Paxton thought it did not occur until in December, 1856. It seems that B. F. Stringfellow was still hopeful for the South in 1856, for he no doubt led Robert Toombs to believe that there were still good prospects of Kansas becoming a slave state.—See Brown, "Reminiscences of Governor R. J. Walker."

553. Wilder's "Annals," p. 208.

So bent were the fire eaters on securing Kansas as the prize of the South, however, that some of them actually did not know when they were beaten.⁵⁵⁴ Of this situation the *Louisville Democrat* said:

"Many southern men actually flatter themselves that if they admit Kansas with the Lecompton constitution they will make it a slave state. They will find themselves very much in the condition of Sambo, who got a bag full of pigs, but when he turned them out at home they were puppies."⁵⁵⁵

Saner counsel prevailed in other quarters. The slavery issue was felt to be settled before the Lecompton constitution was made, as the following quotation indicates:

"None know better than those in congress who oppose the Lecompton instrument that the question of slavery or no slavery in Kansas is not, in fact, involved in the question of its reception at all. That question was settled long ago. Wise, Stringfellow and every other southern man knows this as well as the black republicans do. The rejection of the Lecompton instrument, if rejected at all, will be due to the failure of its friends to submit it to the legal voters of the territory; and they foolishly refused to submit it because they undoubtedly felt sure that it would be indignantly rejected by them."⁵⁵⁶

To the surprise of many Missourians it was found possible, even as late as December, 1857, to work up enough enthusiasm in the strongly Democratic county of Howard to call a Kansas meeting. The object of the meeting was to induce persons to migrate to Kansas in order to be on the ground for voting on the Lecompton constitution and then to return home. R. T. Prewett opposed the plan in its entirety, while James Patterson, chairman of the meeting heartily favored it. It was stated at this meeting that the election was held in midwinter so that the free-soilers could not come, but the Missourians, because of their closeness, were easily able to cross the border. R. H. Robinson proposed a desperate resolution to the effect that the people of Howard county were in favor of making Kansas a slave state or of dissolving the Union. The motion was of course tabled. Some one queried: "Can't that indignant gentleman be prevailed upon to let the Union last a little longer?" This meeting, as might be expected, resulted in almost nothing, only four or five signifying their willingness to go to Kansas before election day.⁵⁵⁷

A change in the character of the population took place by virtue of this acknowledged defeat of the South. For example, we find that the town of Paola, originally a strong proslavery settlement, was forced by free-state pressure to yield up its first principles and to become free-state. Its experience was that of a complete political change.⁵⁵⁸ There were some slaves in Kansas,

554. The *Charleston Mercury* referred to Secretary Stanton's suggestion of the reference of the Lecompton constitution to the people for ratification as "an insidious and high-handed breach of faith towards the South and southern men in Kansas. . . . The real object and end is, under the guise of fair words to the South, to make Kansas a free State." *Missouri Republican*, June 1, 1857.

555. Quoted in the *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, March 12, 1858.

556. C. H. Rhodes, a Kansas historian, thinks that the secessionists of the Gulf states knew that the Lecompton constitution was unacceptable to the North, but sought to make it a sort of ultimatum to justify disunion by throwing the burden of that step on the North. See his pamphlet on "The Significance of Kansas History."

Senator James S. Green, of Missouri, in a speech delivered on December 16, 1857, pointed out that the constitutions of Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas and Wisconsin were not submitted to a popular vote. See also, quotation from the *New Orleans Bulletin* of February 12, 1858, in *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, March 5, 1858.

557. *St. Louis Evening News and Intelligencer*, December 21, 1857; *Herald of Freedom*, January 16, 1858.

558. *Herald of Freedom*, September 25, 1858.

and the institution was more or less in evidence in Kansas as long as there was a lingering hope of winning Kansas for the South. It lingered longest in southeastern Kansas, since it was hoped to make out of Indian territory a slave state.⁵⁵⁹

Stories of hostile intentions on the part of Lane against Westport and Lexington were branded by the moderate press of Missouri as absurd and as intended by trouble makers to rouse up the Missourians to foolish strife in the territory, and advice was given to stay out of Kansas so that the people there resident could settle their own difficulties.⁵⁶⁰ To an increasing degree this sort of advice was heeded, and the border troubles at length became a matter of history.

Emphasis should be laid upon the decisiveness with which many influential leaders of the South opposed the acceptance of the Lecompton constitution. Crittenden's firm stand against that document was warmly applauded by the *Memphis Eagle and Enquirer*, one of the ablest and most conservative organs of the South. Crittenden was further assured by a leading South Carolinian that his stand was cordially received by the masses of the southern people. The *Richmond Whig*, ever devoted to the interests of its section, spoke with candor upon what it regarded as a closed issue, saying: "We need indulge in no speculation at this time of day as to the fate of Lecompton in the house. Nor, so far as we are concerned, do we feel any particular interest in the result." The editor declared, indeed, that he would vote against the constitution if he had a vote. "All admit that Kansas will never be a slave state," said he, "and all know that her admission under the Lecompton constitution, as amended, will neither establish nor vindicate any principle which the South has heretofore contended for. The bill, therefore, is an abomination, an infamous cheat, a deliberate fraud, and no southern man with a particle of respect for the just rights and honor of the South should touch it with a forty foot pole." Senator Benton, on his deathbed, voiced his opposition in a final way to the Lecompton document.⁵⁶¹

VII. WHY THE SOUTH FAILED.

The concluding pages of this dissertation will deal with the fundamental reasons for the final failure of the South to achieve its ends in relation to Kansas. These reasons will be set forth in their broadest outlines, with occasional reference to concrete illustrations to prove the inherent difficulties of the whole situation.

In the first place, the South was confronted by many stubborn facts which had been proved by the general movements of peoples throughout the world's history. It was estimated that thirty-five per cent of the emigration from the slave states was directed toward the free states, while less than ten per cent of the emigration from the free states and from the Old World found a home in the South. This truth is all the more astounding when we realize that the

559. Holloway, p. 540; *St. Louis Evening News*, October 27, 1854; *Squatter Sovereign*, October 2, 1855.

560. *St. Louis Evening News*, December 28, 1857.

561. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, April 23, 1858; April 30, 1858; May 7, 1858.

slave states included much of the best land to be found in the United States.⁵⁶²

Much depended upon the method in which the land of the new state was to be divided. "One thing is certain," said a historian writing in 1855; "if the public domain is never sold at public auction, but only allowed to be pre-empted by the actual settler, the territory can never remain a slave territory. . . . If the land is never put up to the highest bidder, we think the fate of Kansas is as fixed as adamant, and whether she goes slavery or not, is, as regards her future destiny, immaterial." After writing the above the author learned that a treaty had been made between the government and the Delaware Indians, the terms of which permitted settlers to have preëmptions. This fact, the writer concluded, "was the strongest movement for the security of freedom in Kansas yet made."⁵⁶³

The economic distress which would be caused by transporting bodily to Kansas the industrial system of the South is set forth by John Mitchell, in his *Southern Citizen*, in the following words:

"If to make plantations in Kansas we must leave a desert somewhere else, where is the gain? Politically, we may assert and vindicate our rights to settle Kansas, but the North has a continual new influx of labor from abroad; we, little or none. Nature and the laws which regulate settlement and population are stronger than our constitutions and our guarantees of nonintervention. The North can pour her myriads into Kansas and never miss them. If we cultivate an acre there we leave an acre untilled here. For every hearth we make to smoke in Kansas there is a hearth left cold in Georgia or Alabama."⁵⁶⁴

Missouri, we are assured, would have shared the fate described above should she have entered the new territory in too great numbers. Her helplessness is thus depicted in the *Boston Evening Traveler*:

"Now the truth undoubtedly is . . . that the state of Missouri generally has not the disposition, if it had the power, to prevent northern emigration to Kansas. . . . The idea of the Missourians flocking into the new territory with their slaves is simply absurd. But there is another difficulty in the way. Missouri has not the population to spare for the settlement of the new territory. In 1850 she had a population, all told, of less than 700,000, nearly 90,000 of which were colored persons, chiefly slaves. The area of the state is estimated at 67,380 square miles, which will give about ten persons, black and white, to a square mile. Missouri cannot, therefore, send many emigrants to Kansas without making her own territory a wilderness. Massachusetts, with her little territory of 8,000 square miles, and her population of 1,000,000 souls, giving her 126 inhabitants to a square mile, could easily outnumber the Missourians on the plains of Kansas without sensibly affecting her own population."⁵⁶⁵

These facts were of course true in some degree in other states.

In trying to people Kansas with emigrants the South tried to turn emigration from its natural channels. American history amply proves the proposition that in general the westward movement has followed the parallels of latitude.

562. Speech of Henry Wilson in the senate February 18, 1856. In April, 1856, the *Montgomery Journal* confidentially told its readers that huge plans were on foot to save Kansas to the South. Shrinking from telling the whole truth, it modestly assured the South that at least 6,000 southern voters would be thrown into the territory before the election of next October.—Quoted in the *Missouri Republican* April 17, 1856.

563. Chapman, "History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide," vol I, p. 110.

564. *Randolph Citizen*, November 19, 1857. Eli Thayer said there was better land to be had at fifty cents an acre in North Carolina and Tennessee than could be bought for ten times that figure in any free state.—Speech in the house of representatives, on "The Suicide of Slavery," March 25, 1858, p. 6.

565. *Boston Evening Traveler*, July 27, 1854, in Webb, I, p. 69.

During the fifties, therefore, Arkansas and Texas were the natural receptacles for settlers from the other Southern states.⁵⁶⁶ Even the *Memphis Bulletin* was prompted to declare that any effort to thwart this principle was uphill business.⁵⁶⁷ "It seems to be forgotten by many who have credit for knowledge and sagacity," said another writer, "that there are certain fixed laws of population which govern the movements of mankind as the laws of nature govern the currents of the ocean or the motion of the heavenly bodies. Under the operation of these laws of emigration the tide rolling west must, in due time, fill all that territory (including Missouri) west of the Mississippi, and in the same latitude with the Eastern and Middle States, with a population from those states. Atchison is contending with fate in endeavoring to avert the result."⁵⁶⁸

Speaking of the various plans proposed for peopling Kansas with southern emigrants, the *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican* said:

"Very few white men can be found to go there with slaves of their own, and to supply slaves would require a larger capital than can be raised. Moreover, a stock company would not be disposed to send many Negroes to Kansas merely for the sake of establishing slavery; it is too timid property to risk in these exciting times. Besides, votes are now wanted there, and not 'niggers.' To send men of moderate means—in the North called 'poor men'—would be as unsafe politically as pecuniarily in the former case, for they would quickly find it to their interest to vote themselves a farm and keep out the blacks. There is a large class of such men here (in Alabama), who are secret enemies to the planter and wish there was not a Negro in the country. Some are so simple as to express themselves thus. The South has all of these difficulties to contend with. The southern emigration is slow. Indeed, everything moves slowly in the South. It is trammelled with slavery, and while the institution was marching from this section in forced marches, thousands of free settlers would be pouring in from the North. In anything requiring activity and enterprise the southerners do not keep pace with their northern brethren, which they confess. . . . Texas is still a vast wild; and in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas there are vast and fertile regions as yet unexplored. With its present limits slavery will have 'elbow room' for half a century yet."⁵⁶⁹

An Alabaman thus describes the convictions which he held after a thorough study of the prospects for the success of the southern cause:

"Till I traveled extensively in the slave states I had no idea of their weakness or how poorly prepared they are to colonize any country. The sons of the planters, who are too lazy to work, furnish a few filibusters⁵⁷⁰ who will go if they can command, and New Orleans has at any time a few thousands of reckless spirits to enlist under them. But when we see how sparse is the population here compared with the population of the free states, how many must of necessity stay at home to keep the blacks in subjection, how unaccustomed they are to hardship, fatigue and self-denial, we understand at once that the free states have a thousand to one the advantage."

566. Kentucky sent some gold hunters to Arkansas in 1855.—*Weekly Missouri Statesman*, August 3, 1855.

567. Quoted in *National Antislavery Standard*, January 31, 1857. See, also, *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, November 25, 1855; *Missouri Republican*, November 15, 1857.

568. Washington correspondent in the *New York Tribune*, May 16, 1855, in Webb, IV, p. 42.

569. January 5, 1856, in Webb, VIII, p. 48.

570. William P. Linder, of Kirksville, Mo., located 20,000 acres of land in Nicaragua for himself and twenty-five other families. None of the families were to take less than \$5,000 to the Walker expedition.—*Weekly Missouri Statesman*, April 25, 1856.

In Kansas and Missouri a free trip from New Orleans to Granada was announced in print, and Titus took 100 men whose services were no longer needed in the territory and started with them in December, 1856, for New Orleans. Titus was "swollen with pride" over his newspaper notoriety in Kansas.—Scroggs, "Filibusters and Financiers," pp. 237, 280.

It was pointed out that the weakest place in the much-talked-of expeditions of Buford and Bell was that women and children were conspicuously absent from their calculations.⁵⁷¹

At the same time that emigration was being so widely and enthusiastically advocated in the South there was also a frank acknowledgment on the part of representative leaders in various places that all such efforts were decidedly contrary to the traditional practice and habit of the South. A Missouri committee said:

"No southern or slaveholding state has ever attempted to colonize a territory. Our public lands have been left to the occupancy of such settlers as soil and climate invited. The South has sent no armies to force slave labor upon those who preferred free labor. Kentucky sprang from Virginia, as did Tennessee from North Carolina, and Kansas will from Missouri—from contiguity of territory and similarity of climate."⁵⁷²

While Buford, Clayton and others were advancing to possess the fields of the new territory we find an unwonted apathy in the South toward the whole Kansas propaganda. In vain did the newspapers appeal to the sectional loyalty of their readers. The *Richmond Enquirer* may be taken as a type. It said:

"Coveting no monopoly of credit, and intent only on the success of a cause which equally affects the interests of every citizen of the state, they appeal directly to this city for sympathy and support. Shall they appeal in vain? Will Richmond contribute nothing out of the abundance of its wealth to a cause which claims the utmost sacrifices of the state? Must the capital of Virginia be reproached with an inglorious neutrality in a contest which is to determine the fortunes of the South? . . . The suspicion that the dominant population of Richmond are at least indifferent to the interests of slavery has already alienated much of the confidence of the country. If this city refuses to take part in the Kansas movement it will confirm the distrust and must not hope to retain the good will of the state. Rival cities with a more loyal devotion to the interests of slavery will monopolize the confidence and commerce of the South."⁵⁷³

Columbus, Ga., was regarded as rabid on the Kansas question, yet we find its newspaper, the *Corner Stone*, lukewarm in many respects.

"We feel no interest in the Kansas question except that resulting from the hope that they may yet get up a difficulty over it which may possibly result in a dissolution of the Union. We would not, for any benefit we expect the South to derive from it, turn on our heel for choice whether it shall be a free or a slave state."⁵⁷⁴

Missouri early became aware of the fact that she did not have the united South back of her in the Kansas struggle. A subscriber to the *Atlanta Examiner* wrote thus from Waverly, Mo.:

"Again wake your people up to the importance of sending some permanent settlers to Kansas. Missouri calls upon every Southern state to aid her. I have just returned from a tour through that territory and have taken considerable pains to ascertain the state of affairs there. The result of my observation is a confidential belief that the free-soilers have a majority in Kansas.

571. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 4, 1856, in Webb, IX, p. 23.

572. "Address to the People of the United States," p. 11, found in Kansas History Pamphlets, vol. I. The substance of this paragraph is, however, negated by no less authority than DeBow, director of the census of 1860 and the editor of the *Review*, which was so thoroughly conversant with southern economic conditions.

573. Quoted in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 28, 1856.

574. Quoted in the *Herald of Freedom*, January 19, 1856.

The proslavery vote will not stand the test, for the South is not arousing itself to that interest, while its enemies from the North and East are organizing and increasing their forces daily. Call upon your wealthy planters and farmers, and all that are able to do so, to organize and settle in Kansas some of your poor but industrious and enterprising young and middle-aged men. Kansas, be assured, is a fat land. Leavenworth city, just eight months old, has 15,000 inhabitants, with a majority of free-soilers. Will the South suffer this?"⁵⁷⁵

There were always some conspicuous leaders who saw the impracticability of the southern movement to Kansas. Thus, as we have seen in our introduction, many influential members of congress were convinced from the first that the South could expect no gain from the Kansas-Nebraska act. Calmer men in the South soon saw the justification of these anticipations. The southern element resident in Kansas was not slow to note that it was being denied recruits from the South. Successful territorial elections proved to be the cause of a slackened emigration. "We fear," said the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, "the South has allowed an apathy, generated by our late victories, to lead her to supineness fatal to her best interests."⁵⁷⁶

As has already been intimated, however, there was ever present some outspoken opposition to the southern designs on Kansas. Georgia seemed to have both extremes—ardent advocates and bitter opponents. The *Augusta Chronicle* registered some clear-cut opposition:

"We are opposed to the whole scheme of sending emigrants to Kansas to agitate the slavery question. We have never entertained the idea that Kansas could become a slave state, and we do not think that any well-informed man in the Union entertains any such opinion. Our motto is, 'Let the people of the territories who are citizens of the United States determine the question for themselves in the formation of their state constitutions, and we are, in favor of admitting them with or without slavery as they choose. We care nothing about preserving the equilibrium between the free and slave states, because we know that is impossible from the very character of the territory belonging to the United States; and when that alone is our hope of preserving the rights of the South, the constitution is not worth a copper. This every intelligent man knows.'"⁵⁷⁷

The *Winnsborough Register*, in South Carolina, expressed its utter disapproval of the Kansas policy of its home state in the following words:

"We negatived the idea that South Carolina should send men to Kansas—and why? Simply because *she cannot spare them*. Her population is daily decreasing from emigration, and already she has peopled more Western and Southern states than any [other] state in the Union. Not only so, but every Kansas emigrant diminishes the size of our ballot box; and many of them leave behind wives and children to follow them if successful, but to welcome them back to old Carolina if failure follows their enterprise. Some of them carry slaves with them, but how small a minority do they comprise. Those who

575. Quoted in *National Intelligencer*, November 1, 1855.

576. Issue of February 2, 1857. This is in marked contrast to the spirit of the South earlier in the game. There was at the first a universal note of optimism in the southern press and in the speeches of statesmen. The *Lexington (Mo.) Express* said: "This war began first with the people of the North; they first began this work of colonizing Kansas, whilst the South lay quiet and inactive. We ask, will the South quietly submit to this and see Kansas abolitionized without a struggle? We believe not; thus far she has not. No 'emigrant aid societies' exist in the South, nor are any needed. Hundreds of southern men are already in the territory, and we are informed that thousands more will be here in the spring from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and other slave states."—Quoted in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 23, 1855.

577. Quoted in the *Boston Post*, March 10, 1856. (Appropos Bell's efforts in the South.) There was also opposition to organized emigration in the North. Some of it came from the Know-Nothings, who feared extending encouragement or favor to foreigners.—See *The Atlas*, February 12, 1854, in Webb, II, pp. 247, 248.

do not are not slaveowners in South Carolina either from necessity or choice, and *we think it extremely problematical whether their gains in Kansas will ever be invested in this species of property.* For a few years past our state has been decreasing in political power because she has been so severely taxed by the loss of citizens to people other states; but this diminution in numbers is of far less importance than that occasioned by the emigration to Kansas, because the former carried with them their slaves to settle slave states, and the latter are lessening our tax-paying voters, who emigrate to populate a government territory whose future admission as a state is so wrapped in doubt as to *make it prudent not to carry slaves there yet awhile, at any rate.*⁵⁷⁸

To this the *Charleston Standard* added the following:

"The South has long been tasked with the accomplishment of inconsistent objects. The one has been to expand her material development, build towns and cities, and maintain respectability in the eyes of the world; the other was to march with equal pace upon vacant territory and preserve equality within the Union."⁵⁷⁹

Later in the struggle the *Charleston Standard* again raised its voice in protest, citing palpable facts derived from an economic study of the states of the South. It found in the eight million surplus population of the North, much of which could be used for emigration, if necessity demanded, an insuperable obstacle to the South. It said:

"It is a fact that to every man, woman and child, white and black, in the Southern states, there are 517 acres of land to be cultivated. It is a fact that every individual in the Southern states is not competent to the cultivation of such an amount of land; that there is land, therefore, beyond the wants of our southern people; that they have no motive of interest to emigrate to other lands beyond; that they cannot stay and cultivate their own lands and go abroad and cultivate others; and in view of these facts *it must be admitted that the territory of Kansas or any other territory is not the want of the South, and not being the want of the South, it is not fairly to be supposed that we can take it.* We may send parties there and hold it in military subjection, if the South shall be prepared for such a measure, but it is not to be supposed that the South will persevere in such an occupation without the hope of ultimately sustaining it by emigration."

The *Standard* was agreed that the South ought to have equal political power with the North, but held that political equality, if it ever came again, must of necessity come some other way. With small consolation it concluded: "We regret the inability to indulge in the illusions which we believe are agreeable to the great majority of our people."⁵⁸⁰

The *Montgomery Daily Journal* denounced the Kansas-Nebraska bill as a "stepping stone to office" for demagogues.⁵⁸¹

It is a well-known fact that there were multitudes of antislavery men in the South during the Kansas excitement, and that they were more or less an obstacle to the proslavery program for Kansas. A lecturer representing the New York Settlement Company canvassed the state of Maryland and was able to secure a good number of subscribers for the stock of his company. Other Southern states which contributed largely to making Kansas a free state were Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Virginia and North Carolina. Of

578. Quoted in the *New York Daily Times*, April 23, 1856, in Webb, XI, p. 150. *National Intelligencer*, April 26, 1856; *Randolph Citizen*, May 15, 1856.

579. *Randolph Citizen*, May 15, 1856.

580. Quoted in the *Missouri Republican*, February 6, 1857.

581. Quoted in the *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, March 21, 1856.

course, all antislavery sentiment in the South was *sub rosa*, but it was present nevertheless, and saw in Kansas an opportunity to throw off an oligarchy that had successfully crushed any attempt of theirs to rise to social status.⁵⁸²

Unlike the proslavery element in the North, the southern free-soilers were mostly quiet and silent. They were found chiefly in the cities and in commercial circles.⁵⁸³ Many Missourians opposed slavery, not because they were abolitionists—for they were not—but because they saw it was detrimental to their economic interests.⁵⁸⁴ Grave doubt was entertained whether the Georgia emigrants would remain true to their sectional interest when once in Kansas.⁵⁸⁵

It was estimated that 30,000 free-state emigrants settled in Missouri in the year 1856, and the following year bade fair for even a greater number. These settlers came, displacing thousands of proslavery men who were pushing South into Texas, and some into California. In 1856 land in Bates county, adjoining Kansas, could be had for twenty-five cents an acre, and improved farms for five dollars an acre. With the coming of free-state men into this section, values had risen to twenty dollars an acre.⁵⁸⁶ It was held by some that two-thirds of the real estate of Bates and Vernon counties in 1857 was held by men favorable to freedom, these free-state settlers having displaced proslavery men within perhaps six months' time.⁵⁸⁷

It was clearly absurd, therefore, to count on Missouri to be zealous to extend the institution of slavery into Kansas, when at the very time certain enthusiasts were making that demand, Missouri was in the gradual process of emancipating her slaves. No one pointed out this truth with more force than did B. Gratz Brown, of St. Louis, in a speech delivered in the Missouri house of representatives on February 12, 1857. By means of carefully selected statistics he proved that from 1851 to 1857, in 25 counties out of a total of 107, there had been an actual decrease in slaves. The influx of free laborers, many of them Germans, was largely responsible for this decay of the peculiar institution. Indeed, so much had slavery declined in many of the northern counties of the state that it could hardly any more be classed as a system, but could more properly be denominated a relic. In the whole state in the period from 1851 to 1858 he found an increase of slaves to the number of only 12,492.⁵⁸⁸ The whole number of slaves in Livingston county was held by fewer than 200 families. Slavery was not profitable in this section. In 1860, out of 7,417 people in that county only 705 were slaves.⁵⁸⁹

This disappearance of the institution of slavery in Missouri was preëminently a cause for the loss of Kansas to the South, and it seems strange to us to-day that the statesmen of the fifties did not see the fact with greater clearness. An article on the subject appeared in the *St. Louis Intelligencer*, which, although lengthy, will bear extended quotation:

582. *Hartford Courant*, in Webb, VI, p. 212; *New York Courier and Enquirer*, November 24, 1855, in Webb, VI, p. 271.

583. *Missouri Democrat*, November 19, 1857.

584. *Herald of Freedom*, quoted in *Springfield Daily Republican*, August 6, 1855, in Webb, V, p. 21.

585. *Springfield Republican*, quoting *Savannah (Ga.) Republican*, in Webb, X, p. 54.

586. *Missouri Republican*, quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, June 27, 1857.

587. *Herald of Freedom*, October 17, 1857.

588. Page 5 ff.

589. "History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties," p. 738.

"It is a strange thing that just as the proslavery sentiment in Missouri was supposed to have reached the acme; just after proslaveryism had invaded Kansas in the riotous self-sufficiency of determined propagandism; just after all other parties in the state had succumbed to the dominancy of the party arrogating to be *par excellence* the proslavery party of the state; just after the entire South had proclaimed their pride in Missouri as the bulwark and very citadel of the 'institution'—it is strange that at this very instant the fatal secret should leak out and be whispered through the land, that slavery is waning in Missouri, *and to be waning is to be dead*. It is as if a warrior, clutching victory in the fight, should, that instant, have an arrow pierce his heart."

The writer then enters a brief justification of the institution of slavery, and continues:

"So much for slavery *per se*. But it is out of place in Missouri. We have enough slaves in Missouri to deter hundreds of thousands of free laborers from coming here. But we have not enough to do one-tenth of the servile labor of the state. So Missouri languishes. She is neither free nor slave. She would be better off either with a half million more slaves or with none at all. And, as the slaves cannot be had, and the state must take a more positive character than she has heretofore held, *slavery is of its own accord yielding*, and will rapidly disappear from the state. The fertile fields, the vast forests and rich mines of Missouri *must be worked and will be*. It is manifest destiny. As the slaves cannot be got here to develop the wealth that God intends shall be developed, free white men will—and that is the end of slavery."⁵⁹⁰

Many wealthy Missouri slaveholders early in the Kansas conflict sold their slaves or moved further South in order not to lose them. It was reported by a Marylander who was traveling in the part of Missouri north of the river that the greater part of the population there resident was in favor of making Missouri a free state.⁵⁹¹ Missouri even took enough interest in seeing the end of slavery to send a delegation East to secure 100 Yankees to settle on a good landing of the Missouri river.⁵⁹²

Some of the Southern states, particularly North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, felt the great difficulty of securing facilities of travel to Kansas; indeed, of providing the necessary money for transportation.⁵⁹³ Eventually, however, some of the railroads were induced to carry the emigrants at least part way free. The Nashville correspondent to the *New York Tribune* said the railroads all carried the emigrants free.⁵⁹⁴

The decade of the fifties witnessed in the South a number of so-called commercial conventions held in the leading cities, called for the purpose of advancing the commercial interests of that section, but actually often turned aside to deliberate upon and to pass resolutions on various extraneous matters. The Kansas issue did not escape them. A convention held in Savannah in 1855 was noteworthy as being composed largely of men not in mercantile pursuits. It was credited with having made no worthy impression on the outside world, but the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin* thought it was amply justi-

590. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, February 24, 1857. Emphatic denial of the truthfulness of these statements came, however, from Missouri. Some maintained that the free-soilers alluded to eventually became good proslavery men. Many wealthy slaveholders and land-owners in Missouri were instanced. Kentuckians owned land in Missouri to the extent of one-half million acres, and these men were reported devoted to the South.—*Missouri Republican*, September 10, 1857.

591. Letter to *Mobile Daily News* from Alabama gentleman in Kansas, in *Philadelphia Gazette*, in Webb, VII, p. 22.

592. Letter of Eli Thayer, in *Missouri Republican*, April 4, 1857.

593. *St. Louis Intelligencer*, January 7, 1856.

594. *Herald of Freedom*, May 3, 1856.

fied since it afforded an opportunity to ambitious aspirants after distinction and those itching to see their names in print to have their harmless desires gratified.⁵⁹⁵

A similar convention was held in Savannah, Ga., in December, 1856, and it "most earnestly recommended to the people of the Southern states to organize plans promotive of southern emigration to Kansas. . . ." Very plainly the convention had in mind the securing of the territory for the institution of slavery.⁵⁹⁶

Possibly other such conventions were held, but we note that the one held in Montgomery, Ala., on May 10, 1858, met with decided ridicule and opposition from the press of the South. For example, a Savannah paper remarked:

"This convention has been meeting for some five or six years consecutively, and has passed some hundred or more resolutions on nearly every subject under the sun, and if the first step has been taken to carry one of them into practical effect we have yet to learn the fact. They have resolved enough in all conscience; let them set to and finish up the work they have already cut out, and then it will be time for another convention."⁵⁹⁷

Much of the enthusiasm for these conventions came from DeBow, of New Orleans; in fact, he constituted the heart and soul of the whole movement, and with the apparent cooling off of his ardor we hear no more about the conventions. They contributed nothing of importance to the interest of the South in Kansas, although, as above stated, it was the intent that they should serve as a stimulant in that direction.

In all of its calculations the South was prone to count on the support of certain states on the supposition that they constituted a part of "the South." Any measure that was labeled southern was expected to arouse in all the states south of Mason and Dixon's line an enthusiasm and loyalty sufficient to secure a solidarity that would more than match that of the North. But the South was destined to find by bitter experience that geographical lines are not necessarily a safe indication of sectional allegiance.⁵⁹⁸

The struggle over Kansas developed the proposition that there was really a western section in the Union that must be considered, and the added fact that it was as real a designation as was "the South" or "the North." Missouri was coming to think of herself as a Western state. Evidence of this is found in the fact that the state Democratic convention of 1856 passed in its resolutions a pledge to support no man for the presidency at the Cincinnati convention who was not known, by his past antecedents and political history, to be favorable to western interests.⁵⁹⁹ Missouri's broad western interests are also indicated in the sixth resolution, which reads:

"That Missouri has a common interest with the western states in the establishment of a policy which will distribute the burdens and the benefits of the government, in opposing all measures calculated to advance the interests

595. Quoted in *Missouri Republican*, January 25, 1855.

596. Klem, *Missouri in the Kansas Struggle*, pp. 16-17; *Jefferson Inquirer*, December 16, 1856.

597. *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, April 30, 1858.

598. The passing of the Jackson resolutions in 1849 in some sense committed Missouri to southern interests and to sympathy and coöperation with the Nashville convention, but no delegates were authorized to be sent to that convention.—Perkins, "History of Marion County," p. 309.

599. "Statement of Facts and a Few Suggestions in Review of Political Action in Missouri," 1856, pp. 45, 58.

of one section of the Union at the expense of another, in the construction of a public railway to the Pacific, through the heart of the country."

The *St. Louis Evening News* was even willing to "pass up" the question as to whether Kansas would be free or slave, convinced that above all questions there towered the query whether or not she would be a true Western state—a state able to help turn the tide against "southern and seaboard rulers" who were perversely deaf to the needs of the western section.⁶⁰⁰

B. Gratz Brown refuted in a masterly way the common belief that Missouri belonged to the South. Speaking in the Missouri legislature in 1857, he said:

"It is urged that Missouri belongs to the South, is identified with the South, and should, therefore, adhere to the South as much through pride as through policy. Sir, I confess that I cannot regard this subject in that light. Missouri has nothing in common with the South, either in national or home concerns. Nor does she owe any debt of gratitude to the South. It is, on the contrary, to the representations of Southern states that she is indebted for almost all the hostility that has been shown to her most cherished interests in the halls of congress. The many defeats of her long-projected highway across the continent; the rejection of appropriation bills for her river and harbor improvements; the refusal to permit any reform in the oppressive system that prevails in the ownership, by the United States government, of lands within her boundary—all these have resulted to her from the persistent hostility of southern statesmen. Nor is she identified with the South either by position or natural association. Three-fourths of her trade finds a market in northern seaports, while two-thirds of her imports come from the same points. Her station is geographically defined as a Central state; at present the advanced leader of the Western states. Her place in political affairs is no less significantly marked out. It is to hold the balance even between the North and South until the great West shall have risen to be a third power in the Confederacy; to repress factions, quell agitations, put forth moderate counsels, and crush out with scorn the injurious sectionalism that would dare imperil the present Union."⁶⁰¹

Missouri was bold enough also to assail the state of South Carolina for her assumed primacy in what was called "the South." Note the directness of the following challenge:

"South Carolina has heretofore had not only justice done to herself and sons, but has actually controlled the issues in three presidential contests and dominated over the Democratic conventions—*by standing aloof from them*. Whenever her vote would effect a choice—or her vote in conjunction with Georgia and Alabama—she has had it in her power to mold the policy of the incoming executive to suit her own wishes, *and she has never scrupled to use it*. This has foisted a few half-cultivated states (under the nomenclature of 'the South') into an undue importance in our internal politics and subordinated every issue to the one bond of sympathy, *i.e.*, slavery, upon which Mr. Calhoun planted himself. It has been successful, too, far above even his expectation. It has terrified the leaders of our party into compliance with its demands. It now threatens to override even the constitution of the Union itself, and to make them subservient to its lust of power and its aggressive propagandism. Missouri is the only slave state in which this policy on the part of Mr. Calhoun and his southern clique has been fully understood and resisted from the outset. Missouri first saw and appreciated that it was this wheel within a wheel that was crushing vitality out of every western measure and vetoing everything that was not exclusively southern. Missouri first

600. *St. Louis Evening News*, February 10, 1855.

601. Speech on "Gradual Emancipation in Missouri," February 12, 1857, p. 23 ff.

openly revolted from such thralldom, at the instigation of the wisest of her sons and statesmen, and recorded her solemn protest against longer occupying the position of a serf and menial in the train of Carolina, asking in vain justice at the hands of the federal government for the great West, of which she was the center, and ever put off with the mere crumbs of office for which some of her representatives were only too eager and avaricious." 602

The action of the southern press in ridiculing the failure of General Reid to sack the town of Lawrence over the protest of Governor Geary aroused considerable ire in many moderate Missourians. The *Boonville Weekly Observer* could not be accused of being remiss in its efforts to be true to southern interests, but it was outspoken against Reid's detractors. That paper said:

"This kind of talk may best suit Palmetto politicians and is very grateful to abolitionists, but it is not a fair reflex of Missouri sentiment and is prejudicial to the proslavery cause in Kansas. We are willing now, and always have been, to tax ourselves in assisting proslavery emigrants in going to Kansas that they may constitute a majority of actual settlers, the only legitimate and practical mode of making Kansas a slave state or of sustaining the institution if established there. We will cheerfully contribute in this way to resist the colonization schemes of the abolitionists, but we have no sympathy with disunionists, be they from South Carolina or Massachusetts, and could not but regard it as a national blessing if the advocates of these rival fanaticisms were placed beyond the pale of civilization in a position to successfully war upon and destroy each other. . . . It is high time for the press of Missouri to speak out and let the puritanical traitors North, and their fire-eating collaborators South, know that Missourians are ready to battle in defense of the Union, wherever and whenever assailed, and that we have no fondness for treason." 603

This attempt to advertise slavery as the sole interest of Missouri, as has already been intimated, was extremely distasteful to many Missourians. It had much to do with the determination of their state to count herself not a Southern state. One prominent Missourian wrote: "I do not think the slavery issue is all of Democracy, and therefore it follows I think a man's position on this issue does not necessarily decide his political character." 604 In common with Mr. Benton, no doubt the majority of the more peaceable citizens of Missouri deplored the agitation of the slavery issue. The state Democratic meeting held on April 22, 1856, adopted among its resolutions the statement that, "We recognize in the slavery agitation the greatest and most persistent enemy to the peace and prosperity of Missouri." 605 Indeed, slavery was no longer discussed in Missouri from the high vantage ground of its inherent benefits, but merely as to the expedient time for its extinction. 606

Kentucky, as well as Missouri, chose to consider herself apart from the South, and in every sense a part of the West. Senator J. J. Crittenden set forth this idea in the following words:

"Is there not a great western section, geographically, as well as a northern and a southern section? In my country we call ourselves western men. Geographically, we have that position in this union. We have an extreme to

602. "Statement of Facts and a Few Suggestions in Review of Political Action in Missouri," 1856, p. 29 ff.

603. *Boonville Weekly Observer*, October 4, 1856.

604. Letter of B. F. Massey to Dr. J. F. Snyder, October 20, 1858, in "Snyder Papers."

605. "A Statement of Facts and a Few Suggestions in Review of Political Action in Missouri," 1856, p. 44.

606. *Missouri Democrat*, July 28, 1857. Maj. James S. Rollins, however, was willing to grant that Missouri's interests were essentially southern.—Letter to Maj. John Dougherty, December 11, 1854, in "Reynolds Papers."

the North, with its peculiar employments, its peculiar opinions. A different state of things exists at the extreme South. You are both upon the ocean—but where are we? We are in the great West—we are the great West. Though not equal at this time, in point of population, to either the northern or the southern section, we are destined to be more in population than both of them put together—destined to have more of the surplus of the products of the earth in our hands than all the rest of the United States.”

“Senator Crittenden continued in an argument showing that the West for many reasons would ever oppose disunion and that its interests in this respect coincided exactly with those of the other sections.”⁶⁰⁷

Depredations committed by southerners in Kansas did not elicit general approval of the South. In commenting on the part played therein by certain Missourians, the *Jefferson Inquirer* said: “Ardently as we desire its [our cause] success in the territory, we would rather see our volunteers from Missouri repulsed from it than see them return with the stigma of murdering, plundering and burning the houses of unresisting and defenseless citizens. Let moderation and firmness characterize the action of the proslavery party.”⁶⁰⁸ In spite of this feeling, however, it is true that much violence was invariably on the proslavery side.⁶⁰⁹ In Missouri there was considerable wrath when it was learned that one of the forays alone cost \$100,000, which sum was spent largely for whisky and for the buying of votes.⁶¹⁰ In 1857 R. M. Stewart was opposed in his race for governor on the ground that his election would insure an effort to raise by a state tax a fund to reimburse the Missourians for their forays in Kansas. This report was naturally very unpalatable to citizens of St. Louis, when it became clear that the sum of two or three million dollars was to be raised for the purpose indicated. The tax, however, was never proposed, although Mr. Stewart became governor.⁶¹¹

And thus closed one of the unique contests recorded in American history, one decided, not by any particular section of the Union, but by the ever-increasing tide of free labor, which, flowing not only from New England but from the Ohio valley and even from the South, made it utterly impossible for the South to erect in Kansas the institution of Negro slavery, without which type of society the struggle over Kansas would have been a meaningless wrangle instead of the prologue to the story of the great Civil War of 1861-1865.

607. Speech in the senate on the Kansas conference bill, April 27, 1858, p. 6 ff.

608. Issue, of September 6, 1856.

609. Rhodes, II, p. 200, footnote.

610. *Missouri Republican*, June 26, 1855.

611. That much of the responsibility for the Kansas outrages lay at the door of the South is apparently proved by the fact that that section shrunk from any investigation of these outrages. No member from any of the Southern states voted in favor of the appointment of the Howard committee. Wilder's "Annals," April, 1857.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

SOURCE MATERIAL.

NEWSPAPERS.

- Boonville Weekly Observer*, 1854-1858.
Daily Jefferson Inquirer, March 27, 1856, to June 17, 1857.
Freeman's Champion, June 25, 1857, to September 16, 1858.
Herald of Freedom, October 1854, to July 24, 1858.
Jefferson Inquirer, January 22, 1853, to December 16, 1856.
Kansas Free State, January 3, 1855, to January 31, 1857.
Kansas Weekly Press, June, 1858, to March, 1859.
Lawrence Republican, October, 1857, to May, 1858.
Lecompton Union and National Democrat, August 30, 1856, to February 21, 1861.
Leavenworth Journal, August 13, 1856, to September 14, 1858.
Liberty Weekly Tribune, January 14, 1853, to April 18, 1856.
Missouri Democrat, 1854-1858.
Missouri Republican, 1854-1858.
National Anti-Slavery Standard, April 13, 1848, to December 24, 1859.
National Intelligencer, 1854-1858.
New Orleans Picayune, January 16, 1854, to June 2, 1856 [broken file].
Randolph Citizen, May 10, 1855, to December 31, 1857.
Richfield Enterprise, December 9, 1854, to September 14, 1856.
Richfield Monitor, December 8, 1855, to June 23, 1856.
Richmond Weekly Mirror, February 18, 1853, to December 29, 1868 [defective].
St. Louis Evening News, July 20, 1854, to February 6, 1858.
St. Louis Intelligencer, June 29, 1852, to December 23, 1857.
Weekly Missouri Statesman, 1854-1858.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Address to the People of the United States by the Lexington Convention, July, 1855.
 A Statement of Facts and a Few Suggestions in Review of Political Action in Missouri, 1856.
 BENTON, T. H. Speech delivered at the Capitol, Jefferson City, May 26, 1849.
 BROWN, B. GRATZ. Speech in the Missouri House of Representatives, February 12, 1857, on Gradual Emancipation in Missouri.
 CHAPMAN, J. BUTLER. History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide. Akron, Ohio, 1855.
 CLAYTON, H. D. Report to the Kansas Executive Committee of Barbour County, Alabama.
 CRITTENDEN, J. J. Speech in the Senate, April 27, 1858, on the Kansas Conference Bill.
 De Bow's Review. 1856.
 DOUGLAS, S. A. Speech in the Senate, February 28, 1859, in reply to A. G. Brown, of Mississippi.
 GEYER, H. S. Speech in Senate, April 7, 8, 1856.
 GREEN, JAMES S. Speech in the Senate, March 23, 1858, on the Lecompton Constitution.
 [McNAMARA, REV. JOHN.] Three Years on the Kansas Border. By a Clergyman. New York, 1856.
 Report of the Special Committee appointed to Investigate Troubles in Kansas. Washington, 1856.
 REYNOLDS, T. C. Papers.
 SHERMAN LETTERS: Correspondence between General and Senator Sherman, 1837-'91. New York, 1894.
 SMITH, GEORGE R. Papers.
 SNYDER, J. F. Papers.
 STRINGFELLOW, B. F. Letter addressed to P. S. Brooks, Thos. L. Clingman, *et al.*
 THAYER, ELI. Speech in the House of Representatives, March 25, 1858, entitled, "The Suicide of Slavery."
 TOMLINSON, WILLIAM P. Kansas in 1858. New York, 1859.
 WEBB, T. H. Scrap Books, 17 volumes.
 WILDER, D. W. Annals of Kansas. Topeka, 1886.

SECONDARY MATERIAL.

COUNTY HISTORIES.

- CHAPMAN, J. A. History of Edgefield County, S. C. Newberry, S. C., 1897.
 FORTER, MRS. EMMA A. History of Marshall County, Kansas. Indianapolis, 1917.
 GRAY, P. L. History of Doniphan County. Bendena, Kan., 1905.
 JOHNSON, W. A. History of Anderson County, Kansas. Garnett, 1877.
 MOORE, H. MILES. Early History of Leavenworth City and County. Leavenworth, 1906.
 History of Boone County, Missouri. St. Louis, 1882.
 History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri. St. Louis, 1886.
 History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri. St. Louis, 1885.
 History of Greene County, Missouri. St. Louis, 1883.
 History of Hickory, Polk, Cedar, Dade and Barton Counties, Missouri. Chicago, 1889.
 History of Marion County, Missouri. St. Louis, 1884.
 PAXTON, W. M. Annals of Platte County, Missouri. Kansas City, Mo., 1897.
 History of Saline County, Missouri. St. Louis, 1881.
 ROBLEY, T. F. History of Bourbon County to the Close of 1865. Fort Scott, 1894.
 TURNER, S. K., and CLARK, S. A. Twentieth Century History of Carroll County, Missouri. Indianapolis, 1911.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Alabama Historical Society Transactions. Montgomery, 1908.
 ANDREAS, A. T. History of Kansas. Chicago, 1883.
 CARR, LUCIEN. Missouri; A Bone of Contention. Boston, 1888.
 COLE, ARTHUR CHARLES. The Whig Party in the South. Washington, 1913.
 BLACKMAR, F. W. Life of Charles Robinson. Topeka, 1902.
 BROWN, G. W. Reminiscences of Gov. R. J. Walker, Rockford, Ill., 1902.
 CONNELLEY, W. E. An Appeal to the Record. Topeka, 1903.
 CONNELLEY, W. E. Life of Preston B. Plumb. Chicago, 1913.
 COLLINS, LEWIS. History of Kentucky. Covington, Ky., 1882.
 ELDRIDGE, S. W. Recollections of Early Days in Kansas. Topeka, 1920.
 FLEMING, W. L. The Buford Expedition to Kansas. In *American Historical Review*, vol. 6, 1900.
 GOODLANDER, C. W. Early Days of Fort Scott.
 HARDING, S. B. Life of George R. Smith, Founder of Sedalia. Sedalia, Mo., 1904.
 HOLLOWAY, J. N. History of Kansas. Lafayette, Ind., 1868.
 JOHNSON, E. POLK. A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians. Chicago and New York, 1912.
 Kansas State Historical Society Collections. Vol. 9.. Topeka, 1906.
 KLEM, MARY JEANETTE. Missouri in the Kansas Struggle. St. Louis, 1913. (A thesis, typewritten).
 LYNCH, W. O. Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas. In *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*. Vol. 9. 1917-1918.
 MAYES, EDWARD. L. Q. C. Lamar: His Life, Times and Speeches. Second edition. Nashville, 1896.
 MILLER, W. H. History of Kansas City. Kansas City, 1881.
 Mississippi Historical Society Publications. Oxford, Miss., 1904.
 RAY, P. ORMAN. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Cleveland, 1909.
 RHODES, JAMES FORD. History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850. Eight vols. New York, 1893-1919.
 SCROGGERS, W. O. Filibusters and Financiers. New York, 1916.
 SHALER, N. S. Kentucky. Boston, 1888.
 SMITH, T. C. Parties and Slavery. New York, 1906.
 SPEED, THOMAS. The Union Cause in Kentucky (1860-1865). New York, 1907.
 SWITZLER, W. F. History of Missouri, (1541-1877). St. Louis, 1879.
 STEPHENSON, GEORGE M. Political History of Public Lands (1840-1862). Boston, 1917.
 TREXLER, H. A. Slavery in Missouri (1804-1865). Baltimore, 1914.
 Tennessee Historical Magazine. Nashville, 1916.

A SUMMARY OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IN FRANCE, 1917-1919.¹

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by LIEUT. MCKINLEY W. KRIEGH,² Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.

TIME flies swiftly. More than a year has elapsed since the signing of the armistice which marked the end of the hostilities with Germany, and yet it seems but yesterday. The memory of that mighty struggle, marked, as it was, by limitless suffering and sacrifice, can never be effaced or even obscured by either time or events in the minds and hearts of the soldiers and peoples who lived through those troublous years. It is for the purpose of recording briefly a few thoughts and facts concerning America's share in the Great War, gathered during twenty months of service with the American expeditionary force in France, eleven months as an enlisted man, that the writer has prepared this article.

The life of an enlisted man is not easy in time of war, whether he is at the front or in training or in the service at the rear. While at the front routine duties give him little trouble; but when not in line he must do guard duty, police duty, kitchen duty, and barracks or camp duty, and he is subjected to every sort of drill, exercise and regulation invented and inaugurated to help establish, maintain and strengthen discipline.

The boys who went to France during the summer and fall of 1917 endured many hardships which were not experienced by those who followed in 1918. Entire military camps had to be built, and railroads, docks, bridges, warehouses, machine shops, hospitals and facilities of every description constructed

1. For much material in this article covering American operations the author wishes to acknowledge indebtedness to Brig. Gen. Fox Connor, assistant chief of staff, G-3 (operations), and to Capt. Arthur E. Hartzell, Infantry, U. S. A.

2. McKinley W. Kriegh was a Kansas soldier in the Great War. We have little of a biographical nature concerning this young man. He was born in western Kansas, the son of pioneering parents. Life was something of a struggle to them, but holding fast to her ideal, the mother saw to it that every educational advantage possible was open to her children. Eventually she moved to Lawrence that they might have the opportunity of work in Kansas University. Young Kriegh was a practicing attorney when the war came on. He entered the service as a volunteer, and on October 27, 1917, he was assigned to the Twenty-ninth engineers; was made sergeant December 8; discharged September 30, 1918, to accept a commission as second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. His organization was one of those sent early to France. It was made up of men especially skilled in the printing trades, surveying, topographical mapping, and engineering in general. And this was the line of work to which the regiment was sent, becoming part of the topographical division, intelligence section, general staff, under direction of Col. Roger G. Alexander. From December 2, 1917, to February 7, 1918, young Kriegh was stationed at Langres, Headquarters Army Schools, A. E. F. On February 7 he was ordered to general headquarters to take charge of the map distribution department, G-2-C, and remained in charge of that work until June 1, 1919, when he was relieved for return to the United States. Of his major, L. B. Roberts, the young soldier has this to say:

"The success of the work of G-2-C and the Twenty-ninth engineers was due in no small measure to Major L. B. Roberts, executive officer. Major Roberts handled all questions of personnel, and during the period July 1, 1918, to June, 1919, coordinated and directed the work and activities of all units of G-2-C, G. H. Q., under Col. R. G. Alexander. Major Roberts is a Kansas man and a graduate of Kansas University. During the time he was executive officer of G-2-C he rose from second lieutenant, Engineer Officers' R. C., to major, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. He is at present [1919] on duty at the General Staff College, Washington, D. C. I mention the major because he is modest about his achievements and doubtless you would never hear of them if some one did not tell you. His duties were varied and complex and required technical knowledge and skill as a civil engineer as well as executive ability in handling administrative questions."

After leaving the army Mr. Kriegh returned to the practice of law, at first in Washington, D. C., but later in the western part of the United States. He was one of seven—six sons and one daughter—that his mother, Mrs. Mary E. Kriegh, gave to her country in the hour of its need.

and equipped in record time. It was an honor to be among that first one hundred thousand volunteers who arrived in France and who laid the foundation upon which was built the mighty American military machine.

Kansas people should be interested in those first hundred thousand, because Kansas furnished a very large quota of those pioneers of the American expeditionary force. There were many Kansas men in those fine regular and national guard divisions—the First, Second, Twenty-sixth and Forty-second—which began to arrive during the summer and fall of 1917, besides the thousands of special troops who organized and built up the service of supplies, including the base ports, lines of communication, intermediate bases and depots, advance section regulating stations and railroads, and the training areas.

Our first winter in France will always be remembered, because we did not always have adequate shelter, fuel, food, clothing or medical attention. Barracks had to be built. Fuel was almost unobtainable. Food, for the most part, consisted of canned beef, canned corn, canned beans and canned tomatoes. Clothing was often difficult to obtain. The medical attention given by most of the army medical officers at that time consisted of a prescription of pills and the notation "duty" on the company sick book, which was neither a cure nor a comfort, but which served to make us use every precaution against sickness. Our troubles were not in any sense imaginary; they were real. But every man took a patriotic view of the situation and agreed that while the government, the people at home and our allies were doing their best under extreme difficulties and trying conditions, it was up to us to do the same. The government was not responsible for lack of fuel; and the lack of suitable food, clothing and medical attention was due, in the organizations or commands where such a condition prevailed, to inexperienced, inefficient and hard-boiled officers, who, as the court-martial records would show if a record of summary court cases had been kept, could almost commit murder with impunity on account of the rigid discipline and strict censorship which was necessarily maintained as a measure of defense against the enemy.

On the other hand, too much cannot be said in praise of the officers and men who carried forward successfully the real work of construction, training and organization. A visitor at any of the American bases where construction work was in progress would have seen sergeants and master engineers and other grades in other branches of the service planning the work and bossing the job. Many first-class professional men, including lawyers, mechanical and civil engineers and men of letters and science, could be found in the ranks of every organization. Many of these volunteers were made commissioned officers during 1918 in recognition of faithful and distinguished services or for gallantry in action, and many also were sent to the army candidates' schools to be trained as officers. The government would not have made a mistake if it had required every man who had had no previous military experience to prove his ability as a leader in the ranks before granting him a commission as an officer, for many of those who never served in the ranks could not realize that there were enlisted men who were their equals and in many cases their superiors in knowledge.

The French people watched the progress of our work and marveled. In some parts of France the people use some modern machinery and are familiar with modern methods; but it is the opinion of the average American soldier,

based on knowledge gained from close observation and contact, that the French are behind the times in every branch of industry, whether it is farming, mining, manufacturing or transportation, and that their methods are woefully antiquated. We shall not soon forget our first trip on a French railroad in cars marked, "*40 hommes, 8 chevaux*" (meaning 40 men or 8 horses), and the time that our train stopped. After waiting about fifteen minutes, we went forward to the engine and found the cab empty, due to the fact, as we discovered later, that the engineer and fireman had become thirsty and had gone over to a near-by farm to get a drink of *vin rouge* (red wine).

It was not strange, therefore, that they gazed with wonder upon the camps, with all appurtenances of sewers, water supply, roads and electric lights, that came into being; the miles of railroad track, including engine terminals, water stations and coaling stations, that were constructed in a few short months; the dock and switching facilities at the base ports of Brest, St. Nazaire, New Rochelle and Bordeaux, which were completed in a few months and which French engineers had predicted could not be made available for use under two years; the hospitals, bakeries, laundries, power plants, transmission lines, dams, reservoirs, repair shops and buildings for various purposes which were built and put into use and operation while the strain was greatest and the military situation most tense and critical.

The achievements of the expeditionary force will form the most glorious pages of American history. Premier Clemenceau said that, "France will never forget that it was at the moment when the struggle was at its hardest that the valiant American troops joined in with ours." It was not only the bravery, the efficiency, and the fighting qualities possessed by the Yanks that endeared them to the French people. American soldiers were always to be found on some errand of helpfulness or of mercy, and thousands of orphans made homeless and fatherless by war owed their very lives and existence to the boys of the A. E. F. The *Stars and Stripes*, official newspaper of the A. E. F., had a family of 3,567 youngsters who were supported entirely by contributions from members and organizations or units of the army, and there were many more of whom the *Stars and Stripes* had no record.

Coming now to the military achievements of our overseas forces, I shall endeavor only to touch briefly upon some of the outstanding features and to relate only a few incidents or reminiscences of the battles and engagements from which the American army emerged with such success and glory; and by way of introduction it should be stated that no American division was ever used, except in training, in a sector of minor importance. After a brief period of training in battle maneuvers and in trench warfare each American division was placed where it would be of greatest value.

It was at the apex of the deepest and most dangerous of all the salients driven by the Germans into the Allied front that the First division was employed, and where on the morning of May 28, 1918, it attacked the German commanding position, taking, with the dash and precision of seasoned veterans, the town of Cantigny and all the other organized objectives, and where, in the darkest hour of the Allied cause, it showed that America was coming in with all her power, and thus lifted the morale in all the Allied armies. A French writer, Lieutenant d'Entragues, in *Le Temps*, a noted French newspaper, described the conduct of this division in the following

language: "There is a new element mentioned to-day for the first time in the French communique, and which will naturally strengthen all hopes: namely, the admirable behavior of the first American troops engaged in the firing line. I saw these first troops when they arrived. They are magnificent. Now they have just been fighting, and they have fought wonderfully well."

Later, at Belleau Wood and Chateau-Thierry, two more American divisions stopped another German drive which was sweeping down toward Paris. The Third division which had just come from preliminary training in the trenches, was hurried to the Marne, where it successfully held the bridge-head opposite Chateau-Thierry. The Second division, in retaking the railroad station at Bouresches and in the battle of Belleau Wood, which followed, proved American superiority over some of the enemy's best guard divisions. *L'Illustration* said of this:

"The Second American division, of which the famous marine brigade forms part, took, during the poignant hours of June, a glorious part in the checking of the German offensive on Paris. To glorify the brigade's heroism, the French commandant resolved that the Belleau Wood should henceforth be called 'The American Marine Brigade Wood.'"

On July 15 the Third and Twenty-eighth divisions assisted in repulsing the German hordes who began an offensive towards Chalons. At this time the Forty-second division was fighting east of Rheims. Three days later Marshal Foch took the offensive, and with the First, Second, Fourth and Twenty-sixth divisions on the front between Soissons and Chateau-Thierry, together with French units forced the enemy to begin a general retirement and finally to evacuate the salient. *L'Illustration* contained the following comment on this operation:

"In the last attacks were seen the newest divisions; and these possessed the same dash, the same *furia* in the fight as those which we had for a long time patiently prepared, and which, in their turn, proved their unerring educators, their magnificent instructors, having with fervid arm transfused the sacred flame."

At the close of June, 1918, our troops were literally spread from Switzerland to the English Channel. And it was only the constant and firm determination of General Pershing eventually to assemble our forces that prevented their continued use in connection with the various Allied armies instead of concentrating them on the St. Mihiel front, which was accomplished finally, during the month of August and the first week in September, 1918. From the beginning General Pershing had never varied from his determination to bring the American forces together; but the great German offensive of March, 1918, had postponed the realization of his plans to create a purely American sector. Following the battle of Chateau-Thierry, however, it was decided that our troops must be concentrated in one sector, as the operations on the Marne had involved almost insurmountable difficulties in bringing up supplies and in the evacuation of sick and wounded on account of the fact that transportation facilities were under the control of the French staff, and the American general staff was unable to take independent action. It should be remembered here that the choice of Lorraine as the eventual American sector was due principally to the fact that the use of the base ports of southern and southwestern France, and the adequate railroad facilities leading from these

ports to this theater of operations, would not materially interfere with the railroad communications necessary to the French and British armies in the north, as the French lines of communication converged at Paris and those of the British at the Channel ports.

In the battle of St. Mihiel and the reduction of the salient between the 12th and 16th of September, 1918, nine American divisions were used in the line. The attack from the south was made by the First, Forty-second, Eighty-ninth, Second, Fifth, Ninetieth and Eighty-second divisions, while the Fourth and Twenty-sixth attacked from the west. The point of the salient in front of the town of St. Mihiel was held by a French corps, which was not to attack, but which was to hold the line and take prisoners if the attack proved to be successful. This movement had long been planned by General Pershing as the first independent operation of our troops. It would relieve the pressure against the defensive works along the Meuse river and would render insecure and uncertain the enemy defenses in the vast fortified area of Metz and the Briey iron field, on which hinged the enemy's great defensive systems of the western front. The attack succeeded, and drew inspiring comment from French writers. Marshal Foch said of the American soldiers in this battle:

"This is where they showed their worth. This is where we were able to judge of these admirable soldiers, strong in body and valiant in soul. In one swoop they reduced the famous salient which during so long we did not know how to approach."

M. Babin, in *L'Illustration*, September 21, wrote:

"As regards General Pershing's soldiers there is only one opinion; they were marvelous in bravery and daring. Troops of stronger mettle were never seen, and their general staffs have just shown, in the most convincing style, that they are now perfectly adapted to the war. This overwhelming success is the happy omen of other forthcoming joyful news."

Before the Germans could recover from the effects of this blow, or could realize that it was not the American intention to exploit this victory, the American army, with the exception of a few divisions sufficient to hold the newly stabilized line, moved to the Verdun front and took over quietly that portion of the line extending from the Meuse to the heart of the Argonne Forest, and on the morning of September 26, 1918, the Meuse-Argonne battle began. The attack opened with the Thirty-third, Eightieth, Fourth, Seventy-ninth, Thirty-seventh, Ninety-first, Thirty-fifth, Twenty-eighth and Seventy-seventh divisions in the line. As they became exhausted others took their places. The First, Second, Third, Fifth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-ninth, Thirty-second, Forty-second, Seventy-eighth, Eighty-first, Eighty-second, Eighty-ninth, and Ninetieth all took part in the campaign. The Twenty-seventh, Thirtieth and Thirty-sixth, however, were engaged in other sectors, where the fighting was also heavy. The battle started on the morning of September 26 and continued without a pause until the armistice, November 11. In spite of the fact that they attacked daily, the spirit of the Americans was most remarkable. Their courage was dauntless irrespective of the hail of machine-gun bullets in the whirlwind of the charge or the shell-rocked trenches where men became iron with nerves of steel. Marshal Foch again praised them to General Pershing in these words:

"As for the American troops, you may tell your people that their soldiers are admirable. They ask nothing better than to go to their death. They can be reproached only with pushing ahead too fast. It is necessary to hold them back, as this is a quality which should not be abused."

This brings to mind the story of an American officer who was told that he should hold his men back and not push ahead so fast; to which he replied: "How in h—l do you expect me to hold them back if the Heimies can't?"

The Meuse-Argonne battle lasted forty-seven days, during which time the enemy's lines were penetrated to a depth of 54 kilometers, 1,550 square kilometers of territory liberated, and 316 officers, 15,743 enlisted men, 468 guns, 2,864 machine guns and 177 trench mortars captured. These figures may not be exact, but are approximate. But more than all this, the greatest result of the victory was the cutting of the Metz-Lille railroad line, a four-track line in many places, which had served as the German main line of communication for the army of the crown prince. General Pershing's report records the importance of this achievement as follows:

"When we had cut the enemy's main line of communications, nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster."

I stood on the crest of Montfaucon, not long after the armistice, on the roof of the concrete observation post from which the German crown prince watched the battle of Verdun in 1916. To the north could be seen the chain of rolling hills, covered here and there with patches of wood, which had seemed impregnable with their hidden batteries and machine guns. To the west lay the silent wooded Forêt d'Argonne, impenetrable except by a few trails which wind through it. To the east the heights of the Meuse presented a beautiful but sad picture of waste and desolation. Then I turned to the south where towered the single bare peak of Vauquois. On the slopes of that ill-fated hill, where once a little village had stood, I knew that Kansas boys had fought, some of them my former playmates, one a brother-in-law, and some had made the great sacrifice. I cannot describe my feelings, but I stood there and breathed a prayer that they had not made the sacrifice in vain. Vauquois was the scene of very severe fighting between the French and Germans in the early days of the war, and in 1915 mines were exploded in this hill, so that it is cut in half by an artificial ravine. It is honeycombed with a network of tunnels. The fighting was so terrific and the destruction so complete and terrible at this point that not a stone of the village of Vauquois remains. Not far distant to the southeast of Montfaucon lies Dead Man's Hill, where hordes of the best German troops were mown down in their efforts to reach Verdun in 1916. The whole area was so torn and scarred and churned by shell fire that it was miraculous that any man came out alive.

Space will not permit me to go on and tell of my visits to Paris, Nice, Coblenz, Cologne and other places in France and Germany following the armistice. But I learned to love the French people and to realize that the heart of the nation was filled with gratitude toward the United States of America; and I learned that the shopkeeper class, whose profiteering methods of dealing with our soldiers had made them despised, was not the true representative of French thought, ideals, and standards of character.

From the hour when General Pershing stood at the tomb of LaFayette, in Pictus Cemetery, Paris, and said, "LaFayette, nous voilà!" to the hour when the last man of the expeditionary force stepped from French soil to a transport, the boys—the men—of the A. E. F. were true to American ideals, institutions and traditions. Words fail to pay them proper tribute; and who dares say that those who survive have not returned with cleaner hearts, broader vision and steadier hands than when they embarked to undergo and endure the unknown dangers, hardships and tasks of foreign battle fields.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KANSAS DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN LEGION.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by THOMAS AMORY LEE,¹ Past Department Commander, Kansas Department, American Legion.

THE Kansas department of the American Legion was born in Hotel Jefferson, at St. Louis, Mo., on May 10, 1919. Thirty-seven Kansans officiated at its birth, including among them many who later became prominent in the organization, as L. A. Hasty,² of Wichita; W. W. Holloway,³ of Kansas City; Wm. F. Kurtz,⁴ of Columbus; Thomas A. Lee, of Topeka; Wilder S. Metcalf,⁵ of Lawrence; H. A. Ortmeyer,⁶ of Wichita; W. A. Phares,⁷ of Wichita; P. K. Cubbison,⁸ of Kansas City; C. I. Martin,⁹ of Topeka; John Madden,¹⁰ jr., of Wichita; and I. E. Lambertson,¹¹ of Emporia.

1. Thomas Amory Lee, of Topeka, Kan. Born January 28, 1889. Son of Robert Ives and Abbie (Kimber) Lee, of Boston and Topeka; grandson of Gen. Wm. Raymond Lee, of Boston. A. B., K. U., 1910; M. A., K. U., 1912; LL.B., Harvard, 1913. Attorney at law. Foyers du Soldat, French army, 1917-'18. Private and corporal, Twenty-sixth United States infantry, First division, A. E. F., 1918-'19. Ansaerville sector, Cantigny, Noyon-Montdidier defensive, Marne-Aisne offensive. Injured, Cantigny; wounded, Soissons; recommended for D. S. C. Cited for "gallantry in action and special meritorious service." Awarded by French medaille commemorative. Department commander, the American Legion, 1921. Author of many historical and biographical sketches. For further biographical data see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 14, p. 4.

2. Louis A. Hasty, of Wichita, Kan. Born near Belleville, Kan. Graduated at Washburn College law school. Captain of infantry 1917-'18. Attorney at law. Member state executive committee, the American Legion, 1919-'20. Member of Kansas legislature, 1921.

3. Webster W. Holloway, of Kansas City, Mo. Born at Newton, Kan. Graduated at Kansas University School of Law. Assistant United States district attorney, 1916-'17, 1920. Member of the law firm of Robertson, Thompson & Bodington. Captain judge advocate's department, 1918. Vice chairman Kansas department, the American Legion, 1919. National executive committeeman, 1921. Now in bond department of Fidelity National Bank and Trust Company of Kansas City, Mo.

4. Wm. F. Kurtz, of Columbus, Kan. State executive committee, the American Legion, 1919. National executive committee, 1920. Captain of infantry, 1918. Assistant postmaster at Columbus.

5. Brig. Gen. Wilder Stevens Metcalf, of Lawrence, Kan. Born at Milo, Maine, September 10, 1855. Son of Isaac Stevens and Antoinette Brigham (Putnam) Metcalf. A. B., Oberlin, 1878; LL. B., K. U. School of Law, 1897. President of the Liberty Life Insurance Company. Major and colonel, Twenty-eighth Kansas infantry, U. S. V., 1898 and 1899. Brevet brigadier general volunteers. Member National Militia Board. Colonel, U. S. A., 1917; brigadier general 1917. National executive committeeman, the American Legion, 1919. Department commander, the American Legion, 1922. Member of Kansas state senate, 1915-'19.

6. Harry Alvin Ortmeyer, of Wichita Kan. Son of Harry John and Lillie May Ortmeyer. Educated at Rugby College. Lieutenant and adjutant 326th machine-gun battalion, Eighty-fourth division. Dealer in pine lumber. Member of department executive committee, 1921-'22.

7. Dr. W. A. Phares, of Wichita, Kan. Born 1880, on farm in Butler county, Ohio. Graduated medical school, 1905. Special medical work abroad, 1910. Major, medical reserve corps, 1917-'18. Regimental surgeon, 360th infantry, Ninetieth division. Evacuated as a casualty from Bantheville, November 4, 1919. First department commander, May, 1919, to October, 1920. Stomach specialist.

8. Paul Kenneth Cubbison, attorney at law. Born at Kansas City, Kan. Son of James Kerr and Julia (Krets) Cubbison. Educated at Kansas University School of Law. Captain machine-gun company. Member state executive committee, 1919.

9. Brig. Gen. Charles Irving Martin. Born in Ogle county, Illinois, January 25, 1871. Son of Wm. H. and Mary Nettleton Martin. Educated at Fort Scott, Kansas, Normal School. LL. B., K. U., 1907. Attorney. Captain Twentieth Kansas U. S. volunteers, 1898. Major, 1899. Brigadier general Kansas National Guard, 1909. Adjutant general Kansas National Guard, 1909-1917, 1919 to date. Brigadier general, National Army, 1917. Commanding Seventieth infantry, brigadier, Thirty-fifth division, A. E. F. President of Adjutant Generals' Association of United States and vice president of National Guard Association, United States. Department executive committeeman, 1919.

10. John Madden, jr., of Wichita, Kan. Born January 15, 1890, at Cottonwood Falls. Son of Judge John Madden and Mary Ellsworth Madden. Educated at Kansas State Normal. Battalion adjutant, 870th aerial squadron, 1918. Department executive committeeman, 1919.

11. Isaac E. Lambert, jr., Emporia, Kan. Born at Emporia, 1890. Son of Hon. Isaac E. Lambert. Graduate at Kansas University School of Law. Chief clerk, Kansas house of

Those interested in the early beginnings of the American Legion will undoubtedly recall that on February 15, 1919, at the Circle Militaire in Paris, twenty members of the A. E. F. met at lunch to discuss the formation of some organization of ex-service men. This luncheon was the forerunner of the A. E. F. caucus in Paris, March 15 to 17, 1919, at which representatives of all combat divisions and S. O. S. sections met and adopted a temporary constitution, formed an executive committee of one hundred, formulated plans to organize in the United States, and chose the name of The American Legion. About a month later, on April 7, the executive committee appointed by the Paris



THOMAS AMORY LEE

caucus met and organized in Paris, and appointed a committee of seventeen to work in the United States and also in France. It is interesting to recall that Thomas E. Gowenlock, then a resident of Clay Center, Kan., but now of Chicago, Ill., and then a major on the First division staff, was the Kansas representative at this caucus.

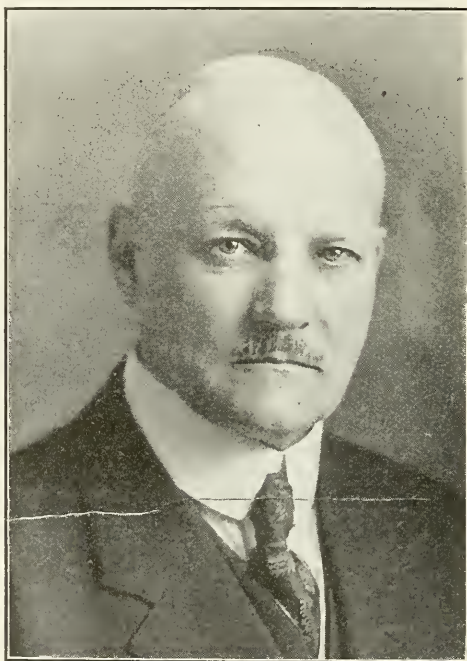
In the meantime the committee of seventeen, composed of men of the highest character and abilities—including, among others, Milton Foreman, of Chicago, now major general in the National Guard and head of a prominent

representatives, 1915; chief clerk, Kansas state senate, 1917. Second lieutenant air service, U. S. army, 1918. Commissioned captain U. S. army, judge advocate general's department, 1919. Temporary state chairman, the American Legion, before St. Louis caucus, 1919, and first state secretary, 1919.

law firm; Eric Fisher Wood, of Pittsburg, architect and author; Bennett C. Clark, of Missouri, lawyer and parliamentarian of congress; Theodore Roosevelt, jr., worthy son of an admirable sire; Luke Lea, of Tennessee, soldier and United States senator—established an office in New York city, which was maintained at the private expense of the members of the committee, and immediately got in touch with persons throughout the United States who would be interested in organizing the new soldiers' organization in their respective states. Among others, it authorized I. E. Lambert, jr., of Emporia, to act as temporary state chairman and to organize the state of Kansas, so far as lay in his power, before the time of the St. Louis caucus, then coming on so rapidly. So, until the time of the St. Louis caucus there was no American Legion in the state of Kansas. It is true that in Topeka, under the dome of the capitol in the supreme court rooms, a group of representative ex-service men, including the present department commander, W. S. Metcalf, met as early as February to discuss the formation of a new Grand Army of the Republic, but delayed on account of the fact that many Kansas soldiers had not yet returned. Wichita and other cities had the same sort of meetings, with the same results. About the first of May, 1919, the Associated Press carried a dispatch from Emporia, that persons interested in the formation of an ex-soldiers' organization should attend the St. Louis convention of ex-soldiers on May 8, 9 and 10, and that one might obtain further information by getting into communication with I. E. Lambert. Accordingly, some thirty-odd men either wrote, telephoned or telegraphed to I. E. Lambert and received certificates of their selection as delegates from the state of Kansas to the St. Louis caucus. These men, with a thousand others, met at St. Louis, May 8, 9 and 10, 1919, in a meeting which will remain forever in their memories as the most virile and patriotic experience of their lives. Here it need be said only that a temporary constitution was adopted, general policies formulated, and plans perfected for organizing the American Legion throughout the United States in preparation for the first national convention at Minneapolis on November 10, 11 and 12, historic anniversary.

Among other things, those present from each state were authorized to meet in caucus to perfect a temporary organization, make plans for a state convention some time in the future, and push the enrollment of members in the American Legion and the dissemination of information as to its program of service to ex-service men and to the nation. Accordingly, on the afternoon of May 10 the Kansas department of the American Legion was born, in the suite of rooms occupied by the Wichita delegation in the Jefferson hotel in St. Louis. Of the thirty-seven Kansas delegates to the caucus, perhaps twenty-five of them were present at the organization meeting. Conspicuous in the delegation was the enthusiasm and the organizing ability, let it be added, of the six persons from Wichita, who had secured a considerable fund of money from the Wichita Chamber of Commerce to pay their expenses and to further the glory of their native city. Among other things, there was considerable discussion as to the selection of temporary officers for the state organization. Should men of ability and prominence be selected who had not manifested enough interest to come to the St. Louis convention, or should those who were so interested in the organization as to pay their own expenses to the St. Louis convention take upon their more or less immature, though

fire-seasoned shoulders the great task of securing 25,000 members of the American Legion in their native state? It was finally decided that from those present should be selected the temporary state organization, and this set a precedent, which has ever since prevailed in the Sunflower state, of management of the American Legion by young men. Dr. W. A. Phares, of Wichita, who had served as major in the medical department of the Ninetieth division and was a well-known specialist in his profession, was elected chairman; W. W. Holloway, of Kansas City, an assistant United States district attorney, who had served during the war as a captain in staff departments, was made



BRIG. GEN. WILDER S. METCALF.

vice chairman; and I. E. Lambert, of Emporia, secretary. Wilder S. Metcalf, of Lawrence, the present department commander of Kansas, then just returned from his service in the World War as a brigadier general and camp commander at Beauregard, La., after brilliant and glorious military career in the Twentieth Kansas in the Philippines, was elected on the national executive committee, to which also Sidney A. Moss, a young attorney of Wichita, was elected. Charles I. Martin, of Topeka, also of the famous Twentieth Kansas in the Spanish-American War, adjutant general of the state, both before and since the World War, and brigadier general in the Thirty-fifth division, and Wm. F. Kurtz, of Columbus, were selected as committeemen at large on the executive committee.

Two district committeemen from each congressional district were elected

to compose the other members of the state executive committee, and they were: Thomas A. Lee and Arch W. Jarrell, both of Topeka, for the first district; Paul K. Cubbison, of Kansas City, and Mahlon Weed, of Lawrence, for the second district; Reuben Leekley, of Arkansas City, and Harley S. Holden, of Neodesha, for the third district; I. E. Lambert, of Emporia, and Harry E. Snyder, of Council Grove, for the fourth district; L. W. Banker, of Russell, for the sixth district; Rev. J. P. Hantla, of Spearville, and R. H. Burnett, of Dodge City, for the seventh district; and W. A. Phares and John Madden, jr., both of Wichita, for the eighth district.

It was decided to hold a state executive committee meeting at Topeka on May 19, 1919, for the purpose of writing and adopting a temporary constitution, fixing a date for the first state convention, and formulating plans for the organization of the state. Accordingly, the state executive committee, Kansas department, the American Legion, held its first meeting on the top floor of the National hotel at Topeka, Kan., May 19. There were about ten men present at this meeting, including Phares, Holloway, Cubbison, Lambert, Martin, Lee, Jarrell and Metcalf. No minutes of this meeting were made, but the constitution and by-laws of the "Kansas commandery, the American Legion, as adopted by the executive committee at Topeka, Kan., May 19, 1919," is the best record of that meeting. At this meeting also a form of application blank was discussed, and one later drawn up by a subcommittee and adopted by the executive committee, which is the same blank now being used. A subcommittee of three, consisting of Holloway, Cubbison and Lee, were appointed to draw up a constitution and by-laws, and the meeting of the executive committee itself adjourned, after having decided to meet at Kansas City, June 8. The constitution and by-laws then adopted were drawn up in the office of the adjutant general of the state by the subcommittee of three, and were framed somewhat along the lines of the temporary constitution adopted by the St. Louis caucus and of the constitution of the commandery in chief of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, the hereditary organization of officers of the Civil War, founded on the date of Lincoln's death, somewhat in imitation of the hereditary order of the Society of the Cincinnati, insignia of which has been worn in European courts as the only American decoration.

On June 8, 1919, at room 915 of the Republic building, Kansas City, Mo., at the office of Cubbison & Cubbison, the state executive committee met for the second time. Phares, Holloway, Cubbison, Lambert, Jarrell, Kurtz, Metcalf, Martin and Lee were present. Real business was before this meeting, for until then no post had been chartered in the state.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman, Doctor Phares, and one of the first orders of business at this meeting was "What should be the method of admitting the various applications for post charters to their proper place in the state department?" It was voted that all applications accompanied by a certified check or draft for the dues of the petitioners, there being a minimum of fifteen upon each petition, should be chartered by the state and national organization. It was also voted that no petition should be considered unless it was accompanied by a certified check or draft of the requisite amount, being \$11.75. Wm. F. Kurtz, of Columbus, had a petition signed by twenty men and accompanied by a check for their dues. I. E.

Lambert, of Emporia, had a petition accompanied by a check for the dues of thirty-three men. Thomas A. Lee, of Topeka, had a petition signed by some fifty-odd men, together with a draft attached for the dues of fifteen, the minimum number required. Before being formally presented to the executive committee the names of all of the fifty-three men on the Topeka petition were stricken off by Lee and Jarrell, except the names of fifteen men, and as finally presented to the state executive committee it was a petition with fifteen names with a certified check for the requisite amount of dues for those fifteen men. The question arose as to how the posts should be numbered. It was voted that all three of these posts should be granted permanent charters, and that the posts should determine through their representatives as to which post should be numbered 1, which should be numbered 2 and which should be numbered 3. Kurtz of Columbus suggested that we "match" for it. This was assented to by Lambert of Emporia and Lee of Topeka, and upon matching Topeka secured the first post in the state, Emporia No. 2, and Columbus No. 3. The secretary stated that he had received inquiry from many towns as to the manner of securing a charter, and it is probable that at the time of that meeting there may have been petitions for charters submitted by Newton, Wichita, Atchison and Horton, all of which later claimed the honor of having been the first post in the state, but it is certain that no money was received from any post except the three before mentioned, namely, Topeka, Emporia and Columbus. On account of the fact that the then secretary of the Kansas department kept no records of the first two meetings of the state executive committee, a dispute arose some two years later, and a court of inquiry, consisting of George A. Withers, Clay Center, chairman; C. H. Poindexter, of Kansas City, and Ernest E. Blincoe, of Fort Scott, was appointed to determine the relative numerical order of the first seven posts in the state. The court of inquiry finally reported back to the state executive committee, which adopted its report, that the posts be numbered in the following permanent order: Topeka 1, Newton 2, Columbus 3, Wichita 4, Emporia 5, Atchison 6, Horton 7, in spite of the fact that no check or draft for dues had been presented by anyone representing the Newton post at the executive committee meeting in Kansas City.

The various district committeemen were instructed to appoint county organizers of the Legion in each county in their district and to proceed with the organizing of posts as rapidly as possible. On June 16, one week after the meeting of the committee at Kansas City, the following charters had been granted: Topeka, Newton, Columbus, Wichita, Emporia, Atchison, Horton, Garden City, Fredonia and Neodesha. At this meeting also Harold Arend, of Downs, Kan., was appointed a committeeman from the sixth congressional district, and George S. Robb, of Salina, from the fifth congressional district, together with M. M. Paul, from Blue Rapids, from the fifth district, to fill places which had not yet been filled at the St. Louis caucus.

On June 18 Mr. Lambert, the state secretary, received a telegram from Washington appointing him a captain in the Judge Advocate General's Department, United States army, which caused his immediate resignation, and during the same week he left the American Legion work for his new duties, leaving Mr. Neale, E. Akers and George W. Anderson in charge of his office at Emporia. The next meeting of the state executive committee was scheduled for Saturday and Sunday, at Independence, July 12 and 13, 1919, to in-

stall a post which had been organized by W. F. Kurtz, of the state executive committee. However, on account of the resignation of Mr. Lambert the meeting was called for ten a. m. on July 6. Those present were Phares, presiding, Holloway, Cubbison, Kurtz and Lee. At this meeting it was voted that at least one Kansas man should be on the list of national incorporators of the American Legion, as it had been determined that an application should be made to congress for a federal charter, and no Kansas man had yet been appointed as one of the incorporators. Thomas A. Lee, of Topeka, was selected as the Kansas representative. It was also decided to obtain Theodore Roosevelt, jr., as a speaker in Kansas for the state convention, if possible, and to obtain both Roosevelt and the Rev. John W. Inzer, of Alabama, a noted Legion orator, for organizing purposes in the state. On account of the resignation of Mr. Lambert it was decided that the office of the secretary might be moved to Wichita at the discretion of the state commander, and department headquarters was at Wichita from this time until the first department convention at Wichita. It was further decided that the state chairman be authorized to borrow not more than \$1,000 to pay running expenses of state headquarters. The secretary was instructed to get out at least 1,000 Legion application blanks for immediate distribution, and plans were made for the first annual state convention, to be held at Wichita on September 29 and 30 and October 1, 1919, at the same time as the national wheat show. Neale Akers was selected to fill the place of I. E. Lambert as acting state secretary, and the following changes were made in the executive committee: Stewart Simmons, Hutchinson, was substituted for Rev. J. P. Hantla, Spearville; Dick Williams, Lawrence, for Mahlon S. Weed, Lawrence; and Cal Lambert to fill the vacancy in the fourth district caused by the resignation of his brother, I. E. Lambert. At this meeting there was a spirited discussion as to the best means of keeping the Legion strictly nonpolitical, and the distinction was made here, perhaps for the first time in the state, between the evil of the Legion organization going into politics and the good of the ex-service men who were members of the Legion becoming active politically. The meeting adjourned to meet for the next time at Kansas City on September 7.

By this time the machinery of the organization was well oiled both in the state and in the nation, and Legion posts were multiplying all over the country. On June 24 Doctor Phares appointed a service officer, Alexander J. Rieder, of Kansas City, who has remained service officer from the date of his appointment until the date of the printing of this sketch, and has aided thousands of ex-service men to secure their insurance, back pay, travel pay, etc., and many disabled men to receive their compensation, vocational training and hospital attention. Only four days later Neale Akers in a letter to members of the executive committee stated that charters had been granted to twenty posts in the larger Kansas cities, and that already there were 500 paid-up members of the American Legion, besides the fact that petitions for charters were being signed in over fifty additional communities.

The *American Legion Weekly* made its first appearance on July 4 of this year, and from that day to this has been of great assistance in spreading broadcast the doctrines of the American Legion. It is interesting to note also that this paper, which starting with no money and running into debt some \$700,000 in the first year of its operation, has now paid off its debt with the exception of about \$30,000, and has assets of over \$50,000.

On July 11 Doctor Phares borrowed money of a bank in Wichita for the use of the Legion, the following men signing the note as security: Phares, Lee, Martin, Kurtz and Holloway. The Kansas department of the American Legion from the start has been entirely dependent upon the payment of dues of members for its resources, except for this loan of \$500, which has long since been repaid. Until two and a half years after its organization it had never received a penny as a gift or loan, although there has been no rent paid for its offices in the beautiful Memorial Building since they were established there,



DR. W. A. PHARES,
First Department Commander, American Legion.

and to-day the Kansas department has a balance of over \$6,000 to its credit in the bank.

As early as July 19 a county organizer had been appointed in each county in the first congressional district and was securing the formation of posts in his county, and this is only an example of what was happening all over the state. Both organization of posts and enrollment of members proceeded at a rapid rate during the summer of 1919, so that at the time of the first state convention at Wichita, on September 29 and 30 and October 1, there were in the state 7,728 paid-up members and 103 posts chartered, distributed in the congressional districts as follows: 12 in the first, 8 in the second, 17 in the third, 12 in the fourth, 16 in the fifth, 13 in the sixth, 19 in the seventh, 6 in the eighth.

On June 18 the joint national executive committee adopted unanimously one of the most important resolutions ever passed by the American Legion, that all military titles be dropped from the names of all members of the American Legion not in active service, thus giving evidence of the democracy of the organization. This important provision is now a part of the American Legion constitution.

The growth of the Legion during these early months after the St. Louis convention and before the first state convention is shown below:

	<i>Posts.</i>	<i>Paid-up members.</i>
July 1.....	23	755
July 15.....	28	938
August 1.....	38	1,451
August 15.....	52	2,006

Outside of the rapid organization of Legion posts, the outstanding event in Legion history in the summer of 1919 was the visit of Theodore Roosevelt, jr., to Kansas. Mr. Roosevelt had made as dashing a name for himself in the Twenty-sixth United States infantry, First division, A. E. F., as had his great sire in the First Rough Rider regiment in the Spanish-American War. He had risen to command of the regiment in the great battle of the Argonne, been severely wounded, decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor, the *croix de guerre* of France and the distinguished-service cross of the United States, and after his return from the army had been devoting all of his time to the organization of the American Legion. It may now be mentioned, although Mr. Roosevelt would not permit it to be mentioned at the time of his first visit to Kansas in 1919, that he not only devoted his time to the organization of the Legion during that summer, but that he did so at no expense to anyone except himself. Together with the Rev. John W. Inzer, of Alabama, who became noted at the St. Louis convention for the inspiring speech which he there delivered, Mr. Roosevelt had traveled through most of the United States delivering speeches to ex-service men, chambers of commerce, Rotary clubs, etc., to disseminate information about the Legion. He made three speeches in Kansas: the first, September 6, at Atchison; the second, September 7, in Kansas City; and the third, September 8, at Topeka during the state fair. At all three of these places huge crowds heard his stirring words, and many conservative men of affairs were for the first time given an insight into the services which it was possible for the American Legion, with its platform of patriotic duty in civilian service, to perform for the nation.

The next meeting of the state executive committee was held at the Grund hotel, Kansas City, Kan., on September 7, 1919, those present being Phares, Kurtz, Arend, Metcalf, Lambert, E. W. Clausen, of Atchison (who had been elected to replace Arch W. Jarrell, of the first district), Cubbison, Simmons, Rieder, Lee and Holloway. Various arrangements for the state convention were made at this meeting, such as arrangements for badges, accommodations for delegates, appointment of temporary chairmen for credentials, resolutions and program committees, etc. At this meeting the resignation of Neale A. Akers was accepted, and a vote of thanks extended to him for his services as secretary during his tenure of office. Frank E. Samuel, of Wichita, the present department adjutant, was present at this meeting and was appointed by the committee to fill the unexpired term as acting state secretary.

At the next meeting of the state executive committee, at the Wichita Club, Wichita, Kan., September 28, the most important matter was the adoption of a resolution by the state executive committee recommending to the convention that the state adjutant be appointed by the state commander, by and with the consent of the executive committee, thus taking the position of the state adjutant out of the politics of the Legion and making it possible for a conscientious and capable man to hold the position without devoting his time to slapping delegates on the back. However, this recommendation was not favorably acted upon until it took the form of an amendment to the constitution at the second department convention at Pittsburg in 1920.

In the next three days the first state convention was held. A permanent constitution, differing very little from the constitution adopted by the executive committee on May 19, was adopted; a permanent state headquarters established at Topeka in the State Memorial Building; a resolution adopted restating the stand of the Legion squarely against the violation of law and order either by individuals or aggregations of individuals, more particularly by the I. W. W., the Communist party, the red-flag wavers, and all kindred organizations; a resolution commending the action of ex-service men in Boston, Macon, Ga., and Omaha, Neb., in preserving law and order during the various public disturbances of those places. This convention was notable for the attendance of men in the permanent establishment of the regular army who had formed a large and active post at Camp Funston. One of the most interesting features of the convention was the hearty good feeling manifested between the civilians, formerly service men, and men still in the permanent establishment of the army. The post at Camp Funston was entitled to fifty-two delegates to the convention, and practically all of those delegates were present, this being the largest post in the state with the exception of Kansas City, Kan., which had fifty-eight delegates, and Wichita, which had eighty-seven delegates. The following officers were elected:

W. A. Phares, Wichita	State commander.
Thomas A. Lee, Topeka	Vice commander.
Frank E. Samuel, Wichita	State adjutant.
Rev. E. A. Edwards, Lawrence	State historian.
Rev. Arthur J. Lucky, Manhattan	State chaplain.
Sgt. Maj. Carleton C. Collins, Funston	Master-at-arms.
Carl R. White, Topeka	Finance officer.
Alex. J. Rieder, Kansas City	W. R. I. officer.

Wilder S. Metcalf, of Lawrence, and Wm. F. Kurtz, of Columbus, were elected to the national executive committee; and John Floyd, of Arkansas City, and Clarence H. Poindexter, of Kansas City, state committeemen at large. The following district committeemen were elected:

First: Charles N. Browne, Horton; O. A. Weede, Atchison.

Second: E. E. Blincoe, Fort Scott; C. A. Bowman, Kansas City.

Third: Reuben Leekley, Arkansas City; Richard C. Meed, Parsons.

Fourth: Calvin H. Lambert, Emporia; Wm. M. Knapp, Cottonwood Falls.

Fifth: Matt Guilfoyle, Herington; George A. Withers, Clay Center.

Sixth: Jay H. Bracken, Beloit; D. C. Roy, Osborne.

Seventh: S. A. Daugherty, Garden City; Chas. L. Lottridge, Pratt.

Eighth: L. A. Hasty, Wichita; J. G. Somers, Newton.

Thus the Kansas department of the American Legion became firmly established on a permanent basis on October 1, 1919, with nearly 8,000 paid-up

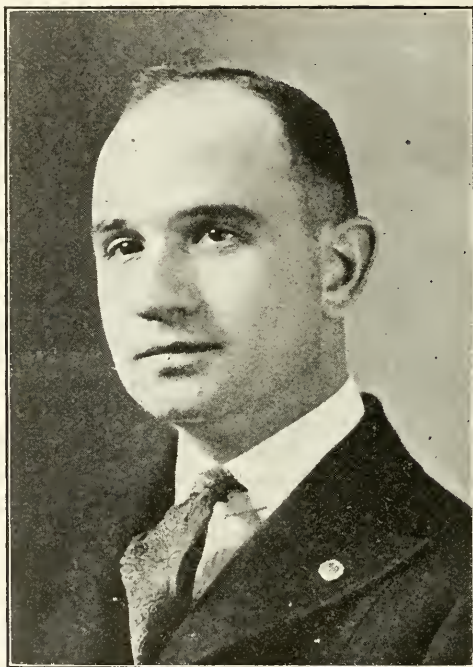
members and over 100 posts throughout the state, there being very large posts at Kansas City, Wichita and Camp Funston. Of course the main work of the Legion from that time onward was to organize new posts and to enroll new members, and this work proceeded at a rapid rate. As posts became organized in the larger towns, efforts were made to organize posts in the smaller towns and to make as complete a network of posts over the state as possible. The most important event in the life of the Legion, both national and from the point of view of the department, during the month following the permanent organization of the Kansas department at Wichita, was the first big national convention of the Legion at Minneapolis on November 11, 1919. Some 3,000 men were present, from every state in the Union, District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii and Cuba. Indianapolis was selected as a permanent national headquarters for the Legion, and important steps were taken for the establishment of an Americanism commission, a national legislative committee, which secured the calling of a national W. R. I. conference at Washington, and the amendment of the Sweet bill for disabled men; the establishment of the Women's Auxiliary of the American Legion, and the adoption of a broad military policy recommending universal military training, but opposing universal military service in time of peace. Franklin D'Olier, of Philadelphia, past master of organizing, was elected the first national commander, and the Legion embarked, full grown, with a million members, nine months after it was dreamed of by those twenty men at luncheon in Paris.

By the time of the national convention the Kansas department had grown from 103 posts at the time of the state convention to 146 posts, and from 7,728 members to 10,000 members. During the year of 1919 it made a very steady growth, and on December 31, at the close of the fiscal year, it had attained 190 posts, with 15,490 members.

On November 23 the state executive committee met at the Lamer hotel in Salina, Kan. The following were present: Phares, Rieder, Withers, Meek, Collins, Lottridge, DeArmond, Poindexter, Bowman, Roy, Guilfoyle, Knapp, Lambert, Brown, Hasty, Lee; and Frank E. Samuel, of Wichita, who had been elected department adjutant to succeed Neale Akers. The selection of Mr. Samuel was a very important one for the Legion, and perhaps most of the credit for the extremely sound condition in which the Legion finds itself to-day is due to the abilities of Mr. Samuel, who, fortunately for the Kansas department, is still its adjutant. It will be remembered that during this winter there was a great deal of talk of radicalism, bolshevism and I. W. W.-ism throughout the United States, and that many persons feared, perhaps justifiably, lest our government be overturned by those of radical nature, somewhat as had been the Russian government. The question of how the Legion could best fulfill perhaps the most fundamental of all its obligations to the public, as stated in the beautiful preamble to the constitution—"To uphold and defend the constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; . . . to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy"—was that most strongly in the minds of its officers and department committeemen during the year of 1919-'20. Among other things it was voted that the executive committee recommend to each post the appointment of a secret intelligence committee of from three to fifteen members, to report to department headquarters of the Legion any evi-

dence of disloyalty, or of the organization of any group of persons opposed to the constitution and to the support of the government, which disloyalty was to be reported to the United States district attorney for the district of Kansas by the department adjutant. The committee further deplored the fact "that several members of the American Legion in various places had used force and violence in attempting to stop actions which they considered disloyal," and urged the posts to communicate disloyalty to the United States district attorney and to refrain from any acts of violence.

The great coal strike in the Pittsburg district during the wintry days of November and December, 1919, was an outstanding event in the history of



FRANK E. SAMUEL,
State Adjutant, American Legion.

the state and an incident of importance to the American Legion for this year. When the news of the strike began to be disseminated and its consequences on account of lack of fuel in western Kansas towns were understood, a dozen or fifteen men at a post meeting in Wichita voted to volunteer as individual ex-service men to dig coal if the strike should entail suffering such as was feared. About ten days later the Wichita post at a meeting voted to take the names of men volunteering from its ranks, not as Legion members, but as individuals, to go to the coal fields, and some forty or fifty ex-service men from the Wichita post volunteered to go to the coal fields when required by Governor Allen. After a conference with the governor, Department Com-

mander Phares instructed Department Adjutant Samuel to send a telegram to each post in the state informing them of the action taken by the members of the Wichita Post, and requesting individuals from each post who might be willing to do so to join the governor's volunteer army of coal diggers. The men assembled in Topeka, Wichita and other central points for transportation, were equipped and transported by the state to the coal fields, and after some preliminary organization work, together with volunteers from colleges throughout the state and volunteers from other sources, got out about a car of coal a day. This matter caused great indignation in the American Legion posts in the coal-mining district, which at that time was very strongly organized, and caused warm discussion throughout the entire state. The membership of the Pittsburg post and other mining-town posts soon thereafter dropped to less than half of their former strength, as did that of the Kansas City post, composed in part of railroad and packing-house men. Department Commander Phares went to Pittsburg, and at a meeting of the Pittsburg post stated emphatically that the American Legion as an organization had no connection whatsoever with the volunteer coal miners, and that such volunteer coal miners who happened to be members of the American Legion were there as individuals only, just as they might also happen to be members of a particular church. This incident and other similar ones throughout the United States clarified in the public mind the position of the American Legion in regard to the disputes of labor and capital. The public learned that the American Legion took seriously the following words of the preamble of its constitution: "We associate ourselves together . . . to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses," and the position of the American Legion to labor and capital has always been, now is and always will remain to be that of taking no part, as an organization, in the disputes of the classes, but of urging each man to make up his mind as his conscience decides and to take such action as he may see fit. In other words, the American Legion is neither the tool of the capitalist nor of the unions, and must and shall be kept clear of entanglements with class disputes.

Various state executive committee meetings were held during the year, the next one being at Topeka on February 1, at which Phares, Samuel, Kurtz, Poindexter, Brown, Weede, Blincoe, Lambert, Knapp, W. W. Campbell (acting for Guilfoyle), Withers, Hasty, Somers, White, Rieder and Lee were present, at which meeting the proper attitude in regard to the military policy of the country was debated and the question of adopting a state paper for the Legion was considered. The question of the affiliation of the National Military Sisterhood, an organization of women which had done much good for ex-service men in Kansas and two or three surrounding states during the war, as the Kansas branch of the American Legion Auxiliary, was considered. It had been recognized by the first department convention, but later action by the national convention automatically canceled the arrangement. It was at this meeting that the court of inquiry was appointed to determine the numerical order of the first seven posts in the state. The Newton post of the Legion was commended by the executive committee for its action by lawful means, and for its lack of violence, in endeavoring to avoid the use of the German language only in the different meetings in Harvey county. At this

meeting the department finance officer, Carl R. White, who had served from the beginning of the temporary state organization, having announced his candidacy for treasurer of the state, tendered his resignation, which was accepted.

At the next meeting of the department executive committee, on February 29, at the Chamber of Commerce, Hutchinson, routine matters only were considered by the committee.

At the next meeting of the department executive committee at Emporia, May 9, at the Chamber of Commerce, arrangements were made for the second annual state convention at Pittsburg, and the dates of the convention set for August 23, 24 and 25. The first seven posts, numbered in the order heretofore referred to, were formally announced by Mr. Withers, president of the court of inquiry. The resignation of the state historian, E. A. Edwards, was accepted. Mr. Cal Lambert was elected to take the place of Edwards, and the balance of the time was spent in discussion of means to make manifest the strong support of the Legion for the fourfold adjusted compensation bill, which was indorsed by every member of the executive committee present at that time.

The next meeting of the department executive committee was at Pittsburg, June 30, at which the following members were present: Phares, Samuel, Kurtz, Brown, Weede, Lee, Meek, Knapp, Daugherty, Somers; and H. H. Guild, of Topeka, who had been selected state finance officer to succeed Carl R. White, who resigned, and who still retains that post. Harry A. Ortmeyer, of Wichita, and J. S. Fulton, of Kansas City, were appointed to fill the vacancies on the executive committee of L. A. Hasty (resigned on announcement of his candidacy to the state legislature) and C. A. Bowman (resigned on announcement of his candidacy to the national house of representatives). At this meeting an important step was taken in regard to the stand of the Legion relative to partisan policy, and it was voted that it was the sense of the executive committee that no political propaganda should be read at post meetings, thus furthering or defeating the candidacy of persons for public office. It was further voted that a committee be appointed to notify all congressmen of Kansas, thanking them for their unanimous support of all beneficial legislative measures, and informing them that the department executive committee and all members of the American Legion in Kansas were closely following their actions on such legislation. The convention committees were appointed and other preparations made for the convention in August.

The next meeting of the department executive committee was held at the Hotel Stillwell, Pittsburg, August 22, 1920, the day before the second annual convention, and only routine matters were considered. At this time the Legion had chartered 290 posts, with 22,502 paid-up members.

During the next three days the wildest convention yet held in the annals of the American Legion took place at Pittsburg. Among other important announcements made at the convention was the following:

"Here is an announcement that is rather important now, and I want you to take it to heart. It is a suggestion the state and local officers of this county have for the delegates of the American Legion, and they warn them to be careful about this 'white mule' that you are getting; it is not what you used to get in your home town. It is dangerous!"

At this convention resolutions were passed indorsing the efforts of Kansas City to secure the next national convention of the Legion; providing that various posts in the Department coöperate with the colored ex-service men in every way possible in their efforts to establish colored posts; asking that the boxing law of the state be amended to permit boxing before posts; and that each post wage a vocational-training campaign for disabled veterans, indorsing the fourfold adjusted compensation bill for ex-service men. The resolution condemning the leadership of organizations, including the I. W. W. and the Nonpartisan League, and recommending loyal Americans who had joined such organizations innocently to discontinue their membership therein, perhaps received the most prolonged applause and cheers of any resolution passed at this convention. The following officers were elected at this convention:

Thomas A. Lee, Topeka.....	Department commander.
George A. Withers, Clay Center.....	Vice commander.
Earl A. Blackman, Chanute.....	Department chaplain.
John Allen, Atchison.....	Historian.
Edward Cooper, Wichita.....	Master-at-arms.

National committeeman: W. W. Holloway, Kansas City, Kan.; alternate, R. C. Meek, Parsons.

Committeemen at large: John Floyd, Arkansas City; E. W. Rolfs, Junction City.

First district: Charles H. Browne, Horton; Orlin A. Weede, Atchison.

Second district: Ernest E. Blincoe, Fort Scott; Dinsmore Alter, Lawrence.

Third district: Dr. C. C. Hawke, Winfield; W. F. Conner, Pittsburg.

Fourth district: Calvin H. Lambert, Emporia; Wm. M. Knapp, Cottonwood Falls.

Fifth district: Matt Guilfoyle, Herington; Joe T. Marshall, Concordia.

Sixth district: Jay H. Bracken, Beloit; Elmer E. Euwer, Goodland.

Seventh district: S. A. Daugherty, Garden City; Horace J. Foster, Garden City.

Eighth district: J. G. Somers, Newton; Harry A. Ortmeyer, Wichita.

In accordance with the constitutional amendment adopted at this meeting heretofore referred to, the following were appointed for a term of two years by the department executive committee:

Frank E. Samuel, Wichita.....	Department adjutant.
Herbert H. Guild, Topeka.....	Department finance officer.
Alex. J. Rieder, Kansas City.....	Department service officer.

Thus Doctor Phares, after having held the helm from May, 1919, to August, 1920, retired from his leadership, after having seen the Legion grow from 37 men to some 22,000. Great credit is due to him for his administration and for the conscientious way in which he supervised the first great task of the Legion—to organize posts and enroll members. During Doctor Phares' administration the Kansas department had the honor of being the host to Franklin D'Olier, national commander, who spent July 19 and 20 in Topeka, and who made an address concerning Legion principles, which was heard by many citizens. It should be added that we were honored also by entertaining Mrs. D'Olier.

Shortly after the state convention at Pittsburg the national convention at Cleveland came on. A Kansas man, Wm. F. Kurtz, of Columbus, who had served during the past year as a member of the national executive committee, was a candidate for national vice commander of the Legion, and missed his election by only about 20 votes. This was the first time in the history of the Legion that any Kansas man had been a candidate for a national position. At

this convention Frederic W. Galbraith, jr., of Cincinnati and New York, was elected national commander, and one of his first acts after his election was to visit the Kansas department, December 10, 1920, at Topeka. Legion leaders from all over the state were present to hear him speak and to receive inspiration from that forceful personality, which suddenly fled this earth on June 9, 1921, while in line of duty to the Legion.

During the time between the second and the third department conventions, department headquarters was much strengthened by a more intensive organization and by efficiency displayed by the department adjutant and the department finance officer, who, with the finance committee, of which Harry Ortmeier, of Wichita, was chairman, perfected a system of accounts insuring absolute safety, and a scientific distribution of expenditure throughout the year. Early in this year the question of a state bonus came up for almost the first time. At this time the national legislative committee was making intensive efforts to secure the united support of all Legion posts for its program of congressional legislation, including the national adjusted compensation bill, and it was thought by the committee that the Kansas department might better concentrate all of its efforts on the national adjusted compensation bill for the present and not attempt at that time anything regarding a state bonus bill.

One of the most interesting incidents of this administration was the misconstruction of a letter of thanks to the Kansas congressmen and senators for their unanimous support of measures in congress advocated by the national legislative committee, and particularly for their support of the national adjusted compensation bill. The state executive committee had on June 30, 1920, voted unanimously to thank individually the members of the Kansas delegation, and it was this letter of thanks which was apparently misconstrued by Col. Ed. Little, himself a veteran of a famous Kansas regiment during the Spanish-American War, which caused the feeling in regard to the matter. In the second congressional district a former member of the department executive committee, Charles A. Bowman, of Kansas City, a veteran of the First division, was a candidate for congress opposing Colonel Little; and in the fifth congressional district, Joe T. Marshall, of Concordia, also a former member of the department executive committee, was a candidate at the primaries against the Hon. J. S. Strong, then and now congressman from that district. Mr. Strong also apparently misconstrued the letter of thanks from the department executive committee into an indorsement, and had distributed literature giving the impression that the ex-service men of Kansas, through their department executive committee, had indorsed him for reelection, thus causing much feeling throughout that part of the state. Mr. Strong defeated Mr. Marshall at the primaries, and some persons attributed the defeat of Mr. Marshall to the use of this letter, so that when it was reported to the department commander that Colonel Little was using the same letter in his campaign in November against Mr. Bowman, it was felt by the executive committee that some steps should be taken to inform Colonel Little of the real meaning of the letter. Accordingly, the department commander very shortly before the election, after authorization by the department executive committee had a conference with Colonel Little in which he requested him to refrain from using the letter as a political indorsement for reelection. Colonel Little flatly refused to refrain from using this letter in his campaign, and it was felt neces-

sary by the department commander to write a letter to each daily newspaper in the second congressional district, informing them, ex-service men in the community, and the community in general, of the mistaken attitude of Colonel Little. Such a letter was also dispatched to each Legion post in that district. Colonel Little was triumphantly reelected.

The next important problem outside of the ordinary affairs of organization and administration was the organization of the Kansas department of the Women's Auxiliary of the American Legion, at Newton, January 10 and 11, 1921. Kansas was the third state to organize its Women's Auxiliary, and the first convention of the Women's Auxiliary was called by Department Commander Lee of the Legion. At that time there were already 3,580 paid-up members of the Women's Auxiliary, and 90 units. Some 333 delegates were present at the convention, besides numerous alternates and visitors. The Women's Auxiliary at that time took over from the Legion, which had heretofore supervised its organization, the full control of its organization, its finances, etc., and elected the following officers:

Mrs. Ray Hile Calihan, Garden City.....	President.
Mrs. Sherman Medill, Leavenworth.....	Vice president.
Mrs. Dora E. Bickhart, Chanute.....	Sergeant at arms.

DEPARTMENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEMEN.

First district: Mrs. Thomas Amory Lee, Topeka; Mrs. Edwin Sickie, Leavenworth.

Second district: Mrs. H. I. Cheney, Fort Scott; Mrs. J. D. Phillips, Paola.

Third district: Mrs. Dessa Scott Conner, Pittsburg; Mrs. George Norris, Arkansas City.

Fourth district: Mrs. D. W. Sanders, Burlington; Miss Minnie Norton, Cottonwood Falls.

Fifth district: Mrs. C. H. Brooks, Abilene; Mrs. C. R. Cravens, Salina.

Sixth district: Mrs. A. F. Rader, Smith Center; Mrs. G. Foote, Beloit.

Seventh district: Mrs. A. A. Doerr, Larned; Mrs. R. G. Klein, Cimarron.

Eighth district: Mrs. Fred Mallies, Newton; Mrs. C. H. Layne, Wichita.

The Women's Auxiliary grew very rapidly, and at the end of the fiscal year there were over 10,700 paid-up members. This was one of the most important events in Legion history during the interval between the second and third state Legion conventions. The writer of this sketch would like here to make a personal reference, if he may be permitted to do so. During all of this time the office of department commander and the office of Mrs. Calihan as department president of the Women's Auxiliary were in the same room in the Memorial Building and the two offices were closely associated. Thanks to the department president, relations were most harmonious, and there has been no friction between the Legion and its auxiliary.

Perhaps the most important incident which arose during this administration was the Nonpartisan League trouble in January, February and March, 1921. By January 9 the Salina situation had become extremely critical. It will be remembered that the Nonpartisan League, which had so fully captured the government of North Dakota, made an invasion in force into the north central portion of Kansas at the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921, and at that time had hundreds of men engaged in spreading its doctrines throughout the state. Its state headquarters were at Salina, and the American Legion post there had had some friction with the Nonpartisan League organization. Accordingly, at the department executive committee meeting at Newton, January 9, the post commander of Salina, Mr. O. A. Kitterman, and Dr. S. L. Nelson, of Salina, made a statement to the committee of the

situation. The department executive committee, after a thorough investigation, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, A. C. Townley stands convicted in one of the state courts of Minnesota for acts of disloyalty committed when our country was engaged in the World War, and when millions of her sons were on the battlefield fighting in defense of civilization, backed up by millions of loyal and sacrificing men and women who were bending every energy toward a successful prosecution of the war; and

WHEREAS, The said A. C. Townley is now at liberty on bond pending an appeal of his conviction to a higher court; and

WHEREAS, The said A. C. Townley and a number of paid assistant organizers, who appear to be in accord with his radical and un-American views, have invaded the state of Kansas and established headquarters at Salina; and

WHEREAS, The presence of said A. C. Townley and his paid assistants in the city of Salina and vicinity has brought about a condition of stress that endangers the peace of the community and challenges the patriotism of the loyal men and women of Salina and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, Saline post, No. 62, of the American Legion has issued a protest, stating that, so far as it is concerned, A. C. Townley and his paid organizers are unwelcomed guests in the city of Salina: therefore, be it

Resolved by the executive committee of the department of Kansas in regular meeting assembled, That we heartily approve of the fight of the officers and members of Saline post, No. 62, against said A. C. Townley and such other radical agitators and paid assistants, and we commend the officers and members of said post for the orderly manner in which they are conducting the fight. Be it further

Resolved, That in so far as the economic and political principles of the Nonpartisan League are involved, the department of Kansas takes no stand, but urges each member of the American Legion to perform his full duty as a citizen according to his own conscience and understanding."

The situation at Salina and elsewhere kept on becoming more and more critical. It became so critical in the last week of February and the first two weeks of March that John Floyd, state committeeman at large, was sent to Salina and Great Bend to make a personal report of the situation there. It will be remembered that ex-United States Senator Burton had been scheduled to speak before a group of Nonpartisan League members at Ellinwood, in Barton county, March 12. He had stopped at Great Bend for lunch before going to Ellinwood, and there was requested not to go on to Ellinwood. Later in the same day a large number of Nonpartisan League members invaded Great Bend and demanded of the sheriff that their speaker, ex-Senator Burton, be permitted to go on to Ellinwood. In the meantime a great crowd of citizens and farmers gathered in the courthouse square. A Nonpartisan League member started a fight by striking a young ex-service man and calling him a vile name. He happened to be with a crowd of farmers from the south side, who were so incensed at the action of the Nonpartisan League member that a free-for-all fight immediately developed, and nearly everyone in the courthouse square was on one side or the other. The fight finally resulted in the worsting of the Nonpartisan Leaguers, who left for Ellinwood, and met on the way five ex-service men in a car from Lyons. The Nonpartisan League members stopped these men and took their wrath out upon them, treating them badly. After they were released the Lyons men went back home, recruited some twenty-five or thirty men, went to Ellinwood, found the leaders of the Nonpartisan crowd who had beat them up, and there proceeded to handle them severely, finally tarring and feathering them. The facts of the matter were that it was not a Nonpartisan League - American Legion fight, but a fight between Nonpartisan League members on one side, and farmers,

bankers, doctors, lawyers, Methodists, Presbyterians, ex-service men and others on the other side. The department commander had also a personal report made to him from a close personal friend in Great Bend, a member of the American Legion in that place, who confirmed the statement of Mr. Floyd.

C. O. Parsons, state chairman, World War Veterans of Minnesota, and also secretary to the state manager of the Nonpartisan League, complained to the national commander of the Legion of the action of the Great Bend mob. He charged that the post commander, Doctor Nixon, led the mob, and that he was himself maltreated and tarred later in the evening. The department commander sent on to the national commander the reports which he had made, and nothing further was heard of it.

This Great Bend incident was only an expression of the trouble which had been brewing in the state on account of the Nonpartisan League campaign, and which had perhaps culminated about the first two weeks in January. On January 6, 1921, after various meetings pro and con, a cheering, yelling throng of ex-service men of the neighborhood packed convention hall at Salina and heard various speakers brand A. C. Townley and other leaders of the Nonpartisan League as disloyalists and un-American. Some 1,600 people sat for two hours listening to speakers tell of Townley's bankrupt schemes in North Dakota. Townley was in the city, but did not come to the meeting, although many of his paid organizers and members of the Nonpartisan League were there. Ex-service men from all the surrounding points were present at this meeting, and when one of the speakers challenged Townley to deny from the platform that he was a dyed-in-the-wool socialist, pledged to a program of international radicalism, the crowd stood and shrieked until it was hoarse. The Rev. Harrison Ray Anderson, Presbyterian minister of Ellsworth, now of Wichita, former ex-chaplain of the 103d infantry, made a notable speech.

Some days before this meeting the department commander had requested Matt Guilfoyle, of Herington, department executive committeeman, to go to Salina and see that the American Legion was not implicated improperly in any way. In the meantime the department headquarters had received a ruling from the national headquarters that the Nonpartisan League was a political organization and that the Legion itself could take no stand against the Nonpartisan League, on account of the nonpolitical character of the Legion. Although many, perhaps almost all, Legion members of Kansas would not have agreed that the Nonpartisan League was a political organization, still the ruling of the national commander was promptly accepted by the whole of the American Legion, and the stand made clear that, however strongly members of the American Legion might feel that the leaders of the Nonpartisan League were disloyal, radical, un-American and dishonest, still the organization as such could not be placed in opposition to the Nonpartisan League. This was explained to the mass meeting at Salina on January 6 by Department Commander Lee, who stated to the public that the only fight which the American Legion as an organization was making was directed against the disloyalty of A. C. Townley, head of the Nonpartisan League, who stood convicted of sedition in the state of Minnesota; although Lee explained that his own personal belief was that the principles of the Nonpartisan League were wrong, as well as their leadership rotten, and that that

was the belief of nine-tenths of the citizens of the state, to put it mildly. Too much credit cannot be given to Matt Guilfoyle, O. A. Kitterman, post commander, and Dr. S. L. Nelson and C. H. Hale in holding down those members of the post of the Legion at Salina who believed in direct action, and who preserved the state from violence, which would have been most unfortunate. Ex-service men in the community immediately proceeded to organize the American Defense League, of which O. A. Kitterman, the post commander at Salina, was made president, and which was organized in each district of the state by ex-service men and all others interested in fighting the doctrines of the Nonpartisan League. This fight was conducted by the American Defense League through a campaign of publicity and was successful in preventing the Nonpartisan League from getting control of the government of Kansas, and the state accordingly owes a debt of gratitude to these men.

One of the most conspicuous incidents of this administration was the pilgrimage to France, undertaken in the summer of 1921, after an official invitation from the President of the French republic. National Commander Galbraith had laid plans for this pilgrimage shortly before his sudden death, and the plans were carried out by his successor, J. G. Emery, a veteran of the Sixteenth United States infantry, First division, A. E. F., who himself in person led the pilgrimage of the American veterans back to France, which so many Americans feel is a second motherland. The following men from Kansas were members of this official pilgrimage of the American Legion headed by Department Commander Lee: Thomas A. Lee and Dr. George H. Allen, Topeka; E. W. Rolfs and H. A. Muenzenmayer, Junction City; Foss Farrar, John N. Floyd, Frank Denton and Dr. Claude Young, Arkansas City; E. Q. Smith, Caldwell; H. A. Ortmeier, of Wichita.

Only two or three other states had more representatives than Kansas had, and its delegation quickly became well known on the trip, which some 250 men took. Under the official invitation of President Millerand of the French republic, this party visited the President at his summer palace at Rambouillet, were officially entertained at all of the great cities of France, including Verdun, Rheims and Paris, and were accompanied over the battle fields of devastated France by Marshal Foch and many high officers of the French army. The party also made a two days' visit to Belgium on the invitation of the King of the Belgians, who received the party at his palace in Brussels. The pleasure of this trip to the Kansas men was only slightly marred by internal dissension in the post at Arkansas City over the selection of the delegates by the department commander.

One other incident of importance which occurred during this period was the calling together of department commanders and adjutants of the Mississippi valley states to form a Mississippi Valley States Conference. This meeting was called at Chicago and was attended by department commanders, adjutants and national executive committeemen from some eight states in the Mississippi valley, at which time measures were taken to solidify the strength of states in the valley on questions dealing with the Veterans' Bureau and United States government. It was felt that if all of the states, such as in the district of the valley, should unite in making certain requests that their requests, perhaps, would be more quickly heeded. The Kansas department was honored in the selection of its department commander, Thomas A. Lee, to

be the chairman of the Mississippi Valley Conference, to which he was re-elected for the following year at the next meeting at Kansas City just before the big national convention.

The Camp Funston Post of the American Legion, which had been the third largest in the state, had been dissolved due to the removal of the Seventh division from the Kansas department jurisdiction. The post made a present of its funds, amounting to \$570.35, to the department headquarters of Kansas, and this was the first gift which had ever been received by department headquarters. This fund was gladly accepted, and part of the fund was used in the purchase and erection of a bronze tablet to the dead of the Seventh division, the tablet being fixed in the state headquarters in the Memorial Building. During this administration the goal was finally reached of organizing every county in the state. A department hospitalization officer was appointed, who made inspection of all hospitals in which ex-service men were being treated within the state. On June 12 the Kansas department of the American Legion presented to Past Department Commander Phares, of Wichita, a gold badge, being his official ceremonial decoration as past department commander, and also a silver tea service, in appreciation of his unusual services as first department commander.

During this administration the Kansas legislature passed the Kansas adjusted compensation bill, approved March 6, 1921, by Gov. Henry J. Allen, which provided that at the general election in 1922 an act should be submitted to a vote of the people giving to each ex-service man in the state the sum of one dollar for each day of his service in the army up to the amount of twenty-five million dollars. This measure was largely procured through the efforts of certain members of the Women's Auxiliary, and perhaps particularly of Mrs. A. M. Harvey, of Topeka. Great credit should also be given to J. G. Somers, Orlin A. Weede, Jay H. Bracken, members of the subcommittee of the executive committee, and to R. C. Meek for his preliminary work on the matter.

At the time of the third annual convention of the Kansas department, the American Legion, October 3, 4 and 5, 1921, at Hutchinson, Kan., there were 347 posts in the state, a gain of 57 posts over the preceding year, and a total of 22,099 members, as compared with 22,500 members at the time of the second convention. On December 31, however, at the end of the fiscal year, there were about 25,000 members, as compared with over 23,000 on December 31 of the year before, and Kansas was one of six states only to show a gain in membership. One of the notable features of this convention was the presence of National Commander John G. Emery, who made himself very popular with the delegates present, the delegates particularly enjoying the manner in which the commander sang the French song "Alouette." At this convention the following officers were elected:

Wilder S. Metcalf, Lawrence.....	Department commander.
Jay H. Bracken, Beloit.....	Vice commander.
W. O. Shank, Atchison	Department chaplain.
J. H. O'Connor, Winfield.....	Historian.
R. W. Hemphill, jr., Norton.....	Master at arms.

National committeeman for Kansas: Richard C. Meek, Parsons; alternate, James Tod, Maplehill.

Executive Committeemen at large: E. W. Rolfs, Junction City; R. W. Davis, Fort Scott.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEMEN.

- First district:* Orlin A. Weede, Atchison; R. D. McGiffert, Topeka.
Second district: Dinsmore Alter, Lawrence; C. A. Bowman, Kansas City.
Third district: C. C. Hawke, Winfield; Ernest A. Ryan, Girard.
Fourth district: W. M. Knapp, Emporia; Frank Hauke, Council Grove.
Fifth district: Matt Guilfoyle, Herington; R. M. Montgomery, Marysville.
Sixth district: E. E. Euwer, Goodland; A. H. Mitchell, Mankato.
Seventh district: E. E. Boyd, Stafford; A. B. Buck, Anthony.
Eighth district: J. G. Somers, Newton; Harry A. Ortmeyer, Wichita.

This article can perhaps best be closed by mention of the national convention of the American Legion, Kansas City, Mo., on October 31 and November 1 and 2, 1921. This convention was by far the greatest convention yet held by the American Legion. It is said that there were 100,000 visitors at the convention, and no one who was there will ever forget the huge crowd which not only thronged the vast Convention Hall, but swept through the streets of Kansas City in a resistless torrent. The great international figures there present included Marshal Foch, General Diaz, commander of the Italian army, General Baron Jaques of the Belgian army, and Admiral Beatty of the great English fleet. The Vice President of the United States and General Pershing were also present. The Missouri department of the American Legion was kind enough to consider the Kansas department as its cohort to the surging thousands at the convention, and no member of the Kansas department who was present at that convention will ever believe that another convention can be held equaling the Kansas City convention. At this convention was elected as national commander, Hanford MacNider, of Mason City, Iowa, a national figure at the age of 32—"Harvard graduate without the Harvard accent," as some of his Iowa admirers put it—who rose from the rank of second lieutenant to that of lieutenant colonel, commanding the Ninth United States Infantry, the oldest and perhaps most famous regiment in the American Army, Second division, A. E. F. He was wounded in action and decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor, the *croix de guerre*, the Belgian *croix de guerre*, the distinguished-service cross, and wearer of the Fourragère. He, like his predecessors, D'Olier, Galbraith and Emery, has also honored the Kansas department with a visit. A Kansas man, Rev. Earl E. Blackman, of Chanute, was made the national chaplain of the American Legion.

Kansas Delegates to the Caucus of the American Legion Held at St. Louis, Mo., May 8, 9, 10, 1919.

Barklay, Jas. F.....	Kansas City; 740 Sandusky street.
Bly, Wm. D.....	Leavenworth; regular army.
Brickell, J. B.....	Emporia.
Branaman, H. A.....	Ottawa.
Burnett, R. H.....	Dodge City; First National Bank.
Clausen, E. W.....	Atchison.
Cubbison, P. K.....	Kansas City; Federal building.
Eaton, L. R.....	Neodesha.
Elias, C. R.....	La Crosse.
Farrar, Foss	Arkansas City.
Folston, S. L.....	Wichita; 413 Beacon building.
Grievies, Loren C.....	Leavenworth; regular armv.
Hantla, John P.....	Spearville.
Hasty, Lewis A.....	Wichita; 215 Bitting building.
Holden, Harley E.....	Neodesha; 911 North Ninth street.
Holloway, W. W.....	Kansas City; Federal building.

Johnson, Paul R.	Independence; Citizens Bank building.
Kurtz, Wm. F.	Columbus.
Lambert, I. E.	Emporia.
Lee, Thomas A.	Topeka; 1801 McVicar avenue.
Leekley, R. M.	Arkansas City; 528 North First street.
Madden, John, jr.	Wichita; 517 Beacon building.
Martin, Chas. I.	Topeka; statehouse.
Metcalf, W. S.	Lawrence.
Moss, Sidney A.	Wichita; 111 South Main street.
Musselman, N. B.	Arkansas City; 715 North Second street.
O'Reilly, H. C.	Strong City.
Ortmeyer, H. A.	Wichita; 935 North Topeka avenue.
Phares, W. A.	Wichita; 2428 Douglas avenue.
Snyder, Harry E.	Council Grove.
Sparks, Keith L.	Greensburg.
Stanford, F. C.	Independence; 215 South Fourth street.
Walker, H. J.	La Crosse.
Weede, M. S.	Lawrence; 621 Lawrence street.
Williams, John W.	Ottawa.
Woods, James A.	Arkansas City.
Woodside, L. N.	Council Grove.

Kansas Delegates to the First National Convention.

DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Col. Gordon Johnson, Camp Funston.	F. W. Butler, Yates Center.
Earl W. LaGrant, Wichita.	C. S. Hines, Kansas City.
A. E. Noonan, Hutchinson.	Humphrey Biddle, Leavenworth.

SENATORIAL DELEGATION.

Col. P. M. Hoisington, Newton.	Albert R. Cheney, Fort Scott.
George A. Withers, Clay Center.	Leslie E. Edmonds, Topeka.

FIRST DISTRICT.

<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Alternates.</i>
John Allen, Atchison.	Thomas A. Lee, Topeka.
Gen. C. I. Martin, Topeka.	Humphrey Biddle, Leavenworth.
Oscar P. May, Oskaloosa.	Charles H. Browne, Horton.

SECOND DISTRICT.

<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Alternates.</i>
F. G. Apt, Iola.	B. D. McClain, Iola.
Wilder S. Metcalf, Lawrence.	Miss Margaret Bullene, Lawrence.
W. W. Holloway, Kansas City.	Dr. J. W. Faust, Kansas City.

THIRD DISTRICT.

<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Alternates.</i>
E. E. Carter, Neodesha.	Richard C. Meek, Parsons.
Sam. M. Degen, Pittsburg.	H. R. Tripp, Columbus.
Dr. L. P. McKeehan, Coffeyville.	Quinn Ferrill, Arkansas City.

FOURTH DISTRICT.

<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Alternates.</i>
J. B. Brickell, Emporia.	W. R. Carpenter, Marion.
Aaron Piepenburg, Yates Center.	A. G. McQuary, McFarland.
H. A. Earnest, Emporia.	F. B. Fisher, Alta Vista.

FIFTH DISTRICT.

<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Alternates.</i>
Dr. E. C. Morgan, Clay Center.	Chas. C. McPherson, Manhattan.
Sgt. Maj. C. C. Collins, Funston.	Captain Woolfrey, Funston.
Captain Hutchinson, Funston.	Major Mueller, Funston.

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

F. W. Johnson, Downs.
L. W. Banker, Russell.
James Malone, Atwood.

Alternates.

D. C. Roy, Osborne.
Jay H. Bracken, Beloit.
Frank A. Bottorf, Jewell City.

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

C. H. Johnston, Garden City.
A. B. Buck, Anthony.
Henry F. Herriman, La Crosse.

Alternates.

J. C. Newman, Hutchinson.
J. W. McKinley, Ashland.
Mr. Foster, St. John.

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

C. L. Suffield, El Dorado.
Miss Faye McAleer, Wichita.
Frank Priest, Wichita.

Alternates.

W. B. Haywood, El Dorado.
Irl Hempstead, Burrton.
Stephen G. Nease, Wichita.

Kansas Delegates to the Second National Convention.

AT LARGE.

Delegates.

Frank Haucke, Council Grove.
Wm. F. Kurtz, Columbus.
W. A. Phares, Wichita.
A. G. Wilcox, Lincoln.

Alternates.

R. R. Redmon, Ottawa.
Sam M. Degen, Pittsburg.
C. S. DeRoin, Barnes.
H. T. Salisbury, Burlington.

FIRST DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Oscar P. May, Oskaloosa.
Lucien B. Rutherford, Leavenworth.
J. Richard Gilman, Atchison.

Alternates.

To be selected by delegates.

SECOND DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Douglas Hudson, Fort Scott.
Walter L. Cox, Iola.
Shirley Peters, Lawrence.

Alternates.

To be selected by delegates.

THIRD DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Charles D. Ise, Coffeyville.
Ernest A. Ryan, Girard.
Ray Hill, Independence.

Alternates.

James A. Brouk, Cedar Vale.
W. C. Robinson, Winfield.
M. R. Pierce, Pittsburg (col).

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

R. E. Boynton, Emporia.
J. L. Baxter, Wamego.
James Todd, Maplehill.

Alternates.

C. P. Weisbender, St. Marys.
C. J. Patterson, Emporia.
Roy Morrison, Emporia.

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Dr. Frank Hagenbusch, Salina.
R. M. Montgomery, Marysville.
Matt Guilfoyle, Herington.

Alternates.

R. H. Hale, Salina.
J. H. Patterson, Emporia.
Tom Johnson, Minneapolis.

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

R. W. Hemphill, Norton.
A. F. Bieker, Hays.
A. H. Mitchell, Mankato.

Delegates.

H. E. Cole, Ellsworth.
Harrison Glidden, Osborne.
J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell.

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Paul C. Palmer, Kingman.
Eustace Smith, Hutchinson.
Dr. A. B. Buck, Anthony.

Alternates.

R. B. Warwick, St. John.
Ross Morris, Lakin.
Ray Calihan, Garden City.

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Earl L. Kreuter, McPherson.
Ernest Q. Smith, Caldwell.
Earl W. LaGrant, Wichita.

Alternates.

To be selected by delegates.

Kansas Delegates to the Third National Convention.

AT LARGE.

Delegates.

Frank E. Samuel, Topeka.
Dr. C. E. Brown, Leavenworth.
R. T. Anderson, Dodge City.
Miss Ivy A. Fuller, Manhattan.

Alternates.

L. S. Nelson, Salina.
Ray E. Simmons, Wellsville.
Charles L. Orr, Geneseo.
Thomas A. Lee, Topeka.

FIRST DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Orlin A. Weede, Atchison.
Clifford W. Baldwin, Seneca.
Edwin Brown, Troy.

Alternates.

C. L. Burke, Troy.
Clarence Hardy, Topeka.
Joe Williams, Atchison.

SECOND DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Morris V. Liepman, Fort Scott.
Ray Ensfield, Iola.
Dr. J. R. Scott, Ottawa.

Alternates.

J. J. Bell, Baldwin.
F. D. Mathian, Humboldt.
D. C. Sutherland, Osawatomie.

THIRD DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Fred E. Deal, Weir City.
Sam M. Degen, Pittsburg.
Dr. Claude Young, Arkansas City.

Alternates.

Glen Parmenter, Columbus.
Earl Lape, Coffeyville.
Dr. Wm. Parrish, Mulberry.

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Giles Sullivan, Wamego.
M. R. Gray, Burlington.
E. E. Pedroja, Hamilton.

Alternates.

C. P. Weisbender, St. Marys.
R. J. Hepworth, Burlingame.
Ed. Staley, Emporia.

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Ralph Lucier, Abilene.
O. A. Kitterman, Salina.
John F. LeRoy, Washington.

Alternates.

Each delegate allowed to select his own alternate.

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

R. W. Getty, Downs.
R. W. Hemphill, Norton.
H. C. Harries, Wakeeney.

Alternates.

Wallace Richards, Ellis.
R. E. Butler, Norton.
A. C. Marrs, Beloit.

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

L. C. Wesley, Dodge City.
J. O. Foster, Pratt.
R. H. Calihan, Garden City.

Alternates.

H. R. Hunter, Garden City.
W. F. Ramp, Anthony.
John McGuire, St. John.

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Delegates.

Carl Johnson, Wichita.
Fred Rich, Augusta.
C. Hawthorne, El Dorado.

Alternates.

R. W. Holcomb, Douglass.
E. McCann, Newton.
N. R. Winn, Clearwater.

KANSAS SIXTY YEARS AGO.

By THOMAS F. DORAN.

Read before the Saturday Night Club, Topeka, February 4, 1922.

THAT which is written here is not a philosophic discussion of existing evils; it contains no cry for constitutional amendment or governmental reform; it points no plan for the uplift of mankind; it is not an added page of Kansas history—already overwritten. Its author is one who is grateful for that which is, and who entertains pleasant memories of the good things that have been. He still calls a doctor when he is ill, and has no overweening desire to



THOMAS F. DORAN.

exchange the joys of this wonderful world in which we live for a harp in the celestial choir.

This record contains the simple story of a small frontier community and its plain but sturdy people, who with thousands of similar settlers of the frontier acted their parts in the drama coincident with the transformation of the wilderness and the desert into civilized states.

Following the discovery of America in 1492, colonies were established on the eastern and western coasts of the continent. The Spanish colonized the Florida coast and the Southwestern Pacific coast; while the English, Dutch and French colonized the Eastern and Northeastern coast. These colonists, during the first 300 years after the discovery, pushed their settlements west-

ward from the Atlantic and northeastward from Mexico until in the first half of the nineteenth century there were a few small settlements at landing points on the west bank of the Missouri river: one at Independence, Mo.; one at Kansas City, then known as Westport Landing; and one at Leavenworth. While the most substantial settlement coming east from the Pacific colonies was at Santa Fe, N. Mex., between these two points, 800 miles apart, lay a vast domain inhabited only by nomadic bands of Indians, who roamed its endless plains at will and pitched their tepees in its wooded valleys. This wild man's Elysium was rich beyond the dreams of avarice, in countless millions of buffalo, deer, antelope and fur-bearing animals, furnishing both food and raiment in plethoric abundance.

At that time this almost boundless area was threaded only by the dim trails of the explorer and the trapper. It was to the white man a comparatively unknown land—a land of mystery and adventure, holding out to those courageous enough to enter its portals hope and promise of rich reward. Lured by the handsome profits of trade between the settlements of the eastern and western colonies, and with Indian tribes, in 1824 wagon trains were started between Independence, Mo., and Santa Fe, N. Mex. This substantially initiated "the commerce of the prairies" over the Santa Fe Trail,¹ the most noted wagon- and pack-train highway of history, which in later years was supplanted by the Santa Fe railroad, now one of the greatest arteries of commerce in the world. The old trail passed westward from Independence, Mo., through Westport, now the southwest portion of Kansas City, near Rosedale, over the hills to Baldwin, and on through Burlingame to Council Grove, which was then the last outpost of civilization on the journey westward to the mountains. There wagon and pack trains stopped to complete their outfit and stock up with supplies; there the travelers and freighters combined their wagons and pack animals into large caravans for mutual protection against Indian attacks on the long and weary tramp across the plains to Santa Fe. Council Grove thus became a noted and important trading post. Large stores of supplies and herds of stock were kept there for sale, consisting of everything from bacon and beans to barrel whisky, and including blankets and bowie knives, buffalo robes, rifles and revolvers, potatoes and powder, meal, molasses and Missouri mules, flour and fodder, oxen and ox yokes, wrenches, jacks, wagons, whips, saddles, harness, horses and horseshoes, log chains, linchpins, calico, clothing, and rope without end. Privately owned and operated wagon trains transported these supplies from Missouri river points to the store houses. The sales often amounted to unbelievably large sums in a single day.

Lured by the protection afforded by this much-traveled highway, settlers followed the trail. Among them came my father and mother, equipped with the standard supplies of the day—bacon and beans, flour, salt, a few groceries, a cookstove, a breaking plow, a yoke of oxen, a covered wagon, seventy-five dollars in money, and a fortune in good health, ambition, courage and hope.

1. Josiah Gregg, the best authority on the Santa Fe trade, dates its beginning at 1822. Three years later the Santa Fe Trail was surveyed by government surveyors and became a national highway, treaties having been made with the Indians for the passage of the road through their lands. Forts and trading posts followed the survey, and in 1847 the first white man to locate in what is now Morris county set up, under government license, the first trading post established there. The man was Seth M. Hays, of Westport, and the location of his trading house was on the old treaty grounds used in 1825 by the Sibley Commission in their survey of the trail, the site of the present town of Council Grove.

They left their home near Bridgewater, N. Y., in the spring of 1859, imbued with the sentiment and purpose of the North to make the Kansas territory a free state by actual settlement. They traveled to St. Louis by rail, and from that point came up the Missouri river by boat to St. Joseph, at which place they stopped a short time, fitted out the prairie schooner already described, and began their pilgrimage into the new and untried country in search of a permanent home, little realizing the hardships and deprivations and the bitterness of the struggle through which they must pass in carrying out their purpose. History, however, records the final glorious realization of the Kansas free-state settler's dream.

On the journey from St. Joseph the pilgrims crossed the Kansas river on Pappan's ferry, one block north of the site of my present home on Western avenue in Topeka. North Topeka was at that time a dense forest of heavy oak and walnut timber, through which a narrow wagon road had been cut.

They arrived at a point on the east branch of the Neosho river (known as Munkers creek) about six miles north of Council Grove, on the 8th day of August, 1859. There the campfire was lighted; there the longed-for home was found; there the log cabin was built; there the children were born. On this land they lived for almost fifty years. There they encountered the trials and struggles incident to the pioneer; there they crowned the struggles and achievements of youth with the peace, comforts and serenity of age.

The title to the homestead came from the federal government; the deed or patent is signed by Abraham Lincoln. It was never changed, and to-day stands of record in the names of those who preëmpted it, though they have long since passed the river from whose farther shore no sail returns.

The stream on which they settled always has an abundant flow of water and is heavily wooded. In virgin state the timber consisted of large oak, walnut, sycamore, elm, hackberry, hickory, cottonwood and other trees, some of them six feet in diameter. There was an abundance of wild fruit—grapes, plums, gooseberries, raspberries and blackberries—which yielded in profusion.

The stream flows in a southwesternly direction. The log cabin was built about 100 yards from its northwest bank, on the level valley land; on the southeast bank was a large body of timber, and just beyond this was a great bluff, which in the memory of my boyhood days was, and still is, a young mountain. This bluff rises high above the surrounding country; it is a long and narrow hogback and points to the northwest. It was then a promontory extending into a sea of grass unbroken by the plow. From its summit the great bowl of the sky seemed upon the horizon equally distant in all directions, a radius of ten or fifteen miles, shutting out all the rest of the world and enclosing the scene of our activities. From this elevation there unfolded before the eye the long, winding course of the heavily wooded stream, skirted on the east with high bluffs, behind which lay the level prairie; to the north and west in the immediate vista lay the broad, rich valley, and beyond rolling hills and branching streams.

In May and June the velvet carpet of green grass, interspersed with the spurting bloom of wild flowers, and varied by the darker hues of the foliage of forests stretching away to the horizon, presented a panorama of beauty indescribable and never to be forgotten. I recall it now as a sacred memory, and although I have traveled well over the American continent, no other spot

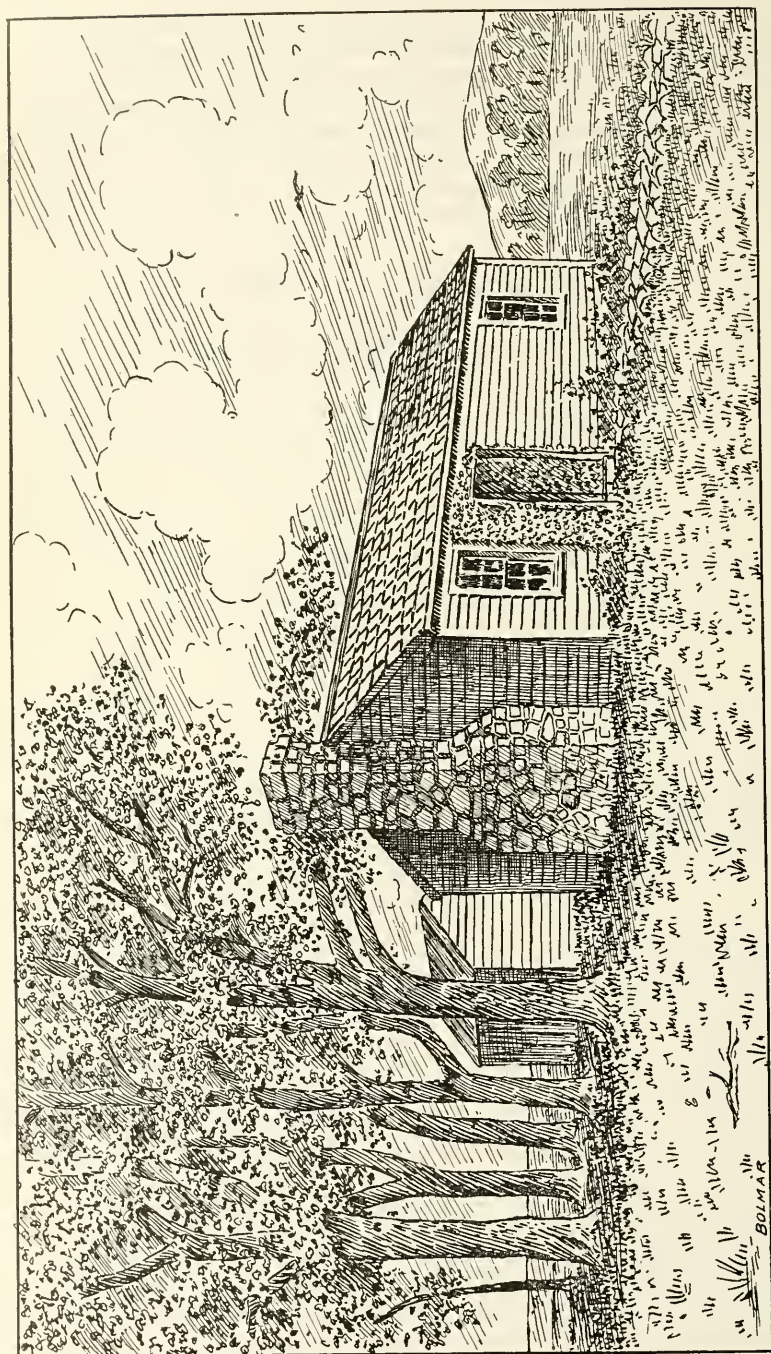
to me excels the beauty of this Valhalla of my youth. A short time ago I briefly described this scene to a literary friend in St. Louis, who possesses remarkable power, and claims to write from revelations of an English woman who lived 300 years ago as *Patience Worth*, and asked that she write for me something on "*The Land of my Boyhood.*" She immediately gave me these lines, putting it as though I had spoken the words:

"Behold His royal mantle flung,
Upon His spear the sun emblazoned.
Such wert the sky!
Would I might sup
From that golden goblet which each morning
Tipped into my thirsted lips:
Ah, such a wine! A magic stuff,
Enchanting me with fevered dreams—
A vintage which I supped in troth
To God, the God I knew.
I saw His tread,
His golden footprints. Yea, I beheld
His mercy in the greensward
And His wrath upon the stone
Which gaped asunder
In an awful rent of agony
Beneath His touch. I saw
The gentle mercy of His caressful love
Within the spurting of the bloom,
And heard a thousand, thousand tongues foretell
His majesty before the sun had risen
And the night departed.
I have even felt the awe
Of his presence in the sable hours
And his fellowship in the stars.
In that unlawful, wide-flung kingdom
I first learned His law!"

This is the picture I saw as a boy, as I dream it in my dreams and as I now see it year after year on my return to the old homestead to look after the estate, hunt in the woods and fish in the streams. But—

"There's allers lots o' work when you begin
To make a farm where the grass has allers been."

The sod has to be broken and rarely produces anything the first year. Eighteen hundred and sixty was a dry year. It did not rain for fourteen months, and practically nothing was produced except wild grass, which never fails. But there was work for the oxen in hauling, and there was always an open position for my father at good wages as wagon boss with the store and trail freighters at Council Grove, and for him there was comparative prosperity in the midst of adversity. In after years in the log cabin around the open fireplace I often heard the rehearsal of the privations and bitter trials of '60 and '61. Though normally there was an abundance of wild game, the drought and consequent scarcity of animal food had largely driven it out of the country, and many of the settlers, inexperienced in the science of the capture and use of the wild game that did remain, were often in want of food. One of the neighbors three miles away was reported ill. My father visited him and was told that he was suffering from dropsy; the joints of his legs, arms and hands were badly swollen. Being of an inquisitive nature, the visitor went into the kitchen, to discover that there was nothing in the house to eat but a small quantity of bran. The family consisted of husband and wife



THE DORAN HOMESTEAD, 1859.

Weatherboarded log cabin, the homestead of Frank and Mary Doran, Neosho township, Morris county, Kansas; birthplace of John L., Thomas F., Emma and Ella Doran.

and a beautiful young daughter. They were cultured and refined people, and their fine English pride had caused them to conceal the truth of their situation from their acquaintances and friends—the sick man was starving to death. They were all taken home to the parental cabin, whose latchstring hung out, and from whose portal no needy pilgrim ever went away unnourished or un comforted. With good food and careful nursing, in a few days the dropsy faded out as snow before the sunshine. During the long subsequent lifetime of these two families there was a friendship amounting to affection. In bright hours of social intercourse in the sunshine of prosperity which afterwards came to both, while they were with joyful irony reflecting on their former trials, I have often heard my father say, treating this bitter experience as a joke:

“Mr. Blank, how do you like bran as a steady diet?”

The old gentleman, his face wreathed in smiles, would invariably answer: “It’s hall right, but it’s rather ‘usky.”

I did not arrive upon the scene until December 8, 1862. The two-room log cabin in which I was born had a great stone fireplace and chimney at the west end, which was laid in mortar made of home-burned lime and wood ashes. The cabin was chinked with rock, was sided with walnut weatherboarding, and shingled with walnut shingles, all sawed from native timber at a sawmill which had located near by. Though small, it assumed the outward aspect of log-cabin aristocracy, as it was the only one in the valley that was weather-boarded. The log stable and smokehouse soon followed. They were shingled with clapboards, split from native timber with a frow and dressed down with a drawing knife.

The front yard and garden were fenced; cottonwood trees planted, and long rows of old-fashioned flowers—batchelor buttons, touch-me-nots, pinks, phlox, etc.—sprang up on either side of the stone flag walk that led from the vine-covered front door down to the public road, which skirted the creek bank and followed the course of the stream to Council Grove—the market and the portal of intelligence from the outside world. Forty acres of bottom land had been broken up and fenced with rails from the woods and stone from the hills. This was home, and the new, rich soil yielded abundantly. But the Civil War had come in 1861, and with it never-to-be-forgotten anxieties, strife and tragedies.

Prior to the Civil War the border war growing out of the controversy whether Kansas should be slave or free had waged incessantly for years. The Civil War intensified the bitterness of the struggle. The hand of every man seemed raised against that of every other. The approach of a stranger or a group of horsemen over the highway, the clatter of horses’ feet upon the road at night, were warnings of the possible presence of an enemy—horse-thieves or assassins—the heart leaped to the throat and men and women to arms for defense of life and property. Revolvers and bowie knives were as much a part of the settler’s wearing apparel as his clothing. The labor of farming was largely abandoned, and men and women alike devoted the greater part of their time to practice in the use of firearms. The front gate was used as a target and had to be rebuilt every few days. Travelers upon the road were invited to stop and participate in the contest of marksmanship. They thus learned of the wonderful skill and accuracy of the settlers in the

use of firearms, "sitting or on the wing." These lessons warned enemies of the danger of attack, as each cabin and stable was known to be a well-fortified fort, with its portholes and rifle slots commanding the points of the compass. The nightly occupation was molding bullets and cutting patching, which was kept in quantities in milk crocks and basins in convenient places. This preparedness made the cabin practically exempt from open attacks, and in my judgment saved the lives of many settlers. There were, however, a few tragedies. In 1862 the "Anderson boys," a noted Missouri guerrilla band, stole some horses belonging to A. I. Baker, a settler who ran a store on Rock creek only a few miles away. Baker pursued the thieves and recaptured the horses, but in doing so he had to kill the Anderson boys' father in self-defense. A few days later they came to Baker's store under the pretense of purchasing supplies. They sent him into the cellar to get something. As he was coming out they shot him, but his trusty rifle got one of them before he died; they also shot his brother-in-law and then burned the store over their victims.²

The Dick Yeager band of border ruffians came to burn Council Grove, but through the influence of Malcolm Conn, the keeper of the big trading store, who had known them on the trail, they were dissuaded. They, however, went on to Diamond Springs and killed the storekeeper there, Augustus Howell. They also shot his wife, but she recovered.

The Anderson and Yeager bands participated in the destruction of Lawrence in August, 1863, in the Quantrill raid. One of my earliest memories is hearing one of two men passing along the road in front of our cabin saying to the other: "There is the ——— black abolitionist now, over there in that timber chopping wood." They referred to my father, who had several times received poorly written, ungrammatical and irreverent notes, under a crudely drawn skull and crossbones, warning him to leave the territory within twenty-four hours or meet death. It is needless to say that the recipients of such notes did not go. They were ever ready to meet their cowardly assailants. The overheard conversation must have been long after the war, else I could not have remembered it. It serves, however, to show the bitterness of feeling which had existed and still lingered.

2. There is an account of the killing of Judge Arthur Ingraham Baker in the Andreas "History of Kansas," p. 800. The statement has been corroborated, in the main, by interviews had not only with Baker's neighbors, but with ex-guerrillas, members of the Anderson gang. This gang, reinforced by others of their kind, established headquarters at Council Grove during the early part of the Civil War. Their business was to kill, steal and plunder. On one of their marauding expeditions they stole two horses from a Mr. Segur, father-in-law to Baker. When Baker heard of it he organized a posse and overtook the gang. The horses were recovered and Baker swore out a warrant against the Andersons. Learning this, old man Anderson armed himself and went to Baker's house with murderous intent. Baker was warned and had prepared himself, and before Anderson could kill him he shot Anderson dead. The gang swore vengeance and laid their plans to kill Baker, but failed in all their early attempts. More than a month had passed, when one evening a man came to Baker's house and said he was "boss" of a wagon train camped a short distance up the Santa Fe Trail, and asked Baker to go over to his store and sell him a bill of goods. Since this was a usual occurrence, Baker was not suspicious, but he took the precaution to buckle on a pair of revolvers, and, accompanied by young George Segur, his brother-in-law, he went over to the store and began putting up the stranger's order. As they were thus engaged the Andersons rushed the store and fired, wounding both Baker and Segur. Taken by surprise and outnumbered, the wounded men retreated to the cellar seeking shelter. The Andersons followed, and Baker, firing through the cellar door, shot Jim Anderson in the leg, breaking his thigh. The gang then left the building and set fire to it, watching lest their prey should escape. Baker was mortally wounded and knew it. By great effort Segur climbed through a narrow window and escaped to the house, where he died the next day. He was badly burned as well as wounded. Baker died in the cellar with his store burning over him. Having glutted their fiendish vengeance, the Anderson gang made off to Missouri, where they cast in their lot with other notorious guerrillas.

Many of the settlers joined the armies and marched away to war, leaving wives and children to the care of a few relatives or friends, to fight the battles of the frontier and to endure its terrors alone. Others joined Col. Sam Wood's Morris County Rangers to guard the frontier against guerrillas and hostile Indians. Here I pause to pay a tribute to Sam Wood, who in the hour of the nation's trials stood as a stone wall of loyalty and courage which neither treason nor terror could batter down. He did his duty and was not afraid. He was ever a hero on the frontier. When dense population approached he moved on. He was cruelly murdered at Hugoton, Kan., in later years, but I hope to live to see a suitable tablet or monument erected to his memory by the state to which he rendered so much unselfish and valiant service.

The trials of the pioneer families during the war were especially hard. There was little or no money, and while food was abundant, clothing and boots and shoes were very expensive. Flour and salt were also high in price and hard to get. The men who could not get into the army, or who were left at home to care for their own families and aid the families of those who had gone, were often compelled to be away from home for days and weeks at a time, drilling with the rangers, hauling freight from the Missouri river or taking wheat to mill to be ground into flour. At such times the wife and children at home were often alone, beset with dangers from ruffians and savage Indians, besieged by blizzards, snows and floods; sometimes afflicted with sickness—often doubting, but never knowing whether the absent husband and father would ever return, or whether he had already fallen a victim of accident, murderous assailants, swollen rivers, or had been frozen to death by blizzards on bleak and barren prairies. I wonder if there are many now living who have kept such vigils by day and far into the night for weeks at a time, the senses quickened by sickening fear, listening for the distant chuck and rumble of a wagon as well known and as familiar as its master's voice? Its sound once heard on the distant wooded road or through the darkness of the night was a sure message of deliverance, an anthem of joy, the announcement of the return of the lost loved one, bringing happiness and abundance.

My father once went to Kansas City with a load of wheat to mill, in the dead of winter. He was three weeks in making the return trip with his load of flour. A blizzard came on and snow covered the whole landscape. It was two feet deep on the level and from five to fifteen feet deep in the ravines where it had drifted with the wind. All roads were blotted out. The whole earth was a glistening sea of white snow. The thermometer fell to ten degrees below zero. But he slowly plodded on. The wagon often stuck in the snow banks and he was compelled to shovel it out. The oxen became weary and would not pull the load. But the strategy of the plainsmen always brought them through. Their feed was cut off until they were hungry. Ear corn was then taken to the top of the hill and exposed to the view of the hungry animals. They would come lunging up, dragging their heavy load with ease. Though believed to be lost, he finally reached home, feet and hands frozen, but glad to be alive. I would that modern generations could experience the joys of such a home-coming. It was in going to mill at Cottonwood Falls that my father came near being drowned in the swollen river. He was unfamiliar with the crossing. There had been no rain there; the

banks were dry and he saw fresh tracks and drove in. The oxen were soon swimming and the wagonload of wheat floating downstream with them. It became fast on a tree and the oxen paddled helplessly. The driver could not swim, but in the excitement of the situation he waded out on the wagon tongue between the oxen and succeeded in pulling the pin that connected the yoke with the wagon. The wagon tongue immediately went down under his weight, and he went into the rushing water with it. In falling, however, he caught the ox yoke and held on. The oxen reached the bank in safety, and he with them, but the ox yoke was completely turned over, showing that the oxen had also made a complete revolution. The wagon was lashed to the tree with ropes. The next morning the river had fallen, and no damage was done, the only result being the exhilaration of the wetting and the pleasant memory of a narrow escape from drowning. There were numerous similar escapes, but I know of six in the settlement, three of whom were school children, who lost their lives in the treacherous currents of swollen streams.

Many thrilling stories growing out of controversies incident to the war might be told, but space forbids, and since the incidents were between neighbors, and men who have since become friends, and those living are now loyal citizens, it is perhaps better that they be forgotten. The war ended in '65 but there was no personal security or freedom from anxiety for many years. The bitter feeling and estrangements incident to the abolition of slavery remained. It was unsafe to leave the house without arms, and they were carried in the field while following the plow or while working in the woods. There was constant danger of Indian raids and massacre. My father acquired some very fine horses. He kept them in a fortified log stable in which he was compelled to sleep every night for years to prevent them from being stolen. He kept a savage dog chained at the door. To get the horses it was necessary to kill the dog. This was tried once by a passer-by, who shot at the dog, with the result that when the dog killer took inventory of himself he found that in his mad race to get away a rifle ball had passed through his hat and that his clothes had been cut in three places by revolver bullets. This at least was the story he told years afterward. The attempt was not repeated.

Our home was on the Kaw Indian reservation. Though these Indians were supposed to be and were harmless, they tramped in the fields and camped in the woods as they had ever done prior to the coming of the white man, and there was a constant dread that they might do something terrible sometime. They were always coming to the cabin and peeping through the windows, especially at mealtime, and often in war paint. When the men were away they would sometimes try to terrorize mother by walking into the house decked in their war robes, their hair roached into a high mane at the top, with a long streamer of eagle feathers reaching to the ground, and their faces painted hideously. They were simply bluffing, but their appearance brought terror to the uninitiated, and by this method they got or took what they wanted from the tenderfoot.

I shall never forget one day when all were away but my mother, my brother and myself, one of these warriors so attired came into our house. I was frightened almost to death and set up a terrible howl. My mother

promptly shoved him out of the door and shot a revolver twice over his head. The speed he attained in getting into the woods was remarkable.

The Kaws and the Cheyennes were mortal enemies and there were constant alarms that the Cheyennes were coming to massacre the white settlers and fight the Kaws. I recall one evening a horseman came rushing up the road at top speed. In much excitement he told my father that the Cheyennes were coming, and "for God's sake gather up your family and go at once to Munker's barn, where the settlers are gathering for defense." I shall never forget the reply, the wisdom of which I have always doubted. It was: "If I have to die I shall die right here, but before I do there will be some dead Cheyennes. I am not going." Fortunately the Cheyennes did not come—but what if they had come? They did come in June 1868, to fight the Kaws. They came from the southwest and passed through the main street of Council Grove 300 strong. Many of the citizens urged that the militia attack and kill them in the streets, but the commander refused. After passing through the town they went down the river into the Kaw Indian reservation to the "Big John Indian agency," where there was a government school. There they attacked the Kaws, and the battle lasted two days. The result was one Kaw wounded and one Cheyenne killed. I am told that the opposing forces drew up in line of battle facing each other, and that each side sent out one mounted warrior. These two rode in circles shooting at each other under or over the necks of their ponies with bow and arrow, while each fighter clung to the safe side of his steed, exposing only one hand and one heel. A rather genteel way for two armies to fight a battle was this, but dangerous to the ponies, of which, I understand, several were killed.³

On their return trip the Cheyennes had no sooner passed through Council Grove than they began their depredations. A mile out they ransacked the home of William Pollard, stole his flour, killed his dog and left the entrails on the door step, taking the carcass along for meat. They pillaged every white settler's house along the road. The people fled before them to places of hiding. They took special delight in taking feather beds, cutting a hole in one end, and riding like mad carrying the ticks in the air, while the feathers, scattering in the wind, covered the prairies like snow. The militia followed them some distance, but when pressed they scattered as chaff in the wind, and it was useless to go further. The only blood spilled on this campaign against the Cheyennes was that of a long Tennesseean, my father's "buddie," who while sleeping near the camp fire, and perhaps dreaming of Cheyennes, kicked over the soup kettle and scalded his feet. My father was short and escaped without injury. It may interest you to know that Senator Charles Curtis was a student at the Big John school when the Cheyennes came on this raid. He heard they were coming, and, though only seven years old, walked alone all the way to his home in Topeka, a distance of seventy-five miles. Is it to be wondered that he runs well in a political campaign?

From this fight the Cheyenne braves went north and massacred settlers on Spillman creek and in the Solomon valley and participated in the bloody

3. There are extant varying accounts of this fight between the Cheyenne and Kansas Indians. See Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 800; also Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 14, p. 169.

battle with Forsythe and his scouts at Arickaree creek in Colorado.⁴ This was followed by the historic Indian campaign of the winter of 1868-'69, conducted by General Sheridan, General Custer and Governor Crawford, resulting in the practical extermination of Indian warriors and bringing lasting peace to the settlers, with the exception of minor outbreaks as late as 1874 and 1878.

With the passing of the Civil War and the menace of Indian attacks the country developed rapidly. Settlers soon lined the valleys and land was broken out in larger tracts, but with the rotting of the sod came malaria, or ague. It fastened itself upon the whole population; few were exempt. The victims would burn with fever one minute and freeze the next. It was said by a neighbor that when his whole family were shaking with ague the chinking between the logs of his cabin was jarred loose, and that he "was too sick to live and not sick enough to die." Doctors were few and the "Common Sense Medical Adviser" became the family bible. Blue-mass pills, calomel, quinine and Ayer's ague cure were the chief articles of commerce. There were times when half the population was salivated. In rainy seasons vegetation was rank, and, rotting upon the ground, added to the virulence of the dreaded disease. For a time it seemed that nature itself rebelled against the inroads of civilization. The sodded prairies shed water like the roof of a house, and at times torrential rains fell and flooded the valleys from bluff to bluff. Our family was twice rescued from the log house on the backs of horses, which had to swim to reach the highlands. One night after a heavy downpour of rain and hail we went into the yard to hear a terrible roar like the approach of a wind storm, but father said, "It is water." We walked to the creek bank to see 150 head of our cattle rolling, pitching and tossing on top of a wall of water eight feet high, through brush, driftwood and timber. Forty were drowned. The hail had caused them to seek the timber for shelter, and they unconsciously met disaster.

One of the floods came after harvest. It swept the fields clean of their burden of shocked wheat and landed it in the tops of trees in the timber downstream. Its rescue was not a labor of love, but one of necessity. It was finally rescued and little loss sustained.

Then there came the menace of the prairie fires. Tall grass grew abundantly everywhere, and especially in the rail fences, which always led to the stack yards, barns and buildings. This grass when killed by the frost and dried by the wind became a constant menace through fire. Fire guards were made around each farm by plowing a furrow on either side of a strip of land fifty feet wide, and mowing between while the grass was green, then burning off the hay when dried by the sun. This afforded ample protection except when the fire was driven by a gale of wind. New settlers unfamiliar with the country often set fire to the grass to burn off a camping ground or to clean land for breaking, believing they could put it out when desired. Sometimes they

4. It is not possible to state positively whether or not the Cheyennes who raided the Kansas at Council Grove on June 3 took part in the later depredations against the whites that year. The Cheyennes at Council Grove were said to have been led by Little Robe, while the murders and devastation on Spillman creek and in the Solomon valley were committed about the middle of August by Black Kettle and some forty of his braves who had come north to Fort Hays from their camp on the Washita. These Indians held a "talk" with the officers at Fort Hays on August 7 and then proceeded to their devilry. The fight at Beecher Island in the Arickaree took place September 17, and the Cheyennes in that battle were commanded by Roman Nose. There were of course other chiefs of the tribe present.

negligently allowed it to catch from camp fires or discarded matches and torches. They did not know, but soon learned, that a prairie fire started in the wind is uncontrollable. Only a back-fire started from a road, furrow or firebreak by one of experience can turn it aside. The heat from a prairie fire started on a perfectly still day, when it attains any magnitude, creates air currents which drive it forward toward the burning grass. If a strong wind is blowing it becomes a gale, and the fire a thing of terror unimaginable. The tall grass seeds out into a feathery top which burns like gasoline. The approach of a fire miles in length, driven by a gale, fills the air with suffocating clouds of smoke, ashes and burning cinders, through which leap tongues of flame often ten to fifty feet high, making the whole heavens a fiery cauldron through which no living thing can pass. The flames jump and roll forward with terrific force and speed, driving birds, rabbits, wolves, cattle, horses and all living things before it to safety beyond the streams or death in its seething furnaces. The tops of the grass burn first, and the flame was often 100 yards in width before the grass burned to the ground. A horse of fastest speed has difficulty in keeping ahead of such a fire. Cattle caught out on the prairies run ahead of the fire until exhausted and then perish in the flames. I once saw sixty head of fine cattle that had thus burned to death. I have seen a whole community devastated by such a fire; all feed, grain and stables went up in smoke, though no houses were destroyed. An amusing incident occurred during this fire. An excitable young Englishman, just over, conceived it to be his duty to carry the alarm to the settlers. He had a swift pony and rode for miles ahead of the fire, shouting, "Fire, Fire," as he passed each house. He finally reached the forks of the creek and rode into Warren Johnson's yard as Paul Revere rode into Concord. It was dark, and he had not reckoned on the clothes line, which caught him under the chin and threw him twenty feet into the air. He hit the ground like a rubber ball and bounced up yelling: "My God! My God! I am killed! I am killed!" Johnson, who was an old-timer and never lost his head, coolly said: "You are making a hell of a noise for a dead man."

In later years William Pilcher, a professor from a Virginia university, came west to regain his health. He bought a farm, which from neglect was overgrown with tall sunflowers. He was plowing them under with a four-horse riding plow, and found that the rough, dry stalks of the sunflowers were chafing the breasts of his horses as they pushed their way through the dense growth. He was wholly inexperienced in the control of fire, but decided to set fire to the troublesome weeds and burn them off. He had forgotten that he had a large quantity of hay stacked on the adjoining prairie. He lighted a match in the weeds, the flames mounted high, the wind caught them, and they bounded away through the field and over the prairie. His stacks were soon black, smouldering mounds. He ran out to one of them and with a stick raked off the outer covering of black ashes. He saw the packed mass of bright, green hay beneath, and at once dispatched his brother to the house, half a mile distant, to bring a rake to remove the ashes and fire. The rake came and he hurriedly raked the side of the stack, but as soon as the air reached the fire it burst into flames, and he saw that his effort was useless. He then looked around, and to his amazement saw that the fire had jumped the firebreak and was rapidly burning down the hedge row toward my father's stack yards, a quarter of a mile away.

I was plowing in an adjoining field and saw the danger. I unhitched the horses, procured an ax and hand rake from a near-by house, went to the hedge some distance ahead of the fire, cut an opening in the fence, raked the ground clean and started a back-fire, the flames from which were soon burning the other way, and my father's grain stacks and buildings were safe. I could not see Pilcher, so I walked past the back-fire, up the fence row, and found him in the hedge madly trying to tear away the grass and thorny brush with his naked hands. His clothes were almost torn off; his face, arms, hands and body were badly cut, lacerated and bleeding and full of broken thorns. I had difficulty in pulling the poor, crazed fellow away from his foolish and useless task and convincing him that the danger was over. His gratitude was a sufficient reward, but he invited me to his house, and there in his fine library I learned that he knew more about books than I did about prairie fires. There I learned to love good literature. I borrowed his books, and during long vigils on the prairies, while herding cattle, I read Shakespeare, Longfellow, Byron, Burns, Moore, Thackeray and Dickens. Many of the passages which I committed to memory I have never forgotten, and sometimes when I quote them I think of my friend of the prairie fire.

Such were a few of the trials of the pioneers. They are different only in degree from those of all pioneers from the swamps of Florida and the Rock at Plymouth to the Golden Gate. Some were worse; some were not so bad.

But there is a brighter side to the picture. The pioneers were almost all hardy young men and women. The first old man I ever saw was the village cobbler. He came to our house to visit. His face was wrinkled and old and his hair was white. To my brother and to me he was a freak. We would peek through the window at him and then run away and laugh. We were but the youngest of the young pioneers who looked upon the wrinkled face of old civilization with derision. The new land was full of adventure and freedom and hope. All comers were welcome guests; there was no caste; "the richest were poor, but the poorest lived in abundance." There were neighborhood dinners innumerable, and tables were burdened with a wealth of food now unknown. There was buffalo meat, venison, prairie chicken, quail and other wild game. Guests came from long distances and sometimes remained for weeks. The walls of the cabin seemed to stretch to accommodate any company. There was always room for one more.

Horace Greeley's *Weekly Tribune* furnished our political economy and *Harper's Weekly* was a regular visitor, while Petroleum V. Nasby furnished the humor of the day. Itinerant preachers, peddlers and trappers were always a delight. Around the old fireplace I have listened to most animated and profound discussions on the immortality of the soul, whether the Bible was inspired, foreordination, transubstantiation, baptism by immersion or sprinkling, infant baptism and infant damnation, the doctrines of John Calvin and the infallibility of the Pope. The controversy sometimes waged all night, and each disputant proved the correctness of his position by the Holy Writ. In the morning no one was convinced, but all were satisfied and happy. Camp meetings and baptism through holes in the ice were especially entertaining to us boys. The mourner's bench was our theater. Samp Pearson, the community fiddler, got religion, confessed his sins and joined the church in one week, backslid the next, got drunk the next, fiddled for a while to

make up for lost time, and then repeated this cycle year after year. This man was a born entertainer, equally at home in the church, the dance hall or the saloon. He swore by note, and the even and continuous flow of his oaths was a melody excelled only by the dulcet, wild notes of his violin. He went back home to Missouri every fall, cursing Kansas, swearing that he was leaving forever; but he always returned in the spring, poorer than when he left, but full of spirits. He used to say that he had traveled the road so often that he could borrow a meal anywhere on the way, as they knew he would bring it back.

Hiram Botts, who shaved his forehead to give himself the appearance of intelligence, was also a visitor to the mourner's bench. In his conversations he delivered himself of wisdom in blocks. Among farm wagons of consequence were those made by Studebaker. The firm became Studebaker Bros. Hiram announced that Studebaker made a first-class wagon until he took in that man "Bros.," who put green spokes in the wheels and spoiled them. He also said he intended to build a "condition" to his house.

Enoch Eden enjoyed the sole distinction of being the father of a son who could lick the teacher, until an athletic Yankee boy from an eastern college took the school and thrashed Jim nearly to death. Enoch then went back to "Missoury."

Wells Bran, also from Missouri, gained the everlasting hatred of the boys by calling them "brats" and driving them away from his haystacks, which they were using as a toboggan slide. On our way to school we would pile rocks in the road and lie in the brush to watch him throw them out and to hear him swear.

A. J. Clymer was authority on politics and discussed the tariff long and loud. He was elected to the legislature for one term, and that fixed him.

Hezekiah Brake was a good man and a good neighbor. His daughter Lizzie bought and sold cattle. There were three brothers in the neighborhood—Eli, Adam and Andy Bird. Lizzie bought a calf of them and it strayed away. The old gentleman, who spoke the cockney English dialect, went out to hunt it. He met Enoch Eden, who spoke only the Missouri language, and who reported the old gentleman's description of the calf as follows: "Hi am untin a wite calf with blue hears. Hits Hellisse's calf. Hellisse bought it from Heli, Heli bought it from Hadam, and Hadam bought it from Handy. Hits branded on the left 'ip with a He."

There were two Irishmen who came regularly to visit us. They were Pat Maloney and Tom O'Day. They always came in the winter, and usually in a snow storm. Every time a blizzard came from the north we looked for them, though they had to travel from Clark's creek, a distance of twenty miles. We were seldom disappointed. O'Day always came on foot, leading a saddled horse. I never saw him ride. Maloney was a strong character and afterwards became quite wealthy. His son, James Maloney, still lives at Skiddy. He is now one of the wealthiest ranchmen of Kansas, owning large tracts of land and large herds of cattle at home and in Oklahoma. O'Day was small, quizzical, humorous and always entertaining. I once heard him tell my father that his boys were no account. When asked why, he said: "I can't trust them. If I send them to the creek to water the horses in winter they bile the wather in thim on the way back to the stable." I think O'Day thought they ought to lead them as he did. But boys will be boys.

Frederick Hebrank lived three miles to the east among the hills of Big John creek. He was a sturdy, intelligent and prosperous German. His orchards and gardens were wonders and his hospitality and companionship always delightful. He, however, failed to appreciate camp meetings. He said: "They are all hypocrites. They sing; 'Heaven is my home; I wish not to stay here'—and as soon as they get sick they send for a doctor." Hebrank was a prudent and frugal farmer. He stored wheat, corn and grain in abundant years, and when lean years came he had an abundance for sale at high prices. I have known him to store corn for years. He lived in comfort and died rich. His sons are like him, and I think they still own the old homestead and all the land adjoining.

Sam Wood, too, was a practical joker. At the close of the war he was United States commissioner. The government required all who had been in the rebellion to take the oath of allegiance. Sam sent out for all known rebel sympathizers and compelled them to take the oath. They said they never would, but they did—and Sam laughed.

Billy Van Noy was another character. His cattle and horses were breachy. His neighbor would take them up. Van Noy would agree to pay the bill, but would plead poverty, give an I O U, and when he had the cattle well on the way home he would call back to the injured neighbor, saying: "Hey, Brake. If you get the money on that I O U before I do write me a letter." Brake never got the money.

There were many other settlers of sterling worth—the Jenningses, the Clarks, the Kahls, the Downings, the McKinzie, the Hotchfords, the Whites, the Collyers, the Horners, the Prices, who gave character and joy to the life of the pioneer. I still treasure their friendship and revere their memory. The old-timers were all characters in their own way. There are few of them left.

The companion, guide and friend of my boyhood was my uncle, Peter Clark. Though of slight build and of medium height, he was young, muscular, athletic and active. He was a skilled wrestler, and I have never seen a man who could throw him "square holts." I have known him to lift the champion athlete of the Kaw Indian tribe—though much taller and almost twice his weight—sheer from his feet and throw him over his head to a heavy fall on the flat of his back. The vanquished brave was so surprised and humiliated that as soon as he could regain his breath he jumped to his feet and ran into the woods to hide his shame and escape the taunts of his fellows, who called him a "squaw man" because he had allowed the little white man to throw him. Clark loved the wild, open fields and woods and was fond of hunting, trapping and fishing. From him I learned these arts, and the memory of our many tramps through the fields and forests and along the streams is a joy to this hour. When in pursuit of game he was as noiseless as an Indian in moccasins, and he could closely approach wild birds and animals without giving alarm. After long practice he became an expert shot. I have seen him kill prairie chickens and wild ducks on the wing with a rifle.

In those days the Buffalo had gone further west, though their range was a comparatively short distance away, and out on the plains there were countless millions of them. Indian and white hunters and trappers kept settlers constantly supplied with fresh and dried buffalo meat and with luxurious tanned

buffalo robes. There were deer and antelope in the country, and prairie chickens, wild ducks, quail, squirrels and rabbits were abundant. The streams were well stocked with fish.

Prairie chickens reared their young and roosted in the grass on the prairies, but in winter, particularly in snowy periods, they flew into the fields and stack yards for grain and food. They would light on adjacent trees, often right over the house, so near that we could shoot them from the windows and doors. I have seen them so numerous at such times that sitting close together, their weight would break the branches. I once saw thirteen killed at one time by a deadfall made of a barn door set up with a figure-four trigger. The ground under the deadfall was cleared of snow, sprinkled with shelled corn, while a section of ear corn was stuck on the end of the trigger. The chickens pecked on this, and this threw the deadfall. Many wild ducks remained all winter, swimming on the unfrozen riffles of the streams and feeding in the cattle yards. They furnished the hunter winter sport, while in the spring and fall great flocks of wild geese and ducks by the thousands lined the sky from horizon to horizon, filling the air with the music of their regular cries as they winged their way with incalculable speed to and from their summer and winter homes. They often alighted in sloughs, swamps and fields to feed. Truly the country at such times was the hunter's paradise.

Uncle Peter was a shrewd trader. He once treed a coon in the hollow branch of a very tall sycamore. The tree was too large to cut down, and he could not climb it, cut off the branch and capture the coon alone. While contemplating the situation an athletic Indian came along. A bargain was soon struck, by which the Indian was to climb the tree and cut off the branch containing the coon. If there should be two coons each was to have one, and in any event the Indian was to skin the game; and if there should prove to be but one coon, Clark was to have the pelt, worth several dollars, and the Indian was to take the carcass for meat. The Indian climbed the tree, cut off the branch and came down. There was but one coon. The Indian skinned it. My uncle took the pelt. The Indian then intimated that he had been given the bad end of the bargain. He really thought there were two coons in the tree. In disgust he threw the carcass on top of an old shed and indignantly left it there. However, in about three weeks, after the wind and weather had seasoned it, the Indian came back and took the carcass of the coon to his wigwam and the family had an Indian stew; so he lost nothing after all.

Our first schoolhouse was a log cabin, three and one-half miles from home; the seats were slabs with wooden pegs for legs. The term was three months, and it almost caused a neighborhood feud when my father, who was on the school board for almost fifty years, insisted on a nine months' term and a teacher worth seventy-five dollars a month. He got both, and at least some of the children afterwards graduated from the State University, the Agricultural College and the State Normal School.

In those days the cattle range began with the sunrise and ended with the sunset. The herds multiplied rapidly and the settlers prospered when they learned that cattle more often died from hollow stomachs than "hollow horn," and cut up the corn to carry them through the winter. Small tracts of cultivated land were fenced with rail or "worm" fences. Cattle and horses were permitted to roam the boundless prairies at will. They chose for

themselves the most favored ranges, contiguous to water, where rich and tender grasses grew luxuriantly. They were "turned out" in the spring poor and bony, and covered with long, rough hair from the scarcity of nourishing winter feed. In a few weeks they were fat, round and sleek. They soon became semiwild, and in their emerald kingdom they developed forms of marvelous beauty and perfection. It was a wonderful sight to see them grazing in the valleys or upon the hills. On the approach of strange objects or the occurrence of unusual noises their heads were erect, their eyes aglow with life, and on apprehension of danger they would scamper away to points of safety, where they would stop, paw the earth and fill the air with their defiant bellowing or wild neighing.

With the coming of greater population, immigrants, to the great disgust and derision of the settlers on the "bottom lands," began to occupy the prairies, which by the pioneers was considered worthless for other than grazing purposes. But they kept coming, and the highlands were by degrees converted into farms; the range was cut off, the herd law was passed, and the boys became herders on the hills. The herding of cattle in small droves was a dreary and monotonous task. The grazing season began in June and did not end until the last of October. Sunshine or rain, hot or cold, the herder had to be on duty. The herded cattle were restless and did not do as well as those permitted to range at will. They persistently wanted to graze on forbidden ground and the herder was constantly compelled to restrain them. This task required eternal vigilance on his part and endless and swift riding to round them up and turn them back. They looked with longing eyes on the rich, green verdure which seemed to grow everywhere just beyond their reach. Sometimes in the fall the weary herder fell asleep on duty, or he would wander away himself in search of more inviting pastures, to some well-known copse where the trees were arbores with ripening grapes for which he had waited all summer, or to some plum thicket, laden with luscious fruit, or, in company of a kindred herder, to some near-by watermelon patch whose owner was absent from home. While he was thus satisfying his hungry soul and palate, the cattle, in full realization of their freedom, would rush to the nearest and most inviting pastures, usually some neighbor's field of ripening corn. Once this occurred, and the cattle tasted the rich and satisfying juices of the corn, like men, they became intoxicated with a desire to repeat the spree, and were almost uncontrollable. This occurred more than once. We had an old brindle cow who became the sentinel and leader of the herd. She would stand and watch me with the eye of an eagle, and the mement I passed over the hill or dropped out of sight, she would start at full speed, the whole herd after her, for the cornfield of our neighbor, Warren Johnson. His farm was inclosed with a stake-and-rider "worm" fence; but the old brindle cow would rush up to it and put her head under the rider, toss it in the air, and then jump over, the whole herd following her. It is remarkable the amount of damage a herd of cattle can do to a cornfield in a few minutes. Many a race I have had trying to head off this aggravating brute and her followers. I have at full speed lashed her with a long cattle whip until her hide was cut and bleeding, but I could not break her of the habit. I think it was through her I became proficient in the art of swearing—a habit common to the frontier.

In the late sixties and early seventies the cattle trails leading from Texas began to swarm with herds of longhorned cattle being driven from the Lone Star state to northern pastures or to Abilene, Kan., from which they were shipped over the Union Pacific railroad to the Kansas City and Chicago markets. The Texas cattle barons and cattle speculators organized regular outfits, consisting of camp and supply wagons, together with the necessary accompaniment of cowboys, each equipped with a lasso, long cattle whip, and a brace of revolvers. The herds varied in size from a few hundred head to thousands. The drive of from 800 to 1,100 miles would begin in the early spring; it would move northward by easy stages, that the cattle might graze on the succulent and nourishing northern grasses that sprung up in April and May and reached their greatest perfection and abundance in June. The northward march often consumed several months. The trails widely deviated, but usually followed or crossed streams which furnished an abundant water supply and along the courses of which the richest grazing lands were found.

Those long-horned Texas cattle, accustomed to graze on the buffalo and bunch grass and to wander the wastes of sand and chaparral of their native state were long-legged, gaunt and thin; they were built more for speed and endurance than for beef, but they thrived on their northward journey, and when fattened on the nutritious grass found on the way they made excellent beef. They were wild, and when frightened could equal the speed of the swiftest horse. On the way north these herds occasionally passed near our range. It was estimated that one of them contained 10,000 head of cattle. The herds, sometimes miles in length, when driven near cultivated lands were huddled close together and driven fast, to as far as possible prevent them from trampling down the fields of grain; but in spite of all that could be done, crops were often totally destroyed. The bill for damages was, however, usually settled immediately without controversy. When traveling in close formation the long horns of the animals would constantly strike together, making a sharp, popping noise, which, with the trampling of their hoofs upon the hard prairie, created a thrilling and startling sound. Their horns were of incredible size and length. Only a few years ago I saw a mounted pair of these horns in the Stockyards Exchange building at Kansas City that was eight feet from tip to tip.⁵ I presume they are still there. They did not seem longer than those I saw on the cattle trails. As these herds were passing through it was difficult for the settlers to prevent their domestic cattle from mingling with them, and when once absorbed they were as good as lost, as it was difficult if not impossible to cut them out. The cowboys were not vigilant in their effort to prevent the adoption of domestic cattle; in fact, they always carried a convenient branding iron, and if an unbranded calf (in the cattle country called a maverick) was picked up, it soon had the brand of the Texas herd emblazoned on its hip or side, and it thereafter belonged to the immigrant band and was lost to its real owner. While I never

5. "The average length of Texas horns of the early days was from 5½ feet to 6 feet. We have two in our office that measure 6 feet 1½ inches and 6 feet 1 inch, and there are two pairs hanging in the Hoof and Horn Club, in this building, that measure 7 feet 10 inches and 8 feet 4 inches, but they are exceptionally long. The old time Texas "ranger" was about fifty-fifty on horns and the rest of him. I can remember twenty-odd years ago, when these Texas cattle came to market it was no easy task to unload them on account of the long horns." Extract from letter of F. R. Waters, secretary of the Drum-Standish Commission Co., Kansas City, Mo., dated February 22, 1922, to T. F. Doran.

had trouble in keeping our cattle separated from the migratory herds, many settlers had wild rides and wars of words, sometimes verging upon personal conflict, to recover their own. This method of increasing the trail herds was so common and so well known that eternal vigilance was adopted as the price of safety. The practice is well illustrated by the following story.

Furman Baker, of Topeka, came west from Pennsylvania to engage in the cattle business. He brought considerable money with him, but before embarking in the enterprise he decided to consult an old trailer of experience. He was referred to Chester Thomas, also of Topeka, a character of his time, who had long been engaged in the business. Baker asked Uncle Chester if the cattle business was a profitable business. Uncle Chet answered: "Yes, Mr. Baker, the cattle business is a good business, but it has its drawbacks. Your trouble will be with careless boys. The boys are awfully careless. For example, I hired a lot of boys and gave them enough money to go to Texas and bring back 2,000 head of cattle, and do you know, Mr. Baker, when those boys got back home they had 4,000 head of cattle. Careless boys! Careless boys!" This was no doubt Uncle Chester's delicate way of instructing his new-found friend how to prosper in the cattle business.

The Texas steer was a wild and restless animal, nervous and constantly on the alert, ever fearful of an approaching enemy. The appearance of any strange object—a man on foot, the howl of a wolf, the screech of a bird, a sudden clap of thunder, even the shadow of a passing cloud—would fill him with terror and he would bound away with the speed of an antelope, and with him the whole herd would stampede and rush over the prairies with the irresistible force of a cyclone, destroying everything in the course of the moving mass, devastating fields of grain, breaking down fences, trampling out every vestige of grass, filling deep ravines with their own bodies, from which life was crushed, to bridge the gully over which the succeeding herds passed in safety. I once saw a trail made by a stampede beginning eight miles north of our home, near the farm of William Hooper, and going east in an almost straight line for eight or ten miles. There was not a vestige of vegetation or a fence left in the whole course of the stampede, which occurred in a heavy rain-storm accompanied by vivid lightning and terrific thunder. The earth was trampled into a mud mush.

A stampede taxed the courage, endurance and skill of the cowboys. They rode like the wind with the leaders of the herd in an effort to turn them and cause them to run in a circle until they became wearied or quieted and would finally lie down. The accomplishment of this object is fraught with danger. If the steed of the rider could not keep ahead of the mass, if he fell, or the rider was thrown, death was inevitable. Sometimes the herd was turned by shooting ahead of the terrorized brutes, or even killing the leaders; but the human voice is the most soothing influence to stop the stampede, and once the herd was turned, above the rush and roar of the running animals and the crashing of horns the voices of the herders could be heard singing, "Nearer, My God, to Thee," "Home Sweet Home," or some kindred melody. But all this has long since passed. It is now only dimly recorded in the book of memory, and perhaps few will believe that it was ever a living reality.

In the peace and prosperity of passing years the pioneers built new and larger homes and lived in comfort, if not in luxury. Their cellars, fruit cup-

boards, their smokehouses, caves and granaries became storehouses of abundance. I often marvel at the knowledge and skill they possessed. They made their own butter and cheese, killed and cured their own pork and beef; they mended their own harness; half-soled their own shoes, and made the wooden pegs and waxed-end thread, with hog bristle points to do it with. They scored and hewed the logs to build their cabins, and sawed the lumber and made the shingles for their buildings; they made flails, mauls, axe handles, wagon tongues; made wagon spokes and put them in, set wagon tires, made their ox yokes and bent the bows without splitting the wood. They built churches and schoolhouses, educated their children, made laws and constitutions, and made Kansas a great state. To the pioneer community of my birthplace, to the sturdy men and women of sixty years ago, I bow in gratitude. They gave me everything I have—health, strength, courage to do the right, a love for that which is and a reverence for that which has been.

SIXTEEN YEARS ON A KANSAS FARM, 1870-1886.

By ANNE E. BINGHAM.¹

THIS is just a simple narrative of events in our home life on a Kansas farm in the early settlement of the state, covering the intervening years between the very earliest settlers and the beginning of the Kansas as it is now after its refining process. My only reason for writing it is because I have been urged to do so, as early Kansas history, though commonplace, is cherished for future generations, who will be interested in how people lived in "older times," as we now like to hear or read about our ancestors.

My husband and I had been fired with an ambition to take Horace Greeley's advice and "Go west, young man"; so when a cousin in Kansas wrote us that the Kaw Indian reservation near Americus was to come on the market, we decided for Kansas. One lady upon hearing of our decision held up her arms in horror at the idea of our selecting such a terrible place to live as "bleeding Kansas."

After being entertained with gifts and dinners and farewell visits, we left central New York, near Syracuse, on November 20, 1869. We stopped at Canandaigua until the 23d, when we started for Buffalo; there we visited until December 1, leaving there at 12:15 p.m. on the Lake Shore route. We passed the state line about four o'clock, bidding good-by to New York—perhaps forever—and, thinking that "fortune favors the brave," we were on our way to the great West.

There were three of us, a young man cousin of twenty years joining us at Buffalo. At Danville, Ill., my husband went into the station, where he was

1. Anne E. Northrop, daughter of Herman Northrop and his wife Lydia Bacon, was born in 1840 near Mandana, a small place on the shore of Skaneateles lake, in Onondaga county, New York. Mr. Northrop was born in St. Albans, Vt., and Mrs. Northrop near Syracuse, N. Y. Anne was the only daughter of the three children constituting the Northrop family. For her time she was given a liberal education, beginning at the "little red schoolhouse" near her home. When she was fifteen years of age she was sent to a select school for girls at Buffalo, and at seventeen was a student in the Young Ladies' Seminary at Canandaigua. Her musical training she received at Syracuse. She taught several terms of country school, receiving for her first work the munificent sum of \$3 per week, half of which she had to spend for board and room. In 1864 Anne Northrop was married to Charles H. Bingham, born at Howlett Hill, Onondaga county, New York. On leaving their farm Mr. and Mrs. Bingham moved to Junction City so that their daughter might attend school. In 1893 Mr. Bingham died after a lingering illness, and in 1898 the daughter followed her father in death. Mrs. Bingham now makes her home in Topeka.

surprised to find in the ticket agent an old acquaintance who had lived where we lived in New York. He inquired where we were going, and when my husband said "Kansas," he said, "Oh hell." We stopped at Bement, Ill., over two nights, where we saw the first prairie fire we had ever seen.

Renewing our journey on December 3, we sped on, passing through Springfield, the capital of Illinois, arriving at Quincy about eight in the evening, and changed roads there, taking the Hannibal & St. Joseph railway. At Quincy we crossed the Mississippi river. I was greatly interested to see the longest river in the world, remembering early lessons in geography. We could see it quite plainly by starlight. Great pieces of ice were floating down from colder regions. The train being delayed, we did not get to St. Joseph until ten o'clock a.m., too late for the morning train for Leavenworth.

Waiting at the depot at St. Joseph, a lady, also waiting, told us we should settle at Kansas City, Mo., which was the most promising and growing place in the West. We missed a fortune by not taking her advice. At one o'clock p. m. we were again on the way, this time on the Missouri Valley railway.

I must mention that at Hannibal, Mo., on the outskirts of the city we saw some naked Negro children playing about. A man who sat behind us, evidently a southerner, remarked, "A man and a brother"—referring probably to the much-discussed question of the colored race and equal citizenship.

We were delayed toward evening by an accident to the engine. After the arrival of another one, which had been sent for, we were soon opposite Leavenworth, where we left the train for our omnibus, which took us onto the ferry boat to cross the muddy Missouri river. We were driven on the boat without alighting from the omnibus, and as soon as we crossed we were all ready to proceed to the city. It was then after dark. We were taken to the Planter's hotel, and I waited there until the boys could find a conveyance to take us to the fort.

While waiting a lady came in, and as we were the only persons in the parlor, we got into conversation. It seemed that she was a woman-suffrage worker, and asked my opinion on the question. At that time it was an uneducated question and women in general were not inclined that way. I was like others, and so I answered that I thought voting had better be left to the men, for a woman's place was at home. She rang for the proprietor of the hotel and was trying to trade some literature for her keep at the hotel when the boys came for me.

It had been difficult for them to find a conveyance, it was late and the night so dark, and, as we found on the way another reason—the awful Kansas mud! That was the evening of December 5, 1869, when we first set foot on Kansas soil. Our cousin² knew we were coming, but did not know the day, so we surprised her. Here we were at Fort Leavenworth, Kan. We had piled into the "one-hoss shay" our three selves with our hand baggage, and it seemed like hours going through the mud the three miles to the fort. We had finally arrived! At that time General Sturgis was post commander. General Custer was second in command, but was then absent in Michigan. We were very much interested while there in seeing the fort and parades and buildings connected with the place, as all army doings were new to us. However, we were so much more interested in the home-seeking problem that it over-

2. Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon Custer, wife of Gen. G. A. Custer.

shadowed all other things, so the boys with the addition of my husband's brother from Washington, D. C., Col. B. F. Bingham, left in a few days' time for Emporia by way of Junction City. I stayed on at the fort until I should be sent for.

On Christmas day Captain Yates called to take my cousin and myself over to the soldiers' quarters to see their preparations for Christmas dinner. When we went in a soldier had just lifted the turkey from the oven to baste it. He had to stand at attention while an officer was in the room, and the contents of the pan on top of the stove sputtered and set the stove smoking with grease—all for army discipline. The tables looked very neat, and the ceiling over them was decorated with rosettes and festoons of different-colored tissue papers.

The people of the post seemed like one large family. The officers used to come in any time of day, before breakfast or just before bedtime, and lounge around on the couches and make themselves quite at home. My cousin seemed greatly beloved by all, and I had to notice that each officer appeared to feel that he was being specially entertained by her; such was her charm. Many of them were later killed in the massacre of the Little Big Horn.

I had the honor of a serenade by the famed Seventh Cavalry band, through the courtesy of General Sturgis. One evening Gen. G. A. Forsyth came in—he of the battle with the Indians on the Arikaree river, a tributary of the Republican, which came near wiping out the whole command. He was familiarly called "Sandy" by those who knew him. My cousin asked General Forsyth to relate to us how he was wounded in a "hand-to-hand" fight with an Indian. I think it was not generally known that he had such a close encounter. He walked quite lame as the result. He was on a visit to the fort and came in unexpectedly.

Col. Tom Custer very frequently came in to dine with his sister-in-law. He was boyish and quite green-looking to have the rank of colonel.

On New Year's day, 1870, my visit ended, and I followed on after the boys to Junction City. From Wamego the country as far as Junction City was desolate-looking and brown from a prairie fire which had swept over from many miles south of the Union Pacific. It did not look very encouraging to the newcomer for a home.

My husband met me at the train and I walked up through the town to the extreme south of it, to the residence of Rev. Mr. Gage, where the boys had found rooms. The town, with a house here and there, looked like "all out of doors" to me. An English couple who had always lived in London before coming to the United States, and who lived for a time in a large city in the East, came to Junction City the same year we did. They walked up from the train through the town, and after wandering around some time finally inquired:

"Where is the city?"

"What city?" was the reply.

"Junction City," they said.

"Well, you are right in it here."

They had expected to see a city, not a collection of stray buildings.

The boys got acquainted with a Mr. Beates on their journey up and he invited them to attend a Christmas eve entertainment given by the Presby-

terians. A. P. Trott was Santa Claus. It was there that the boys were introduced to Rev. Mr. Gage, the Baptist pastor, and that explains how they found rooms at his home. He was also the principal of the school, which was in a building some two or three blocks south of him, but there were no residences between. He had built a home on the corner of First and Jackson streets, I think, and had at that time about twenty boarders. The Baptists and Congregationalists held services on alternate Sundays at the Congregational church on the corner of Fifth and Adams streets. We were so crowded at Mr. Gage's that the children, six or seven of them, slept on the floor, and the hired girl on a couch in the kitchen. Cousin Bronson wrote home that, "Some of the children slept on the dining-room table, some under it, and the hired girl in the oven," as the couch was by the side of the kitchen stove. A Methodist minister came down from Salina frequently, and always came to Mr. Gage's. There was a piano in the house, and a music teacher, Miss Church, and a school teacher were boarders. My husband and I had been choir members at home, so that the four of us, with Cousin Bronson, sang in the evenings. In our list of songs was one ludicrous one, the chorus of which ran—

When you belong to Gideon's band,
Here's my heart and here's my hand,
Looking for a home.

The melody was very pretty, and the Salina divine, knowing we were in quest of a home, was so much taken with the song we always had to sing it for him. He was in our room one day, and noticing the crowded situation—a couch, bedstead, washstand, two trunks, a stove and two chairs—he remarked that it was the way Kansas folks lived. The room was about ten by twelve feet.

There was no choir at the church and Mr. Gage urged us to serve, which we did, with some two or three additions, and Miss Church playing the organ. We attended prayer meetings sometimes, and heard a young Englishman in his supplications implore "the 'oly hair of 'eaven," to our discreet amusement. One day Mr. Gage told us he had officiated at the funeral of a woman—a wife, and the mother of six small boys. He expressed his sorrow, as they were strangers recently arrived from England. That was the York family, so well known ever since.

The Baptists had their society one evening at the residence of Doctor Hall. A gentleman's dressing case was the prize for the one who held the prize number. I was appointed to sell the tickets, which were one dollar each. After a few tickets sold I came to a Mr. Brunswick, who handed me a twenty-dollar gold piece and took all the remaining tickets. I had not been accustomed to handling twenty-dollar gold pieces and I hesitated to take it; it might be counterfeit; so I asked Mrs. Hall and she said to take it. Mr. Brunswick gave the case to a Miss Webb, a guest of the Streeters, and also a friend of the Gages.

The Rev. John A. Anderson was pastor of the Presbyterians and preached in what was called Brown's hall. We went down one evening to hear him. He was very emphatic in his discourse and in his gestures he hit the desk so hard the flame would jump out at the top of the chimney of the kerosene lamp, and he swung his arms so near it I sat in fear that he would surely knock it over, or off the desk. We also went away down to the Methodist church one

evening, and going home the south wind was so strong I had to turn around to get my breath.

When we first arrived in Junction we tried to get a place to keep house, but there was only one place we could find, and that was an upstairs room in a new house, and unplastered; the rent ten dollars a month. The owner of the home was a Mr. Todd, and the family lived in the lower part. The place later became the home of N. F. Greene.

We decided to keep our room at Mr. Gage's until we could build. My husband bought two lots on the corner of First and Adams streets, and when our house of six rooms was completed we moved in, in March, Cousin Bronson living with us. We were still undecided about a farm, and knew we could either sell or rent when we found a satisfactory "landing." We went out west of town to look at some homestead sites and decided to go out there, but cowardly Anne saw the wolves, and there being only one house between there and town, she backed out. We heard of a place south of town with some timber and a living spring on it, so my husband started out one day on horseback to see it. It was in May and very hot. He took the wrong fork of the road, which led him on the one to Skiddy. He stopped to inquire the way, but the woman at the house did not know it. He asked her for a drink and she gave him a dirty cup and sent him down a few rods to a small spring. There he found a place hollowed out where chickens and ducks waddled in and out, so he concluded to go thirsty. He did not succeed in finding the place, not knowing he had taken the wrong road, and so returned, hot, tired and discouraged. He snapped his fingers, saying he "wouldn't give that for anything he saw on the way." A few days later he learned of his mistake, got a horse and carriage, and this time I went along. The Smoky Hill river was then fordable, but the bridge collected toll. My husband was determined to ford, but Anne herself again backed out, so she paid her toll by going over the bridge while she saw her husband going through the water free. We went on and came to a fence with bars to let down. A few yards farther on was a house by the creek. We did not know what else to do, so let down the bars, drove through, and replaced them. We inquired at the house and found we were on the right road. We soon came to the creek ford, and this time there was no bridge, so I had to help do the fording. At the next house we again inquired the way, and the woman said her husband would go with us, but she didn't know where he was. "He allowed for to go fishing," she said, but he had not returned. We went on according to her directions and found the place.

A widow, Mrs. Avleson, was the owner. The farm consisted of 160 acres, part homestead and part railroad land. There was a quantity of timber on it and a living spring. It was quite a settled part and neighbors not so far distant. The timber and the spring were valuable acquisitions, and we made the bargain by a trade of places. I said in the beginning our intention was to go south as far as Emporia and look over the Kaw Indian reservation; but we heard that it was very unhealthy down the Neosho valley, lots of fever and ague, which decided us not to go.

My husband had started a garden on our lots and set out trees. I hated to leave the little home, but we had come West for a farm. Just before we moved a terrific west wind blew for three days and took the dirt all off our growing garden. My husband was downtown one of the days and heard a

stranger remark about the wind to Mr. McKenzie, who told the stranger it was nothing to what it blew sometimes. The spring was extremely dry; no snow since we had arrived in January, and no spring rains. In February or March, I cannot recall which, there came a norther one Sunday forenoon. From a mild spring morning, warm enough to be without fires, the norther changed the temperature to freezing. That winter of 1869-'70 was the mildest winter in all of my experience in Kansas. Grasshoppers were hopping about in the grass, which was high and dry all over the town. We could go any way, anywhere, across or around and through back lots. There were streets, of course, but buildings were so scarce except on business streets that one could go a bee line anywhere. The air was so clear that at times we could see, from Mr. Gage's, the flag floating at Fort Riley and distinguish the colors—not a tree in the whole town to obstruct the view. Sanborn Clark came in one Sunday afternoon and said to our cousin, "Come, Case, let's go down to the river and see how it seems to feel of a tree."

On the last day of May, 1870, we moved out to our future home, seven miles southwest of town. Cousin Bronson Case had gone up the road to Abilene and Solomon shortly before, and afterwards settled in Abilene. He was J. B. Case, and became a successful business man and politician.

From taking out the first load of things to the farm, my husband was late in getting back to town. He said he must go back that night, as he had bought the two cows of the woman and they must be cared for. I wouldn't let him go back alone, although he objected. For him to stay out there in that wild place alone scared me into going too. He had also bought a horse and two colts of the woman, and what was called a "buckboard"; I called it a fish wagon. He had brought in "Lucy," the horse, to go back for the night, having had to hire a team for the moving. The new horse was lively and frisky, and as I carried the clock in my lap it would keep striking, so I rode in fear of a runaway. The little colt, too, was a little plague to get behind. It was nearly dark when we got out to the farm. When I went into the little one-room place, with a loft reached by a ladder, the tears came in my eyes, thinking of the contrast with the neat new home we had left.

I had remembered the lamp, but found, to my consternation, that I had forgotten the matches. I hunted about, thinking that perhaps I might find some stray ones left behind by the woman, and very fortunately did find three. I lighted the lamp, relieved of the fear of perhaps spending a dark night in such a desolate region. You may believe that the lamp burned all night.

We had knives and forks and spoons, pans, pails and basins in the first load, but the dishes were still to be moved next day. I had been sure to think of bread and butter for supper. As we had no dishes, I cooked eggs in a pan, and with bread and butter and milk and coffee we had supper and breakfast. The beds were there, and without our bedsteads, piled in one corner on the floor, we spent our first night on the farm. It did seem such a desolate place—in a ravine, some distance from neighbors. In all the years spent there we never could see a neighbor's light in the evening. I did wish so much we could, to relieve the aloneness.

The next day saw all our things moved out, and we were now among the settlers in a new country. That first day on the farm is still vividly remembered. The songs of the birds even, different from those in the East, set

themselves to notes of music in my mind, and the fresh scent of the weeds filled my nostrils. I had heard stories of snakes and of seeing and hearing wolves; droves of cattle and horses were running about, there being no herd law; horses came close to the house and licked the windows with their tongues. I was afraid to step out of doors. I might step on a snake—there might even be one in the house—or some wild thing with horns might take after me. The joy of seeing my husband returning home was inexpressible.

Our abode was built of cottonwood. It was unplastered except where the woman had filled in, or tried to, the warped places in the up-and-down boards of the sides. The shingles even were of cottonwood, and although they warped, the roof did not leak, but during the rains the wind blew the water in at the sides, making rivers of it across the floor, which was of wide boards, rough and uneven. The floor of the room above, in the loft was even worse, the roof coming down almost to the floor.

We finally got things in shape to live—a bed in one corner, the cupboard in another, the stove in another, with chairs and tables between and around. My husband drove pegs in behind the door on which to hang the harness and saddle, as there was no shed or barn outside. He put up a fence of one length of boards on each side of the house and across the front, so that there would be a place to set some things away from the animals and keep them from coming so close. In that little plot he planted some tomato plants. It was too late for us to have a garden. There were four or five acres which had been broken, inclosed by a two-wire fence (barbed wire had not come in then), and in that he planted potatoes and melons. It had to be watched to keep cattle and horses out.

We also had a pig. There was no place to put him, so he had to be picketed until a place was made. He was almost like a greased pig, for it was difficult to tie him securely, and he objected so strongly that he did get his freedom once or twice. He used his voice along with his efforts to get loose, so that we had "music in the air" until his lodging was ready. There was a very small "corral," as such a place—a new word to us—was called; it was for the cows at night. In the daytime they had the run of the prairie, and Lucy was picketed, with the two colts loose; they would not leave her.

One day my husband started for town on horseback. He tied the yearling colt, and the little one was contented to stay with it. But my husband had not gone out of sight before the oldest one thought it must follow. It broke loose, and as I happened to see it, I did some following myself. I managed to catch the long rope just at the top of the bluff, and around and around we went, but I won and got them back to the house and tied the rope securely so it held. The grass was heavy with dew, my skirts were wet around the bottom, and a pair of pretty slippers I had brought from New York were cut by the rocks and spoiled. The first time I went to town both colts went too, but it was the last time they had that pleasure. It was the general custom that colts were allowed to follow, and the time I went we saw a farmer driving a team and five colts following. When there was a new colt, after that year, my husband taught it to go tied to its mother, and there was no bother.

As soon as we could after moving, we had a one-room addition with a cellar under it. The woman and her son of whom we bought the farm had got

water from a place dug down in the bed of the creek. As the weather grew dryer the water almost disappeared and the hole had to be dug deeper; it was not to be depended upon, and my husband had to go to the living spring some way from the house to get water. By the time he had come all the way back with it it was so warm it was not satisfying to drink, so he decided we must have a well. He engaged a German living about a mile away to dig it, and when it was down about ten feet a slate rock was struck, too hard to dig and too soft to blast, so the well had to be abandoned.

That fall a man came along drilling wells, and we engaged him. He went down fifty feet without finding water; the machine broke in the hole and could not be gotten out and the work had to be stopped. While the drilling was going on I was quite interested in what came up in the buckets. Somehow I had it in mind that indications of coal might appear. I knew nothing about such indications, but I began studying up the signs. You see I was looking and hoping for a Kansas bonanza coming to us for luck. If I had known then that there were indications of something even greater than coal, I would have been about sure of the bonanza. In these days, when oil is found in so many localities, it would not be surprising, but at that time oil had yet to be discovered in this region. On top of the dirt and bits of rock that filled the buckets was an oily substance, and we commented upon it. Water had to be used in drilling, and this oily substance floated on the watery dirt. I believe to this day that there is oil under that farm.

My husband found a little place up the ravine a few rods from the house that always looked green. He dug down and found water. He walled up the place and we had good water. Later he laid a pipe from it to the hole that had been dug for the well, and, walling the reservoir of ten feet, we at last had a well, the slate rock at the bottom holding the water from soaking away. There was a creek running through the farm. In years of frequent rains it ran all summer, and other years there would be little ponds along, but often, as it was in that first summer of 1870, the whole creek was dry. It was a branch of Otter creek, and Otter creek a branch of Lyons creek. Sometimes a sudden violent rain would make it a torrent in a short time, so that it could not be crossed. Our chickens would get caught on the other side, or perhaps would take refuge on a shrub and would thus be washed away. There was timber all along the creek, though some of it was stunted by prairie fires. Every freshet would take much of the soil away on both sides.

On Sundays we would take chairs and go down to the shade of the trees and read, or write our letters home about Kansas. There was not a shrub or tree about the house. We could look up from the shade and see our little cabin standing in the broiling sun. We did not know of screens then, nor even mosquito netting, and the flies had free entrance. The Kansas flies—I thought they must have teeth. There was a large fly like a bee that would follow a traveling horse a long way, and one had to alight to kill it and relieve the horse. The flies bothered the stock when they were driven home at night, so the animals would rush into the timber for the limbs to scratch off the flies. Many a time did Anne watch long after dark to hear her husband come with the cattle, thinking harm might have come to him. It was so hard to get them out of the timber.

In New York we never said "timber," but "woods"; we never said "ravine," but "valley"; we never said "bluffs," but "hills." The language was new to us in many ways: "Allow for to go," "right smart," "light off," "I reckon," and "ornery." That last word I had difficulty in mastering the meaning of. A visitor and I were talking about cooking one day, and I said I made Indian pudding very often. She said she didn't know of it. I happened to think, and so said, "Perhaps you call it mush." She laughed and said she knew how to make that well enough. I think that was her first visit to me, and she rode over the prairie on horseback, although she must have been near sixty.

The first visit I had I thought was a call. Two ladies came about ten in the forenoon. I was baking bread, and of course in my forenoon working dress. As I thought it was a call, I did not try to change; but they kept staying, and it began to be time to think about dinner. Thinking they might consider it a hint for them to go, I sat still, but when I knew my husband would come expecting to find dinner ready, I had to go to work. They had come expecting to stay to dinner, but as I had been used to making the first acquaintance by a call, I did not understand the Kansas fashion. They stayed until late in the afternoon. In New York we never visited on Sunday unless to run in to see some relative, or our young cousins came to see us. But in Kansas, in the country, we found that Sunday was the general visiting day, and very often the whole family, even to the hired man, went.

One day while eating dinner I looked out of the window and saw a deer emerge from the timber not far from the house. Only for a moment was it in sight, for it went back and that was the last we saw of it.

Through July the heat was intolerable, but my husband would sow turnip seed in the inclosed lot. I said to him one day, "Charlie, what is the use of you're going out in this hot sun? It is never going to rain, and it will do you no good." He said, "I'll try to have faith, anyway, that rains will come." On the 6th of August a neighbor came in and said a woman had died in the neighborhood and he was afraid they could get no minister to officiate at the grave. He asked my husband to go and conduct the service by reading a chapter and making a prayer. He went about two o'clock p.m. However, a minister had been procured, so Charlie's part in the service was to hold an umbrella over the preacher's head. When the funeral was over my husband noticed a long cloud resting low on the horizon in the northwest. The cloud kept spreading, and about six o'clock the rain came. It looked as if it was trying to make up for its long delay, coming down in streams. It is an easy matter for it to rain in Kansas when it really makes up its mind. There is no half way about it; it is dry or it is wet in Kansas.

My husband started to go out to set something to catch rainwater—a thing we had not known in Kansas. I said, "You will get wet through." "Well, I'd like to get wet once in Kansas," he said, so out he went and had his wish. The shower lasted long and set the creek running, and all the little valleys where water would flow ran into it like small creeks. It also set the turnips and potatoes growing. And the turnips, like Longfellow's, "grew and grew" and still kept growing. When matured they measured, on the average, a foot in diameter, and by weight just a few would make a bushel. We had as many as a thousand bushels. I used to go out and help cut off the tops. They were a godsend to us, as there was very little corn that year, and we had none

planted anyway. The cows and horses learned to eat them by scooping them out. They were cooked and fed to the hens. Our pig had his share and the family theirs. My husband dug places to store them and we had our new cellar full. The turnips lasted all winter. The potatoes also grew and we had a fine crop. The crop of turnips by far exceeded in size any grown after that year. The new land and the continued rains—for they came frequently after getting started—no doubt made the turnip crop so large.

In September, when the weather was cooler, I went over to a neighbor's for a visit. They had a well. My thoughts during the summer daily went back to the nice cold water from the wells in New York; so on this visit the first thing I wanted to do was to go right to the well and get a good drink directly from it.

During that summer we got down to our last five dollars. My husband asked one of the merchants in town if he would give him credit for a time. The merchant said he would not trust anyone over thirty days. My husband came home feeling quite downcast that his honor had been questioned for the first time in his life. We understood afterward that some newcomers would make prompt payments for a time, then ask for credit and leave without paying. The merchant knew this, but after he knew my husband there was never any doubt, and he sought our trade.

My husband had a brave and cheerful spirit under difficulties even, and went about his work singing or whistling. The chorus of one Sunday-school hymn began, "Let us look above the clouds"; whereupon Anne would say, "There are no clouds to look above"—with the need of rain in mind. He also had a favorite, the air being catchy and easy, "Each one has a mission some work to do." Then Anne would speak up again, commenting, "What our mission is in coming to Kansas, this God-forsaken country, is a quandary." That was before the rains came. Afterward the situation was more endurable to me.

We took walks about our domain after the rains had freshened the earth. The grass renewed its green, and like the broad ocean, the prairie for miles spread out before us. With one or two exceptions, on the upland there were no habitations in sight. Most of the settlers built in ravines out of line of vision. Nor were there trees, either, to break the expanse of land. Later, of course, the country became more settled. Groups of cattle or horses went their own sweet way until a herd law was passed. Wild flowers grew plentifully—the wild rose, the sensitive rose, honeysuckle or columbine, bluebells and the yucca plant, with a tall stem on which hung lily-like blossoms, but with an insipid odor too strong for the rooms. There was a purple "everlasting" flower I found in the hay, which served for winter bouquets. Then the redbud and sumac along the creek made pretty pictures in their season. We saw hollows in the earth, which were called "buffalo wallows," where the buffaloes had made a depression by lying down in wet places. These were grown up to weeds, as the prairie grass will not renew itself when injured. There was a small patch of buffalo grass on the farm. Along the rocky edges of the bluffs there were ridges, serrated lines in the rocks, said to have been made in the ice age by the thawing, moving masses of ice.

When writing of the flowers I should have included milkweed. Although it was a weed in Kansas it was pretty enough for ornament. It had rather

long, pointed green leaves, striped with white and of a flower shape. It was so entirely different from that in New York that it seemed a different plant. Once when on a visit in New York I saw something among the flowers that looked natural. I went out to find that it was just the Kansas milkweed. My friend said they called it "snow on the mountain."

We had made the acquaintance in town of a young printer in the *Union* office. He very kindly sent out to me exchanges from all over the United States, which helped to pass away many hours through the dreadful heat of that first summer in Kansas.

Our neighbors were of all nationalities—English, German, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and Americans, from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. In New York the states mentioned were a part of the great West, but in Kansas they were of the East. Of the foreigners the Germans predominated. One German family had three young men in it; they had left Germany to escape military service.

One day in the afternoon we saw smoke off to the South. We thought little of it, not knowing the danger of prairie fires, until a kind neighbor, understanding the situation, sent over two of his sons and another neighbor to help guard us from it. They worked several hours in backfiring, and saved us, perhaps, from being burned out and our timber from injury. After that when my husband was away and I saw a smoke my heart jumped into my throat. After a time, when there was more land broken and more settlers to control fires, we did not worry about the danger. There was a Welshman living a couple of miles east of us. He wanted to protect his neighbors and save his own stacks of hay too, so he plowed some furrows about his stacks and then set fire on the inside. It is easy to infer the result.

Our house was unplastered and heated only by our cookstove. When the winter came we had to hang up blankets on the north side of the rooms. I do not remember whether it was a severely cold winter or not; I think not, for there were thunder showers, and I remember being out of doors on mild days. The spring of 1871 was very early. One Sunday before the middle of March I walked out with my husband over to the living spring. The grass was high and waving in the wind. In February a girl acquaintance in New York came out and promised to stay during the summer. We paid her four dollars a week—a great price—but female help was hard to get. She was with us sometime, but finally went to Junction, and later to Denver. The monthly wages for men were from fifteen to twenty dollars a month, with board and washing.

In March a baby girl came to live with us. That night a severe storm, with terrific thunder and lightning, occurred, as if to celebrate the event. The roads were almost impassable with the mud, and the doctor did not arrive until an hour or so after the birth of the baby.

After the rains in the fall we had the old cottonwood siding taken off of our house and new put on and battened over, new flooring put down, and the inside walls covered over with wallpaper. My husband had not been idle during the hot weather. He had built a stone stable, a henhouse and enlarged and enclosed the corral with a stone fence. Now the spring had come, he hired a man and dug out a cellar under the old part of the house, walled it up, and then built a "lean-to" of stone, about ten feet in width, along the

length of the two rooms. That was my summer kitchen. When I had put down my two carpets brought from New York I began to feel quite aristocratic. That summer more land was broken and trees were planted. We had a garden, seven or eight cows and more hens. Returns began to come in. My husband never went to town without taking something to market. In the summertime, with vegetables, fruit, butter and eggs, he generally had fifteen or twenty dollars' worth of stuff a week, and that was nearly all profit, for we had our table supplies besides. In winter we always had our fresh beef and pork, and throughout the year our own home-cured meats. No packing-house products ever equaled these.

We had traded the two-year-old colt for a horse to match Lucy, and had a lumber wagon. I think it was the next year that we had a pair of oxen to help break the new sod, which was laborious work. When threshing time came our man left to take advantage of day labor. In August a man came along looking for work. He came from Clark's creek, and carried a bottle with him and got water from ponds to drink. He had been with us but a week when he became ill. The doctor said it was typhoid fever. The poor man thought he was going to die, and handed me his pocketbook with a few dollars in it, a photograph of his wife, and her address in England. Our baby had not been well all summer and was then quite ill; therefore we could not take care of him, so my husband took him back to some friends on Clark's creek. We heard afterward that he died.

The baby was then six months old, and her teeth coming hastened the illness. We called Doctor Horn from town, and he said if the trouble did not go to the brain he thought he could save her. For five days and nights someone sat by her side all the time to keep her head wet with cold water. It was then haying time, but my husband gave up every moment, hiring his work done, to help care for her, going to town every other day to report her condition. Our thanks and gratitude went to Doctor Horn for his skill in saving her life. It had been an anxious siege for us, intensified by the memory of our firstborn lying in a little grave in a New York cemetery.

In April a cousin from New York, a sister of Cousin Bronson Case, and her husband, who was a cousin of my husband, came to Kansas. They settled in Abilene, the two men going into business together. We did not feel quite so desolate then, with relatives in the next county.

Our county was then Davis county. The name was afterward changed to Geary. The summer of 1871 there was plenty of rain, and I think the creek ran all summer; the prairie hay made a good growth and we had feed for our stock. I do not remember about the crops, but with my husband's energy, he must have planted some corn to help along. The first year he had bought corn, paying fifty cents a bushel in the ear.

We had a substantial raise from some property sold, and this had helped in our improvements and in buying more stock.

Mr. Edwards, who had several young people in his family, hearing that we had been in the choir in town, asked us if we would give the young people singing lessons. We consented readily, wishing to help the community all we could. A class of about twenty was formed, and they came Sunday afternoons. My husband made a blackboard for note practice, as they were all beginners. My husband, although he had a fine tenor voice

and could read music, did not understand the study of music as well as I did, so I did the teaching. The young folks learned rapidly and made me proud of them. Before the twelve lessons had been completed they were quite independent readers. There had been no word about compensation for my services, and I expected nothing, doing it gladly, and I enjoyed it as much, I think, as they did. They made up a purse for me, however, and insisted that I take it. Some of them never forgot, they were so grateful to me, and one of them, after more than thirty years had passed, called on me on a visit from his home in Oregon. With tears in his eyes he expressed his gratitude for the pleasure and help from that singing school in the year 1871. One winter after that I had another class at the schoolhouse evenings, which nearly cost me my voice, as I could not speak above a whisper for a long time.

A man from Indiana who had bought a farm up Lyon's creek came to stay in the family of Mr. Edwards until his own family could arrive. He died in the winter following and a neighbor came over to ask my husband to go to town for the coffin. At that time there was an epidemic called "epizoötic" raging among the horses, and people were afraid to expose them, keeping them stabled and blanketed. My husband had not been more careful of ours than at any time, and that was the reason he was asked to go for the coffin. There was snow on the ground and the going was sloppy and hard. He went in to Junction and returned to Mr. Edwards' place about one o'clock. He was then asked to take the remains to the grave after the service, since he had the team of horses. Oxen had been procured to carry those who wished to go. Thick ice had formed on the creek, which had been broken up, but the edges left a fall down to the water hard for the horses to get over. My husband did not get home until late, and I had wondered what had become of him. It was a very hard day, and the wonder of it all was that our horses escaped the epidemic, while some of those so carefully cared for had died. The man who died used to come over quite often to see us, for he took a liking to my husband. When his will was read it was found he had chosen my husband as administrator.

I do not remember, but I think the summer of 1872 was an average one. We had a man for work and a boy to herd the cattle to keep them from wandering far from home. The calves were turned out at night at weaning time, and one wore a bell so they could be found easier in the morning, as they were kept in during the day. Out of eight fine calves we lost four from blackleg. Sometimes an animal would come home at night lame and be dead the next day from blackleg. One year we had twin colts, the mother and twins ran the prairie, but were brought in at night. My husband could not find one of the twins one night, and the next day, searching for it, he found it in a pond where they had gone to drink. The colt had slipped in and could not get out. The tracks of the little feet were all around the slippery edges of the pond; it could not get a foothold to get out, and was dead when found.

At another time one of the cows was missing. Search was made for several days, and on the eleventh day a man living on the upland came down and said he had found the cow. He had heard a moaning, and, following the

sound, had discovered her in a hole—an abandoned well. She had been feeding along and the high grass and weeds hid the place and she had fallen in. The bottom was round and small and she could not get up. The weather was very hot and the flies were thick upon her. The men dug her out and gave her a good drink, but she was too far gone to live, and the side of her body next to the ground was worn to the bones. It was a marvel that her vitality kept her living eleven days without food or water and in the hot sun. The hole was not very deep, and if she had been on her feet she probably could have climbed out, but she was down and could not rise. I always felt like crying when I thought of her suffering.

Another pathetic loss was several years later when one of the horses got entangled in the picket rope. It caught on a rock and so shortened it that the horse, Nellie by name, had wound it about her four legs, throwing her down. In her struggle to get up she had injured her back. My husband found her that way in the morning. She could not get up, so he built a screen over her to keep off the hot sun, but she died in the afternoon. The loss seemed greater because she was a favorite, one of a matched pair, and our little girl had learned to ride her. The child was almost inconsolable. Another animal, a heifer, used to stop at the yard gate every morning to be fed and petted by the little girl. She, too, came to an untimely end. She got down in a hole in the pasture one day and was found dead. Casualties would happen and discourage our prospects, but we kept on doing the work that came—and hoping and hoping.

Next year was the "panic of '73." I think it was a year of drought besides, but am not certain. I do remember, however, that cows we had paid fifty or more dollars for went down in value to twelve and fifteen dollars apiece. It must have been a bad year, because we had to sell some cows to make up the taxes. When our little girl was three or four years old her father asked her one evening, when she was sitting on his lap, what money was for. She very promptly answered, "To pay taxes with." We had discussed the question so much, in planning this way and that to be sure of taxes, that she had remembered the everlasting question—as it was then, is now, and most likely will be always!

In April, 1873, when our little girl was playing outside the house one afternoon I went out to bring her in. It was so easy for her to get out of sight that I had to look often. That day I was doing some work on the sewing machine which I was in a hurry to finish, and didn't want to be hindered. As I went around the corner of the house I heard a rattle. I had been fooled many times by a similar sound from grasshoppers, but I went to look nevertheless. I got a small stick about two feet in length and poked around the dead leaves, and there in a hole I had uncovered lay a coiled snake with up-raised head, ready to strike. I called my husband from his work near the house and he hesitated to come, remembering how often I had done the same thing before, but I told him I was sure this time. He got a long pole and knocked a stone out of the cellar wall, pushing the snake into the cellar. It fell on a pile of potatoes and my husband killed it. All but two of its rattles were broken off, but when the potatoes were cleared away we found five more, making seven rattles. Just before I went out to find the child she had been playing under the window right over the place. The next day we went in to

see Doctor Horn to ask him what to do in case of a snake bite. He prescribed whisky. He said to look out for its mate, but we never saw it; the snake had probably wintered there. After that for a long time my nights were restless, for snakes did get into the house.

The little girl was playing upstairs one day and called out to me, "Mamma! a snate, a snate!" It had fallen down from a rafter. It coiled itself around one of the studding and my husband couldn't pull it loose. A day or two after, when I was moving the organ, I found a snake in the corner. I think I did the killing that time. It was probably the one found upstairs. I jumped and screamed, perhaps, but not nearly so much as once when I opened the organ and a mouse jumped out.

One day I saw a silvery, shining thing glide across the floor and under the cupboard. It went so swiftly I couldn't tell what it was. On putting clean papers on the half window of the summer kitchen one day I found a snake skin. The bright streak I had seen on the floor was no doubt the snake, which had unrobed and hurried away to get out of sight. It must have disappeared through a crack in the floor.

Another day our dog Zip was making a great fuss over something at the fence. I went out and could see a small snake darting its head and tongue at the dog. The men came and began to take down the stone wall. The snake crawled out and Zip seized it, shaking it violently to death. When he let go we saw it was a copperhead—the only one we ever saw. Zip sat back on his haunches showing great delight in his victory.

Once the men killed a small rattler not far from the house. My husband spoke of seeing bull snakes—a large kind—but we never saw but one near the house, and that one was in a peach tree, watching a bird. Its head was moving sidewise, but the bird was still. Whether the snake was trying to charm the bird or get to its nest I didn't wait to see, I was so alarmed for the bird. My husband came and killed the snake. He sometimes plowed up snake eggs; they were oval in shape, about the size of large beans, and I think were attached together. The little snakes in them were about an inch or so long. The hatched snakes ran into the mother's mouth when discovered suddenly.

My husband often plowed up Indian arrowheads. The soil of the bottom land was so rich and deep he was enthusiastic about it, and in a dry season would remark how wonderfully it held moisture. He loved to see things grow, and Sunday afternoons always went over the farm. He kept setting out fruit trees. We had our grapes, our strawberry bed, raspberry vines, and as good a garden as the season would permit. He had to learn how to farm in this climate; when to plant, to sow and to reap. He was fond of experiments, and one year planted peanuts as he had seen done in Tennessee before the Civil War. One year he tried artichokes, and he also tried different crops—spring wheat, barley; buckwheat and oats were raised some, but the staple crops were winter wheat and corn. He sowed corn sometimes for the stock. Alfalfa and kafir corn were not known until some years later, I think—after the seventies. Two pear trees that were set in 1871 did not bear for twelve years. When they did they repaid us for the long wait; they were so delicious; a small fruit, and I think its name was the Seckel pear.

The year 1874 we had a good wheat crop. Our peach trees had come to their first bearing and hung full of fruit. One afternoon in August as I sat

sewing I heard a noise on the roof like hailstones. Stepping out I saw the air full of grasshoppers. My husband just then came in sight with a load of prairie hay. He called out, laughing, "Oh, see the grasshoppers." They got down to business right away. The leaves began falling from the cottonwood shade trees about the house. We saw, too, that our fine peach crop was on the way to destruction. The peaches were about two-thirds grown and beginning to turn red on one side. My husband went out to gather them, and I put the washboiler on the stove, filling it half full of water. I happened to have the sugar, and I cooked the green peaches, canned them, and they were even nicer than ripe ones, having the flavor of the pits. I spiced many of them, and we saved our peaches, which lasted more than a year. The "hoppers" ate the ones left on the trees down to the pits. Our brother from Washington visited us in November. He broke off some twigs with the stones still hanging on them to take home as evidence, for he said if he told his friends they would call it a "fish story." The grasshoppers would alight in the middle of the day for their "siesta." The sides of the house and the walks were covered with them. They flew up like a swarm of bees at one's step. They had the most voracious appetites of any living thing. One or two would begin on a melon; as the place grew larger others came, and the melon would soon be eaten down to a shell. Onions and beets were a luxury to them, but my husband saved ours by turning a furrow over them. The corn was destroyed down to the stalk, and farmers began cutting it to save it for fodder. The crop was a poor one anyway that year, for lack of rain. The grasshoppers stayed so long that they destroyed the newly sowed fields of wheat. My husband reseeded wheat in November and we had a fair crop the next year. We could get mosquito netting at that time, and we had the windows and doors screened. The netting went, like other things, down the throats of the pests, and I had to keep the windows closed. It was difficult even to save the clothes on the line; anything on the grass would surely go. When the "hoppers" went they left destruction over the state. Kansas was always distinctly erratic, like a child—happy and laughing one minute and hateful and contrary the next. She had attracted attention to herself, been made famous by her eccentricities. It had been bleeding Kansas, droughty Kansas, the state of cyclones, the state of cranks, the state of mortgages—and now grasshopper fame had come! It seemed like a land of chance. I had come to think, almost, that as everything appeared upside down I wouldn't be surprised to see the people walking about on their heads. The situation was beyond expression, and Anne would shut her jaws tight and play the organ as loud as she could make it go. I saw times through those years that I wouldn't have given the snap of my fingers for the whole of Kansas. Everybody wanted to sell and nobody wanted to buy. Few could leave, because they had not the means to get away with. But one thing the people had, and that was "grit." They had the "try, try again" spirit, and kept on regardless of consequences. I used to tell my husband that if any class of people deserved a heaven in the future it was the farmers of Kansas.

One day we had a visitor from another county. He had a fine, new one-seated carriage, and he told us he had traded eighty acres of land for it. Land was about the cheapest thing on the market and no market at that! Anne did a good deal of grumbling, but fortunately for the husband, she had so

much work to do that she hadn't time to do it audibly. The husband never complained, but went about blithely, always having faith. He worked hard to make a home, and his cheerful spirit was an inspiration. It pained me to see him work so hard with so little reward, and that hurt me more than my own tired feelings. Steam threshing machines were not known until later years. We always had at threshing time ten or eleven men to feed, and I had to prepare for them before they came. I had visitors one day and had twenty-two people to dinner. We had the milk of from four to eight cows every year. One day a visitor from town saw the pans and pails on a bench in the sun. She remarked how fine it was to see the array of shining things, and congratulated me on having such a privilege. She looked at it as a picture of the "milkmaid with her shining tin pail" we used to see. There was anything but romance in skimming twenty pans of milk and churning every other day. The butter had its first working with salt; on the next morning it had to be finished for packing or made into rolls. There were all the pans, the milk pails, the butter bowl and ladle to wash every day, and the churn every other day. These had to have particular care, with scalding water. There were the regular dishes three times a day, and milk pails again at night, and perhaps milk to skim for weaning calves. Romance, indeed! The heat and perspiration made large washings. I have rubbed the skin off my hands, in places, many times. The Kansas mud was like paste to remove, and the dust storms would undo the work of a day in five minutes. I did all the sewing for the family besides knitting socks and stockings. Work was no mere pastime in *our* lives.

Of course our experience was tame compared to the earliest settlers, when the Indians and buffalo roamed the prairies. I never saw but one Indian in Kansas, and that was in Abilene, and he was begging. In New York we saw them every year from the reservation near Syracuse, begging and selling their beadwork and baskets. There were some Indian raids in western Kansas after we came, but none near Junction City. The Union Pacific was just completed out of Kansas to Colorado, and the Missouri, Kansas & Texas was built from Junction City south in the fall of 1869, I think the year we came. An aunt in New York, in a letter to us, asked if we were not afraid of the Indians. I had to answer that I had seen more Indians in New York than I had ever expected to see in Kansas. We never wrote our friends of our hardships, with the exception of one letter, when I wrote about the grasshoppers.

One night when my husband was in town on jury duty there came a sound of moaning from the stable. I called the boy living with us to go out and find the trouble. He called to me that there was a new calf and he was afraid it would freeze, it was so cold. I told him to wrap it up in a horse blanket and bring it in the house. We laid it on the floor by the stove and in the morning when it was taken out to its mother for its breakfast, it was able to stand on its own wobbly legs.

One night, too, we were awakened by an awful bellowing among the cattle. My husband went out to see what had happened, and found one of the cows with her head wedged in between the hitching bars of a feed mill in the yard. Every animal was standing close up and bellowing. My husband hurried for a saw, and, sawing off one of the bars, released the cow.

Another time he had taken the hide from a dead calf. When the cattle came home from the pasture they set up a bellowing and pawing at the smell

of blood. Finally they got to chasing one cow, and I think would have killed her in their craziness if my husband had not succeeded in separating her from the rest. They did not forget it for several days; if she was let out they would chase her again.

All of such little scares from time to time gave me a nervous existence and a fear of dreadful happenings. Terrific thunder and lightning, which lasted all night without a drop of rain, frightened me one time. I begged my husband to go to the bed in the other room, so that if the house was struck one of us might escape. He often laughed about it, and said that I kept calling out to him to find out "if he was dead." We lived a mile or so from the main road, and I feared in case of accident it might not be known until some one happened to come to our place. The day after this electrical storm there was a picnic at Morris grove. I think it was a political gathering, for John Davis and his eldest son were the principal speakers talking on the Populist doctrine. We had promised to take the organ down for me to play, but the clouds threatened so I wouldn't let it go. However, there was no rain after all.

In the spring of 1875 the late wheat sown in November was looking fine. My husband felt quite encouraged at the prospect, but was greatly alarmed when he discovered one morning that newly hatched grasshoppers were thick in the wheat. The next day they were gone. We never knew when or where they went, and that was the last of the grasshopper scare.

In the later seventies, when we went to Abilene to visit our cousins, people would ask me, "Don't you wish you lived in Abilene; it is so much prettier than Junction City?" Then they were also predicting that the state capital would be moved from Topeka to Abilene. Still later they had their street railway, fine residences were building, and the town was having a great boom. I really did feel a little abashed that my home town was Junction City instead of Abilene. But their boom went out; the street railway was taken up and their fine mortgaged residences were for rent. Junction City made no great show, but it was solid. Most of the business men owned their store buildings and residents owned their homes. The town itself had a solid look, with its stone structures and sidewalks. It never had a boom, in my recollection, until one was forced upon it by the World War in 1917, from its proximity to Fort Riley.

One menace to my peace of mind was the occasional overflow of Lyon creek and the Smoky Hill river. In the years before the bridge over the river was made a free bridge the ford was generally used. One time my husband, driving Lucy to the little buckboard, saw a lumber wagon drive through. He always said he could go where anyone else could, so he followed. The river was high and the current very swift; he had to put his feet upon the seat and hold some things from floating out. It was a wonder that the whole outfit wasn't washed away, but Lucy kept her footing and they got through safely. My husband never told me of the occurrence until months after. The creek had a bend, which made two crossings necessary, and overflows often made it impossible to ford. There was a road across the upland on our side of the creek, and thence to the river, crossing over the free bridge near town, but it was much further and a harder road; it was only taken by us when we knew the creek was high. I used to tell my husband, "Now, don't be rash and try to cross if there is the least danger." There never was a bridge over the first

crossing of Lyon creek while we were on the farm. The low bottom on the south side of the river was always slower clearing up after any unusual flood. Once my husband had to drive a long way there through deep water which covered the road. The fence posts at the sides guided him and the horses kept the road.

We always observed Thanksgiving and never spent one alone, inviting some one to eat with us who, like ourselves, had no relatives very near. We had the regulation turkey, pumpkin pies and vegetables for the dinner. Mentioning the turkey calls to my mind an occurrence. Our little girl wore a little red-and-white plaid shawl, and one day she was out in the yard at play when a dozen or more gobblers, attracted by her shawl, surrounded her. I don't know what might have happened if her father had not been near to hear her cries.

Saturday was the general day for going to town. During the week we could write down what was necessary to get, and the child would frequently ask her father, as he made ready to go, if he had his "rememberanda." Our mail came to Junction City, and I could hardly wait to get through the work from dinner to read our letters and papers Saturday afternoons.

When in the drug store of Hall & Porter one day, Mr. Porter saw our bundle of mail. He said that "looked like it"; he had often wondered what farmers did on Sunday! He did not think that farmers had to eat, that the stock had to be fed, that the cows must be milked twice a day, the milk taken care of, and other necessary chores done. We tried to go to church sometimes, but it made a hard day. It would be three o'clock, after getting home, before dinner and the work was over. The horses needed rest, too. Through the last part of the seventies a minister would come from town and hold service at the Morris schoolhouse; a Sunday school was organized and we went there Sunday afternoons. We had a fine Sunday school; the grown people took part, and sometimes people came out from town to attend. The school kept up as long as we lived there, and Mr. Templeton and my husband were superintendents, alternately. We collected money for an organ, which I played, and for the most part I had charge of the singing, and we both had classes. There was also a literary and debating society at the schoolhouse winter evenings, in which we took an active part. The meetings attracted quite a lot of attention; people came from miles around and from town, and the building was crowded every time. We also had a paper, edited by different members, containing articles on political questions and current events in the neighborhood, and poems from contributors. We enjoyed these very much, being restful variations from the routine of our daily labor.

One year we sent our butter to Washington, D. C., where my husband's brother made a sale for it. It was June butter and packed in firkins. We got forty-five cents a pound for it, and of course we were quite proud. It was advertised by the grocer as "Kansas butter." We thought we were doing well to get a dollar a bushel for wheat, but the corn was never sold, it being kept for the stock, and especially for the hogs.

When my husband went to town I always planned to have a busy day to pass away the hours quickly. He never loitered in town; he did his business and came home. He was so prompt that I knew just about how long he would be gone, unless there was something special. If he did not come at the time expected I would run up to the top of the bluff, just behind the house, where I could look a long way down the ravine. Zip, the dog, was just as

anxious to have the master come as I was. He would go down the road a way and crouch down with his head upon his fore paws and listen for the tread of the horses' feet; then off he would go and joyously bound up to their heads, delighted as I was to have them all home safely. When the weather threatened I would ask my husband to wait until another day, when it might be pleasanter. He said he never made anything by watching the clouds, and unless a storm seemed very near he would not often delay going.

From the time our little girl could comprehend teaching, I taught her. It was about three miles by road to the school, and cross-lots through a pasture where there were cattle, so that I had to be the teacher, and I also taught her music. Teaching, with the daily duties, was not altogether easy to do. We had many interruptions also—people coming and our going away sometimes, and other unexpected happenings. Any outside disturbance broke the study. Many times I went about with a book in one hand and a broom in the other. But I persevered and got her through the practical studies of her age until we moved to town. I began her teaching so early she never remembered the beginning. Like her father, she loved the outdoor life and the animals, and was his trusty little helper. When he was obliged to be away he knew that every animal in the stable was tied securely and every door and gate shut properly. Of course we had a man or boy at such times, but she saw that the work was done.

In the spring of 1878 we added one room to the house. It was built of stone and was a very comfortable addition—cool in the summer and warm in the winter. That was a good year, with a fine crop of wheat. The previous year there had been a good corn crop to feed the stock. I have noticed that we seldom had both good crops of wheat and corn in one season; either one or the other would fail. The corn might promise a great yield, but the hot winds of July, just as the silk was forming, would dash the hopes of the farmers in a few days. The failure of the corn meant disaster. There would be no feed for the stock except hay and straw and such poor fodder as was left of the corn.

We had very good luck in getting help for outdoor work, either by the month, by the day, or exchange. One year we had a Mennonite from Dickinson county. He was one of the most faithful of all; he would work until after dark and my husband would go to call him, thinking something might have happened to him.

In 1880 some of the "exodus" from the South camped near town.³ Farmers went to the camp to find single men or women or families willing to work. We had a family consisting of a man and wife and four children. We had no tenant house, so my husband fixed up the granary until he could provide a place for them. The man was a big, strong, burly Negro and fully able to do hard work, and was a good worker. The wife was good, too, but I only had her to do the washing and ironing. She would carry a pail of water on her head with one hand to steady it, and something in the other hand, and carry the clothes basket that way, too. They would close the door and window of the granary every night, although the weather was hot, to keep out the "hants."

3. The Negro exodus was a remarkable race movement. To such numbers did this migration from the Southern states increase that it was made a subject for congressional investigation. The "exodusters," as they were called, came in large numbers to Kansas during 1879 and 1880, and so rapidly did they fill up many towns that special camps and barracks had to be prepared for them.

My husband built a place in the side of the bluff, of stone, with a good floor in it, and made it comfortable for them, and I gave an hour of my time every day to teach the children their letters. But the family got lonesome and finally went to town.

One summer we had a Swede boy. He was good and faithful and a good worker. I went to the field one day where he was at work and he asked me if I wanted a "yob."

The herd law passed in the early seventies compelled farmers to take care of their stock by herding or in pastures. My husband fenced a pasture of forty or fifty acres as soon as he could. It was quite easy on the ledge of rocks to lay a stone wall, but the rest of the fencing was of wire. The sides of the bluffs were nearly all of rocks, and the stone helped immensely in various ways. On the bottom land there was no stone at all to hinder the plow. As the stock increased, and in especially dry years, it had to be driven to larger pasturage many miles away. My husband drove our cattle twenty-five miles to pasture, on the very spot where the city of Herington now stands. We kept the cows at home, of course, and the horses were generally picketed.

The herd law was ignored in our vicinity for several years. There was so much unoccupied upland, and none to say "nay," that even those who had a herd boy trespassed on it. An eighty west of us, owned by some eastern man, was especially prized, as there was some bottom land on it. My husband subsequently bought it for hay land, and even then cattle would be driven there in the early morning. Zip would discover them and send them running, with him at their heels, and maybe the owner following.

After buying this eighty our farm was long and narrow, mostly bottom land, timbered along the creek, and running the length of the ravine and over the tracks of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad. My husband had a small lot for the hogs to run in. I think he used to sow rye for green feed for them; and one year he planted artichokes, but they did not prove a success. One time I missed one of my silver forks. Two or three years later my husband, putting in a new gatepost, found the fork, as good as ever. It had been thrown out and the hogs had nosed it out of the trough, and it became buried in the mud.

We lived so far from the main road that we never had but one tramp, and he had killed a rabbit which he wanted to fry. I let him do it, giving him the use of the utensils, and helped out his dinner with other things. He thanked me and went on his way.

My husband was no hunter. He did not enjoy tramping the snow for rabbits' tracks, and only killed one occasionally near the house. We had our poultry for "fries." Our Christmas was always celebrated by ourselves, and for the little girl. My husband was always wishing for a pair of striped mittens like those he wore when a boy; he said they would be so comfortable in driving to town. I had never knitted any but plain mittens, but for his Christmas gift one winter I decided to try and knit a pair such as he wanted. They were a success and were finished in time! Christmas morning I slipped out very early and slyly put a mitten in each sock. The surprise was complete and he was greatly delighted. I think he was more pleased with those

mitten than with anything I had ever given him. Our winter evenings were passed by my husband in figuring up his accounts, reading, cracking black waluts or popping corn. Popcorn was always included in the crops. I was generally knitting. Sometimes when there was snow on the ground we took a sleigh ride on a sleigh of home construction, covered with straw, in which we buried ourselves with blankets. These rides on moonlight evenings were reminders of the old days in our native New York.

My husband always went to the stable before going to bed, to see that everything was right for the night. He said the horses always gave him a welcoming neigh. I never went to bed until he came in, and I watched at the window for the light of his lantern.

The months of January and February were my leisure months of the year, when we had no hired man, the butchering was over, lard tried out, sausage made, and I had only the ordinary family duties to attend to. In those months I did my own sewing mostly. I neglected my husband by putting him off with a light lunch at noon, and sometimes he would say, "Come, let's have a Christian dinner to-day." The days were short and I wanted to improve the time. I had to be ready always for company, for some one from town or from the neighborhood came unexpectedly, and always for the day, staying for dinner. I kept fruit cake or cookies on hand all the time, and in the winter I usually made several mince pies and had them frozen to keep. With our fresh meats in winter, our home-cured ones in summer, chickens and eggs always plenty and fresh, I had no difficulty in getting a meal. Before our fruit trees came to bearing the wild grapes and plums were made into jelly for the year.

What we called a "pail" our western friends called a "bucket." Anything from a small tin affair to a large wooden one was a bucket. Now we had been taught that a bucket was like "the iron-bound bucket that hung in the well"—a long, deep thing shaped like a barrel, iron bound, and with an iron bail. Indeed, I remember the old well of my childhood, with the same kind of a bucket raised by a well sweep, and a long, heavy pole to balance. In the first year we got some of our housekeeping equipment of Mr. Patterson. We inquired for basins; he handed over some wash basins. They were not what we were after, and he was nonplussed until we pointed to the shelf; then he wondered why we called a pan a "basin." I suppose that our "I guess" for "I reckon" and some other ways of our speech sounded just as queer to them.

In 1884 we repaired the old part of the house, and then we had a comfortable country home. We had a cistern and more conveniences to make work easier. A two-seated spring wagon had long been the successor of the buckboard and the lumber wagon for trips to town and other places. In spite of all adverse circumstances, through hard years and losses, we were beginning to see some reward for our labors. After the repair of the house my fear of snakes creeping in was lessened, but one day when I was sitting in a low chair by the front door sewing, something came down suddenly and touched my dress in falling. I looked down and there was a snake. I pushed the screen door open and he wriggled out. It all happened so quickly I didn't have time to jump, or scream even. He came near falling in my lap.

I could only account for it by his crawling along the stone part of the house and reaching over the screen door, which was slightly ajar, and there he lost his balance and fell in. These house reptiles were harmless things—after mice, no doubt—nevertheless we didn't want them to take up their abode with us.

Our farm was now in a good state of cultivation, and to save ourselves from so much hard work we rented the land the last of our years on the farm. Keeping up the place, with the care of the stock, the cows and the garden was enough, and I was saved having men to cook for. My work through the years on a Kansas farm would have been much harder if I had not had the very best kind of a good husband. Before he went to work morning and noon he saw to it that there was wood and water in the house. I never did any milking and never took care of the poultry, and seldom did the churning. Many women I knew did all these things besides their own housework. There are those who could record a much harder life than mine, who endured more privations in this new country. I have told only my own experience.

In those days we had no daily mail, no telephones, no electric lights and no automobiles nor paved roads, and no paved streets even in the towns. Those who come to Kansas now can see no traces of what Kansas was in pioneer times. Early settlers leave their heirs the benefits of their labor; a new environment succeeds the old, and new inventions and later knowledge make life pleasanter and easier. Kansas is now a great state, but she is great because of those who with grit and determination braved their way through discouragements.

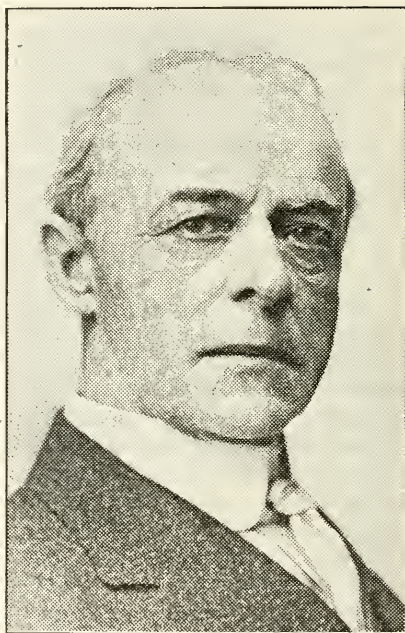
I regret that I have had nothing to call upon in this record but my memory. I kept a record of our journey, and that is all the reference that I have had to assist me. But it is a plain, unvarnished tale of true happenings, without attempt at literary merit, embellishments or exaggerations. As E. W. Howe tells us, "No flight of fancy equals what has actually happened; the story of Aladdin is poor stuff compared with the true story of Father Time."

ELEVENTH INDIANA CAVALRY IN KANSAS IN 1865.¹

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by JUDGE FRANK DOSTER.²

I FIRST saw Kansas in the summer of 1865. The wind of chance that blew me into the state that early time was an erratic gust from the calming tempest of the Civil War.

At the close of the war my regiment, the Eleventh Indiana cavalry—my whole brigade, in fact—was sent up from Mississippi for service on the western plains. The Third Illinois went up into Dakota; the Twelfth Missouri elsewhere; my own command went out on the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas. Newly



JUDGE FRANK DOSTER.

mounted and armed at St. Louis, we rode through the Ozark hills of Missouri, through Rolla, Sedalia and smaller towns, crossing the line into Kansas at the now unknown hamlet of Little Santa Fe, thence through Olathe, Lawrence, Topeka, Fort Riley and Council Grove, the last, then the jumping-off place of civilization, into the great mysterious land of legend and adventure. Beyond was distance and sunset only.

May an old soldier's vanity be pardoned for pausing at this introduction to his story, to indulge in the reminiscence, and irrelevance too, of the printed notice given his command on its entrance into the state.

1. This paper, though written specially for the Historical Society, was first printed in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 1, 1921.

2. Frank Doster was born in Morgan county, Virginia, January 19, 1847. In 1849 his parents removed to Clinton county, Indiana, where his boyhood was spent. January 30, 1864,

Said the *Lawrence Tribune* of July 2, 1865:

"The Eleventh Indiana cavalry passed through our city en route from Rolla, Mo., to Fort Riley. They are a fine body of men, somewhat tattered and worn by long marches and the smoke of hard-fought battles; and as they marched through our streets led by their gallant colonel, Sharra, presented an imposing appearance. This regiment was with General Wilson before Nashville, and thence through the southern Confederacy, and has made a splendid record."

Why we came to Kansas we could only conjecture. The common soldier never knows why he is sent, and not always do the highest of his officers. Our supposition was we were ordered out in anticipation of an Indian uprising. Some said (an improbable story) we were to be held in readiness to move across the Rio Grande to repel the Maximilian invasion of Mexico; but whatever the object of our going, the services thus conjectured were not performed. There was no Indian uprising save some desultory marauding up north on the Platte; nor were we sent to Mexico. Looking back now in the light of an event presently to be noted, my supposition is our business was to take part in what the military strategists call "a demonstration in force"—an armed parade to impress the Indian with the fact that he "was up agin it." He had been troublesome during the war, and there being now troops to spare, the design was to scare him—lick him, if need be—into good behavior.

A general condition of apprehension of the Indians existed throughout the trans-Missouri country. Fanciful rumors were spread and fantastic stories having small foundation in fact were told. The *Leavenworth Daily Conservative* of July 1 stated that:

"A letter from Senator Doolittle, at Fort Larned, to Hon. James Harlan, Secretary of the Interior, expresses apprehension of an extensive Indian war on the upper Arkansas. The Cheyennes, Kiowas, Comanches and Arapahoes, numbering five to seven thousand warriors, are banded together to make war on the exposed settlements. The senator believes that peace can be made with the chiefs if justice is done them. They have lost confidence in the whites from the cowardly butchery of the Cheyennes on Lance creek, an affair in which the blame was on our side."

June 17, the *Junction City Union* said: "Indian attacks on the Santa Fe Trail all the way from Zarah to Dodge, capturing a wagon train and killing a couple of drivers." July 18 the same paper reported: "On the Santa Fe trail eighteen miles east of Cow creek, five soldiers, dispatch bearers belonging to the Thirteenth Missouri cavalry and Second Colorado cavalry, were found killed and scalped." These were false reports, but August 2 the *Leavenworth Conservative* published what really was a substantially truthful item: "On

at the age of seventeen years and eleven days, he enlisted in the Eleventh Indiana cavalry, and served the remainder of the Civil War and until September 30, 1865, the last few months being on the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas. He was educated at the Indiana State University and the Benton Law Institute. He was admitted to practice in Illinois in 1870, and in that year married Caroline Riddle, of Monticello, Ill. Mr. Doster removed to Marion, Marion county, Kansas, in March, 1871. In 1887 he was appointed judge of the twenty-fifth judicial district by Gov. John A. Martin, and, running as an independent candidate, was elected the fall of that year for a four-year term, but having allied himself with the Populist party, was defeated for reelection because of objectionable political utterances. In 1896 he was nominated and elected by the Populist, Democratic and Free Silver parties for chief justice of the supreme court, and served the term of six years, but was defeated for reelection, since when, excepting a few years in California, he has been in the practice of law at Topeka. Judge Doster nearly all his life has been understood to be a radical socialist in economic view, and has made many addresses and written several articles in exposition of socialistic doctrine.

the North Platte west of Fort Laramie, the Eleventh Kansas and Eleventh Ohio were attacked by Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Blackfeet and Comanches and a number were killed and wounded." However, on the 10th of the same month the *Conservative* gave credence to the following extravagant estimate of the troops mobilized for the "demonstration in force": "There are now about 12,000 cavalry at Fort Larned preparatory to a grand hunt after the predatory redskins, who have been so long the terror of emigrants on the plains." We rode through the camp at Larned twice, first in July and next a few days before the date of the above item, and there were not twelve hundred, if that many, troops there. That these newspaper reports were in the main hysterical exaggeration is evident now from the fact that the Kansas historian, Wilder, in his "Annals," makes mention of no incident of Indian warfare occurring in the state in the summer of 1865, and only notes the above-mentioned affair on the North Platte.

Viewing it now in the perspective of two generations of time, what seems to me the greatest excursion that could then be taken by a tough, healthy boy was a summer's horseback ride out the Santa Fe Trail on the Arkansas. Blazing hot it was, dusty from the tramp of innumerable hoofs and the rolling of many wheels; but on each side the worn track of travel were the freedom of the unfenced greensward and the stretches of limitless distance. There too was restful sleep with the bare grass for a couch and the stars for covering, the opal and crimson sunrise of morning, the shimmering heat of day with its curious and deceptive mirage, the gorgeous sunsets of red and gold, seen only on the open plains and the open sea, followed again by the untroubled oblivion of night. Then, too, there was the dramatic sense of adventure, pleasing to a boy of ardent disposition—a sort of fanciful, make-believe challenge to the fates that might be lurking just out of sight on the near-by stretches of the plains.

Buffalo there were, seemingly by the million. We first struck into them about what is now the line between Marion and McPherson counties, and day nor night were not out of sight of them the entire journey. At various places along the trail companies or other detachments were dropped off to do escort duty for the mail coaches and trains of merchandise wagons bound for Santa Fe and other points. Most of my own company were left at Moore's ranch in the northwest corner of Marion county, where the trail crossed the headwaters of the Cottonwood. By some mischance, as I then thought it, several of us continued on with the main command until it dwindled down to scattering details from the several companies. How far we went, and why we went, are unknown to me to this day; but we went, seemingly at courier speed, past Forts Zarah, Larned, Dodge, to Lyons and beyond, and, halting overnight, turned back the next morning and retraced our way to our respective companies. Nearly a month was consumed in the journey out and back. I suppose we were dispatch bearers, and had a message to deliver to some one about something. There were other soldiers all along the trail as far as we went, and why our message was not carried by relays of riders from one camp to the next was one of the inscrutable things of military orders. The morning we turned back on our journey occurred a mirage of an unusual and interesting kind. We distinctly saw, elevated above the plain, a collection of adobe houses and corrals. We knew the name of the illusion, but not the name of

the place. Some one said it was Santa Fe, and in our Wabash ignorance of the geography of the West, we accepted the idea as true. It probably was Trinidad, possibly Pueblo, each of which then had a cowboy and Mexican existence.

The Kansas newspapers of 1865 were not only given to sensational stories of Indian raids and scalpings, but to tales about the resources and riches of the state, particularly its distant and unsettled parts, so fantastic as to appear ludicrous to us now. One which appeared in the *Junction City Union* of September 2, probably in the newspapers of the state generally, stated that:

"The Butterfield exploring party on the Smoky Hill route discovered a vein of coal along the Smoky Hill, seven feet thick, extending for sixty-five or seventy miles. The supply to all appearances seems inexhaustible. There are also acres upon acres of iron ore. The mineral wealth of the extreme western part of this state is of immense value."

How seriously this grotesque yarn was received we have no means of knowing, but we of the much later time, who with all the instrumentalities of public information at command—railroads, daily mails, telegraphs—accepted the story of the Trego gold shale, have small cause to laugh at those who gave credence to the myths of the Smoky Hill coal bank and iron-ore field.

Glad indeed were we when the tiresome journey up the Arkansas and back was ended, but we had not more than comfortably settled ourselves in camp when another trip, though a shorter one, as it turned out, was entered on.

One hot August afternoon some dignitaries riding in a government ambulance, one or two dressed in military uniform, came in on the trail from the east, and after staying over night were furnished with an escort to go somewhere. As ill luck had it, so I thought, I was one of the detail. A soldier never agrees that it is his turn to do duty. The sergeant has made a mistake or "has it in for him," so he thinks. Had I known where we were going, and why, and could have looked forward along the path of the years to come, I would have gladly accepted the service. We were going to meet the chiefs of the plains tribes of Indians to effect a treaty to make the great green prairies stretching to the west safe for the white man's travel and habitation. However, we started ignorant and unwilling, and only after our arrival came to know the object of our going. Even the little lieutenant commanding the escort, whose dashing lead we had followed on many a bushwhacking raid, rode morose and inwardly insubordinate at being sent no telling where, to do no knowing what, to return no guessing when. Two days' ride brought us to the junction of the Big and Little Arkansas rivers, where Wichita now stands. To what transpired there I was not, of course, a party—was not even a witness except as my uninformed and incurious eyesight glanced out over a dirty herd of blanket Indians, a hundred or more in number, a few frontier scouts, two or three military officers, and one or two in civilian clothes. These, together with my own party of fifteen or twenty and a company or two of soldiers already on the ground, made up the aggregation, besides which, though not all immediately present, were the Wichitas, a peaceful tribe about a thousand in number, scattered up the valley.

In a vague, uninterested way, I came to understand that our officers were holding a treaty conference with the chiefs, but to what precise end I didn't hear; and had I heard, would not have cared. Some one said the ambassa-

dor we had escorted down was General Sanborn—and it really was he, so I have since learned by reading—but I didn't care; I had seen a score of generals higher than he. Some one said Kit Carson was there. I don't think he was; but if so, he was only a name to me. Indians—even chiefs—had been common sights for many weeks past; so I laid on the grass under the shade of the cottonwoods and fought flies and cursed the powwow for not hurrying through to an end.

A few words in excuse of my ignorance and indifference. I was a boy, scant eighteen years old. I had been away from home more than a year and a half. The war was over and I wanted to return. But a short while back I had been where the drama of great events was played. I had seen the blossoming flags of ten thousand on parade and had heard the "shoutings of the captains." A convocation of filthy Indian bucks grunting a jargon I could not understand about something I did not know, consuming the time I wanted to put in going home, was not of a nature to excite my interested attention. It had in it neither the thrill of adventure nor the charm of sight-seeing.

Only one thing do I remember with distinctness. They told of one of the scouts, then present, who unaccompanied had gone far out on the prairies among the wild Indians with a message for them to come into the conference. It was thought to be a daring venture, as it must have been, because recently the red devils had been much in the mood to go on the warpath and had given no assurance of safety to the white man's envoys. Years afterwards, relating the story to George Coble, an old Kansas pioneer, himself a participant in many of the events of the time, he told me the man's name was Charley Rath; "the bravest man of all the plains," he said. This Charley Rath was he who a few years afterwards settled down to the prosaic life of a village storekeeper, going into partnership with Bob Wright, another old-timer, at Dodge City.

Of course it is not possible for me now to pick out from among the industrial plants and skyscraper buildings or the pleasant homes and tree-bordered streets of Wichita the spot where our tents were pitched, but it was on the east bank of Little river, and must have been about opposite the park, because over there was the most shade, and the officers and Indians and interpreters monopolized that ground. Somebody—I don't know who, most likely Bill Griffenstein—kept a frontier trading store there, but having no taste for his firewater, nor, in fact, any money to buy that nor anything else, I didn't learn about him nor his place. In about a week, perhaps less time, we returned to our camp at the Cottonwood crossing.

What was done at the meeting I only know from reading. I supposed we had effected a treaty with the Indians. That was what everybody who didn't know said. It turned out, however, that the paper signed was not a formal treaty, but a preliminary agreement to meet at a later date and negotiate a treaty. In the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865, page 396, will be found an epitomized statement of the results of the conference, made by General Pope to Secretary of Interior Harlan:

"ST. LOUIS, August 21, 1865.

"General Sanborn reports that on the 15th instant he met the chiefs and headmen of the Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahoes and Apaches, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas river, and entered into a written agreement with them for a total cessation of hostilities, and for a meeting to conclude a treaty of perpetual peace, to be held October 4 at Bluff creek, forty miles below the mouth of Little Arkansas. He gives his opinion that this is the end of hostilities south of the Arkansas river. In conformity with the above arrangement, I suggest the immediate appointment of commissioners to meet the Indians at the time and place specified."

On the preceding pages, 394 and 395, of the report, appears the preliminary agreement signed by General Sanborn, Colonel Leavenworth and the chiefs, and in addition a separate agreement to the same purport signed by the chiefs of the Cheyennes.

I was not present at the making of the formal treaty. Before that time my command was returned home. For some reason the meeting for the treaty proper was not held on October 4, nor held at Bluff creek as agreed, but was held beginning October 14, at a point said to be "six miles above the mouth of the Little Arkansas." The proceedings at this meeting are interestingly related by J. R. Mead in the chapter entitled "The Little Arkansas," contributed by him to O. H. Bentley's "History of Sedgwick County.

An important stipulation of the treaty—the most important, indeed—was an agreement by the Indians to abandon all the region between the Platte and the Arkansas rivers. This area was subsequently enlarged until all the tribes were located in what is now Oklahoma.

There are few now living who can connect their lives with the Wichita of the middle sixties, nor even the next few years. To those who can, memory holds no nobler sight than the great circle of primeval wild which there converged. There never was a panorama that excelled the valleys of the two Arkansas rivers in their virgin sod. The present generation has a landscape, the only one it has ever seen, made over from that of the earlier day, but one so different as to be unrecognizable in comparison with it, and one, too, which will change but little as the years go by. For those of this later time there are orchards, and groves of trees, and hedged fields, and fruitful farms, churches, schools, swift highways of travel, electric lines, all the conveniences and arts of the world's highest civilization, and the security and peace of a builded and established order. For us of the sixties there are in memory the waving grass, the billowing prairie sea, the illusive mirages, cooling shade and water, the lordly buffalo and the nimble antelope, the coyote's dismal howl, the sinister and uncertain red man, the tiresome and dusty trail across the plains, the expansiveness of soul which gaze on illimitable distance gives, and that voiceless "call of the wild" heard by the primal instinct of the race. In which of these contrasting environments the higher gratification can be found I would not undertake to say. Certainly the nobler purpose can be wrought in the former one, and it is with some degree of satisfaction that I can claim to have been a witness, at least, though not performing any conspicuous part, in events which made for the civilization that presently grew into the great state of Kansas and the great city of Wichita.

BATTLE OF THE ARIKAREE.

THROUGH the courtesy of Mr. E. A. Brininstool, of Los Angeles, Cal., the Kansas State Historical Society is enabled to print herewith two accounts of the Beecher Island fight written by participants, Scouts Hurst and Shlesinger. These articles have never been published before, although both of these gentlemen have given interviews and written letters on the subject of the battle. Their accounts, written since 1900, are largely from memory, and it is but natural that there should be discrepancies and lapses after the passage of so many years. They are printed as they were written, with but small attempt at rearrangement.

In 1912 the Historical Society published in volume 12 of its Collections the diary of Chauncey B. Whitney, one of Forsyth's men; this is the only account written at the time which has been published, so far as is now known. In his "Fighting Cheyennes," Mr. George Bird Grinnell reprints the portion of the diary referring to the fight, and speaks of it as a "straightforward narrative." In passing, he mentions other accounts of the battle as misleading and full of errors, written from a popular point of view.

In 1905 Kansas and Colorado united in erecting a monument in recognition of the bravery and courage of Col. George A. Forsyth and his little band of citizen scouts who—a mere handful, fifty-one in number—fought a thousand Indians for three days and won a great victory against tremendous odds. For six days more they held the island, with their dead and wounded, waiting for succor. When at last it came it was hard to say who were the most affected—the rescuers, at the sight which met their eyes, or those battle-scarred men amidst the ghastliness of festering wounds and putrid horseflesh.

The monument stands on Beecher Island, the scene of the battle, in the Arikaree Fork of the Republican river, seventeen miles south of Wray, Yuma county, Colorado.—En.

THE BEECHER ISLAND FIGHT.

By SCOUT JOHN HURST.¹

DURING the Civil War I enlisted in the First California infantry and served three years. The greater part of that time was spent fighting Indians in Arizona and New Mexico. I was mustered out of service September 31, 1864, at Los Pinos, N. Mex., and immediately several of us started across the plains for Kansas, via the Santa Fe Trail, coming by ox teams, which were returning after unloading freight at Fort Union. The freighters were glad of our company, as the Indians were on the warpath. We arrived at Fort Leavenworth just after the noted Price's raid through Kansas, and I went to work for Uncle Sam driving mules, which were then used for hauling supplies to frontier posts. I continued in that business, with frequent scrimmages with Indians, until I joined Forsyth's scouts some time the last of August, 1868, at Fort Harker.² Love of adventure, which is inherent in all American frontiersmen and becomes a sort of second nature, prompted me to join. If I remember correctly, we went to Fort Wallace with eight days' rations and four pack mules, which were loaded with camp equipment, medical supplies, axes, shovels and picks. We made a circuitous route as far as Beaver creek, and followed up that stream for some distance, and then bore

1. John Hurst, was born in Lisbon, St. Lawrence county, New York, February 19, 1841. He lived on a farm until he was eighteen years old, when, in 1859, he went to California. There he worked in the lumber business, and the Civil War coming on, enlisted in company F, First California infantry, August 18, 1861. After his service with Forsyth he went to work as a government freighter, running a mule train between Fort Hays and Camp Supply, I. T., until 1870. He then joined the police force in Hays and was ambushed and shot by George Clinton. He was taken to the Fort Hays hospital for treatment, where he remained for some time, and upon his recovery he returned to his home in New York. In 1873 he again left New York, going to Minnesota, where he took up a homestead in Renville county. There he lived until the fall of 1876, when, having proved upon his claim, he went back to New York, and in January, 1877, was married. After four years' residence in New York the West called him, and, taking his family, he returned to Minnesota, where they

south to Fort Wallace, where we rested for a few days. We were hurried away on account of a party of Indians making an attack on a wagon train, killing two men and running off some stock. The train was encamped between Fort Wallace and Sheridan. Sheridan at that time was the western terminus of the Kansas Pacific railroad, and all freight going west was hauled there by wagon.

As soon as the news of the killing reached Fort Wallace we started in pursuit with six days' rations. We found the Indian trail and followed it for some distance, but finally it dwindled out and we lost it, as the Indians scattered and broke up into small bands, as they generally do when pursued or imagining they are followed. However, we kept traveling north, as that was the direction the trail led, and further, we thought we would run across another trail, or perhaps the Indians themselves, but we saw nothing until we reached the Republican river.

After scouting around until the morning of the fourth day, we picked up a small trail running up the river, which we followed until evening, when we went into camp. The trail, by other trails leading into it, continued to grow hotter as we advanced. Next morning we continued the pursuit, and it soon became evident we were not very far behind a large body of savages. Soon we discovered the tracks made by the lodge poles dragging on the ground. When traveling, Indians always strap the lodge poles to each side of a pony, making a "travois," and the Indians' belongings are tied in bundles and fastened to the poles.

On the fifth day, as the trail kept enlarging and becoming more and more distinct, some of us became concerned as to the wisdom of following such a large party of Indians with such a small force of men. It was evident they had their families with them and could not travel as fast as a war party alone, and we realized that we would soon overtake them. We made known our anxiety to Colonel Forsyth, and he asked us if we "did not enlist with him to fight Indians?" That ended the discussion, but, all the same, it did not convince us of the wisdom of the course. However, we went on in silence until the evening of the fifth day,³ when we came through a narrow defile in the hills that opened into a beautiful valley. We thought we were on the south branch of the Republican river, but it later proved to be Arikaree fork. It was a lovely spot, with plenty of grass for our jaded horses, and we halted that afternoon about four o'clock and made camp. I am sure that Providence must have had a hand in directing our operations that afternoon, for had we progressed half a mile more we would have rode directly into an ambush which had been skillfully prepared for us, and the command would have been slaughtered to a man.

But aside from the trail we were following, we saw nothing whatever that would indicate there was an Indian in the country. I was on guard that night, and Thomas Murphy was my partner. We cooked some beans for the

were successful in their farming ventures. However, in 1901 they decided to return to New York and buy a farm whereon to spend the remainder of their days, and they now live near Ogdensburg. Two children were born to them—a daughter, September 17, 1878, and a son, April 5, 1888.

2. "In two days I had enrolled thirty men at Fort Harker, and marching from there to Fort Hays, sixty miles westward, I completed my complement in two days more, and on the 30th of August, five days from the time I had received the order, we took the field."—"Thrilling Days in Army Life," Gen. G. A. Forsyth, p. 10.

men who were to relieve us, and had a square meal ourselves—our last, by the way, for nine long, weary days.

After we had stood our watch out we were relieved, and lay down with our saddles for pillows and our guns at our sides, and were soon asleep. We had not heard a sound while on guard that would indicate there was any danger near. Little did we know of the awful peril that was right at our door.

The next thing I knew was the sound of shooting and the guards shouting. "Indians! Indians!" We all grabbed our guns and were on our feet in an instant. Through the dim morning light we could discern three or four Indians driving off several of our horses that had pulled their picket pins. Colonel Forsyth gave orders to saddle up at once, which we did, and were standing by our horses waiting for further orders, when some of the men got permission to drive off a bunch of Indians who were hiding behind rocks on the hillside north of us. When these men got on high ground they shouted to us to look up the creek—and such a sight! Indians by the hundred were everywhere in full view. They seemed to spring from the very earth—out of the tall weeds and bushes along the creek, from the depressions in the ground, and began swarming out over the hills. It was the most thrilling sight I ever saw, and I have often thought since, what a wonderful moving picture it would have presented on the screen. But to know it as it was, and to realize that those savages were after our scalps, gave us no time to think of anything but our own safety. The spectacle was appalling! Hundreds upon hundreds of Indians were pouring down upon us, all mounted on their war ponies, in full war regalia, with feathers flying in the chill of dawn. Was it any wonder that some of our men were fairly overcome at the sight? But there were only three that played the coward. I sometimes wonder that there were not more; but, thank God, the rest of us measured up to the duty of the hour.

We soon took in the situation. We knew we would be no match for that army of red men in the open, for they outnumbered us twenty to one. We were encamped directly opposite a small island in the Arikaree, which was covered with tall grass and scrubby trees. At the suggestion of Jack Stillwell, a beardless youth of nineteen, but a veteran in frontiersmanship and plains craft, and one of the bravest, nerviest and coolest men in the command, Colonel Forsyth gave orders to make for the island. I do not know how the order affected the other men, but to me it was the most welcome and timely one I ever received in all my army experience.

In other historical accounts of this fight which I have read it has been stated that we moved across to the island in a solid body, with our horses in the center and the men in a circle about them. This is most decidedly erroneous. There was no regular order preserved at all, but we all made a grand rush for cover like a flock of scared quail, and immediately we were pretty well scattered over the island, which, I should judge, was 150 yards long and 75 yards wide, making plenty of room in which to hide from the enemy. It was a great surprise to the Indians how we got out of sight so quickly, and we could tell by their yells of rage and disappointment that they were greatly exasperated at not having taken possession of the island themselves in advance. Had they done so, the fight would not have lasted fifteen minutes, and

3. The command reached the valley of the Arikaree on September 16. Colonel Forsyth says that they were nearly out of supplies, except salt and coffee.

not a man would have been left to tell the tale, for out in the open we would have immediately been surrounded and cut down. It was this getting out of sight so quickly and keeping under cover that saved the lives of every one of the survivors.

Hardly were we located on the island before the Indians were charging through us—not in solid bodies, but singly or in groups of a few warriors.⁴ Scouts Armstrong and Barney Day were by my side at the right and left, each by a small tree. Jack Stillwell and his party were at the east end of the island and Jack Donovan and others were at the west end, while others were in the center, all pretty well hidden and shooting whenever the Indians came within close range. Our bullets coming from all directions in this manner seemed to daze the Indians. We were armed with Spencer seven-shot repeating rifles, and this was another thing that puzzled our foes, who could not determine how we were able to load and fire so rapidly.

As I have previously remarked, there were but three men who played the coward in the fight. They utterly refused to fire a shot, but kept themselves hidden. I shall not mention their names. One of them, who happened to reach the island at the same time I did, and who tied his horse to the same tree with mine, was shaking like a man with the palsy, and seemed utterly unnerved at the awful predicament we were in. I tried to encourage him by saying, "Frenchie" (that was his nickname) "we are in for a fight, and let us fight like men." However, it was all to no avail. He made a run for the bushes and took no part in the fighting. Our horses were, of course, subjected to the immediate fire of the Indians, and the poor animals were soon all shot down. As the last horse fell, I distinctly heard a voice exclaim in good English, "Well, there goes their last damned horse, anyway."⁵

Soon after the fight began our surgeon, Doctor Mooers, was struck in the forehead by a bullet, and although he lived three days in an unconscious state, he never spoke a rational word. Lieutenant Beecher was also shot in the side, and after lingering in agony until nightfall he too passed away. It was unfortunate that some of our horses were located within the zone of fire near where many of the men were fighting. This brought the men in range of bullets that were intended for the horses. Colonel Forsyth stood up, giving orders, until shot down twice. The last order I remember hearing him give was, "Men, dig holes in the sand and make banks for protection."

While looking through the tall grass I saw an Indian run his pony into an old buffalo wallow that was partially filled with water, and it seemed to tax the strength of the pony to extricate itself. This gave me a good chance to shoot, and I availed myself of it, but I did not see the Indian fall. Another

4. " . . . One man, Bad Heart—died 1875—did ride over the island and through the scouts, and was not hit by the bullets, nor was his horse hit. He completed the first charge and rode up on the hill beyond, and after a little turned about and again charged back over the island and through the scouts, and came out un wounded."—"Fighting Cheyennes," Grinnell, p. 273.

5. Colonel Forsyth says of this remark, heard by the whole command, "This rather confirmed me in the idea I had somehow imbibed during the action that either one of old Bent's sons . . . was with the Sioux, or else there was some white renegade in their ranks, for twice since the opening of the engagement I had distinctly heard the notes of an artillery bugle." It is not likely that George Bent was in this battle. In his "Forty Years with the Cheyennes" he gives some account of the fight, but not as a participant. He was a half-breed Cheyenne. Herbert Myrick, in "The Mysterious Renegade," (*Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 12, p. 96), states that there were two white renegades with the Indians at Beecher Island—Nibsi and John Clybor. He also states that the bugle belonged to Roman Nose and that Nibsi was ordered to blow it at intervals, not as a signal but as martial music.

warrior coming from the north almost ran over me on horseback, and would have done so had not his pony shied to one side, and the Indian had hard work to keep his seat, insomuch that he had no chance to fire at me. However, I was glad his pony took him away, for had he fallen off it would have meant death to one of us. I shot at him as his pony rushed along, but did not see the Indian fall.

My near neighbor, Armstrong, and Barney Day, were both wounded in the early part of the engagement and ran to other comrades to have their wounds attended to. This made me feel mighty lonely. I was afraid the Indians would get between me and the other men. There was much shooting on the east end of the island, and I thought it was the Indians, as I did not then know that Stillwell and his party were there. I kept close watch, and soon saw an Indian creeping through the grass toward our horses, and then I felt sure that all this firing was from the Indian ranks and that they were closing in around us. This idea proved to be erroneous, but I am merely giving you my impression at the time. I thought we were all going to be killed and scalped or captured and held for torture, and I think this belief was quite general with all the men. I heard Colonel Forsyth call out and ask if anyone could pray. He said, "We are beyond all human aid, and if God does not help us there is none for us." I have since thought, in the light of subsequent events, what an awe-inspiring thing it would have been to the Indians if a man of God had broken out in a loud appeal to the Great Spirit for help. However, nobody volunteered to make any prayer.

When I saw this Indian creeping toward our horses I fired at him; but without waiting to see the effect of the shot, I jumped to my feet and ran to where some of my comrades were located. I found that some had dug holes and made banks of sand around them, while others were using the dead horses for breastworks. So I dropped down behind a dead animal and went to digging feverishly with my hands into the loose sand to make myself a shelter from the bullets which were whistling all around us. Digging was easy after I had worked down through the grass roots, and I soon had a place deep enough to protect myself. While I was at work Sergeant McCall and Scout Culver came in, and getting down behind another dead horse they went to work digging. They had been at it but a short time when some of the men on the inside of the circle shouted, "If you fellows on the outside don't get up and shoot, the Indians will be charging us." At this criticism both McCall and Culver arose to look for Indians. Their heads were fully exposed to the enemy, and suddenly "bang!" came the report of a rifle. The bullet grazed McCall's neck and struck Culver in the head, killing him instantly. That was the last exposure of heads during the fight.

It was shortly after this that Scout Harrington came staggering in, covered with blood from head to foot. He had been shot in the head with an arrow, and the barb was yet sticking in his skull. Some of the men tried to pull it out, but the barb was imbedded so deeply that it could not be extricated. It was not long before an Indian bullet came whistling in, and by some freak of good luck the ball struck that arrow shaft and knocked it from Harrington's head!

Scout Burke then came in where we were and began to dig a hole near us. He kept at his work until he came to water. Then he filled his canteen and

passed it around several times until all within reach had been supplied. It was a boon to us, especially to the wounded men, who were becoming feverish and very thirsty. Burke then told us his experience. It seemed that he did not get across to the island with the rest of us when the first rush was made. During the fighting he saw an Indian some distance away—too far, he thought, for a successful shot—so he concluded to crawl to a hummock of sand which lay between him and the Indian, and from there he thought he could “nail” the red devil. Burke carefully hitched himself along to the hummock of sand, then slowly straightened up, and to his great surprise and horror there arose from the other end of the same hillock that identical warrior! Burke was so surprised that he forgot all about shooting. He said he merely punched his gun at the Indian, shouted “Booh!” and ran for the island, fully expecting to feel a bullet from the Indian’s gun in his back every second. No shot was fired, and he glanced back over his shoulder and saw the Indian running the other way as fast as he could leg it.

The next excitement was when the white flag was held up by the Indians for a truce. We had quite a controversy over the question of recognizing it, but finally concluded that it would not do to trust them, as they might take advantage of the armistice to rush our lines. I have since thought that as there were two dead Indians lying close to our defenses, they may have taken that method to approach and get the bodies. These two Indians had both been shot by Louis Farley, the best rifle shot in the command, who had been lying in the tall grass on the north bank of the stream with a broken leg. Both these warriors were in plain view of him as they crept along a ridge of sand made by the water where it divided on each side of the island. Farley shot them both through the head, and when I saw the bodies both Indians had rifles, as well as bows and a quiver of arrows each. The killing of these two warriors had an intimidating effect on the others and stopped that mode of warfare. Farley was brought into our rifle pits about dark that night. When the relief command reached us his leg was in such a condition that amputation was resorted to, and he died the night of the operation.

After the white-flag incident the fight was renewed with sharpshooting, but there was no more charging across the island. The songs of their squaws, which in the early part of the fight were joyful and exultant, with the expectation of an easy victory, were now changed to sorrow and lamentation for the loss of their fathers, brothers and husbands.⁶

Night came at length as a welcome shadow to hide us more securely from our dread enemies and enable us to care for our wounded comrades. It was a dark, rainy night, and our first work was to get the wounded all in and dig a place for them where they would be protected from the rifle fire of the following day, which we felt sure would be more severe than ever. The Indian loss already had been very heavy, and we knew they would make a desperate attempt to end the matter with the light of another day. After digging a pit, where the wounded were all placed, we got the saddle blankets off our dead horses and made as comfortable beds for the men as possible. We then secured the ammunition that was in our saddle bags and cut the

6. The Indians say that there were no squaws and children looking on at the battle; that they were in camp some twelve miles down the river from Beecher Island, and that the mourning over the dead could not be heard at that distance. The only women who appeared on the battle ground were those who came with travois to carry away the dead.—“The Fighting Cheyennes,” Grinnell, p. 282.

hams off the dead horses into small strips and hung them up in the trees to dry, as our food was all gone. Next we dug trenches connecting all the rifle pits.

Colonel Forsyth then called a council to determine what was to be done. Our guide was Sharp Grover, an experienced frontiersman and Indian fighter, and Forsyth asked him what the chances were of sending men through the Indian lines to Fort Wallace for reinforcements—a distance of about 125 miles. Grover said it would be impossible for a man to get through the lines, and went on to tell what the Indians did in such an emergency, and what a close cordon they would draw all around us, so they would be able to detect any man who tried to steal through. We all stood there listening to the dark picture he was painting, and after he had finished, young Jack Stillwell, the boy of nineteen, but with the courage of a Spartan, spoke up and said, "Colonel, if I can get some one to go with me, I'll take the risk." A scout named Pierre Trudeau replied, "I'll go with you, Jack."

Thereupon Colonel Forsyth wrote a message to Colonel Bankhead, the commanding officer at Fort Wallace, and then turning to Grover he asked if wagons could be brought directly across country from the fort to us. Grover said the country was so rough that it would be impossible, and Stillwell was thereupon directed to return by way of Custer's trail, which ran directly north from Fort Wallace to the Republican river, and then to follow the river to our position. This made a distance of 130 miles, and accounts for Stillwell being so long on the way. It turned out, however, that Grover's description of the country was all wrong, for we returned to Fort Wallace straight across the country. Sharp Grover was the man who should have volunteered to go to the fort, but he was afraid to risk it.

We expected to get relief in about six days, providing the scouts got through all right. After Stillwell and Trudeau left we just settled down to business, for we did not know what the Indians might do before morning, and so we kept diligent watch all night. There was no attack, however. The next day was one of watching, for instead of any more attacks like those of the first day, the fighting was all confined to desultory firing by the Indian sharpshooters. When night came again Colonel Forsyth deemed it wise to try and get two more scouts through the lines, not knowing, of course, if Stillwell and Trudeau were successful: I do not remember the names of the two who volunteered on the second night, but anyway they could not get through, as every avenue of escape was too closely guarded, and the two scouts soon returned.

The third day was a repetition of the second—very little firing, but close watching on the part of the Indians. Evidently they were going to try and starve us out. After dark Colonel Forsyth again called for volunteers, and Jack Donovan and A. J. Pliley started out, with directions to come back straight across the country with soldiers and an ambulance and medical supplies, together with plenty of food. They had many thrilling escapes, and I will not attempt a recital of their experiences further than to say that after many privations in the way of sore feet, hunger and thirst they succeeded in reaching the fort. Donovan started back the next day with the ambulance and soldiers, but Pliley was so used up that he was unable to make the return trip and remained at the fort.

While the scouts were making their way to Fort Wallace, we who were left on the island were having a serious time. The Indians gave up the siege after the fifth day, and some of the men were prompted to advise saving the lives of those who were uninjured by striking out for the fort and leaving the wounded to their fate, thinking none of the volunteers would be able to get through. When this talk of abandoning the wounded reached Colonel Forsyth's ears he called us together and made a nice talk. It was very touching and soldierlike—so much so that I never heard any more talk about abandoning the wounded. Forsyth told us he expected us to stay with the command until the men he had sent out had time to get to the fort, and that it was our duty to the law of humanity to stick together at least that long. "After that," he concluded, "I will have no further claim on you, and you can do the best you can to save your own lives." We all then swore we never would desert the wounded, but would stay and die with them if necessary.

Our dried meat gave out in six days, and then we had nothing to eat but the dead horses which were festering and decaying about us, and when we cut into this meat the stench was something frightful, and it had green streaks running all through it. The only way it was made at all available for eating was by sprinkling gunpowder over it while it was cooking, which partially took away the bad odor. We had no salt, and our systems were craving it. I recollect that one of the men found a small pork rind in his haversack. He chewed on it until he thought he had taken all the goodness out of it and then spit it out. Another man then found it, and he too chewed on it a while and then threw it aside. Later on I discovered it kicking about in the sand, and I tried my hand on it, and thought nothing ever tasted so delicious.

On the eighth day several of us made quite a march about the near country looking for game. We located a colony of prairie dogs, but none of them came out of their holes. I made up my mind that I would return to the place in the morning and try and kill one. Accordingly, the following forenoon, which was the ninth day of the siege, I went out to the dog town and watched for quite a bit, but none of the animals appeared and I began to feel pretty discouraged. I had kept up fairly well up to this point, as I was twenty-eight years of age and a pretty husky youngster, but I now began to think we would all starve. I was having the blues mighty hard as I started back for the island empty-handed, and with the most empty stomach I ever have experienced in my born days. I had not gone very far when I saw some of the men running towards me and motioning for me to hurry. The thought that it was the Indians returning for another invasion of the island took possession of me, and I started on a dead run for my comrades. I was too faint and exhausted, however, to run very far, and soon fell to the ground, all in, and scarcely caring whether it was the Indians or not, so discouraged and disheartened was I. Happening to look up, I saw three horsemen riding toward me. They did not look like Indians, and I gazed long and earnestly at the advancing riders, and soon saw that they were white men. It proved to be Jack Donovan and the relief party. Never before, nor since, have I been so glad to see the face of a friend! The sudden transition from despair to safety was too much for my overtaxed nerves, and I broke down and wept like a child.

There was great rejoicing that day, I can assure you. Donovan had run across Colonel Carpenter, who was out on a scout, and he started at once for Forsyth's relief. We moved the wounded back half a mile or so from the river to escape the stench of the dead horses; and if I remember correctly, we stayed there three days after the relief party came in before starting for Fort Wallace. Stillwell arrived with his relief party the day following the arrival of Donovan's, so we had a good escort going back.

In due time we arrived at Fort Wallace, where we were most hospitably received and given the freedom of the fort. General Sheridan issued an order to give any of Forsyth's men any position they were qualified to fill in the quartermaster's department. In a few days I went to Fort Harker and secured a position as wagonmaster, hauling supplies to Camp Supply all winter, while Custer was operating from there further south.

In all my experience fighting redskins on the plains and the Apaches down in Arizona, I never went through anything that compared to the fight on that little island in the Arikaree, when death stood at our sides for nine awful days.

THE BEECHER ISLAND FIGHT.

By SCOUT SIGMUND SHLESINGER.¹

To relate my experiences while a member of Forsyth's scouts during the fight with Indians on Beecher Island in September, 1868, I am obliged to refer to the tablets of my memory which Father Time may have somewhat obliterated, and if my recital should seem contradictory in some respects it must be attributed to this fact. At my home in New York city, in 1865, at the age of sixteen years, I was engaged by a merchant from Leavenworth, Kan., and taken by him to his western home. I remained in his employ as clerk for over a year.

At this time the Union Pacific railroad was being built across the plains. The end of the track reached Junction City or Fort Riley, when rumors of fruitful trading with the railroad builders, and military guarding the workers, influenced me to join the throngs drifting toward the frontier along the surveyed line of proposed track. From Junction City we traveled by wagons to a settlement called Salina. When I reached this place the citizens were preparing to defend themselves against a threatened Indian attack, but the rumor turned out to be a false alarm. From Salina I moved with the tide along the grading of the proposed railroad. This was a new country. Towns sprung up overnight. Communities moved houses and effects in a few days to any locality that promised to become the end of the track, and therefore a good prospect for trade with the railroad employees. I found employment of various kinds and sorts. I was clerk in a clothing store, barkeeper in a tent liquor house, waiter in a tent hotel, clerk in a grocery, shoveled on the railroad, cooked for a mess

1. Sigmund Shlesinger was born amidst war's alarms in Hungary on December 29, 1848. The village of his birth was then occupied by enemy troops and soldiers were billeted in the Shlesinger home. In the spring of 1864 his parents decided to emigrate to the "Land of Promise," so with their five children, the eldest of whom was Sigmund, they set sail for New York. After a voyage lasting nine weeks they landed, August 4, and took up their home in the city. Sigmund soon left the parental roof, going West. After his frontier experiences were over he went to Cleveland, Ohio, where he engaged in business, and where he now lives. It is of interest to recall here that Mr. Shlesinger is the "little Jew" of whom Colonel Forsyth speaks with so much praise.

of teamsters, night-herded mules for a contractor, and drove a team of mules, hauling stone from a quarry. In this latter occupation I had my first experience with Indians. I obtained this job of mule driving from Contractor Fish at Fort Hays, because he wanted me to vote for him in an election, the nature of which I did not understand, but I voted as directed. One day I was ordered, with the team, to take some woodchoppers to Big creek, about twelve miles east of Hays. At this time there was no general outbreak of Indians, but occasionally rumors reached the settlement of small bands attacking travelers or isolated settlers, evidently bent on pilfering. No alarm was felt. My party had guns and revolvers, but were not provided with ammunition. I was driving alongside the railroad up an incline, nearing our destination, still at some distance the other side of the summit, where a troop of cavalry were stationed to guard this portion of track workers. In my wagon box were seated the woodchoppers, talking and joking. One of them was sitting on a hardtack box, and thus had a higher view of the surrounding country. All at once he called our attention to some moving objects several miles away. It was not very long before we could discern that they were mounted Indians coming our way at a rapid gait. Needless to say, the scare nearly paralyzed my senses, and I was impelled to lay the whip in no gentle manner on the backs of my mules, urged on by my companions. We soon reached the top of the incline, the Indians, about one-half dozen of them, coming fast. We started downward toward Big creek yelling with all our might to attract the attention of the soldiers at their camp. When we were about half way down the incline the Indians reached the top and began to shoot, their few bullets raising the dust as they struck the ground around us. The soldiers, being attracted by our commotion, suspected trouble, and, quickly mounting, came full tilt toward us, and their proximity to our predicament saved us. The Indians moved off leisurely and we watched them disappear around the bluffs.

I do not remember the succession of events as they happened from time to time, but gradually I became acclimated. When I came to Hays there were very few buildings up; the most prominent was the J. D. Perry house, a big, barnlike building. Most of the housing was in tents. The day I arrived I found the townspeople out on the prairie watching William F. Cody chase a buffalo and bring him down with his rifle. The chase over, we gathered around the carcass from which came my first meal of buffalo meat. At Hays I entered upon several ventures, such as a bakery with a capital of a few dollars. I procured a piece of tent cloth and a couple of store boxes and fitted up a storeroom. About a dozen loaves of bread and as many pies represented my stock. A few of each were sold, the rest eaten. This wound up the business. I obtained a recipe to brew beer, which I brewed in a wash boiler on a wood fire on the open prairie; but the product proved a menace to the health of venturesome customers. With others, I hunted coyotes one winter. I peddled papers among the soldiers of the Seventh and Tenth cavalries and the railroad employees. General Custer was one of my customers, also "Wild Bill" Hickok, who was one of the finest gentlemen I met on the plains. By these means I became acquainted with some of the government scouts at Fort Hays and from other posts, whom I sometimes accompanied on their trips of carrying dispatches between military posts and camps. One winter's day I took a construction train to the end of the track, about seven or eight miles west of Hays with papers, magazines, etc. The day was very stormy and no

train went back, so I had no alternative but to remain overnight. The sleeping quarters in the cars for the men were all so full that I could find no room; therefore I obtained permission from the head cook to sleep on the floor of the cooking car, where they were baking and cooking all night for the 300 or 400 employees. The floor was wet from the water they used, also from melted snow that blew in under the sliding doors of the car. To overcome this inconvenience I piled up cordwood, one stick alongside the other and two for a pillow. I slept all night on this contrivance with an army overcoat for covering. Next morning the number of sticks I was sleeping on could, by the ridges be counted on my body. This was the hardest bed I ever had.

I also worked on a wagon train plying between Forts Hays and Dodge. On one of these trips we camped on Walnut creek, about thirty miles south of Hays. Here we were visited by some Indians, who came begging for coffee, sugar or anything in the line of grub. We were told that there was a large village of Indians in the vicinity, which was an incentive to break camp sooner than we intended. Later I understood that the following fall a portion of these Indians were of the attacking party upon Colonel Forsyth at Beecher Island.

In the summer of 1868 I was entirely out of funds, living on hardtack and coffee most of the time, going from camp to camp looking for something to turn up, but no chance for employment. About this time Colonel Forsyth was organizing a company of frontier men for Indian warfare. I eagerly sought an engagement, and succeeded through the influence of C. W. Parr, post scout at Fort Hays. His interest in my obtaining membership in the command was due to the fact that the pay of the scouts who had their own horses was to be \$75 per month, and those who drew horses from the government were to receive \$50. Parr loaned several of his own horses to a few of the men, myself among them, for which he drew \$25 per month of our pay.

Although I had had no military experience, I was fairly well inured to prairie life, acquired by my two years of knocking about on the frontier, so that the prospect of the hardships of the campaign did not deter me from entering cheerfully upon the expected adventure. When Forsyth's command left Fort Hays for the first scout over the country, we started in a northwesterly direction, Lieutenant Beecher acting as guide. We traveled all day, except a short rest for lunch, and did not go into camp until we reached the Saline river late that night. I shall never forget this first day's ride! I was not used to the saddle, and my equipment, consisting of carbine, revolvers, saddlebags, roll of blankets, etc., was always where it should not have been. I could not adjust all this paraphernalia so that I could be comfortable. My horse would not stay with the column, but forged ahead, being a fast walker, causing me to be ordered back into line several times. My bridle arm became stiff and lame in the effort to obey; every bone in my body began to ache; the ride and the day seemed never to end, and with every mile's travel my misery was bordering on torture. I was chafed by the saddle, and some parts became swollen to twice the normal size; my gun would never stay in place; and to add to my troubles, my clothes became wet from a drizzling rain, making the skin tender where belts attempted to hold the equipment in place. At last we reached camp. I was too exhausted to enjoy my supper, and to cap the climax and fill my cup

of misery to the brim, I was detailed for guard duty. But human nature could stand the strain no longer; the old saying in ordinary phrase, "I'm tired to death," was speedily exemplified in my case. I was directed to my post, but no sooner left to myself than I dropped to the ground and fell fast asleep. So tired was I that had there been thousands of Indians around us I could not have raised my hand to stay their depredations, and I can solemnly declare that I was not disturbed by my comrades during the night in any attempt to relieve me, therefore the suspicion still abides that all the rest of the command must have had troubles of their own. But it did not take many days for everybody, myself included, to become hardened and fit to meet emergencies incidental to life on the prairie.

After being out nearly a week we rode in a southerly direction towards Fort Wallace without any incident. Those of us that may have been apprehensive about the danger of meeting Indians became reassured, and the scout assumed the nature of a pleasure outing. One day we were descending into a valley, traveling in an irregular formation, Indian fashion, when we beheld in the bottoms a camp of haymakers. They were spread out in the valley at their work. When they discovered us they took us for Indians, as they had no idea that white men in such numbers were within many miles of them. We watched them hasten to camp and make ready to corral their stock. Colonel Forsyth at once ordered two or three of our men to hurry forward and inform them of our identity. The man in charge proved to be Charley Christy, known to many of our company. Their pleasure was great to have us as guests, and we too were very glad to partake of their hospitality.

When we left their camp we had to ascend a hill. As we proceeded we noticed heads of men peering from behind the brow of the hill. We suspected them to be Indians. At an order from Colonel Forsyth we at once charged up the hill at a gallop. When we reached the top we found some haymakers returning from Wallace. They were ready, corralled to receive us as supposed Indians. In the charge one of our men was thrown from his horse and injured to such an extent that he had to have medical attention when we reached Fort Wallace,² and could not continue with the command when we were ready to take the trail again.

When we left Fort Wallace, refreshed and provisioned, it was under orders to relieve a Mexican train at Sheridan that had been attacked by Indians. Two men joined our company. One was Jim Curry, whose name does not appear anywhere as a member of Forsyth's scouts or as a participant in the battle of Beecher Island; but he was with us, of that I am sure, for I was well acquainted with him and knew him better than anyone else. The other was Jack Sharp Grover,³ who assumed the position of guide for the command. He had just recovered from wounds received from Indians in an encounter in which Bill Comstock, the noted scout, was killed. How we left Fort Wallace and arrived at the scene of attack on the Mexican train, how we took the trail, and the incidents leading up to and reminiscences of the battle of

2. The command reached Fort Wallace the night of September 5, having been a week in the field.

3. Abner T. Grover, chief scout, commonly known as Sharp Grover. Grover was the official guide for the expedition, and from Colonel Forsyth's own account it would appear that he was with the command when it left Fort Hays. However, his statement is indefinite enough to make it possible that Mr. Shlesinger is correct when he says that Grover joined the command at Fort Wallace.

Beecher Island, I have already described in a letter to Rev. Cyrus Townsend Brady, which he published in his book, "Indian Fights and Fighters." When I gazed at the two dead Mexicans at Sheridan, killed in that engagement—looking death in the face—my mind seemed on the brink of the infinite, and to still the flutter of my heart required self-control. Our enterprise included such possibilities, however, and I determined to do my best regardless of what might happen.

We were too late at Sheridan, and after losing the Indian trail next day we continued our scout into the northern country, where there was no road or defined trail. We rode along, scanning remains of old or recent camp fires, on the lookout for Indian signs, hunting buffalo and antelopes for food, but without incident, until finally our flankers reported finding signs of a trail. This we took up and followed until it became so distinct and broad that there was no longer any doubt of a fight ahead. Everybody was on the *qui vive*. The number of Indians, when or how we would come into contact, the probable results, were debatable subjects under continuous discussion. Some of the older and more experienced scouts made predictions, to which I at least, the most inexperienced, gave attentive ear, and everybody was tense with expectation. Game was no longer in our path and hunting was inadvisable, so our meals became very circumscribed. And as we rode hard and steady, our horses, being too tired to graze much at night, became so fagged that on September 16 Colonel Forsyth decided to camp much earlier than usual, on a spot that looked inviting and had unusually good grazing. This circumstance undoubtedly proved to be an act of Providence. Had we traveled about half a mile further we would have fallen into an ambush, ingeniously prepared. The scheme was so favored by topographical formation that had we passed that way not a mother's son would have escaped alive.

The next morning, September 17, we were awakened long before daylight by a commotion among our picketed horses and pack mules. When fully aroused we found that a band of Indians were attempting to stampede our mounts and had succeeded in driving off a portion of our stock. We realized that this act was merely the beginning of our trouble. We were camping on the north bank⁴ of the Arikaree river, opposite a flat plateau which formed an island. Colonel Forsyth and his advisers—Lieutenant Beecher, Sharp, Grover, Sergeant McCall, Jack Stillwell and others—at once chose this island to be our best position on which to give battle. It was so situated that we were far enough removed from the zone of gunfire directed from surrounding hills. To reach us the Indians had to come down nearer to our level, and here the sandy bottom proved our protection. As we expected, just about day-break the plain to the west was literally covered with Indians, forming leisurely for attack. It appeared as if they were sure of their prey, judging from the fact that they had their squaws and papooses with them—a circumstance unusual with Indians on the warpath. They placed them upon the north hill, where they could watch the battle and enjoy the expected fun, and perhaps rush in to participate in the finish. This contingent manifested their presence by chanting, singing and other expressions of encouragement to their brave bucks. This was at the beginning of the battle, but as the fighting pro-

4. Colonel Forsyth says they were following the trail a little distance from the south bank of the river.

gressed the scouts stubbornly refused to ratify the program of extermination. On the contrary, when they delivered blow for blow with most telling effect—even if they were outnumbered twenty to one—when their terrific gun play mowed down the bravest of the assailants, then the tone on the hill changed to wailing and lamentations.⁵ Human nature is the same in its effect on the heart, be the outer coloring white or red. The sight of the slaughter of our dear ones is grievous.

We were placed in position, lying flat on the ground, our horses tied to the brush in our center.⁶ The Indians, after showing off in massed formation, began circling around us, displaying splendid horsemanship, and soon thereafter they charged, and they kept up these tactics all day. With every repulse they seemed to gather new acquisitions and fresh strength. The fighting began to tell on us. Every once in a while the cry went up that this one or that one was hit, and that Wilson, and later that Culver, was killed. Our horses were being killed in rapid succession. The fierce attacks and repulses kept on. In the beginning of the battle we began to dig in the sand, scraping holes with our hands, kicking with our toes while fighting, and eventually we dug trenches deep enough to afford partial protection from Indian bullets that poured into our camp like hail. The first day's battle ended by the Indians withdrawing over night. Our toll of the day was two men dead, two men mortally wounded, twenty men more or less wounded, and all our horses killed. The next day was a repetition of the first, with the difference that there were very few casualties among our men, due to the fact that we worked nearly all night to strengthen our trenches. For three days the Indians kept charging in every conceivable way, only to suffer repulses, until finally they realized the futility of trying to capture our position. They withdrew on the fifth day, leaving us more exhausted than they suspected, for we had no food other than meat cut from our horses, and this supply soon became putrid, yet we had to subsist upon this ration for nine days. It became worse from day to day. The dead horses lying in the sun became softer, and oh, the stench!

At last relief came, summoned by four of our men, who had been dispatched by Colonel Forsyth. They stole out of our camp at night, and traveling afoot only by night, reached Fort Wallace. Forty-six out of the fifty-one men composing Forsyth's command, of which number about half were wholly disabled or more or less wounded, were fortunate to be rescued. According to records, this siege has few, if any, equals in the annals of border Indian warfare, considered from a standpoint of men engaged—fifty-one scouts against an estimate of about a thousand Indians, both sides about equally armed.

I have often been asked whether I have killed any Indians, to which my answer must truthfully be that I don't know. The conditions were such, speaking for myself, that I did not consider it safe to watch the result of a shot, the Indians being all around us, shooting at anything moving above ground. At one time I threw a hatful of sand, that I scraped up in my pit, to the top

5. See footnote 6, Scout Hurst's story.

6. "The command was ordered to lead their horses to the little island just in front of us, to form a circle facing outward, securely tie their horses to the bushes just outside of the circle so formed, throw themselves on the ground, and intrench themselves as rapidly as possible, two men working together, protecting each other in turn as they alternately threw up the earth to cover themselves."—Forsyth, "Thrilling Days in Army Life," 1902, p. 33.

of the excavation, exposing myself more than usual, when a hail of bullets struck my hill of sand, almost blinding me! This will explain why I did not look for results.

My plan of observation was to work the barrel of my carbine, saw-fashion, through the sand from the edge at the top of my hole downward, obtaining by these means a sort of loophole through which I could see quite a distance. Also I would take general observations by suddenly jumping up and as quickly dropping back in my hole. This enabled me to take a shot, or as many as the size of the target warranted, without undue exposure, and yet be in touch with the general situation. In such instances of observation I saw Indians crawl behind a knoll, and several times saw two horsemen drag a body away between them. Indian boys came from behind a knoll shooting arrows at us. I saw bodies of Indians, both on foot and horseback, coming toward us. These I considered a target. Only in one instance do I suspect having done personal execution. In the south channel of the then dry creek was a tree trunk, evidently floated there by a flood. From this stump came many shots, to the annoyance of Lou McLoughlin and myself. McLoughlin was wounded and *hors de combat* for the moment. I employed my tactics of suddenly going up in the air and firing at the stump. After several shots the sniping from that direction ceased. I also saw an Indian, evidently a chief, standing on a high elevation a little south by west from our position, talking loudly and giving commands. He was in sight of all of us. Grover, who was in the next pit east of ours, and next to Colonel Forsyth, interpreted to us the chief's orders, stating that he wanted the young bucks to persist in charging, as we had only a handful of cartridges, etc. Grover yelled back at the chief, telling him, in his language, to "send on the bucks; we each have a hatful, which we will give them." I had no idea who this chief was, nor do I remember hearing anybody mention names. I did not know who was in command of the hostiles, and therefore was unaware when a chieftain fell.

Owing to the fact that I considered it dangerous to remain long above-ground at any one time, I was not in position to observe the behavior or doings of our men during action; so after our rescue and return to Wallace I was surprised to learn that there was one among us who did not do his duty, and that Lane was discharged for cause. There was a peculiar incident connected with Lane in his pit. During the first day of the fight a mule with a partial pack on his back got loose and wandered around the vicinity of our pits; he had several arrows sticking in his body and seemed wounded otherwise, which caused him to rear and pitch to such an extent that "Jim" Lane,⁷ my neighbor, and I decided to kill him. Upon being shot, he fell and lay between us. He served a double purpose as a barricade and food. Two or three days later when "Jim" was cutting meat off the mule, he must have cut deeper than he intended, for he cut an intestine and received its full contents over himself, nearly filling his pit! This was one of the humorous incidents, but of course not to poor "Jim," judging from the blue streaks in the air around him.

When the Indians left our vicinity after the fighting we improved the opportunity to leave our trenches and look around the neighborhood in search

7. M. R. Lane.

of some change of diet from the rotting horse meat on which we had to subsist so long, and which began to tell on our bowels. One day, while searching for prickly pears, about half a dozen of us were climbing the hill to the north, and when about half way up to the summit we were startled by the sudden appearance of an Indian on horseback riding leisurely downhill toward us. We perceived each other simultaneously. Only for a moment we looked at each other. He seemed as surprised as we. Like a flash he turned, and, lying low on his pony, whipped him to his utmost speed and was soon out of sight. When we first caught sight of him he was no more than fifty yards from the nearest of us. As soon as we recovered from our surprise we began to shoot at the vanishing rider, each of us firing at least twice; but strange as it may seem, he got away, and if he was hit at all we never knew it, for when we got to the top of the hill there was no sign of an Indian in sight. We did not dare to go too far from camp, therefore did not hunt. There was no game in the vicinity outside of a coyote killed one night while prowling and howling around our camp, attracted by our dead horses. We had nothing else but putrid horse meat for food, and would have been glad to feast on coyotes, as bad as their meat tasted. But they only appeared at night, and while we shot in the direction of their howls, we were not lucky enough to make a hit, so had no alternative but to continue cutting meat from the horses for our food supply, even if their condition was nauseating. This we did until the ninth day, when Colonel Carpenter came to our relief, followed by Colonel Bankhead the next day.

This momentous event I have described in my letter to Rev. Mr. Brady. Only those that have faced death in a desperate cause can appreciate such a rescue and the joy in a new lease of life. The rescuers delighted in feeding us with the best they had, and their kindness continued all the way back to Fort Wallace, which journey we undertook as soon as our wounded were made comfortable for the trip over the rough, roadless prairie. Some of us were given mules to ride and the balance rode in wagons. The first day's travel we reached the Republican river. Clark and I were flanking on the left and reached the river a little ahead of the main column. There was a sudden falling away of the ground to a bottom where the river flowed, forming a flat plateau of about 75 to 100 yards before reaching the river bed. Here we camped that night. Before Clark and I descended to the bottom we looked around and saw four Indians running toward three horses. Three of them jumped on the horses and in great agitation galloped away through the water to the other side of the river and kept on to the south as fast as their ponies could carry them, leaving their companion behind. He ran after them, but of course could not overhaul them. Before the three Indians had crossed the river we noticed two or three of our company, who were flanking on the right, hasten down to the bottom toward the Indians. I don't remember what shooting was done, but about this time the main body of soldiers came upon the scene and swarmed down, surrounding the lone Indian, so that we two lost sight of him, and when we got there we could not get near for the crowd. I heard that he defended himself bravely before he died, and that it was only because his revolver missed fire that none of our men were hurt.

Here also we found an Indian burying ground, which the four Indians were guarding evidently. There was one mound composed of stones piled up around a body covered with a buffalo hide. When this was removed another such layer was revealed, but I could see no more, being crowded aside. There were six or eight scaffolds, composed of four poles stuck in the ground and a buffalo hide stretched across to each pole; on the top of each scaffold lay a corpse fully dressed and wrapped in blankets. All the bodies were pulled down from their lofty perches. This may seem a wanton sacrilege, but not to those who have suffered bodily torture and mental anguish from these very cruel savages. I had no scruples in rolling one out of his blankets, that still were soaking in the blood from the wounds that evidently caused his death, and appropriating the top one that was least wet. This Indian had on a headdress composed of buckskin beautifully beaded and ornamented, with a polished buffalo horn on the frontal part and eagle feathers down the back. When I took this off, maggots were in the head-piece. I also pulled off his earrings and finger rings, which were of tin. He was so far decomposed that when I took hold of the rings the fingers came along, and these I shook out! I also got his beaded knife scabbard and other trinkets. The blanket, one earring and scabbard are still in my possession. I had great trouble in carrying my souvenirs away, owing to the awful stench. No one would tolerate me near him. When I was mounted I tied the bundle to the saddle girth under the mule's body, and when I rode in a wagon I tied it to the axle, but in spite of these expedients I had to put up with remonstrances until we finally reached Fort Wallace, where I immediately soaked my trophies in a creek, weighing them down with stones.

At Wallace we naturally were objects of interest to the populace, and our souvenirs no less so. My Indian headdress was an especial curiosity. Jack Donovan interceded for one of the officers and offered me \$50 for it, but I refused to part with it. Next morning it was missing from my tent! We remained at Fort Wallace for some time. Colonel Forsyth, with our other wounded, was in the hospital doing well, we were told. A good many members of our company resigned from the command, and new recruits were taken in to fill to the original quota, Lieutenant Papoon taking command of the reorganized scouts.

I remained with this command and was on two more scouts with them. Nothing of importance happened, so I resigned, and at the earnest solicitation of my family returned to my former home in New York city. Later I moved to Cleveland, Ohio, where I engaged in the cigar and tobacco business. My experience on the plains furnished a theme for many tales to the edification of my friends. On several occasions incidents and adventures were recalled to my mind by contact with former participants in frontier life. One incident in particular will no doubt be of interest. William F. Cody, who had obtained the soubriquet of "Buffalo Bill" since I had known him at Hays, and who sometimes called on me at my place of business in Cleveland, gave a performance there in the open, on the show grounds. He had two camps—one for the white performers, the other for the Indians. Thinking that perhaps I might meet some one in the white camp whom I had known on the plains, I took a stroll in that direction. As I walked along I came across a man who seemed a typical frontiersman. I said to him:

"Beg pardon, did you live in Kansas in 1868, and if so, do you know any of Forsyth's scouts?"

"Yes," he said; "I was at Forsyth's rescue."

His name was John Nelson, and his reply made him an object of great interest to me. I inquired about some of my former comrades and acquaintances, and after a mutually pleasant visit he invited me to go with him to the Indian camp. Arriving there, he entered a tepee and asked me to walk in. Sitting on a buffalo robe on the ground was an old squaw surrounded by papooses. She was his wife. He said something to her in Indian, and she looked up at me, grunted, started up towards me and grabbed my hands. Although the manifestation seemed very friendly, I got scared. She kept up a chatter in her language. I asked him what it all meant. He answered, "She is glad to see you, for she was on the north hill watching your fight with her people." He acted as interpreter, for she would not talk English, although she understood it. I invited them to come downtown next day after the performance. When they came, a bunch of them, my store was a place of curiosity to a crowd on the sidewalk.

While at my shop the squaw and her husband had some conversation, at the conclusion of which he turned to me and asked me to do him a favor, which was to tell his wife who it was of Forsyth's scouts that wore a buckskin shirt. I reflected a moment and remembered that Jack Stillwell brought such a garment to camp before we started from Fort Hays. I helped him hem a seam around the collar. I informed Nelson that it must have been Jack Stillwell who wore such a shirt, and, wondering what the inquiry meant, I asked the reason of it. He replied:

"Do you remember the three dead Indians you people scalped on the edge of the island? One of them was a relative of my wife, and a man wearing a buckskin shirt was seen to shoot and kill him. All these years my wife and her people have been under the impression that I was with you during the fight, and accuse me because I happened to be there with the rescue party; and because I usually wore a buckskin shirt it was conclusive evidence to them that I was the guilty one. It would please me much," he continued, "if you would testify to my innocence."

Of course, I cheerfully gave the testimony without any compunction, and expressed the hope that such little matters might cease to be a bone of contention between two loving hearts. I was in correspondence with Jack Stillwell at the time, and in my next letter I told him of the incident. His reply was:

"If you have a chance, tell John Nelson to handle the truth more carefully, for I know him well."

I never had the chance.

THE LAST BATTLE OF THE BORDER WAR,

A TRAGIC INCIDENT IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF DOUGLAS COUNTY.

Related by THEODORE GARDNER,¹ before the Old Settlers Association at Baldwin City,
October 12, 1920.*Mr. Chairman, Friends and Neighbors of Douglas County:*

MY FIRST appearance in Baldwin was in the summer of 1861, and the occasion was to act as guide and companion to my sister, who was an applicant for the position of teacher of the district school in our neighborhood on Washington creek. The position required that she obtain a certificate from the county superintendent of public instruction, who at that time happened to be Dr. Werter R. Davis. Hence our visit to his office in Baldwin.

She passed a successful examination and taught the first school on Washington creek, in a log cabin on the claim of D. E. Bowen.

I am here to-day at the special invitation of my old friend and comrade, John Walton, seconded by Charley Tucker, with both of whom you are all well acquainted. At the suggestion of Comrade Walton I have prepared a short address, giving some account of the early-day experience of the Gardner tribe in Douglas county, which I hope may be of some interest.

In preparing this paper I have made no attempt to expatiate upon the relative merits of John Brown, Jim Lane, Governor Robinson, Jimmie Cox or Warren G. Harding, but rather to relate in a simple manner some incidents which affected me personally as a "Hoosier boy" on a Kansas claim in the fifties.

My father, Joseph Gardner, was descended from the original Gardner stock, which history says landed upon the shores of Nantucket island in 1620. They were English Quaker stock, and my father, who held to that faith, adhered to the antislavery wing of the church, and after reaching his majority became a great admirer of William Lloyd Garrison, and a strong abolitionist.

We were very poor, having no home of our own, my father maintaining his family by teaching in winter and working as a farm laborer in summer. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed in 1854 father began to think of the possibility of securing a home in the new territory; and when, in the fall of 1854, he received a letter from a relative who had already come to Kansas, his mind was fully made up, and in May of 1855 he came to Lawrence.

He staked a claim which is now designated on the records of Douglas county as the southeast quarter of section 30, township 13, range 19, near Lone Star. He did the necessary preliminary work on the claim that summer, and after a three months' sojourn returned to Indiana. In the spring of 1856 he was again on the claim for another three months' stay, and in February of 1857 he packed his goods, chattels and family, consisting of a wife and five children, into a covered wagon and drove to Cincinnati, where he shipped on board the splendid new side-wheel steamer *Silver Heels*, bound for Kansas.

On our arrival at Cincinnati father made a tour of the wharf, inspecting a number of boats before deciding which one to select. Among the rest was a small boat called the *Chicken Thief*, which was loading for Lawrence, Kan.

1. For biographical sketch of Mr. Gardner see volume 14, Kansas Historical Collections, p. 235, footnote 2.

However, after making an inspection of this boat and crew he concluded that should opportunity offer they might not stop at the theft of chickens, so he passed it by. And I want to relate here that one morning, four weeks after our arrival in Kansas, while sitting at breakfast in our clapboard shanty on the claim, we heard a steam whistle, which excited our curiosity very much, since steam boilers were a scarce commodity in this section at that time. It proved to be the *Chicken Thief*, just arrived at Lawrence.

At St. Louis we changed boats, taking the large side-wheel steamer *Omaha* for Leavenworth. The *Omaha* had in its cabin a fine silver water set, a present from the city of Omaha as a prize for being the first boat up in the spring of 1856. This spring she was straining every nerve to gain the prize for 1857. Her supremacy was being hotly contested by a stern-wheeler called the *Star of the West*. It was a fight to the finish, first one and then the other being ahead, but when we arrived at Leavenworth the *Star of the West* was not in sight. How the contest ended I am unable to state.

Some years ago I saw an article copied from Sol Miller's *Troy Chief* which gave a short account of Miller's emigration to Kansas, in which he stated that in May of 1857 he packed up his earthly belongings and came to Kansas on the "first boat up the Missouri river that spring." Having arrived in Lawrence two months before he began packing up, I wrote him that he was away off on his data. He came back, saying there might have been some freighters up ahead of him, but his was the first regular passenger steamer. I was just preparing to have a nice little scrap with the old man—who, by the way, was a fighter—when he up and died. However, the *Omaha* and *Star of the West* were both large boats and carried many cabin passengers. These made merry with one another when one boat got stuck on a sand bar, giving the other a chance to pass. The passengers on the stranded boat always got a loud "ha! ha!"

We arrived at Leavenworth March 5, having been fourteen days en route from Cincinnati. On the 6th we drove to Lawrence in a spring wagon, and as we drove along I remember asking my father how far Lawrence was from the Kansas river. I shall never forget his answer, which, although over half a century intervenes, is as bright in my memory as though but yesterday. He hesitated a moment as though giving the question careful consideration, and then replied, "It's about 23 inches."

We crossed the river on the "Baldwin ferry," landing at the foot of New Hampshire street, and drove out to the house of J. S. Morgan, where we spent our first night in Douglas county. His claim joined the present university campus on the south. The following day Eli Huddleston came with "old Buck and Bright" and drove us out to Bloomington, to the house of Augustus Wattles, on Rock creek, where we were to stay until our goods came from Leavenworth.

Somewhere in history we have read of "Spartan courage"; but from my personal experience I think the early settlers of Kansas could have given the Spartans some points in the courage game. A man who could take his family and march out into a wild region 200 miles from a railroad, his entire property being one yoke of oxen, a rickety old wagon and \$135 in money, squat down in a clapboard shanty on 160 acres of raw prairie and start in to keep the

wolf from the door, in my judgment possessed as fine courage as ever emanated from the breast of a Spartan. Yet that is just what my father did.

During the years from 1857 to 1862 the gaunt old grey wolves were always stalking around the house, and at one period in the summer of 1860 succeeded in entering and taking full possession. The last morsel of food had disappeared and the last "two bits" had been spent; so the writer went to Clinton and borrowed a half bushel of corn from David G. Peabody, which he got ground at the Clinton mill. This tided us over until we could get assistance from relatives in Indiana.

We had had some severe trials previous to this, notably in 1859, when our only horse got down in the stable and crippled himself so he had to be killed. Corn-plowing time was at hand and we had no money with which to purchase another horse; so your narrator proceeded to the woods, where he secured a large, crooked elm root, from which he made a "bob yoke." Cutting some tugs from the skin of a cow which had died, he harnessed up a steer, and, hitching him to a single-shovel plow, managed to raise ten acres of corn with that primitive rig.

It is a difficult matter for the farmer boy of to-day, as he drives his tractor across his broad acres with the gang plow behind him, to visualize such conditions as confronted the Douglas county farmer of sixty years ago. Things have changed, and the boy of to-day is at the head of the procession. As the old darky preacher put it, "Berily I say unto you, bruderen, de sun do move."

In the summer of 1858 we hired Irwin Davis to break twenty acres of prairie for us, which we sowed to wheat. It grew finely and gave promise of a bountiful crop. We had not yet gotten our claim fenced, so as soon as the wheat was high enough to attract our neighbors' live stock, on they came. At that time it was considered ruinous to permit cattle to graze upon the growing wheat, hence it fell to my lot to keep them off, and during the fall I traveled about 3,927 miles, most of the way on the run, but I kept them off. The wheat grew a foot high, every stock of it jointed, and when the springtime came and the wild flowers peeped out from their winter abode, that wheat field was as brown as the dead prairie grass; not a spear of it was alive. Thus vanished our dreams of wheaten biscuits, and we tried to be thankful for our daily portion of corn pone and sorghum. To relieve the monotony of this diet, we made one fall a few gallons of syrup from the juice of watermelons, but it was not considered a very good substitute even for sorghum.

I now come to an incident which I label, "The Last Battle of the Border War"; and while my friend Secretary Connelley of the State Historical Society has not placed his O. K. on it, I believe it to have been the last real battle fought in connection with the troubles over the slavery question in Douglas county.

As before stated, my father was an ardent abolitionist, and for years our cabin was a station on the "underground railroad." In the summer of 1860 matters had settled down on the border until my father threw off all pretense at secrecy, and when a couple of stalwart blacks from Jackson county, Missouri, came along he hired them and put them to work quarrying rock with which to fence our claim. By our proslavery neighbors—and we had several—this was considered a crime, and word was passed along that the Gardeners were harboring niggers. It took but a short time for the word to reach

Lecompton. Soon we heard rumors of a raid being organized to capture the Negroes, and incidentally to secure father's head, for which the sheriff of Buchanan county, Missouri, had offered a reward of \$500, "dead or alive," on account of his participation in the Doy rescue from the St. Joseph jail in 1859.

Our home was a one-and-a-half-story hewed log house, in which we felt we could stand a pretty successful siege against the firearms of that day, and we depended upon our two faithful dogs to act as sentinels. At 1:30 o'clock a. m. on June 9, 1860, our dogs raised the alarm. Father, mother, two children in a trundle-bed and one colored man on a pallet occupied the first floor, while four children, including the writer, and one colored man were upstairs.

At the first cry of the dogs father arose and started to investigate, and after taking a couple of steps he saw the forms of two men pass a window. Retracing his steps, he snatched his revolver from the holster which hung by the belt on his bedpost, and with two bounds was at the door just as the men grasped the handle on the outside.

He inquired, "Who is there?" The answer came in a gruff voice, "Open the door, sir."

His next query was, "What do you want?"

The reply was, "Damn you, open the door."

He opened the door, and standing on the doorstep were two men with cocked revolvers in their hands ready for action. In less than one second he planted the muzzle of his navy against the breast of the nearest one and fired. Stepping back instantly, he closed the door. The remaining ruffian squatted and fired through the door and the ball, trending up at an angle of forty-five degrees, lodged in the wall of the house. Opening the door wide enough to permit his hand to pass, father fired again. A second shot from the assassin was answered by father, which ended the first round of the fight.

Meanwhile your narrator was up at an open window, like the late Mr. Micawber, waiting for something to turn up. I soon discovered a man moving very slowly and acting as though he was badly wounded. After firing at him two or three times I called to father to come upstairs and take a crack at him, which he did; but mother discovering a man at a window, called to him to come back. As he reëntered the lower room the man at the window fired a load of buckshot at him, just missing him by a few inches. This charge of shot lodged in the staircase, except a stray shot which entered a large trunk beneath the staircase and punctured a pint flask containing the last drop of rattlesnake antidote on the premises.

The following morning I noticed father gathering up sundry bits of paper from the floor in front of the above-mentioned window, for what purpose I did not at that time know. Later on when he had pasted them on a piece of cardboard in their regular order he had the name in a bold hand of "Hard Petrecan, Lecompton, Kansas." I never knew what disposition was made of that envelope, but I would give a good deal to have it.

In the fall of 1859 there came to our house a stalwart black, a passenger via the "underground railroad," by the name of Napoleon Simpson, who had escaped from Jackson county, Missouri, and was bound for northern Iowa. He was given the usual assistance, passed on to the next station and forgotten. In May of the following year he turned up again, this time bound Missouriward. In his escape he had left behind the wife whom he loved, and had

returned for the purpose of liberating her and taking her where they could live a life of freedom from the lash of the overseer. He was given in charge of John E. Stewart, at that time owner of the claim on which now is located our county poor farm, who took him in a covered wagon and drove to the old home place in the dead of night, filled with high hopes for the future. Judge of his disappointment at finding his wife sick in bed and unable to travel. Sadly retracing his steps, he came again to our house to wait a couple of weeks when he would make a second attempt.

This man was one of those above mentioned whom father had hired to quarry rock. We had furnished him with a Sharps rifle and instructed him in its management. On the night of the attack he was up and in the game with alacrity, firing at each fleeing figure he could see. Finally failing to discover anyone from the window, he opened the door and stepped boldly out upon the front step. He evidently saw the figure of a man, for he fired his rifle and was in the act or reloading it when an assassin hiding behind the well curb, ten feet distant, fired at him with a double-barreled shotgun loaded with buckshot. He must have been standing in a stooping position for the purpose of getting an object between his line of sight and the horizon, for the shot struck him in the collar bone and ranged down to the point of the hip, literally riddling his left side. Turning, he fell upon his pallet, exclaiming, "Oh! I'm shot." Fifteen minutes later, when he was struggling for breath, father went to him and asked if there was anything he could do for him. He said, "Fight! Fight hard!" These were the last words of as brave a man as ever died battling for freedom and loved ones.

Some of you will remember that the summer of 1860 was noted as a dry one, yet on the night of the 9th of June there was a sharp shower of a few minutes' duration. That fact would be a source of great consolation to the believer in "special providence." The gentlemen—God save the mark—who had attacked our house, firing indiscriminately into it through every opening, knowing there were innocent women and children inside, finding they could not dislodge us by gun-fire, essayed the torch. Securing a bunch of hay from the stack yard, they placed it against the corner of the house and attempted to light it, but the shower had so dampened their matches that they failed to ignite. I leave you to place your own estimate upon the character of men capable of such acts.

Thus ended what I believe to have been the last battle of the border war.

MY STORY.

By
HARRY JASPER HARRIS.¹

I was borned May 28 1847 at Cassville Herkimer Co York State.

Our Ancestors Fought for Liberty;

After comeing over in the May Flower.

Wall My Mother said: It did not matter when; or where we was
Borned; Who our Ancestors was; Or what they had done;
the acts of our To Day, is what Counts.

She generally told me that; when I had disobeyed; and with
other Boys had gone in swimming; And she would ask me if I
had been in the water? I would say No; at the same time,
My shirt would be on wrong. Or hair wet.

Mother never Punished me for Disobedience; But would sometimes
send me to Father, who would use a stick.

Whenever I disobeyed and did not get Caught;

My Conscience would trouble me so much, that every few
days I would Repent, and go to Mother and tell her about it
when I Repented my Mother would make such a fuss over me.
It seems to me now; I liked to Disobey, so I could get a chance
to Repent.

1. The heroic families of territorial Kansas were not always those who battled for an idea or fought guerrillas and proslavery advocates with Brown, Lane and Montgomery. There were unnumbered families in this new country who fought for very existence, who bore the slings of fortune uncomplainingly, and who combatted cold, drouth, famine, sickness with high spirit and unconquerable bravery. If theirs were the simple annals of the poor, theirs were the great virtues too—truth, honesty, unselfishness. It is from such families that a high quality of citizenship comes. Because of its simplicity and unconscious integrity we publish the above story. No epic could set forth plainer the struggle of the pioneer. This little family came to Kansas from Ohio, and consisted of Henry C. Harris, born in Connecticut, 1826; his wife Matilda, born in New York, 1830; and four children, three born in New York and the youngest in Ohio—Martha E., born 1846; Harry J., born 1847; Mary J., born 1850; and Anson M., born 1855. For this article the Historical Society is indebted to Miss Margaret Lynn, of the University of Kansas faculty. The story Mr. Harris tells is dramatic, and it contains historical references of value. It is here published in its original form. To print it otherwise would lose much of its inspiration. With the manuscript came the following certificate:

I send this to make your House
acquainted with me. Notice the Seal of
the City. Daniel Hoefer Mayor is also
President Bank of Higginsville Mo

March 1st 1904

To whom it may concern, we the undersigned do hereby certify that we are personally acquainted with Harry Harris of Higginsville, Mo. That he has worked for the City of Higginsville for the last past ten years as Electrical and Steam Engineer, he having charge of the City water works and Electric Light Plant Combined. we know him to be industrious, steady, trusty, and of good habits. We consider him a first class Electrical and Steam Engineer, and fully competent to handle and operate Dynamos, Engines, Boilers and Pumps.

Daniel Hoefer	Mayor
Otto Korthantte	City Council
J. E. Wilks	" "
W. E. Layne	" "
E. W. Mollenkamp	" "
A. Ufendelsohn	" "
Fred James Newman	" "
Thos A Walker	Clerk

Seal

Dedicated to Free Soil.

Copyright applied for 1921.

My Father was a Village Blacksmith.

One Day a Man came into the Shop and said he was Organizing
a Colony to go to Kansas Territory; Settle on Government Land;
and make Kansas a Free State.

and he wanted Father to Join the Colony and go as their
Blacksmith. Father said he would go.

The Colony represented about 100 Families.

In the Early Spring we landed in St louis on a special Train
over the Old Wabash Rail Road.

Our Colony charted the Steam Boat A B Chambers.
and went on it up the Mo. River to Parksville.
There was no Rail Road in Kansas City then; and every one
said Parksville would be the Big City.

Parksville was Boosted, so speculators could get land
cheaper in Kansas City.

What a time we had getting on and off Sand Bar's
The A B Chambers was nearly two weeks going to Parksville.
We had Music, and Plenty to eat.

When we got to Parksville, our Colony sent a Committee of
nine men into Kansas Territory to decide on a Location.

The Rest Put up at Hotels in Parksville; at the same time
Bought Oxen and Covered wagons.

When the nine Committee Men Returned;
they could not agree as to Location;
Some wanted to Locate in the Neoshoe valley;
and some at Osawatomie;

The Colony Broke up, and every one went where they Pleased.

My Father Bought a Yoke of Oxen and Covered Wagon, and with
two other Families, with Oxen and Covered wagons, we moved to
Westport, Missouri and Camped.

Then Father left us in Camp; and with the Men of the other two
Families; went and Filed on Government Land.

Four miles south of Osawatomie.

The Government Land cost \$1.25/100 Per acre.

To show the spirit of the Times;

While we was camped at Westport, a Boy about my age come into
our Camp One day, with a large Butcher knife he had Borrowed
from Home Perhaps; and an extra Large double Barreled Pistol.

My Mother says sonney what are you doing with those things?

The Boy says, (very sober.) theres been a Feller with my Girl
and I have Concluded to Kill him.

There was three Families of Children in our crowd, and
we was Horified to hear such Language.

The Boy said he could not Read; and so did not get his knowledge
from Novels; But got his knowledge from others.

When Father and the Men got back we moved to our Homestead; Four miles south of Osawatomie. we passed through Osawatomie the last week in March 1857. Every one was talking about the Battle; The Ashes and Burnt Glass was Plain evidence of the Battle of Osawatomie.²

The First Fourth of July we was there they tried to Celebrate with a Sham Battle.

Our Homestead was Located on the Main Road, from Kansas City to Fort Scott.³

A Beautiful Creek with a little Timber crossed our North Line we named it Jordan.⁴ It was sure an Ideal Home, on account of water, a little Timber; and the rest Prairie.

work was Plenty, and Father Built a Shop first. and then Built a House.

There was Four of us Children; I had a Sister two years older, and a sister two years younger than me; and we had a Baby Boy.

Our nearest neighbors was Lynn, Prescott, and Rocroft.

all extra Fine People, Free State Voters, and Good Neighbors.

On account of wood and watter, our Home was a great camping Place. and our House was like a Country Hotel, as we kept many traveliers over night.

The first year we Broke and Fenced 20 acres.

The Second year Jayhawkers Stole Fathers oxen and we all had ague.

(A Jayhawker is a Nick Name for a Thief.)

One Day about 15 men From Osawatomie, come to our House and said; a Proslavery Man by the name of Hamelton, with 40 Men under him, all armed on horses, had taken out eleven Free state settlers from their Homes; and Shot them.

And they wanted Father to take his Rifle and go with them; That Jim Layne [Lane] from Lawrence with a Body of Men, would meet them and either catch or Drive off the Murderers.

Father took his Rifle and went, and was gone with the Men and Jim Layne, about 10 days.

James Bucannon [Buchanan] was President, and gave Orders for United Stats Troops to disarm all armed Men at the same time. James Bucannon was a Provlavery Man, and see that all the officers of the U S Troops were also Proslavery Men. and so the United States Troops, would never see Proslavery Murderers.

2. The battle of Osawatomie was fought on August 30, 1856.

3. Southwest quarter of section 35, township 18 south, range 22 east, Miami county.

4. The creek still bears the name of Jordan; its headwaters are in Osawatomie township and it runs to the northeast, emptying into the Marais des Cygnes river in Osage township, Miami county.

And when Jim Layne and Free State settlers would try to defend themselves, United States Troops would hasten to meet them.

while gone with Jim Layne that 10 days Father got the Ague
and come Home He brought Home with him five Quiniene
Powders, one to take each Hour.

That a Doctor among the Men gave him, and Father said he had
waited to take the Quinine after he got Home.

and as soon as he got Home he took one Powder and in an
Hour took another

In the night he was taken with Poison Convulsions.

We got the Doctor from Osawatomie at Once.

when the Doctor from Osawatomie see my Father, He says
that's Poison, Give me the three Powders you
have left.

Father came near Dieing, and the Poison made him a helpless
cripple. He lived 38 years in which he had no use of his arms
or legs.

The First Year or two, we lifted him; then we got a Rope
and Tackle; with an over Head Track like a Horse Hay Fork
Reaching from- over the Bed; to over a Chair by the side
of the Bed.

Then one Person could easily handle him;
and much easier than two could lift him.

Also we got a small Hand wagon his Chair
would fit on, and a Boy could draw him.
He called the wagon his legs.

I become the Man of our Family at eleven years of age.
and Cared for my Parents while they lived.

we can say I lived with them,
Or they lived with me; which ever sounds the Best.

My father Died in 1896 here in Higginville Mo-

My Mother Died in 1903 here also

They both are Buried side by side in our cemetery lot here also
we have lived here about 20 years.

we must go back to our Homestead Four miles south of
Osawatomie to Finish.

with my father heplless on a Bed or sitting in a chair.
with the help of Mother and sisters I farmed our
20 acre Field.

we had a Yoke of Oxen, wagon, Farming Tools. A cow. A Mare.
some Pigs and Poultry.

I Plowed with the Oxen, and cultivated crops
with our Mare.

After the thieves Stole Fathers Oxen, Father Traided our
East 80 acres to our Preacher Mr. Adair⁵
at Osawatomie.

For a Fine Yoke of Oxen and some money.
we Bought our Mare; and had some left.

There was a Man lived 1½ miles north west
by the name of James Caruth,⁶

He was superintendent of our Sunday School; and a great
teacher of Boys.

He taught besides Christianity

No Tobacco.

No Intoxicating drinks.

No Slavery.

Daily Bath all over.

on the strength of his teaching Daily Bath all over;

I formed a Habit of Daily every Morning as soon as

I was up; Running down to my swimming Hole

Pulling off my clothes and Diveing three times.

Put my Clothes on and Run Fast as I could back to the House.

Many times, I would time myself, and I could make
it in ten minutes.

along our creek Jordan there was Plenty of small Game.
and also Fish in the Creek.

5. Samuel Lyle Adair, son of George Adair and Margaret Ramsey, his wife, was born April 22, 1811, in Ross county, Ohio, and died at Osawatomie, Kan., December 27, 1898. His early education was received in the country schools of his time, and at the age of seventeen he was apprenticed to the blacksmith and wagon-making trade. When later he decided to enter the ministry he went to Western Reserve College, but remained only a short time, for he was so absolutely opposed to the proslavery sentiments of some members of the faculty. He then entered Oberlin College, graduating in 1838, and at once became a student in the theological seminary of Oberlin, from which he graduated in 1841. In Ohio and Michigan he served in several Congregational churches, and in 1854 came to Kansas under the auspices of the American Missionary Association. The next year, 1855, he located on a claim close to Osawatomie, and this was his home for the remainder of his life. He organized and was pastor of the Osawatomie Congregational Church from 1856 until 1890, except for three years during the Civil War. Mr. Adair was a strong free-state man, and his home sheltered many a fugitive slave when it was a crime punishable by death. He married, in 1841, Florella Brown, of Hudson, Ohio, a half sister of John Brown. Mrs. Adair died in 1865. Three children survived their parents, C. S. Adair and Mrs. J. B. Remington, of Osawatomie, and Mrs. A. E. Fleming, of Arizona.

6. James Harrison Carruth was born at Phillipston, Mass., February 10, 1807, and died, after a brief illness, at Van Buren, Ark., September 14, 1896. He studied at Amherst and afterward at Yale, graduating in 1832. He studied theology at Auburn Theological Seminary and was given a license to preach in the Presbyterian Church. He remained in New York teaching and preaching until 1856, when he came to Kansas, drawn thither by his deep free-state sympathies. The Carruth family first settled on a claim south of Osawatomie, but in 1863, Professor Carruth having been elected to a professorship of natural sciences at Baker University, they moved to Baldwin. In 1866 they moved to Lawrence, and this was the family home for some twenty-five years. Professor Carruth was married to Jane Grant in 1841; she was of Scotch ancestry, and born in central New York in 1824, and died in Lawrence in 1875. Their children were Lucy A., Mrs. E. W. Woods, born in Cherry Valley, N. Y., in 1845, and died at Lawrence in 1897; James Arthur, born in Fly Creek, N. Y., in 1851; Albert George, born in Watertown, N. Y., in 1853; Charles Walter, born in Watertown, N. Y., in 1855; William Herbert, born in Miami county, Kansas, in 1859. Professor Carruth was a man of great learning, but exceedingly modest. He was an authority on botany, and, among other things, published a catalogue of the plants of Kansas. He was one of the organizers of the Kansas Academy of Science and a life member of that body. The later years of his life he spent in New Mexico, Texas and Arkansas. In 1883 he was married to Mrs. Mary E. Pedrick.

we had two kinds of wolves;
The Big Grey from the Timber.
and the Prairie Kyote.

we had to sell Fathers Rifle, I was very sorry; But
A Man left a Muzzel loading Old Fasheon Musket
at our House, and never came after it.
I used it and thought it Fine.

I kept our Family supplied with Game, useing my Dog
and Musket. also I caught a great many Fish.

MURDER AT TRADING POST.⁷

about 17 miles south of us was a Traiding Post and a
Blacksmith Shop.
around the Traiding Post there was a settlement of
Free State Voters.

One Day a Proslavery Man by the Name of Hamilton⁸
with 40 Men, all armed, and on Horses

went around to each House, and said they wanted
the Men to go with them; that they would not Hurt them.

some of the Men Hesitated. but they got 11 Men
together and Rode up to the Blacksmith Shop.

Mr Snyder the Blacksmith did not like their looks
when he seen them comeing;

and sent his Boy Johnnie to the House after his Gun.

Captain Hamilton told the Blacksmith Mr. Snyder
the same as the other Men.
and Mr. Snyder Refused to go with them.

Captain Hamilton told Mr. Snyder if he would not
go; they would take him by Force.

Mr Snyder grabbed the Sledge and told them to try it.
As Mr Snyder grabed the sledge, his Boy Johnnie
entered the Back Door of the Shop on the Run
and shouted; Heres your Gun Pa.

Captain Hamilton see there was going to be a Fight
and says to his Men; Lets go Boys.

at the same time, He shot Mr Snyder, the Ball
going through both Hips.

Captain Hamilton and his 40 Men; took the 11 Men
they had Picked up; over a Hill about a Mile
stood them up in a line; and Shot them.

after which they kicked them; and as many as
showed life, they Shot them in the Head with Revolvers.

7. The Marais des Cygnes massacre, May 19, 1858. For extended accounts of this outrage see Connelley's "Kansas and Kansans," vol. 2, p. 669, and Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 14, p. 208.

8. Charles Hamelton.

One Man saved his Life; by not mooveing when Kicked.
they kicked him in the side quite hard, and some one said
let the Cuss go hes Dead.

Two woman; wives of the Murdered Men had the courage
to follow them.

as the Men went over the Hill out of sight,
the women was going up the Hill, and they
heard the Guns.

One woman Fainted; the other woman went on;
as she came in sight, Captain Hamilton and his
40 Men was getting on their Horses.

when she got to where the Men lay she found her
Husband Dead; shot in the Breast and Head.

The Man that played Possam, got well and I dont know,
or don't Remember whether he was wounded much,
He stayed all night at our House and
told us about the Murders

Also some of the widdows; and Families of the Murdered Men
staid at our House over night; on their way back east,
and we got from them an account of the Murders.

Mr. Snyder's⁹ wound was not Fatal; and when he got well
he mooved to Osawatomie.

In mooveing to Osawatomie Mr. Snyder stoped with us several times.
He also gave us his story of the Murder and his Fight.

He Bought Father's Blacksmith Tools.
and His Boy Johnnie made me a Presant
of the Best Hunting Dog, I ever see, named Tippecanoe.

JUMPED OVER RATTLE SNAKE.

I was driveing Four Yoke of Oxen one Day to a Breaking Plow, for our
Neighbor;

I was Bare Footed and see a Rattle Snake
comeing for my Feet. So I went up in the air.

when the Rattle Snake got to where my Feet was,—
my feet was not there;

I Jumped clear over the Snake and so we
about changed Places.

I Quickly killed him with the Ox whip.
It had 12 Rattles and a Button.

9. In this account of the Marais des Cygnes massacre the memory of Mr. Harris is at fault. The blacksmith, Eli Snyder, was not wounded. He had a shotgun in his shop and used it, firing at Hamelton and Bell, wounding both. The Snyder house was some distance from the shop and a daughter of Snyder ran to the house to waken her brother Elias, a grown boy. He took his gun and joined his father, firing on the ruffians as he went; he wounded one so severely that he died a few days later. Johnnie was a younger boy. Hamelton had with him 32 or 33 men; not more.

SNAPPING OFF SNAKES HEAD.

My father told me one evening; when he was a Boy He could Crack a Harmless Garter Snakes head off; by taking it by the Tail, and crack it like a whip.

And so one Day I was crossing the Prairie and came on to a Harmless Milk Snake about three feet long.

I had nothing to kill it with; and thought I would try Cracking his head off.

The snake was going into a hole, and I grabed its tail, Pulled him out of his hole, and swung him around like an Ox Whip; and when I Reversed and undertook to crack his Head off—

I only Succeeded in wrapping it around my neck.

I was very much Frightened; and so was the Snake.

I Quickly Jerked it off, and killed it with my feet.

That was the First and Last, time I ever tried to crack a snakes Head off by the Tail.

Mr. Rocrofts¹⁰ Homestead Joined us on the west and they lived about 160 Rods from our House.

One Day in midsummer when the Sun was Hot Sarah Rocroft (a young girl) came running over to our House and said there was a wolf in their Chicken yard and the Men folks was all gone away.

I grabbed my Musket, and Put an extra Peice of Lead on the fine shot and rammed some Paper down to hold it.

(I always kept my Musket loaded with Fine shot, and when I wanted large game would Put an extra Peice of lead on the fine shot without takeing out the Fine shot.)

Sarah and I run back over to their House and sure enough the Wolf was just leaveing the Chicken yard with a Hen.

I shot the wolf; and the Gun kicked me over at the same time; on account of the extra Peice of Lead.

The Gun always did Kick anyhow.

I took the wolf Home, and my Father sitting in his chair showed me how to skin it and take off the Scalp.

I got \$1.25 Bounty for the Scalp; and \$2.00 for the Hide over at Osawatomie.

HUNG BY MISTAKE.

A young Man by the name of John Guthery got on our Emigrant Train in the State of Indiana and went with the Colony

To Parksville Mo—He seemed a nice Young Man. and the Children all liked him.

10. This is probably Mark Rocroft and family.

One Day he was Rideing a Horse, about 17 miles south of us; and He overtook a Man walking.

In the conversation; John says why dont you Ride?

The Man says I have no Horse.

John says; why don't you Pick one up? (and smiled).

the Man Says I am afraid to do that.

John walked his Horse, and they talked quite a bit, and the Man invited John to take Dinner with him as he lived clost by.

John accepted the invitation.

and while He was eating his Dinner the Man had sent his Boy for some neighbors to come help him Hang a Horse Thief.

By the time John was through eating; there was several Men there; and some who had lost Horses as we had lost our oxen.

as John went to the Barn to get his Horse

The Men told John he was a Horse Thief;

that they was going to Hang him; and if he had any Prayers to say; he had better get Busy.

John declared he was only Funning with the Man. that he had never Stole anything. and if they would give him time he would Prove the Horse he Rode was a Hired Horse; and he was Paying for the use of it. John Beged for his life, and declared his innocence.

But the Men would not heed his talk and took John to the nearest Tree. Placed John on a Horse with his hands tied; adjusted the Rope and took the Horse from under him, and Hung Him.

we got the Story from a Man that staid over night with us.

they Hung John on the Main Road in Plain view, and did not cut him down that Day.

when the news came to Osawatomie, the Man that owned the Horse that John Rode, went and got his Horse; and said

John did not steal it; But was Paying him for the use of his Horse.

John was an Orphan Boy; and there was no one to take his Case.

SAVEING A SLAVES FREE PAPERS.

A Family by the Name of Martin¹¹ lived 1½ mile North West They had Four Boys and Perhaps Five. I only remember Four

William, Hannibal, Franklin, and Leander.

Frank was about my age and the rest Older.

11. Deidarmi Martin and family.

There was a Negro Man at their House.

He had been a Slave all his life in Georgia.

His Master was well off; and Moved to Missouri.

He told his Slave, (whose name was Robert.) (Bob for short.)
after he got to Missouri;

Now Bob you have been Faithful and true all your life;

The Question of Slavery is Rouseing the People so much,

I am going to set you Free.

And I will give you Free Papers; with Notary Seal attached,
keep them in a safe Place, as they will be your Protection.

if any one molests, or tries to make you trouble.

I will give you a Horse Saddle and Bridal

A new suit of Clothes; and \$100 dollars in Money

Now Bob—be sure and remember to take care of your

Free Papers.

And Bobs Master kept his word.

when Bob got on his Horse; he had made up his mind to
go to Kansas. and after hideing his Free Papers in
the lining of his Coat, he started.

Before Bob got to the Kansas Line, he was Robed
of his Horse. Money. and Clothes. his Free Papers
being hid in the lining of the Stolen Coat.

They Put Old clothes on Bob, and told him he was
a slave, and set him at work.

But soon, one dark night; during a storm, Bob ran away,
and when he got to Osawatomie he was almost starved
and with very ragged Poor Clothes,

The Osawatomie Boys took him to our Neighbors
Mr. Martin, and he went to work for them.

He told his story to the Martins; and I
got his Story from the Boys.

Will Martin was about 19 years of age and was keeping
company with my oldest Sister.

Will was not only a leader with the Boys; But Men.

One day about sun down he came to our House and he
and Sam Rocroft Put our Mare with one of Sams

Horses and Hitched them up to a two seated

Rig and He and Sam took Sams Sister and

My sister and went to a Party.

over on Middle Creek; about 4 mile south east.

after they had gone about two hours. Frank Martin
came to our House on their Race Horse and said they
wanted Will.

that three Men; Slave Hunters, from Missouri;

had come to the House of Mr. Taylors (who lived
about two miles from Martins north west.)

Mr Taylor was a Proslavery Man and voted that ticket,
and he was agoing to conduct the Men in the
Morning to the Slave at Martins.

The Men said their Niggers name was Bob.

(at that time the Law gave a Man his Slave, when found.)

(To make it Plainer a neighbor of Mr Taylors when he see the
three strangers Ride to Mr Taylors and Put up;

sent his Girl over to Borrow something.

and she reported to her Father they was after Bob.

He notified the Martins and went to Osawatomie for Men.
and Frank came to our House for Will.

when Frank Martin came it was very dark as there
was no Moon.

Will Martin had our Mare. But we was Lucky, for a Man
had left a Pony at our House. Frank did not know the
way to the Party. So I got on the Mans Pony, and Frank
on the Race Horse and we started for the Party.

the most of the way was unsettled Prairie.

and about half way the Road turned a square
angle around the head of a Ravine.

It was very Dark and I was in the lead makeing the Pony
Run as fast as he could go.

when I got to the square angle in the Road
the Pony turned so short,

I could not make it; and so went straight on over his head.
(in the opperation I lost my Hat and a Shoe and had to
go and get them the next day.)

I climed on the Pony again, and we went on to the Party.

Will got on Franks horse and went home.

Frank and I Rode the Pony back double, and my sister
came Home with Sam Rocroft and his sister after the Party.

when Will Martin got Home; there was ten Men
from Osawatomie at his House waiting for him

they took the slave Bob; and went to the House of Mr. Taylors.
they surrounded the House. and will raped on the door.

Mr Taylor stuck his head out the up stairs window,
then dodged back, and shouted; get up every body,

The House is surrounded by armed Men.

It was then about two o'clock A. M. and quite dark,
Mr Taylor lighted the House and they all got up.

and Sure enough there was the three Slave Hunters.

will says Now Bob wait out side here untill

I call you.

Will and some of the Men entered the House, and will
says to the Men; are you hunting Slaves?

One of the Men says, we are after a runaway
Nigger, he calls himself Bob;
he cost me pretty good Price; cant afford
to loose him.

Will says what will you take for him? the Man says, you don't
want to Buy him; the Law gives him to me when I find him.

Will says; would you know your Slave if you see him
the Man says of course I would.

Will says to one of his Men, Bring Bob in.

When Bob came in the lighted Room. Will says to the
Slave Hunter. Is that your Slave?

The Slave Hunter says Yes thats him.

Will Pulled his Revolver and says now Gentlemen
dont make a moove without Orders.

Bob; is that—(it was as far as will got.) For Bob staped
up and Pointed his Finger at one of the Slave Hunters.
shouted. Dats de Man
Dats de Man what Stole my Hoss.

An hes done got my Clothes, My Free Papers, My Money,
Golly, Dats My Coat he done got on.

My Free papers are in de lineing of my coat
He done got on.

Will and his Men; was all armed; and the Slave Hunters
knew it was useless to make any Trouble.

Will says to the Man with Bobs Coat; Take that Coat off
and give it to your Slave.

The Man took the Coat off and handed it to Bob
Bob fumbled a little in the lineing and says—

Heres de Free Papers Just where I hid em in de lineing
jes where I hid em sah.

And sure enough Bob Pulled out some Papers and handed
them to Will

One of the Osawatomie Men with Will was a Lawyer
and Will handed the Papers to him.

He examined the Papers; and said they was alright with
Notary seal attached.

The finding of the Free papers Proved the Slave had
told the Truth.

Will then gave orders for the Slave Hunters to Divest
themselves of their Clothes, Revolvers, Money,
and what other loose stuff they had.

Will told Bob to take his clothes off, and Put the Best
of the Slave Hunters Clothes on.

Bob took his own Coat with the Free Papers
hid in the lineing.

Will said Bring out the three Horses, and with the aid of a Lantern they Chose the Best one; which Proved to be Bobs Horse his Master had given him.

Then they Put Bob on his own Horse and gave him all the Money the Slave Hunters had, (which was about \$136.) and one of the Slave hunters watches. with Plenty of clothes and a Guide; Bob started on the under ground RailRoad for Cannada.

Will Martin then told the three Slave Hunters to Pick up their Duds; and get on the remaining two Horses, and get out of Kansas, and if they ever came back hunting Slaves again, they would Hang them.

And so they started off one of the Horses carrying two.

Perhaps glad to get off so easy.

Will sent a Man to watch them for three or four miles. to see they went straight on.

Will told my Folks, and I heard the story, and tell it now as I Remember.¹²

SAM SCOTT.

Sam Scott lived 13 miles south East.

He was a Proslavery Man and Voted that ticket and used to own Slaves in a Southern State.

His wife was Dead and he had two single Girls 18 and 20 years of age that kept house for him. They were Fine looking Girls.

When the Jayhawkers Stole Fathers Oxen;

Father applied to Sam Scott to get the lone of a Pair of

Oxen, (that was our introduction.)

12. This slave story undoubtedly had its beginning in the following happening described in the Miami county section of the Andreas "History of Kansas," p. 878:

"The slave-hunting party [three in number], upon arriving in the neighborhood of Osawatimie, discovered the hiding place of the fugitive and informed an old and trusted Missouri friend residing there of the object of their mission. Suspicion was in some way excited in the minds of the free-state men as to what that object was. Several members of the Underground Railway Company were immediately notified of the interesting condition of affairs. They promptly rallied their forces, proceeded at once to where the fugitive slave was staying, and took him directly to his master at the house of the latter's Missouri friend.

"To the great surprise of the master, the slave was brought in and introduced to him. The object of the call and introduction was not, however, for the purpose of surrendering up the fugitive, as the master, his companions from Missouri and his resident Missouri friend very quickly discovered; but it was to inform them, in the first place, that the Dred Scott decision was null and void in Kansas, and that the soil of Kansas should not be made the hunting ground for the slaveowner; and in the second place, that the owner of this slave should aid him on his way to Canada instead of taking him back to Missouri. Accordingly the master was compelled to hand over to his former "chattel," his overcoat, undercoat and vest, next his pocketbook, from which about \$300 was taken. Then he was obliged to exchange his pantaloons for those of the Negro, and then off came a fine pair of boots, which were also involuntarily exchanged for an old pair the Negro had on. The Negro was then asked by Captain Snyder, who was in charge of the affairs of the Underground Railway Company just at this time, if there was anything else he would need on his trip to Canada, to which "Washington" replied that his old hat did not correspond with the rest of his suit, and upon being instructed by his liberators to do so, he selected from the head of one of his pursuers a fine silk stove-pipe hat, which added very much to the dignity of his person. He was then told to go to the stable and select a horse, saddle and bridle belonging to the slave hunters, with which he could pursue his journey to Canada with celerity and comfort. Thus equipped, thanking his friends for their timely and kind assistance, he resumed his journey toward freedom, while his pursuers, crestfallen, poorer and much wiser men, retraced their steps to Missouri to relate the story of their wrongs and to dilate upon the utter disregard of the rights of property manifested by the Jayhawkers of Kansas."

Sam Scott was a Good Man; He loaned us a Yoke
 of Oxen two months and would take no pay;
 We exchanged visits; and we could always count
 on Real True Southern Hospitality and welcome
 at Sam Scotts.

One Day some armed Men Rode up to Sam Scotts
 House and said they wanted him to go with them
 He hesitated; But one of the Men says Sam
 we wont hurt you. And so he went.

They took him about 200 yards from the House
 Plain in sight and Hung him to a tree.
 The Girls was watching and when they see
 what they were doing, they ran—one with
 an Ax; and the other with a Butcher knife—

to cut him down; before they could cut him down he—
 was Dead.

My two sisters and I with our oxen and wagon went
 over to Sam Scotts after some Peaches a short
 time after he was Hung. They had told us to come, at about
 that time. When telling us about the Death of their Father,
 the Girls would weep so they could scarcely talk.

OUT OF FOOD. PARCHED CORN.

The year before the Civil War. Crops started in the spring fine
 we had 17 acres of corn.
 one acre of sorghum.
 an Acre of Potatoes.
 an extra large Garden.
 all started nice in the spring.
 But it didn't rain.

There was almost a total Failure of Crops that year.
 and it was called afterwards the Year of Famine in Kansas.

where we was it did not Rain from April untill
 the next winter.

Emigration coming all the Time; there was not Food.
 only as it was Hauled in with Teams to supply the People.

The Grass in the Fall was not Frost Bit,
 But Sun killed; Dried and cured.
 and Stock wintered on it better; than Frost Bitten.
 And stock wintered quit well on sun cured grass.

Our Creek Jordan dried up and the Fish died.
 By Fall we had to draw water from the Potawatomie River,
 three Miles.

As winter came on supplies was sent on from
 the East; for Famine stricken People.

Each Township had a Committee appointed
that went to every House and made a
Record of what they had.

and when supplies came in; only those that were
out received, and all Received according to what
they had.

The way supplies was handled, was a credit
to Christian civilization, and the
Kansas People.

A large Part of supplies was hauled from Atcheson.

In the winter there came a heavy three days storm
It Froze and Rained, then Rained and Froze.

Untill the whole Country was covered with Ice.
The water on the Ice scooted water into the
Rivers.

and made High water, as there was no Bridges,
Freighting Teams were delayed.

we got out of Food; and so did our Neighbors.
expecting every day Freighting teams would
come.

No one was afraid of starving; but our Neighbors like
ourselves did not like to kill stock they needed
the next year.

And so they all Pinched; waiting for supply Teams.

we had Pinched about two days and Father
sent me over to Mr. Walthals¹³ about 1¼ mile
South East to see how they were getting along.

I Rode Mare Dolly and was not gone very long.

Mr. Walthral said they was alright but useing
Parched Corn considerable.

when I started Home he said hold on a minute,
and he Brought me a quart of Corn Meal.

and 5 Buseuit. and says tell your Pa
I send him half of what is in the House.

when I got Home; Sam Rocroft was at our House and
said that they had heard Two Teams had succeeded
in getting over the River, and his Father had
gone to meet them.

Sam also said his Father had been gone long enough
to get back.

13. Probably James L. Walthal, of Mound township. Samuel H. Walthal lived in Osage township at this time.

Sam Went Home and in a little while his Father came, and said he had met the Teams and the Two Loads was loaded with only shelled Corn.

Mr. Rocroft said he got only a Peck of shell corn and he thought that would be our allotment. as there was more teams following, and they wanted the two loads to be sure to reach all.

Mr. Rocroft said for me to go at once to the Township center, where the Two loads would be; by the time I did, and as soon as I got Back Sam would be already and Sam and I with their Oxen and wagon would go to Mill.

Our Grist Mill was at Swanton on the Potawatomie above Osawatomie 7 miles to it.¹⁴

Mr. Rocroft said Sam would wait for me.

WILD MIDNIGHT RIDE.

My Father said for me to fill my Pockets with Parched corn and start right away and I could get half way there by the time it was Dark.

Father said it would be Dark comeing back and to give Dolly the Rein and she would come back alright, even if it was Dark.

Our Township Center was south west about 5 miles, and not settled untill at Township center

Two miles of the Rode was only a Path.

when I got about half way it was Dark as Father said But I had no trouble to get to the Township Center when I got there only One load had come and was all used up.

They said the other load would be there soon. It was about half Past nine or ten o'clock before I safely tied on my Peck of Shell Corn.

The Men Said as soon as that Peck was gone to be sure and come back as more loads would soon be there.

I got on Dolly and started Home, giveing Dolly the Rein; as Father told me.

when I got about half way the wolves commenced to Holler all around; and Dolly started in a Gallop.

14. It has been impossible to locate this mill from the direction given. No such settlement can be found up the Pottawatomie. It is likely that Mr. Harris has confused the name of the town and calls it Swanton when he means Stanton; this village was one of the early settlements of Lykins (Miami) county and is about seven miles above Osawatomie and not far from the Osage (Marais des Cygnes) river. There was a steam saw and grist mill there at the time of which Mr. Harris writes.

In a little bit I could see the eyes of wolves,
shining like lightning Bugs and Dolly snorted
the loudest I ever heard a Horse snort.

I grabed the Horn of the Saddle with both hands.
and Dolly ran faster than I had ever seen her Run.

The wolves Ran Faster then we could and seemed
to circle us. and I seen there was two or three
Bigger than the Rest.

Pretty soon I seen a Big Grey wolf jump for Dolly's
Neck; Dolly arose in the air at the same time struck
at the wolf with her front feet, and snorted.

In a little bit the Big Grey Jumped for Dolly's neck again.
Dolly arose in the air at the same time, and got the
wolf with a forward foot or the wolf fell I could
not tell; But Dolly doubled herself, half
around, and kicked that wolf with both hind feet.
I felt the Jar of her feet hit that wolf.

I had all I could do to stick to that Saddle.
and no time to become Frightened;
It was Just a Plain stick to that saddle.

I never touched Dollys Rein but hung to the
horn of that Saddle with both hands.

Dolly would put her head first one side, then on the
other and every little bit snort. and Run as I had
never seen her Run.

I know she hit the Big Grey, for there was
no more Jumping at Dollys neck.

Although the wolves followed us untill
we got within about a mile of Home.

My Mother told me when I started she would Put a light
in the window and I would see it when I came on the
Hill, about the time the Wolves quit I seen
the light, and it sure looked good.

Dolly was Puffing from her long Run; and
covered with sweat and Foam.
and we Slowed down to a slow walk Home.

Before I got to the House, I concluded not to tell of the
Big Grey trying to Bite Dolly, for if I did, Mother
and Father would not let me go with Sam Rocroft to Mill.

Sam Rocroft was about three years older than me
and we always had so much Fun; I liked him,
He would tell storys, and Sing Songs.

when I got Home Sam Rocroft was at our House,
and Mother and Father was both up.

Sam brought out a lantern.

as I took the Peck of Corn and Saddle off from Dolly,
Mother was standing with Sam Holding the lantern,
and Father was sitting in his Chair in the open Door.

Sam Says, the Mare is wet, did you Ride Fast?

I says, Oh Purty good Jog.

Father says, Harry we heared some wolves over the Hill,
Did you see any of them.

I told him (slow and carless.) I believe I did
it was rather Dark though.

Mother spoke up quick, Did They Come very close?

I says; (again slow and carless.) Oh Midling.

I knew by her voice; she was ready to go up in the air.

I changed the subject quick as I could.

I says Sam Rocroft I am going to take my Musket.
Perhaps we might see some Prairie Chickens on the
way Home.

Sam says, Dont do it; we wont see nothing.

Father from his chair says; it is dangerous
to carrie a loaded gun in a shakeing wagon.

I says; That depends where the muzzel is,
and what the Hammer sits on.

I says; Besides, when my Musket is half cocked, you cant
get it to shoot; without Pulling the Hammer Back.

Mother see by my argueing the case; I really wanted
to take my Musket;
and so Mother says; Oh let the Boy have his Musket he has
always been careful with a Gun.

(when I wanted to do anything and could
get my Mother on my side, we would always win.)
and so it was settled, I was to take the Musket.

Sam said the oxen was eating Grass with the yoke on
and for me to eat Parched Corn untill he got the
Oxen and wagon Ready.

Sam Soon had the Oxen and wagon ready.
and after helping me lift Father on the Bed.
we Put some Blankets in the wagon for me to sleep on
while Sam would drive the Oxen.

I Put an extra Peiec of lead on the Fine Shot and some
Paper top of it to hold it; and gently laid my Musket
on my Bed in the wagon.

I then Buckeled my Belt on with my hunting knife
and Put my Tommyhawk by the side of my
Musket.

Sam says; what are you going to do with that ax.
I says; its my tommyhawk, and always goes where the
Musket goes; I use it to dig out Rabbits.
I then called my dog—

and we got in the wagon; and I laid down with my Musket
on one side of me, the Tommyhawk on the other side, my Hunting
knife in its sheath. and Dog between my Feet.
and my Pockets full of Parched Corn. and Happy.
Mother and Sam both, laughed at me, but I didnt care
I was thinking of Dolly and the Big Grey.

The Jolt of the wagon soon Put me to sleep.
and I did not wake; untill Sam wakened me at the Grist Mill.
It was Just comeing daylight, and we had to wait awhile
before depositing our Corn in the Mill.

My Dog holed some Rabbits and Sam and I got
out two. while we was at the Mill.

In about three Hours we was on our way Home.
The Mill was a Saw Mill and Grist Mill combined.
and only ground Meal and Graham—
we did not see any thing to Shoot comeing Home.

The next Morning, a Neighbor came to our House and said
that Two Barrels had come to Osawatomie from the East.
Freight Prepaid.

Our Neighbor said he did not know wether we could
ford the Potawatomie or not.

Father said for me to get on Dolly and go and see if we could
cross; and if we could; to come back and get the
Oxen and wagon.

And so I got on Dolly and went to the Potwatomie.
There was a Man lived near the Ford, and Father
told me to get him, to tell me if it was safe to cross
the River.

The Man went with me to the River and said it was safe.
I went Home, and my two sisters and I with our Oxen and
wagon went over to Osawatomie and got the two Barrels.

One was Flour, and the other was dried Fruit, clothes
and a lot of small Gifts. among which was a Pearl
Handle Pocket knife from my Grand Father.
as it was for me, I thought it the most Important.

After the effects of the Big Storm, there was no one
without Plenty to eat.

The First Year of the Civil War. My Father was trying to
get well, and he thought if he would change climate it
would help him.

And so he traided our 80 acre Farm for an 80 acre Farm
in Hardin Co- Iowa.

But the change did not do him any good.

To get to our 80 acres in Iowa we made a Chair
with two long handles one on each side.

and I would take one side, My oldest sister
and Mother the other side.

we could then carrie My Father easy to and From the Wagon.

We Put a cover on our wagon. and mooved in it to our
80 acre Farm in Iowa.

Useing Our Oxen and Mare.

and of course I took my Musket and Dog.

My Mother and Father slept in Houses along our
way; and us children in the wagon.

Thus ended our Battle for Free Soil,
in Kansas.

The Events of My Story is absolutely True.

The Conversation of the Events is True to my memory.

When General Lee surrendered to General Grant,
Grant Said Lets have Peace

Kansas is a Free State now.

Lets Have Peace.

H. J. H.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE EL PASO LINE OF THE CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND & PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by OLIVER PHILIP BYERS,¹ of Hutchinson, Kan.

A BRIEF reminiscence of the early days of the El Paso line of the Rock Island railway, as remembered now by one of the few remaining survivors who participated in its construction after more than a third of a century has passed, may not be uninteresting, especially since the road forms a part of Kansas history.

Early in 1886 the Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska Railway, a Kansas corporation, was created and leased to the St. Joseph & Iowa Railroad Company, a Missouri corporation, which in turn was owned by the Chicago, Rock Island



OLIVER PHILIP BYERS.

& Pacific Railway Company, an Illinois corporation. Thirty-five million dollars of bonds of the parent company were issued, and work begun by the subsidiary company at St. Joseph in the fall of 1886. Mr. M. A. Low of Topeka was the president of the building company and possessed almost unlimited powers.

It may not to-day be realized that a substantial portion of the road as it now exists is not upon the original location, varying conditions necessitating

1. Mr. Byers began work for the Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska Railway July 28, 1887, as a telegraph operator in an "outfit" car at the southwestern end of construction, then in the neighborhood of Maplehill and Paxico, and continued in the same capacity until the railroad reached Liberal. In March, 1901, when construction was resumed, he was division freight agent at Hutchinson and was constantly in advance of the end of the track to the Pecos river. The material for his article he has drawn from personal observation or from incidents which he has proven to be true. A biographical sketch of Mr. Byers will be found in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 12, p. 99.

frequent changes of route. From St. Joseph to White City it is exactly as originally located. At White City the original route deflected sharply to the south to Lost Springs. The offer of large subsidies and the shortening of line influenced the change to the present route, via Herington.² The El Paso line was projected to start at Lost Springs and to follow exactly the old Santa Fe Trail into McPherson county, west through the cities of McPherson and Sterling, southwesterly to Dodge City, thence upon substantially the present Santa Fe line to Hugoton, and west to the Trinidad coal fields. It was known as the Trinidad line and was never referred to by any other name. El Paso at the time was a town of about 2,000 people and was never dreamed of in connection with this project.³ The road sought coal traffic, and building to Trinidad seemed the most promising way of getting it. The offer of bonds across Reno county, free right of way through Hutchinson and other valuable grants, as well as prospects of greater traffic, influenced the change of route from Sterling through Hutchinson.

County-seat fights were at the time in progress all over southwestern Kansas. Boom towns sprang up everywhere, and it was an axiom that whatever town got the railroad would also get the county seat. More than a score of railroads were then projected and bonds voted to many to build lines all over the district. Pratt county was having its troubles between Iuka, Saratoga and Pratt. The Rock Island survey was through Iuka, which was then the county seat. A meeting was called at the Cullison schoolhouse to hear the claims of both Iuka and Pratt, determine the route, call the election and vote the bonds. The Iuka representatives failed to appear and Pratt got the road. It is contended to this day by the old-timers of Iuka that Pratt interests got the Iuka men drunk so they could not reach Cullison.

County-seat fights in Haskell and Gray counties resulted in the defeat of the bonds in both counties; therefore, the route was again deflected in a southwesterly direction to Meade, where bonds were voted. Dodge City was still determined to have the road, so its citizens built the branch to Bucklin and sold it to the Rock Island.

The county-seat fight in Seward county between Fargo Springs and Springfield resulted in the defeat of the bonds, again deflecting the route south and creating the town of Liberal, where the road arrived in March, 1888. Here, for want of funds for further construction, the road stopped for thirteen years.

2. An amusing story is told of how M. D. Herington, proprietor of the town site of the future town of Herington, outwitted the Council Grove delegation and obtained the ear of Mr. A. Low and eventually secured the railroad for his "town," then but a ranch. A delegation of Council Grove citizens had arranged to go to St. Joseph and interview Mr. Low in behalf of their town, and Mr. Herington went along on his own initiative. At Kansas City the Council Grove boosters missed the train to St. Joseph, but Herington caught it, and, arriving there, found that Mr. Low had gone to Kansas City, whither he followed him, only to find he had gone on to Topeka. Nothing daunted, Herington kept up the chase and finally found Mr. Low in the lobby of the Copeland hotel at Topeka. There he promptly approached him, and when Mr. Low asked if he represented a city, a commercial club, or some organization authorized to speak, he responded: "Who—me? Why, yes; I represent the whole works. . . . I am the town, the commercial club, the mayor and city council. My name is Herington and I come from Herington, Kan., and we want your road and we are willing to pay for it." After he had set forth just what "they" were willing to pay, Mr. Low remarked, "That is the best offer we have received, and we'll look over the ground." And that is how Herington got the C. K. & N.

3. "The Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska Railway Company was invested by Congress, on March 2, 1887, with authority to locate, construct and operate a railroad, telegraph and telephone line through the Indian territory and to El Paso, New Mexico [Texas], by the most feasible route, the same enactment legalizing another line southwesterly toward Galveston, Tex."—The Chicago, Rock Island, & Pacific Railway System, 1900, p. 119.

During the days of the building of the road there were few signs of human habitation between Greensburg and Liberal. One passed West Plains, the old stage station on the government route from Fort Dodge to Fort Sumner, N. Mex., and the new town of Meade Center. In the 106 miles that stretched through a well-nigh desolate wilderness they were practically the only evidences of civilization.

Settlement to a limited extent quickly followed the building of the road, but successive crop failures caused the complete abandonment of the entire district; land went to tax title and the country in a very few years was deserted. Municipal bonds had been voted for every conceivable public improvement. Defaulted interest and repudiation followed even to the extent that when rehabilitation began some years later, town sites were moved to adjoining unencumbered tracts of land, leaving nothing but vacant land to the bondholder.

In Stevens county a tract of 50,000 acres of land under tax title was sold by the county commissioners for \$1,200. The county was bankrupt; officers had not been paid their salaries for months, and having no railroad taxes, was utterly without income. Schools were, for this reason, impossible. The primary object of the sale was to get the land, which was apparently without value, back under taxation, otherwise the county must be disorganized. This transaction was typical of the time. Scrip was issued for interest, and in many instances bonds were repudiated altogether. The aid bonds voted in Seward county were never called for by the railroad company, because the county was bankrupt and the bonds were valueless, there being no property value behind them.⁴

During the period when the road terminated at Liberal, Colonel Eddy, a ranchman of El Paso, conceived the idea of building a railroad in a northeasterly direction from El Paso to serve Fort Bliss, his near-by ranch, and to reach coal deposits in the Capitan mountains. He accordingly built the White Oaks railroad from El Paso about twenty-five miles upon this route. Some years later Phelps, Dodge & Co. interests acquired large copper holdings in Arizona, but were without fuel with which to smelt the ore. Colonel Eddy induced them to aid him in extending his road to the Capitan coal deposits, but about the time the road reached Alamogordo it was determined the coal did not possess the necessary coking qualities. A tremendous deposit of high-grade coking coal having been discovered on the west side of the Raton range, upon the land of Mr. Dawson, a veteran ranchman, the entire ranch and the railroad holdings of Colonel Eddy were bought by Phelps, Dodge & Co. and an agreement made with the Rock Island to extend its line from Liberal and join the White Oaks railroad, which had now become the El Paso Northeastern, at Puerto de Luna, on the Pecos river in New Mexico, 263 miles southwest of Liberal.

4. In a recent letter to the Historical Society under date of February 15, 1922, Mr. Abe K. Stoufer, county clerk of Seward county, has this to say: "Seward county did not issue any bonds to the Rock Island railroad, was never quite bankrupt, and has never repudiated any of her obligations. Before Seward county had been organized one year, Cimarron township voted \$20,000 in bonds for the Rock Island. Suit was started at once to set the issue aside on account of illegal proceedings, but the case dragged along for years. The township paid the interest for a number of years. The supreme court finally declared the bonds void, and they were returned to the township and destroyed by burning. My recollection is that they were burned along about 1908, the year they were due."

Work was started simultaneously at both Liberal and Alamogordo early in 1901 and the roads joined at the Pecos river bridge at Santa Rosa, two miles north of Puerto de Luna, Christmas day following, thus creating, in connection with the Southern Pacific from El Paso, another transcontinental railway.

Not a mile of the road from Liberal to Santa Rosa is upon the original survey. The Texas railway commission had become so drastic in its exercise of authority that practically every railroad in Texas was bankrupt, and the Rock Island determined to build no more road in that state. A survey was made through No Man's Land, just missing the northwest corner of the Texas panhandle and crossing the Canadian some forty miles upstream from the present location. An assurance of fair treatment was made, however, and the route changed to the present line.

Upon leaving Liberal we entered an uncharted sea. Old Optimo, on the Beaver river, and the John V. Farwell X. I. T. ranch headquarters at Middle Water, were the only human habitations seen upon the entire 263 miles. We were beyond all law or human aid. It was a case of self-preservation with us all. Unfortunately the smallpox broke out shortly after leaving Liberal. It soon spread to every camp, and we battled it all the way to Santa Rosa. Many deaths occurred from this and other tragedies, and I believe I can safely say there is a man buried in an unmarked grave on every mile of the entire extension. Seldom a morning but one or more dead men were found in every camp. At first they were buried in graves; but as construction progressed it was found this consumed too much time, and they were thereafter loaded in carts, deposited on unfinished embankments and covered over with earth from scrapers. Names were unknown, the men working entirely by number. More than 6,000 were shipped from Kansas City to this work, and at the finish not more than 200 remained. What became of the others no one ever knew. A tent city followed the front, and went forward leaving a large number of empty barrels, boxes and bottles every time camp was moved. Every known vice was rampant, and camps were "shot up" every night.

Jay Gould once said he could have walked from Omaha to Ogden upon the corpses of the men who lost their lives in building the Union Pacific Railroad. While the fatalities in building the Rock Island did not reach such proportions, yet we were constantly in the presence of death, and soon became so inured to it as to leave little impression upon us. No men were ever farther removed from the protection of the law. Highway robbers, gamblers and thugs abounded everywhere and plied their trade without fear of molestation. The crack of a six-shooter occasionally settled one, but had little effect upon the ones who survived. Added to all this, the country was infested with almost every kind of reptile. Gila monsters, scorpions, tarantulas, centipedes and snakes of many kinds beset the path of the builders; and men sleeping on the ground were frequently bitten. In a rock cut a few miles east of Santa Rosa, N. Mex., a train was actually stalled by running onto rattlesnakes stretched out on the rails, and in addition to those killed by the engine, the crew killed, by actual count, fifty-six. The rails were attractive to them because they were warmer than the earth and afforded a comfortable bed.

Probably our greatest problem was water for locomotives. We were in a high, dry climate where running streams were almost unknown. Wherever there was a pond within reach of the road it was siphoned empty. Soundings were taken for wells wherever the contour held out any hope of water. Gen-

erally many attempts were made before it was found. The town of Goodwell, Okla., was given its name because after many weeks of search a well of sufficient volume was found there for our requirements.

The telegraph line over the entire distance was not built for many months after the road was completed and in operation. Trains were run by "each other's smoke." Engineers soon became accustomed to the habit. Trains moved at reasonable speed and not an accident occurred. At night the use of the headlight supplanted the daytime smoke. From Liberal to Dalhart the track is almost a tangent. In fact, from a point a few miles south of Guymon, Okla., to Middle Water, Tex., a distance of seventy-two miles, it is entirely a tangent, and probably the longest stretch of straight track in the United States. West of the Canadian river in New Mexico the road is comparatively crooked, but it was operated without the telegraph and was entirely free from accident.

Necessarily in our isolation and desolation there were many acts of heroism. Occasionally a man was so unfortunate as to be run over by an engine or car, and no surgeon within a hundred miles of where the accident occurred. First aid was all that was possible, and it generally ended in death. It was regarded as part of the game and was expected. At the conclusion of this work the "Jerry" of early-day western railroad building passed away, and with him a type of man who will be known no more.

A most conspicuous instance of remarkable ability, ingenuity and fidelity to trust was that of D. A. Robinson, the engineer of the track-laying outfit. Completely isolated and removed from shops and repair facilities, he left Liberal in March 1901, with engine 923, and laid every mile of the 263 miles of track to Santa Rosa without his engine even returning to Liberal throughout the entire period, March to December 25. It was not unusual for him to lay track all day, work on his engine all night, and again lay track all the next day. When the road reached Santa Rosa he handled a train of stock from there to Dalhart, and immediately entered passenger service, continuing for months with the same engine. This performance, doubtless unequaled in the annals of railroad history, should be an inspiration to all young men. After forty-five years of honorable service for the Rock Island he continues hale and hearty, and a few years ago "pulled the Golden State Limited from Dalhart to Liberal, 112 miles, in 105 minutes.

Another instance of unusual ability and remarkable devotion to duty was that of C. G. Stevenson, conductor of the track-laying outfit, who accompanied Mr. Robinson throughout the entire construction period. Not only did he keep the rails gliding into place, but he was the recognized leader of all activities at "the front" and exercised a tremendous influence everywhere. A large, fearless, affable man and a diplomat, his leadership among men was most natural. He was both respected and feared by the toughest element, and it was due to his adroitness and ability to handle men more than any other influence that "the wheels" kept daily moving forward. He continues in service as a passenger conductor over the line he built, well known by the people along the line, and as popular with the public as any man who ever ran a train. He also has had forty years of service with the Rock Island.

These two intrepid pioneers certainly deserve a place in the Rock Island hall of fame.

Mr. Low was of course the genius and guiding spirit of the entire project. His word was law and he was the court of last resort. He located the road or

changed the route at will. Reticent in the extreme, he was frequently misunderstood. His given promise was the equivalent of any possible act of the board of directors. He at all times absolutely and literally carried out every obligation given or made, and exacted the same from everyone with whom he had dealings. Unscrupulous men, and there were certainly at that time plenty of them, soon learned they had no place with him. The result was that some 2,000 miles of standard railroad was constructed by the Rock Island west of the Missouri river, under his direction, without scandal or a suspicion of graft, being charged, even by his worst enemies. A cloud passed over his remarkable work some years later in the foreclosure sale of the Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska railway to the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Company. The Kansas laws required that stock be exchanged for all municipal-aid bonds, the theory being that the municipality would thereby become, as a stockholder, part owner of the property. The foreclosure sale of course wiped out all stock, and his political enemies attempted to make capital of it. Everyone knew from the outset it was the Rock Island road and that sooner or later corporate requirements would necessitate this exact transfer. Furthermore they knew as a separate entity the stock could never have earning value; hence the people cared nothing for it. What they wanted was the road, and they got it. It is certain Mr. Low never misrepresented anything, and that he gave every municipality full value received for all grants is well illustrated in the case of Reno county. Bonds were voted to the amount of about \$300,000. The county was given in return therefor forty-seven miles of main line valued at more than \$2,000,000, paying an annual taxation of fully \$30,000. The writer a few years ago found from the records of the county treasurer that at the end of the nineteenth year the road had paid in taxes, principal and interest and had retired the bonds; hence not only did the municipality never at any time do more than loan the company its credit, but it bought without cost to itself a tremendous taxpayer for all time, assessable not only for regular taxation, but for every public improvement desired, and which in many instances could not have been had without the railroad valuation. In fact, for twenty years following the building of the road, the only schools in southwestern Kansas were those in the districts along the road, and they existed upon railroad taxes only.

Instead of the trackless wilderness of a third of a century ago, when buffalo paths and bleaching bones were the only relief to the eye upon the monotonous prairie, southwestern Kansas is to-day the home of thousands of happy people, enjoying all the pleasures of modern living. The trackless prairies have become the granary of the great agricultural state. Such is the transition observed within a generation by one who has been permitted to live to witness it. Few could have been convinced that such an unbelievable accomplishment was possible within one lifetime.

The railroad company shared the belief that the Southwest must always remain a range-cattle country, to the extent that all stations were located exactly ten miles apart without regard to commercial necessities, it being the intent, when traffic became heavier, to build a siding midway between each station, and all for the purpose of operating the road. Everyone was greatly surprised when settlement was attempted, and the early settler was called foolhardy. Practically all of the men engaged in pioneering this achievement have passed away, but their work still lives and will endure to the lasting benefit of posterity.

THE SETTLEMENT OF BESSARABIA, RUSSIA, BY THE GERMANS.¹

By WILLIAM MORGENSTERN,² of Russell, Kan. Translated from the German by J. C. Ruppenthal.

EARLY in 1816 peoples from various districts and provinces of Germany came to this land. The first villages to become settlements were Sarata, Gnadenthal, Teplitz, Friedensthal, Kloestitz. These were all Suabians from the province of Württemberg—the so-called “Lightning Suabians.” Fuermier, the villages Borodina, Beresina, Katzbach, Josefedorf, Kugelnick, Alt-Elft-Leipzig—these were Suabians from the province of Bavaria and Mecklenburg, also Zurich and Hesse Darmstadt. These were all of the Lutheran confession, the so-called “Knoepfles Suabians,” although there were in the above-named villages Suabians also settled, namely, the Spiegel Suabians and the Gelbfueszler. These first settlements were made upon the invitation or “manifest” of Catherine II, which she issued in 1814. Further settlement of Bessarabia was accomplished from 1816 to 1840. In this interval Catholic villages settled at Krasna with people from Hesse and Kassel in Germany, including Tarutino, Paris, Brienna, Artzis, Augenheim and Mannsburg. These were Low German colonies of the Lutheran confession and came from Pomerania and Baden in Germany. The later villages of the settlement were established from 1836 to 1840, namely, Plotzk, Denevitz, Hoffnungsfield, Hoffnungsthal and Friedensthal and also Rosenfeld. The last-named colonies were of greatly mixed speech dialects from Pomerania and Baden and also from Wittenberg, Bavaria and Saxony, German Poland and various other provinces. The greater part spoke the Hopperlinger speech. This tongue was fundamentally between high and low German. All German villages in Bessarabia were Lutheran except that one village Krana was Catholic. Outside of the German colonies in Bessarabia, there are very many villages of other nationalities, including Bulgarians, Russians, Moldavians (a Turkish branch), Tartars, Cossacks, Greeks, Czechs, Slovaks and Armenians; also many French and Jews are met with in all villages. Of the Jews many are to be found. However, there are many German villages in Bessarabia which are not ———, because they were first founded in the Nineteenth century. All the immigrant Germans in these villages on their journey to Bessarabia endured hardship and privation, until at last, in tattered clothes, in misery and dispirited, they arrived at Bessarabia. Some reached the capital of that region, Akkerman, and others the capital Kishinef, and a few came to Odessa. Especially the last named had much to go through with on their journey, because they had to flee from their native regions in Silesia, German Poland, etc., because Napoleon waged war with Germany, Austria and also Russia, and through

1. This article was printed in the *Russell Record*, September 9 and 16, 1920.

2. William Morgenstern, son of Samuel Morgenstern and his wife, Karolina Hinsz, was born in Plotsk, Bessarabia, November 3, 1860. His father was of Saxon birth and had emigrated to Bessarabia at the age of fifteen. The Hinsz family went from Baden into Bessarabia, where Karolina was born. William was educated in the parish schools, the “Central school” at Tarutino and the “Gymnasium” at Akkerman. In 1878 he came to the United States with his parents, settling in Russell county. He was married June 14, 1886, to Magdalena Maas, and the next year, 1887, they homesteaded eighty acres of land in Winterset township; there they lived until 1915, when they moved to Russell. Mrs. Morgenstern died January 8, 1918. She was the mother of three children, William Frederick, Eugenia and Hildegard Mercedes, and they, with her husband, survive her. Mr. Morgenstern served Winterset township as trustee for seven years, and for six years he was a member of his district school board.

regions where the fury of war raged the inhabitants fled, leaving all behind. They fled in boats ——— with women and children, upon the rivers Oder, Weichsel, and Elbe; families with women and children, having the few clothes and furniture they could hastily gather, put these on boats, which were rowed by the men. As they journeyed southward, when provisions gave out they tied up to the bank and the men went afoot to seek work among the Austrian and Polish nobility for day's wages. There for a few kreutzer (coins) they labored for a few weeks until they had earned enough to purchase provisions so that they could go on. At last, after a year of travel, they arrived at the river Dniester in Bessarabia. The manifest (Worendit document) in which Catherine II authorized the settlement of Germans in Bessarabia provided that every settler with a family who settled to stay, as a citizen of Russia as farmer or artisan, should acquire sixty desatina of land, inheritable to children's children, with further freedom from military service forever, as well as from all imperial ——— service freed, and freedom in religion, schools and churches of their own faith; also to every family in the settlement, fifty maass of wheat and 300 rubles in cash money were given to purchase draft animals and to build houses or dwellings, in order to make a beginning in the newly adopted fatherland.

Bessarabia is a very fruitful land. All products grow finely—wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn and potatoes. In fruit and vines Bessarabia leads the world. For example, the village Shaba, fourteen versts (two-thirds of a mile) southward from Akkerman, is a community twelve versts long where are Germans, French, Russians, Armenians and Arabs dwelling, who are all fruit farmers and winegrowers, the least of whom has 25 desatina of vineyard and the largest has 300 desatina. The so-called muscatel and tschaus grapes as well as the Schamburg are grown. Noteworthy is Shaba as a beautifully situated place. This village lies on the Black sea beach. Near Shaba the Dniester river empties into the Black sea. Every autumn hundreds of people suffering from lung troubles, from Kiev and Kharkov, Odessa and St. Petersburg itself, take the grape cure for months. Bessarabia has a very healthful climate, light winters and pure air from the many navigable rivers and seas. Through western Bessarabia runs the pure river, the father of Germany, the blue Danube, and through Dobruja it runs by Braila, Reni and Galatz (Roumanian cities) and empties at Kilia and Ismail into the Black sea. There are also the Dobrudja, the Pruth, and quite close to Bessarabia the Plevna river. Bessarabia is a fortunate land in everything. And so the newly arrived Germans went at everything with diligence and renewed courage to cultivate the rich soil of Bessarabia. But they had many difficulties in the beginning from hordes of robbers about them. These bands carried off horses, cattle, sheep; in fact everything was stolen by these bands. The biggest robber bore the name Dobletuck, a mongrel of Tartar and Mohammedan, like the robber chieftain Pogatschuf in northern Russia near Saratov. Dobletuck carried on his antisocial practice in Bessarabia until at last the government, with great pains and expense, after several years annihilated him and his band with a Cossack army. Then for the first time the new settlers breathed freely.

It may be noted that Roumania, Dobrudja, Bessarabia and Moldavia, these four provinces, were called banate, and in the sixteenth century were in posses-

sion of the Roumanians, under Turkish protection, until the end of the sixteenth century, when the Swedish king, Gottfried Stanislaus, in a war with Roumania captured the three banate, Dobrudja, Bessarabia and Moldavia. He placed his daughter Fridje as vicereine of Bessarabia, in the city of Akkerman, which lay on the Dniester river. At Akkerman also he made a lake with the Dniester, nine miles wide. Northward from Akkerman other rivers flow into the Dniester the Maiack, Durentschuk, and Krinoi. When he placed his daughter in Akkerman he built for her on the Dniester lake a great strong fortress, which cost millions of gulden and which stands to the present day. It stands outside on the north side. It was shut off when Russia and Sweden went to war in the seventeenth century and the Russians took possession of Dobrudja, Bessarabia and Moldavia. But Bessarabia, on account of its many Tartar settlers, as well as Mohammedans, Arabs and Armenians, of whom yet to-day the churchyards and the foundations of their earth houses (dugouts) remain to be seen. When Russia first took possession of these three banate they banished all their criminals to the three banate. From these the robber bands were recruited, who remained yet when the German settlers came. In 1853-1856, when Russia and France had the Sebastopol war [Crimean War], Roumania was the ally of France, and so gave aid. Russia lost the war under General Diwitsch, and Russia again had to cede Dobruja to Roumania until 1877-'78, when the war between Russia and Turkey broke out and the Turks lost. In the peace proclamation of 1878 the banate Dobrudja was returned to Russia, because Roumania was under Turkish sovereignty. The boundary was drawn as the Danube runs. Southward it belonged to Roumania and northward to Russia. At that time (1878) there were already fourteen villages in Dobrudja of Germans from Bessarabia. They were attached as if Russia possessed Dobrudja. The German colonists were given three years by the czar either to become Russian subjects or to move south across the Danube. But few went over to the Russians. The others crossed the Danube to Roumania, where they dwell yet, especially at Constantza. Dobrudja too is a very fruitful land. It is not far behind Bessarabia except in fruit and vineyards.

In 1874 Alexander II, czar of Russia, narrowed the manifest that Catherine II had given to the German settlers so that the German boys must serve as soldiers for five years, although the document of Catherine promised freedom from military service for ever and ever. Thus one hundred years passed since the first German settlers had settled in northern Russia on the Volga, and a hundred years was forever. So from that time on the Germans, by order of Alexander, must serve as soldiers on the ground that the Germans owned much land and the Russians remained without lands, and this had aroused great hatred against the Germans and gave the occasion for emigration of Germans from Russia. The native Russian was inclined to thievery and idleness.

Since the peace conference at Versailles, Bessarabia had been again placed under Roumania. Letters and papers from Germans there state that they feel fortunate and satisfied so far under Roumanian rule.

I could describe Moldavia and Kherson too, since I know both provinces well. There, too, many Germans have settled.

The emigrants from Bessarabia to Russell county, Kansas, came from the following provinces of Germany: Morgenstern from Saxony, Wernsdorf

Bropaukau; Resner, Schwandt, Radke, Windlandt and Irion came from Posen in German Poland; the families of Kappel and Oswaldt and Windsschlag came from Pomerania in Germany.

The grandfather of the Morgensterns, who still lives at Russell, was born in Saxony, at Wernsdorf Bropaukau, on January 10, 1797, a son of Christian Frederick Morgenstern. About that time Napoleon Bonaparte waged war on



MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM MORGENSTERN.

all parts of Germany, and many towns were destroyed and the people had to flee. Naturally this produced much suffering. The people were awhile in Saxony. On this account Christian Morgenstern, as a seventeen-year-old youth, left Saxony in 1814 and went to Silesia, in Germany. He stopped in Glogau, on the river Oder, and there married Dorothea Rau and ran a hotel at Goldener Traube (the Golden Grape Cluster). At that place, on January 6, 1825, was born Samuel Morgenstern, who afterwards was the patriarch of the little group who settled in Russell county, Kansas. Following the disorders of the war there was no peace and quiet among the people. The

Czechoslovaks and Slavonians lived in Austrian Poland near Silesia. They were always quarreling and fighting. They were often in open conflict with other peoples to the extent even of bloody battles. Finally, in 1826, it came to a sort of revolution, and many Silesian citizens had to flee from their homesteads and leave and lose their hard-earned possessions. Christian Morgenstern, among the fugitives, hastily gathering wife and children and a few possessions, placed them on a boat large enough for several families. This boat was partly rowed by the men along the Oder and partly towed from the banks with ropes. After many difficulties and escapes, after months of travel, they ended the trip at Breslau. There they worked a few months for wages so as to resume travel. Again they proceeded upon the Oder. Railroads did not exist as at present. Money was scarce for the trip. After a few weeks they reached Oppeln and there again they rested and earned a little. From Oppeln the journey continued on the Oder river to Kosel. There they remained but a short time. They pushed on to Ratibor, where the homeless fugitives labored again for a few months for wages. Here they left the Oder and made their way across Carpathian Austria, partly on foot, partly by ox wagon. After days and weeks of sad and painful travel they came to Bielitz, in Austrian Poland. Arrived there, spiritless and despairing, they separated and each sought permanent labor at his own kind of employment. There grandfather Christian Morgenstern gained new courage while acting as coachman for a Polish nobleman, where he remained four years. Then he left Bielitz and went to Przemysl, where the river Dniester rises. Again he worked a few years in a slaughterhouse.

To Przemysl came Germans from Poland. Among the exiled families were Resner, Blum, Leyer, Dolcker, Franck, Beierle, Wilske, Witt, Brenner, Reimann, Hamann and Maschinski. This company Christian Morgenstern joined, since they were on their way to Bessarabia, relying on the manifest or invitation of Catherine II of Russia, to secure homestead land there. Once more the journey was undertaken by boat from Przemysl. A long, weary trip was made more severe by cold and hunger. But in 1834 they arrived in Kishenev in Bessarabia. There they learned at the government office (contor) of the promised homestead land, and also of much delay, for the officials informed them that what had been surveyed was already settled upon and they must wait for the next proclamation in a year or so. That meantime the available land was occupied by herds of cattle and sheep of Tartars, Armenians and Bulgarians, and must first be measured. So there was nothing to do but wait. A few went to the province of Moldavia to seek work. In Moldavia were only vineyards and cornfields, sheep raising and woodcutting. These were the employments in the many towns. Here others left to go to the German villages already settled, to find provisions and work, until they could get the expected lands for settlement. Christian Morgenstern went from Kishenev to the city of Bender to see if he could find employment, but unfortunately he could find nothing suitable to make a living at. He then established a meat trade and slaughterhouse and carried this on for four years, when the news came that the land was open for settlement and free of cost. This was 1839. He left Odessa and went beyond Akkerman to the promised land, Bessarabia. When he reached there, to his great surprise he met again all his fellow travelers from Przemysl to Kishenev, be-

sides other added families, such as Schlechter, Treiber, Deeg, Heberle, from Bavaria, near the city Plotsk. So they laid out a settlement in Bessarabia and called it Plotsk, having thirty-nine families of settlers. Later eleven more families came to friends there, but there was not more land to survey, but only building sites and garden places. These had to build their houses at the end of the village.

The village had a street and two rows of houses. Each building lot contained thirty faden of width and one hundred faden of length. A faden is seven feet. The village, with the dwellings of the inhabitants, was one verst (about two-thirds of a mile) long. In the center of the village stood the church, schoolhouse and village rostrum. Each of the thirty-nine original settlers received sixty desatina of land (about 160 acres), together with building site, cattle pasture and garden. They further received 300 rubles cash



LUTHERAN CHURCH AT PLOTSK, BESSARABIA, RUSSIA (BUILT 1879).

money, also twenty-five maass of wheat, the same amount of barley and also of oats, two maass of potatoes to sow and plant, and a yoke of oxen and a wooden plow. These things were given them fourteen years without interest. But the land was given outright and was inheritable by their children, according to the documents. At first the houses were built of yellow clay. This was mixed with water and the bricks pressed between boards by stamping on them with the feet. When the house was high enough the roof was made of reeds which grow on the Plevna in Dobrudja. They are very abundant and grow ten feet high. The German farmers helped each other to build the houses, barns and all needed buildings. Before winter came everyone was provided with simple shelter. Several wells were dug for common use. At eighty feet they found very good drinking water.

Richly provided for by the government, at the next consular court the colonists were directed to name a headman (schulz, schulthesis) for each village, together with a clerk, school teacher, two associates, one marshal, called a

"pittel." The colonists elected and paid the schulz themselves, 25 rubles banko per year. At that time there were "banko" rubles and silver rubles in Russia. Three banko or paper rubles were worth one silver ruble. The clerk received 160 to 300 banko rubles and the schulz fifty rubles banko salary per year. The two associates received no pay. The clerk had to teach school and hold church services for this remuneration. Six villages formed a kreis or district, as, for example, Plotsk, Dannewitz, Neu Elft, Katsbach, Alt Elft and Teplitz. These six villages made one district. Teplitz, for example, had an overschulz and district clerk. These two officials were paid by the whole six villages. The overschulz received 300 rubles banko and the district clerk received 600 rubles banko salary per year. The village schulz had the right, with his associates, to judge and punish all small transgressions and misdemeanors of the villagers and the youths. Crimes of higher degree he must send to the overschulz in Teplitz for judgment. At Tarutino are a christov and a mirewoi poszretinck (kreis richter, or district judge), whose district has in turn four overschulz districts of twenty-four villages. But criminal or state offenses are given over to the poszretinck at Akkerman, the capital of Bessarabia. At the I. krischnoi sutt (supreme court) are all class and chief criminals. The ostnick holds sessions twice yearly. With this exception criminals are exiled to Siberia, and from there by etappe transported to Kishenev. At the capital of Bessarabia is the supreme court of Bessarabia. This approves or changes the judgment, and thence they go to Siberia.

The German settlers in Bessarabia in the first winter encountered severe cold and very much snow. Snowdrifts piled thirty feet high, which had not before been known there. Winters were usually mild. Many oxen and cows as well as sheep perished, and in the spring of 1841, when the settlers wanted to put out their first crop, three or four had to combine in order to make the small sowing. But the harvest turned out unusually good. Wheat and all small grains were cut with a hand sickle, bound in sheaves, and threshed with a flail by hand. Hemp and flax too were sown, from which the straw was taken, bound into bundles, soaked in water a few weeks and then made pliable in a flax breaker; then heckled and spun on a spinning wheel. In wintertime the women folks wove this for shirts, hose, trousers, shirting and bed clothing. Later, when the farmers had supplied themselves with sheep, all necessary clothing was made of wool, such as shirts, trousers, coats, stockings and underclothes. Everything in the line of clothing in a farmer's home was homemade. The writer attended many "hochzeits" (weddings) where the bride was in bridal clothes made by herself with her own hands, the cloth spun and woven with her own hands, and the groom's suit was made by himself. The hochzeit usually lasted two days and was celebrated in the custom of Germany. All went merrily yet with reason and in order.

For the principal fuel, all manure was removed from the barns in winter and hauled to a place where in spring it was spread out evenly a foot thick, moistened with water, and rolled hard with a roller, then cut into squares, and laid out till it dried. This made a very good fuel for heating rooms. Generally straw was mixed in. Heating ovens were made of an earth mortar and smooth stones built in masonry. Mornings and evenings these ovens were heated with straw. From such an oven two rooms were agreeably and comfortably heated, day and night. Still the new settlers were not satisfied with

their lot and condition. All that they sowed and planted grew excellently in the virgin soil. All kinds of fruit, grapes and seeded fruits, hay, cattle and meadows, all were luxuriant. But the many robber bands and the stealing by the Tartars and uncivilized nomadic peoples who were removed from the plains of Bessarabia to Dobrudja gave the settlers much trouble and many restless nights. For all that the settlers did not put under roof at night, securely locked and bolted, would certainly be stolen by morning. Another thing, the farmers had to take their products to market at Kilia and Ismail, sixty-five versts (forty-four miles) from Plotsk. This trip was a dangerous



MR. AND MRS. JACOB C. KRUG (née Michaelis).

one, for they had to travel through Dobrudja, just along the way where the exiled Tartars had newly settled. To travel at night was not prudent. Along the way many murders and killings as well as robberies occurred. The German farmers endured much thieving, but the government took the thieves that the farmers brought in, and gradually thievery became less. Public authority at that time was weak. In 1846 a pestilence—cholera—broke out among the people. Whole families died out, so that only one or two survivors remained. Women died chiefly, and so great, so very great was the death of housekeepers and so numerous the orphans, where neither father nor mother remained, that many were solitary and alone. Men who had lost their wives by the cholera and had little children were constrained to take quite young girls, who would otherwise remain as orphans, and marry them. Thus

William Schwandt, who was here in Russell, Kan., settling in 1878, lost his mother from cholera, and there were a number of little children left behind with no one to care for them. His father was obliged to marry a fourteen-year-old orphan girl to have some one as housekeeper. There was also Johann Hoehn, in Plotsk, who married an orphan girl of twelve and so with others. The settlers became greatly discouraged and spiritless in their new home. They sat before their huts and wept as once the Israelites wept over the flesh-pots of Egypt and longed for them. Yet they did not wholly give up, but again went to work with zeal, and with industry and economy attained a competence. In 1851 a cattle disease broke out—a hoof trouble. This swept the land so that few cattle remained. Cattle raising had to begin anew. In 1872 the hoof pestilence again attacked the cattle and nearly wiped them out. The farmers then bought from the Mennonites of Mallosch a sort of red milk cow. They were called American cows and were excellent milkers, superior to any there before.

In 1856 the Crimean war broke out between France and Russia, or the "Sevastopol War." Then all the German colonists had to do certain service, such as hauling large stones to Kilia and Ismail, where the Danube river enters the Black sea, to build a fortress there. These stones made bulwarks against the enemy when erected. But Russia lost the war, through the minister of war, General Diwitsch, who sold himself to France, and instead of shooting grenades at the enemy, he fired balls made of clay. Czar Alexander II said at the time that he thought a camel could more easily go through the eye of a needle than that Diwitsch could be disloyal to him. But it happened, and Diwitsch disappeared. Through this Dobrudja was again attached to Roumania, and the Russian boundary was drawn 25 versts south of Plotsk. Then the farmers had to haul their products either to Akkerman, 80 versts away, or to Odessa, 120 versts. Once more, in 1865, the German settlers of Bessarabia found themselves in excellent condition and rich landholders. But as the German people increased very rapidly and grew strong, then as now, there was lack of land, and people of many German states went to the Caucasus eastern woods. Fifty families at one time settled near Tiflis, and are still there to-day. They have done well. In the closing sixties and beginning of seventies many families from different villages of Bessarabia crossed the Roumanian frontier and settled in Dobrudja. They founded twelve villages near Braila, Galatz and Reni, and by diligence and thrift rose to successful standing. In 1878 Dobrudja was again attached to Russia, and the Germans had again to lose their settlements and to cross the Danube once more. They settled in villages near Constantza, where they remain yet.

In 1873 the news was published in Bessarabia that in North America much free land was obtainable. Many families prepared to travel to the promised land, America. They settled in South Dakota, near Yankton, Scotland, Menno and Tripp, and each year thereafter more Bessarabians came to Dakota, so that at present the two Dakotas have settlers from Bessarabia and south Russia.

In May, 1878, certain families decided to go to Kansas, in North America. They were Samuel Morgenstern, John Morgenstern, William Schwandt and their families. They came from the settlement of Plotsk. With them went Samuel Radke and wife, and Samuel Windland, a single man from the Neu

Elft colony or settlement. On June 27, 1878, they arrived at Russell, Kan., and settled down in Russell county as farmers, fifteen miles south of Russell. They bought railroad land at six dollars an acre, as the government homestead lands were all taken then. In 1879 more families came from Bessarabia to Russell county. They were Andrew Resner and family, from Plotsk, and August Radke, John Radke and Frederick Irion, with their families, all from the settlement of Neu Elft. The new settlers in Russell county endured hard times until 1896. They left Bessarabia as well-fixed farmers, financially considered, and came to this country with renewed courage, high hopes and



MR. AND MRS. RADKE (née Karst).

large plans. But it turned out quite otherwise than they had in spirit projected their dreams, for here in Russell county they found sky and prairie as a new home. All was waste and bare. It was necessary to start with work to build houses and put up all that was needed; the new prairie had to be broken to sow crops. But that was the least of their troubles. Failures and bad crops came for the first few years; also a dry period of little or no rain, so that nothing could mature.

This was a trying time for the new settlers. The money they brought was all spent. No harvest came. Even good advice was costly. The dear people were obliged to go out to earn wages. Their sons went to Colorado, and there worked for low wages on the railroad so as to earn enough to keep up life. This was a "hard pill" to the young fellows—not, perhaps, that they were not

accustomed to work, and that it went hard. Oh, no, they were accustomed to hard work in Bessarabia; but there they had servants (male and female) and here they must go out to work for day's wages. But their courage never faltered; they thought him fortunate who forgets what cannot be helped. True, these Bessarabians had in Europe driven fine horses. Here in the new home land they had to content themselves with a yoke of oxen to go their way. When cold weather came they had to gather cow chips on the prairie, or use cornstalks for fuel, in order to cook meals. In these difficult years the people were obliged to gather bones to make a living. Despite all this they maintained



MR. AND MRS. GEORGE K. KRUG (née Dietz).

hope. Ever and again they started up and went on with renewed courage. By labor they came to see at last, through application and endurance, a state of comfort and well-being. Their motto was ever, "Well begun is half done."

The successors of the first settlers, the Morgenstern, Radke, and Renner families, are still in Kansas. Windschlag and Irion are in Oklahoma. In 1898 more settlers came to Russell county from Bessarabia, including August Kappel, Gottfried Kappel, bachelors; Ernest Oswald, single; William Windschlag and family. All these have gone to Shattuck, Okla., except William Windschlag, who went to Hoerit, N. Dak. In Marion county, Kansas, a party from Bessarabia settled in 1885 near Hillsboro. They include Frederick Maas, Christian Ensminger, Michael Reichert, Ludwig Schell, Alexander Millio, David Redelsberger, Edward Singeisen, Henry and William Schneider,

all Lutheran in faith. They came from Shaba, not far from Akkerman, in Bessarabia. Jacob Buksell, Ernest Scharton and Philip Zwicke were also from Shaba, but they were French and they went back in 1888 to the beloved Bessarabia. They grieved for the good wine of Bessarabia, for they were all in large vineyards there, while here in Kansas there were none such. All the others from Shaba are still in Marion county, Kansas, except Ensminger and Schneider, who are in Shattuck, Okla.

This is all, dear reader, that I can relate from my own recollections and from those of my grandfather, of the many hardships, privations and sufferings through which these people went in their wanderings from Germany, until now in America, they can at last lay their heads down in hopes of a happier future. I do not speak my own experience, but only what my aged grandfather has told of the strenuous journey to Bessarabia. What I have written of America is of my own experience. I hope that no one will criticize my narrative. I am sixty years old, and glad that I have been able to record this story. The reader may see from it that the immigrants from Bessarabia led a very strenuous life and made their way through great difficulties, but here they have rested their tired heads in the confidence that they have done a good work. Of course much has been brushed from the memory of my experiences. I write this for posterity that they may know exactly their origin.

THE ROMANTIC GROWTH OF A LAW COURT.

By JAMES H. LOWELL.¹ An address delivered upon the occasion of the dedication of the court room in the new Jackson county court house, Holton, Kan., September 1, 1921.

ON AN occasion of this kind it seems appropriate to marshal whatever primitive material is available of the judicial career and equipment of this court out of which, through progressive stages, has arisen this splendid law forum. This crowning triumph of architectural beauty and elaborate finish is an example of the spirit of the age to do things better; for, indeed, the marvels of to-day are the commonplaces of to-morrow, and as such are scrapped and thrown into the discard. It is wise, then, to plan with foresight for the future.

My topic to-day is reminiscent of events that led up to the erection of this structure, for in thinking of a court room we necessarily think how it came about, and of its importance, and of what a law forum symbolizes. It is the rallying place of the seeker of fair play, whose rights are threatened or thwarted; the injured, for the redress of his wrong; a forum whose calm de-

1. James H. Lowell was born in Boston, Mass., June 12, 1842. In that city he received his education, and when civil war broke over the United States he was studying the art of lithography. In June, 1861, he enlisted in the Thirteenth Massachusetts infantry, serving with that regiment until August, 1864. He was wounded at Antietam, and while in hospital at Harrisburg, Pa., met the lady who afterward became his wife, Miss Kate M. Roberts; they were married in January, 1873. Soon after his discharge from the army Mr. Lowell came west, and, crossing Kansas, went on into Montana, where he lived some five or six years—placer mining for three years, trading with the Crow and Gros Ventre Indians near Cow island on the upper Missouri, and later practicing law in Fort Benton. He was deputy district attorney and county assessor for Chouteau county, Montana, 1870 and 1871, and in June and July, 1871, under commission from Gov. B. F. Potts, he organized Dawson county, which had an area at that time equal to all of New England. In the fall of 1871 he returned to the states and settled in Holton, Kan., where he has since resided. He has served as mayor and police judge of Holton and twice as county attorney of Jackson county. Judge and Mrs. Lowell have four children living: George A., in business in Muskogee, Okla.; James H., an artist in New York city; Ellen R., of Holton; and Kate R., wife of Brutus Sewell, of Bancroft, Nemaha county.

liberation insures confidence, where the untruthful tongue is reproved, and the arts of the trickster and the blandishments of the cajoler make no headway.

The struggle of Kansas to build a commonwealth, and incidentally a judiciary, has no parallel in history. It is difficult to trace the beginnings of courts in Kansas, and their accessories, except we carry along in the narrative the feuds and tragedies that mark their pathway during the pioneer period. In the year of 1854 Kansas was a virgin stretch of land with here and there a "squatter"—or "sooner," as later they were called—seeking a home. On its eastern border was a state where was rooted the archaic tradition of Negro slavery. The organic act of May, 1854, created Kansas a territory, and the appointment by the President of a governor and three judges and other inferior officers opened up a widespread immigration from the states, even to the Atlantic. These seekers for new homes in a land so full of promise were, generally speaking, free-state, and their threatened ascendancy in the social and political affairs of the territory aroused immediate activity in the political circles of the land, and especially antagonism in the state of Missouri. A vicious factor in this impending feud was the sympathetic attitude of the general government toward slavery. These elements of discord, taken together, sum up the genesis of strife that prevailed during the formative period of both territorial and state government. There dwelt in the back hills of Missouri during the fifties a people born, bred and nurtured in ignorance, and its concomitants of low cunning, poltroonery and ambush heeling. They were held at home and abroad as "low white trash." Their general make-up and local vernacular would suggest that they were created by Providence to shed a picturesque glow on the scenery, and lighten with mirth the onward march of the free-state pioneers to their destiny. And in all their forays into Kansas it is well to remember that these Missourians were led by a few well-to-do slaveowners. They came not as homeseekers, nor for any one of them to gain a residence, but to make a slave state.

On March 8, 1855, the governor of Kansas territory issued a proclamation ordering an election for members of the territorial council and house of representatives, to be held on March 30. On April 16 he directed that the legislative assembly should convene at the town of Pawnee, a settlement within the lines of the Fort Riley reservation—then the official home of the governor. In the election the polls were controlled by the proslavery crowd, of which the bedlams from Missouri made up the deciding quota.

The assembly convened and organized as required, at Pawnee, on the 2d day of July, 1855, and on July 6 adjourned to meet at Shawnee Manual Labor School, in Johnson county, July 16. There were enacted what came to be known as the "bogus laws"; these laws were collated from the codes and statutes of slave states and put together with scissors and paste pot.

Exalted by the results of a proslavery legislature, the border ruffians continued their program of devilment, waylaying the incoming free-state men and their families, and many scenes of violence ensued and continued throughout the territorial period. Under conditions existing in Kansas prior to statehood, the administration of law was practically suspended. The situation was well expressed by Governor Geary in September, 1856, in a letter to the President: "I found the territory in a state of insurrection—business paralyzed,

the operation of courts suspended, and the civil operation of the government inoperative and apparently useless."

Four attempts were made for a constitution for Kansas. The first was the Topeka constitution; the second the Lecompton constitution; the third the Leavenworth constitution. The inherent defects in these three attempts were such as to invoke the fourth more painstaking and admirable constitution adopted at Wyandotte, July 29, 1859, and it is our beacon light of government to-day.

The allurements of Kansas—its fertility of soil and charming landscape—were heralded to the world through these struggles of its infancy, and quickened the pulses of thousands of adventurous home seekers even to the Atlantic coast. Not alone as individuals, but in families, in well-stocked prairie schooners, they journeyed the highways to this Cinderella of the American family, to ally themselves with the overborne squatter in the unequal contest with the advocates of slavery. In this crusade came a party that made up the nucleus of the first settlers of Holton. In the month of May, 1856, a train of six covered wagons, each drawn by two yoke of cattle, pulled out from the city of Milwaukee, Wis.² It was made up chiefly of families, and was well provided and equipped, carrying firearms, and taking a route to avoid Missouri. When they arrived at the river the train had increased to eighty-two wagons. The crossing was made on ferryboats, brush being piled at the sides to fence in the cattle. Their course within Kansas was along what was called the "Lane trail,"³ or "underground railroad." On the way, in Calhoun county, now Jackson, they passed near where the battle of the Spurs took place on Straight creek; thence to Elk creek. Here the men cut and hauled timber to bridge the creek, and at night camped close to where later on the Narrow Gauge depot was built. In the morning they moved to where the brick school house now stands, and being struck with the beauty of the location, discussed it as a site for a town. The impression was so strong that one of their number, being a civil engineer, made an outline of a town site, which, when completed, they named Holton, in honor of E. D. Holton, of Milwaukee, whose generosity in outfitting their train was thus recognized. From this on the founding of a town here became the core of the adventure with this group.

I will say here that at the river the organized outfit was broken up into a number of parties, and became scattered and separated in their movements.

To make sure of this site location, and as a measure of security, the party erected, out of hewn logs, a combination of fort and home for the families—a temporary domicile, 20 by 20 feet, and named it "Jim Lane fort." Here they lived until they had selected and filed land claims and made homes thereon.

General Lane stopped one day at one of their camps in the field. He gave them the news of the fight at Fort Titus, and urged upon them the danger of staying where they were. He warned them that the highways were infested with ruffians to pillage and even to kill, and told them to get the families at once to Topeka. Accordingly they started. When they got to the hill south of town, they stopped and looking back exclaimed, "What a beautiful site

2. For a more extended account of this northern immigration, and of the Milwaukee company specially, see Publications Kansas Historical Society, vol. 2, p. 76 *et seq.*

3. Maps of the Lane trail will be found in Kansas Historical Collections. vol. 13, pp. 268 and 276.

for a town; and what a pity to leave it, but we will come back." At their next camp, on Cedar creek, a Mr. Pomeroy and Doctor Weed joined them with an escort of armed men; they spoke of the murder of Maj. David S. Hoyt, whose mule they had with them, and warned them against trouble on the way to Topeka. Some of Doctor Weed's men escorted them a ways, and they safely arrived at Pappan's ferry, crossing the ford there some distance from the village of Topeka, and driving to the east of the town to camp.

It was here that their company again broke up, and the fortunes of those who dispersed were never known. In December of that year, 1856, they got together in Doctor Penfield's room in the old Constitution hall, at Topeka, and reorganized with but few of the original company. Dr. E. H. Grant, Doctor Penfield and Capt. W. F. Creitz went in advance to Holton to investigate, and reported everything all right. They then had their certificates printed, went to Lecompton and filed on the land as a town site. In February, 1857, they sent J. B. Ingersol to survey and lay the town off in lots, and shortly after improvements began to make headway. "The Holton House" was put up by T. G. Watters. The pace was set, and Ira I. Taber, Ed Olmsted, J. W. Gordon and brother, E. A. Squires, and Lew Stafford and several others quickly followed with business houses and dwellings. Many of us remember these original structures now vanished; among others, "Uncle Tom's cabin," so long occupied by the father of Doctor Adamson, Thomas Adamson, who was Holton's first mayor.

These notes of the original party from Milwaukee, the survey and the earliest improvement of Holton, are taken from the memoranda of that bright lady Julia A. Coffin, who was one of them.

The first school was taught by Anna Parrott. The first church organized was the Methodist, then the United Brethren, then Christian, then Presbyterian. In the belfry of the latter church is a resonant-toned bell, the gift of E. D. Holton, of Milwaukee. The first publication was "*The Cricket*" composed exclusively of pencil sketches.⁴ The first marriage was E. A. Squires to Charlotte Longnecker. The first birth was a son to Mrs. T. G. Watters; the first death, a son of John Bivens.

In 1855, by direction of the bogus laws, the south boundary line of Calhoun county was defined along the main channel of the Kaw or Kansas river, and the permanent seat of justice was a settlement located in the extreme southeast corner of the county. This embryonic county seat took its name from the surveyor general of the territory, John Calhoun. The county was formally organized by its commissioners, James Kuykendall, Richard D. Beeler and William Alley, on September 24, 1855; and their first official act was an order naming the voting places for the election of a delegate to congress, and second, a resolution to build a courthouse "out of brick." Meanwhile the house of James Kuykendall was to be the forum for courts of all jurisdictions. They met again on September 29, 1855, and fixed the site for the courthouse in the courthouse square in the town of Calhoun, and ordered that sealed bids be received for the stonework. They also filed plans and specifications, which are given in great detail and indicate a costly structure for those times, of

4. *The Cricket* was established in the fall of 1858 by Thomas G. Watters, without possessing either type or press. The articles were written in ink and political events were illustrated with colored pencils. The little newspaper continued for about two months.—Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 1342.

stone and brick, with oak and walnut finish. The scheme proved to be a bug-bear. No one would negotiate without the shelter of law. The commissioners, who of course were proslavery, on October 15, 1855, had spread on their records the following proslavery screed: "Whereas, there appears to be at the present time in this territory of Kansas an opinion prevailing that the inhabitants of said territory have a right to repudiate the laws made to govern said territory, and also refusing to pay the territorial tax, which is one of the prerequisites of a citizen and a voter, and of course a prerequisite of an officeholder; for it is a settled principle in law that an officer must be a legal voter, yet these same repudiators of law would ask to be appointed to and hold office to execute the very laws they declare they will repudiate. This is a strange, and, we think, a very dangerous position. It is therefore ordered and resolved by this court, that inasmuch as we have taken an oath to discharge our duties and see that said laws are executed so far as said law makes it our duty to appoint men to any office, we cannot nor will not appoint men to any office that will not comply with the law that makes them legal officeholders, and by said acts of theirs declare themselves repudiators of all law and mobocrats to everything that is to the interest of this territory."

The bogus Laws required every elective and appointive official to take an oath to support what was called the fugitive slave law, and it obviously put a negotiator in public works to a disadvantage, except he and his friends and coworkers were proslavery. This was one of the vital reasons, among others, to retard public works.

On November 20, 1855, the board ordered further time be given until the next term of its court to receive bids, and that James Kuykendall be appointed commissioner of public buildings.

On April 21, 1856, the board ordered that a jail be built in the town of Calhoun, to be 24 by 16 feet and the contract let to the lowest bidder, and specified the details of construction. Nothing came of the first attempt at a courthouse. The feeling against the bogus laws became more widespread as the ranks of free-soilers enlarged; therefore, on May 19, 1856, the board ordered that "the order heretofore made to build a courthouse in the town of Calhoun be rescinded, as it is found impossible to make contracts for the building." On the same day, May 19, 1856, the board directed the commissioner of public buildings to "let the building of a frame courthouse, by public outcry, to the highest [lowest] bidder, or by private contract, as he thinks best, not to exceed \$2,500, to be located on the town plot of Calhoun, or on an adjoining land site, as the superintendent may select." On June 16, 1856, the board ordered that, "Whereas, a jail for the county has been let to Perry Fleshman at \$2,000, he file his bond in the sum of \$4,000." On January 9, 1857, the board ordered that the contract and bond of Perry Fleshman for the building of a jail be rescinded.

On October 11, 1858, an election was held in the county to permanently locate a county seat, which resulted in favor of Holton. There being a doubt of the legality of the action, the legislature of 1859 confirmed the selection. That legislature also enacted a law changing the name of the county from Calhoun to Jackson.

Changes occurred in the personnel of the county board of commissioners. The well-remembered Chauncey J. Cowell, Byron Stewart and Aaron Foster were now (1859) members, with Henry S. Westlake sheriff.

In the early fall of 1859 the Holton Town Association, aware of the need of a court house, secured a subscription for building one on lot 48, Pennsylvania avenue, where the store of J. G. Hinnen now stands, east of the public park. Sufficient funds were collected to enclose and partially finish a frame structure, with oak frame and cottonwood and pine boarding finish.

On November 11, 1859, the Town Association donated said lot 48, Pennsylvania avenue, and the building, as improved, to the county, and a bond in the sum of \$1,000 executed by George Smith, C. J. Cowell, W. F. Creitz and others, conditioned for the completion of the courthouse, was held satisfied and returned. The subscription paper for the building was placed in the hands of C. J. Cowell to collect, whatever balance there was to be returned to the Town Association; and thereupon the board ordered an appropriation for the completion of the courthouse, and the work went along at once.

On July 6, 1860, the building was ready for occupancy, and the board assigned rooms in the second story to the several county officials: the southeast room for the district clerk and sheriff; the west room for the county clerk, probate judge and register of deeds; and the northeast room for the treasurer and county attorney.

At the same time the board ordered that a proposition be submitted to the electors of the county to raise \$1,400 on the credit of the county to build a county jail. They further ordered that the corner of the courthouse be braced up with skids or poles to be strung along the north side, and that H. I. Gunter do the job for \$8. Some here present to-day will recall those supports that for so many years shed a spicy flavor on the scenery.

Kansas having now acquired statehood, a new and sane era supplanted the years of lawlessness, violence and ruffianism. With confidence restored, the obstacles that beset the state's development gave way and cleared an opening for a campaign of public works. The exhaustion of so long a period of disorder made progress slow in this regard at first.

On February 28, 1870, the county board, then being J. F. Pomeroy, G. W. Drake and W. H. Chase, caused an election to be held in the county upon the proposal to build a courthouse to cost \$16,000, to be raised by direct taxation in equal levies in the years 1870, 1871 and 1872. Plans by John S. McKain were adopted, and on June 17, 1870, the contract to build was awarded to Hockham & Co. and Anderson & Liddell.⁵ Work was promptly begun and the building completed in the spring of 1871.

The first term of court began in this courthouse on the third day of May, 1871, Judge John T. Morton presiding, and the following-named lawyers attending: Keller and Snyder, Hopkins and Hayden,⁶ Wm. H. Dodge and W. S. Hoaglin. The writer of these memoirs being a little lame, arrived one month after.

The prolonged struggles of the pioneers of the county to establish a tribunal of merit was at last won, and its dedication was had amid the joyful acclaims of the public. But it was not destined to survive the demands of a later and more progressive period. It has been scrapped and thrown into dis-

5. "As an appropriation was made of \$16,000 for courthouse purposes, and as the several bids received exceeded that amount, there was an order for modifying the plans, time for completion of the building and amending the bids, and a contract was finally made for the erection of the building at a cost of \$21,000."—Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 1389.

6. John L. Keller, M. L. Snyder, John S. Hopkins and Charles Hayden.

card, and another, of lofty conception, and age-enduring, rests in its place, there to stand, in the words of Shakespeare, "Till Birnam wood remove to Dunsinane."

Under the organic act creating Kansas a territory, May 30, 1854, the President appointed three judges—Samuel D. Lecompte, of Maryland, Rush Elmore, of Alabama, and Saunders W. Johnston, of Ohio. They constituted together a supreme court, and separately judges of the three judicial districts of the territory. They were proslavery men. The legislature that enacted the bogus laws finding its work the subject of widespread criticism and denunciation, made a formal request that these judges decide judicially the legality of these bogus laws. Two of the judges complied, and in voluminous opinion sustained their legality. The governor had vetoed them. Judge Johnston very properly declined to sit in a proceeding transcending the power of a court, there being no case before it. For taking this stand, he and the governor were removed from office. Judge Johnston was succeeded by Jeremiah M. Burrill, who shortly resigned. Sterling G. Cato was then appointed, and also Thomas Cunningham. The latter also resigned. Judge Lecompte was removed and Judge John Pettit took his place by appointment as chief justice in June, 1859.⁷

Of the judges appointed by the President, Judge Lecompte, Judge Elmore and Judge Pettit have sat as a court in Jackson county—the first named while it was Calhoun county; the last two named presided after Kansas became a state.

Before closing the topic of federal judges, it is interesting to note that during the period from 1855 to 1859 the President made ten appointments of federal judges for Kansas. Three only constituted a supreme court, and the territory had but three judicial districts, to which the three judges were assigned as district judges. There is reason to believe that it was distasteful, to put it mildly, to some of these ten appointees to serve on these benches, which accounts for resignations and refusal to continue in service. They were generally men of ability and excellent attainments, especially Judges Elmore and Pettit, who nevertheless were willing to sit and administer the bogus enactments. These, among other un-American propaganda, barred every antislavery resident of Kansas from holding office, which would in fact have resulted in reversing the political doctrine of the ascendancy of the majority over the minority.

The earliest preserved record of the district court of Jackson county is a journal of court presided over by Judge Rush Elmore, the term opening September 6, 1858. In it a grand jury was empaneled that returned into court twenty-four indictments. Eleven were whisky cases to Indians, others over a bar without a license, selling on Sunday, gambling, keeping gambling house, two assault cases, one to kill. The current value of whisky, as alleged, was one dollar per gallon. This journal is a blank book of twenty-two leaves,

7. Jeremiah M. Burrill held the office of associate justice of Kansas territory but a very short time. During the summer of 1856 he returned to his home in Greensburg, Pa., where he died October 21. He was succeeded by Thomas Cunningham, who was commissioned November 19, 1856, and who served until June 3, 1857. In his turn he was succeeded by Joseph Williams, commissioned June 3, 1857, and serving to February, 1861, the termination of the territorial government. Rush Elmore served as associate justice to September 13, 1858, when he was succeeded by Sterling G. Cato. Cato held the office until August 13, 1858, when Rush Elmore was again appointed and continued as associate justice until the end of the territorial government, in February, 1861. S. D. Lecompte served as chief justice until March 9, 1859, when he was succeeded by John Pettit. Judge Pettit continued in office until February 9, 1861.

with flexible pasteboard cover. Upon the last leaf thereof are the signatures under the following heading: "Roll of attorneys in the district court within and for the county of Calhoun, Kansas territory": John Martin, J. P. Grier, E. Hoogland, H. Reid, Wm. Henry Dodge, and A. Winants.

At the following term of court, October, 1859, Judge John Pettit presided. He had that year been appointed by the President as chief justice to succeed Judge Lecompte, removed. The indictments mentioned were at this term of court nollied by the prosecutor, Aquila J. Reid, who was appointed prosecuting attorney by Judge Pettit, making him the first county attorney of Jackson county. Several civil cases were tried also at this term.

By October, 1859, Kansas was preparing to enter statehood, and the system of appointing judges by the President to administer the local judiciary ceased.

The state election in 1859 resulted in the election of William C. McDowell as judge of the second judicial district, which then included Jackson county. He was succeeded in the election of 1864 by Judge Jacob Safford, who held the office but one year. In 1865 he was succeeded by Judge Charles K. Gilchrist, who died in 1867. In 1868 Jackson county was placed in the third judicial district, and that year Judge John T. Morton was elected, and reëlected in 1872 and again in 1876. In 1880 Judge Robert Crozier was elected, and reëlected in 1884 and again in 1888.⁸ He was succeeded by Judge Louis A. Myers, who was elected in 1892.

An interim here occurs through a change to biennial elections. This interim was filled by appointment by the governor of Judge Charles F. Johnson. In 1889 Judge Marshall Gephart was elected, his term expiring in 1903, and there being no election that year, the governor appointed Cyrus F. Hurrel as judge to fill the interim. In 1904 Judge Gephart was again elected and was succeeded by Judge Oscar Raines, who was elected in 1908 and reëlected in 1912. In 1916 Judge Fred T. Woodburn was elected, and died while presiding, on March 21, 1920. In the fall of 1920 the present incumbent, Judge M. A. Bender, was elected. Of all these elective judges and those of presidential appointment, but two are living, Judge Oscar Raines and Judge Bender.

The city, whose site struck its promoters as a thing of beauty, now sits like a queen between the Banner and the Elk.

This historical romance would be incomplete if we failed to applaud our board of commissioners, F. H. Hall, C. L. Gray and Otto Hochuli, for the erection of a structure that is a model of adaptability and beauty.

In closing allow me to say, it is a comfort to one who has served out his usefulness in a profession that pictures such abounding and varied experiences as pertain to this forum, to number among his associates during half a century many bright fellows who mingled with bold strivings of the forum, the enchantment of a social brotherhood. And to some of you here to-day there will instinctively come the faces of Broderick, Hayden, Woodburn and others.

8. The following story of the appearance of Judge Crozier as judge of the third judicial district is told by Judge J. G. Slonecker, who was then a young attorney but recently came to Kansas:

"Judge Crozier was a good dresser, always dressed immaculately, and when he was elected district judge his reputation in that regard went throughout the district. The county commissioners of Jackson county, understanding this, thought they should pay some attention to appearances, so they furnished up the court room, swept out the sawdust that had covered the floor for many years, and replaced it with matting. When the judge went to the county seat to hold court for the first time after his election, the sheriff, one of the few original characters then living, opened court in the usual way, and then added: "We have a new judge on the bench and a new carpet on the floor. Pay due respect to the former and don't spit on the latter."

THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS.

An Historical Sketch by JAMES H. LOWELL.

THE story here given of this famous encounter, in January, 1859, on Straight creek, a few miles northwest of Holton, is largely from the reminiscences of Mrs. Julia A. Coffin, who lived in Holton at that time and remained a resident until the year 1912, when she joined a married daughter in Arkansas, and died there December 29, 1915, at the age of eighty-four years. The details here given, some of which will be new to the public eye, are in harmony with the excellent narrative of Mr. L. L. Kiene.¹ Mrs. Coffin met some of the actors in this drama at the time.

There came to Holton one night in January, 1859, three prairie schooners to stop till morning. The party in charge were given a meal in the hotel, and while there the cry of a child in one of the wagons led to the discovery that Negroes were in the wagons. They were mostly women and children, eleven in number. They were cared for, and the party left early in the morning. Holton was a station on Jim Lane's trail, as called, or underground railroad. The party in charge was John Brown, with Capt. Charles Whipple and J. H. Kagi. I will say here that Capt. Whipple in this narrative is no other than Aaron D. Stevens mentioned in other narratives. He bore the name of Whipple while in Kansas. He was a terror to the proslavery advocates, and both civil and military authorities were kept busy trying to catch him. He shared the same fate as old John Brown at Harper's Ferry. The fugitives had been taken from the farms of three persons in Missouri named Hicklan, Cruise and LaRue, and in the raid Cruise was killed. The weather was cold, and until they reached Topeka from Missouri, their thin clothing exposed the Negroes to much suffering. This was remedied there through aid procured by Daniel Sheridan, Colonel Ritchie and others.

On leaving Holton the party drove northwest, arriving at the log house of Albert Fuller on Straight creek, some six miles away, on January 29, 1859. The roads were bad, hard rains had set in, so they thought to stay at Fuller's overnight. A few hours after leaving Holton, a party of about thirty under command of John P. Wood, a deputy United States marshal, rode into Holton making inquiries as to the fugitives. During their stop a messenger was sent on by the Holtonites to give the fugitive party warning. The Fuller cabin was on the northeast quarter of section 10, township 6, range 15, and not on section 34 as given in other narratives. In the meantime the Negroes had been stowed safely in the cabin, and Captain Whipple had gone down stream to a convenient watering place and was watering his horse, when two of Wood's men came suddenly on him. "Have you seen any niggers around here?" asked one. "Yes," said Whipple, "there are some up in that cabin, I'll go over with you." On reaching the house, Whipple grabbed his rifle, saying: "If you move you're a dead man." The second man put spurs to his horse and made off.

Deputy Marshal Wood, waiting below, drew up his force in the shelter of the timber and sent a courier for reinforcements. Brown also was active and

1. "The Battle of the Spurs and John Brown's exit from Kansas," written by L. L. Kiene, will be found in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 8, p. 443.

sent a man of the neighborhood named Wasson to Topeka for help. It was Sunday, but Colonel Ritchie and John Armstrong rallied a dozen men and by a forced march reached the field of battle January 31. Tom Anderson, a boy then, and a few others joined them. Meanwhile a deputy marshal, by threats and intimidation, secured a number of men in the country around. The man Whipple captured was paroled, on his promise to return to Holton, there to remain three days—a pledge he faithfully kept. The opposing forces were now in position for the conflict, with all the insignia of battle, the Negroes in the cabin; the cabin on one side protected by a steep bank of the river or stream. But, as might have been expected, John Brown, true to his instincts, did here, as always, the unusual thing. He had his human freight loaded up, declaring that he would cross the stream despite the high water.

"But," said one, "it is perilous to take the water here and a safe crossing is a few miles up stream." "I am going to stick to the Jim Lane road," said Brown, and on they went, a force of twenty-one men, Brown in the lead, confronting forty-five entrenched men on the opposite bank. The ford was reached and they were exposed to the fire of the marshal's force, but on through the stream, with undaunted nerve toward the position of the enemy, went Brown.

The spectacle of Brown leading his little army through the water, the wagons bringing up the rear, was enough. Out of their entrenched protection, Wood's men, whether by order or not, broke for their mounts and fled away to the safety of the protecting hills in one wild panic. The panoply of battle fell like a veil.

At the entrance to the farmhouse now on this battle site the passer-by will note a shaft made up of cobblestones cemented in form of a tapering monument, surmounted by a mail box, labeled "Fort Spurs."

GENERAL INDEX.

A.		Adrian, Mo.	334
A. B. Chambers, steamboat.....	554	Aerial squadron, 870th A. E. F.	457
Abalone shells, much prized by Indians, ..	58	Agricultural College, Kansas State.....	244
Abbeyville (S. C.) <i>Banner</i>	414	Agricultural products of Kansas, statis-	
Abbeyville, S. C., emigrants to Kansas		tics	282
from	414	Agriculture, first report issued by Kan-	
—Kansas Society, sponsors of	414	sas, 1872	283
Abbott, James B.	218	Agua Asule, near the Pecos river.....	72
Abell, Peter T.	378, 392, 431, 432	Ague	505, 555, 556
—president Atchison Town Company,		Aguinaldo, Emilio	21
and a proslavery leader	350	Aid for Kansas, contributed by the East, ..	18
—secretary Atchison proslavery commit-		Aikin, Mr. —	339
tee, in charge of movement to people		Akers, Neale E.	462, 465, 467
Kansas with southerners	430	—acting state secretary, Kansas Depart-	
—denies that proslavery men sold out		ment, American Legion	463
to free-state faction	435	Akkerman, Bessarabia, Russia., ..	579, 580, 581
—speaker in Carroll county, Mo., to raise		583, 585, 587, 590	
money for proslavery cause in Kansas, ..	379	Akkerman river	581
—statement of, regarding expenditures		Alabama	331, 338, 339, 346
by his committee	430	343, 362, 379, 392, 399, 406	
Aberdeen county, Miss., company for		407, 421, 430, 431, 436, 438	
Kansas raised in	412	439, 444, 445, 449, 463, 596	
Abert, Lieut. J. W.	40, 49, 63	—Buford expedition to Kansas financed	
—exploring expedition of	57	by	395
—and Lieut. W. G. Peck, left at Bent's		—Democratic convention held in	428
Fort by Fremont to explore the coun-		—Kansas emigrants from	395
try south of the Arkansas river.....	74	—Miami county, Kan., settlers from....	351
Abilene	473, 506, 512, 517	—Mobile men bound for Kansas.....	396
—prediction that the state capital would		—Money appropriated by legislature of,	
be removed to	518	to equip and transport company to	
—Texas cattle shipped to eastern points		Kansas	396, 397
from	499	—Money pledged by citizens of, for Kan-	
Abolition newspapers of Missouri, destruc-		sas cause	396
tion of, recommended at proslavery		—zeal for Kansas subsidies	400
meeting at Weston	390	Alabama Historical Society Transac-	
Abolitionists	364, 488	tions	400, 450
—numbers in North greatly exaggerated, ..	343	<i>Alabama Journal</i>	396
Ackerman, Mr. —, arrested for allow-		Alamogordo, N. M.	575, 576
ing minor to play part of Little Eva,		Alaska	467
in Uncle Tom's Cabin, while at Coffey-		Albert, —, escape of, from Turley's	
ville	318	mill	80
Adair, C. S.	557	Albion Academy	15
Adair, George	557	Alexander, Col. Roger G.	451
Adair, Margaret Ramsey	557	Algonquin, meaning of.....	92
Adair, Samuel Lyle, biographical sketch		Algonquin tribes, conquered by Iroquois	
of	557	league	93
Adair, Mrs. Samuel Lyle, half sister of		Alien suffrage in Kansas, remarks of D. R.	
John Brown	557	Atchison concerning	357
—death of, 1865	557	All Saints emigrants, under leadership of	
Adams, Henry J., first free-state mayor		John R. Allston.....	415
of Leavenworth	350	Allan, Mrs. Sarah E., née Greever.....	230
Adamson, Dr. V. V., of Holton.....	593	Allen, Col. D. C., justifies voting of Mis-	
Adamson, "Uncle" Thomas, first mayor		sourians in Kansas.....	340
of Holton	593	Allen, Dr. George H.	476
Adjusted compensation bill passed for		Allen, Gov. Henry J.	468, 477
ex-service men	477	—special session of legislature called by, ..	314
Adjutant Generals' Association of the		Allen, John	471, 479
United States	457	Allen county	201
Adkins, D. J.	381	Alley, William	593
Administration, State Board of.....	237	Allied Victory medal, U. S.	12
Adobe	39, 42	Allston, John R.	415, 417
—brick, Bent's Fort built of	32, 90	Allston, R. F. W.	415
—wool mixed with	32	Alt-Elft, Bessarabia	585
Adobe creek	90	Alt-Elft-Leipzig, Bessarabia	579
Adobe Fort, built at request of Kiowas,		Aiter, Dinsmore	471, 478
Comanches and Apaches	42	Alton, Ill., visited by delegation of Law-	
—important fights taking place near		rence business men.....	370, 371
ruins of	42, 43	Alvarado, José	71
—short history of	42, 43	<i>America</i> , steamboat	397
Adobe Walls, date of construction.....	42	<i>American</i> , New York.....	281
—second battle of, between buffalo hunt-		American bases in France, quality of men	
ers and Cheyennes, Kiowas and Com-		doing construction work at.....	452
anches	43		

- American Defense League, organized at Salina 476
- American Expeditionary Force in France,**
 assembled on the St. Mihiel front..... 454
 —at Meuse-Argonne battle..... 455
 —food of 452
 —French people marvel at work accomplished by 452
 —hardships encountered during first winter in France..... 452
 —medical attention received by 452
 —never placed in a sector of minor importance 453
 —on the Verdun front..... 455
 —quality of 452
 —railroads in France constructed by..... 453
 —rigid discipline and strict censorship of..... 452
 —spread from Switzerland to the British Channel at close of 1918..... 454
 —Summary of the Achievements, written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by Lieut. McKinley W. Krieh, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A..... 451
 —tribute to 456
 —twenty members of, meet at Circle Militaire, Paris, to discuss formation of organization of ex-service men.... 458
 —First division 452, 465, 476
 —employed at deep and dangerous salients driven into the allied front... 453
 —in Meuse-Argonne battle..... 455
 —in St. Mihiel attack 455
 —Second division 452
 —in attack on St. Mihiel 455
 —in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Ninth regiment infantry..... 478
 —recaptures railroad station at Boursches, France 454
 —Third division, assists in repulsing German offensive toward Chalons..... 454
 —in Meuse-Argonne battle..... 455
 —Fourth division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Fifth division, in attack on St. Mihiel, 455
 —in Meuse-Argonne battle..... 455
 —Seventh division 477
 —Twenty-sixth division 452
 —in attack on St. Mihiel 455
 —in Meuse-Argonne battle..... 455
 —Twenty-seventh division, engaged in heavy fighting 455
 —Twenty-eighth division, assists in repulsing German offensive towards Chalons 454
 —Twenty-ninth division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Thirtieth division, engaged in heavy fighting 455
 —Thirty-second division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Thirty-third division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Thirty-fifth division 460
 —Thirty-sixth division, engaged in heavy fighting 455
 —Forty-second division 452
 —fighting east of Rheims..... 454
 —in attack on St. Mihiel 455
 —in Meuse-Argonne battle..... 455
 —Seventy-fifth division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Seventy-eighth division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Eightieth division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Eighty-first division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —Eighty-second division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —in St. Mihiel attack..... 455
 —Eighty-ninth division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
- American Expeditionary Force in France,**
 Eighty-ninth division, in St. Mihiel attack 455
 —Ninetieth division, in Meuse-Argonne battle 455
 —in St. Mihiel attack..... 455
 American Federation of Labor..... 310
 American Fur Company..... 51
 —Bent brothers in the employ of..... 29
 American Historical Association..... 334
American Historical Review..... 450
American Legion, military titles dropped
 by members not in active service.... 465
 —Kansas delegates to national conventions of 480, 481
 —Kansas delegates to St. Louis caucus, 1919 478
 —Kansas representation asked for in incorporation of 463
 —Kansas shows gain in membership.... 477
 —membership of one million nine months after organization 467
 —obligation of 469
 —plans for organizing throughout the United States 459
 —St. Louis caucus, May, 1919..... 478
 —stand on military training..... 467
 —visit to Belgium 476
 —Kansas department, account of first state convention 466
 —adoption of state paper by Legion considered 469
 —affiliation of the National Military Sisterhood considered 469
 —appointment of department adjutant 466
 —birth of 459
 —changes in executive committee.... 463
 —charters granted by 462
 —constitution and by-laws prepared... 461
 —county organizers of posts..... 462
 —delegates to first, second and third national conventions 479, 480, 481
 —department adjutant instructed to request volunteers to dig coal..... 469
 —dependent on payment of dues from members for its resources..... 464
 —district committeemen chosen 461
 —early history of, written by Thomas Amory Lee, for the Kansas State Historical Society 456
 —effort to keep nonpolitical..... 463
 —executive committee 478
 —no records kept of first two meetings 462
 —recommended appointment of a secret intelligence committee.... 467
 —various meetings of.... 461, 466, 470
 —first post organized in state..... 462
 —growth of 465, 467
 —letter used without authority for campaign purposes 472
 —managed by young men..... 460
 —members make pilgrimage to France on invitation of French republic... 476
 —membership of 466, 477
 —declines in coal district..... 469
 —method adopted in numbering posts, 462
 —number of posts and membership of 464, 470
 —officers elected 466, 471, 477, 478
 —organization of 457
 —permanent headquarters established at Topeka 464, 466
 —resolutions of executive committee regarding Nonpartisan League trouble, 474
 —stand taken against violations of law and order 466
 —temporary state organization effected 459, 460

- American Legion, Kansas department, third annual convention, Hutchinson . . . 477
 —use of German language in meetings of . . . 469
 —Wichita men agree to go to coal fields and dig coal . . . 468
 —Missouri department . . . 478
 —Woman's Auxiliary, list of officers . . . 473
 American Legion Auxiliary . . . 469
American Legion Weekly, early history of . . . 463
 American Marine Brigade Wood . . . 454
 American Missionary Association . . . 557
 American Political Science Association . . . 334
 American state papers . . . 31, 39, 59
 American trappers settle on upper Arkansas . . . 67
 Americans, renegade, engaged in liquor traffic among Indians . . . 59
 Ancrum, Thomas J. . . . 415
 "Andele, the Mexican Kiowa Captive" . . . 72
 Anderson & Liddell . . . 595
 Anderson, Clifford . . . 402
 Anderson, Geo. W. . . . 462
 Anderson, Rev. Harrison Ray, Presbyterian minister . . . 475
 Anderson, Rev. John A., preached in Brown's hall, Junction City . . . 504
 Anderson, John W. . . . 403
 Anderson, Joseph C. . . . 360, 392
 Anderson, Col. Oliver . . . 386
 Anderson, R. T. . . . 481
 Anderson, Tom . . . 599
 Anderson, William, killing of . . . 488
 Anderson, S. C., Kansas meeting held in . . . 415
 Anderson boys, Missouri guerrillas . . . 488
 —steal horses belonging to A. I. Baker . . . 488
 —and Yeager band participate in destruction of Lawrence . . . 488
 Anderson county . . . 450
 Andreas, A. T., *History of Kansas* . . . 227, 349
 . . . 417, 450, 488, 491, 565, 593, 595
 Antelope . . . 40, 53, 478, 483, 497, 527
 Antietam, battle of . . . 205, 590
 Antiliquor Convention, called for Topeka . . . 208
 Antislavery sentiment in the South . . . 443
 Apache Indians . . . 42, 57, 64, 72
 —agreement made with General Sanborn, 1865 . . . 529
 —buried in holes in stone bluff on Arkansas river . . . 91
 —in Arizona . . . 538
 —raids . . . 66, 71
 —Prairie (Jicarilla) . . . 47, 69, 84
 —attacked by Colonel Carson and force . . . 43
 —call William Bent "Roman Nose" . . . 31
 —outbreak of smallpox among . . . 85
 —ranged with the Kiowas . . . 69
 Apache creek, also known as Chico creek . . . 89
 Apache Stone Bluff, location of . . . 91
 Apishpa creek, short history of . . . 89, 90
 Apprentice laws, Kansas . . . 293
 Apprentices, care and education of . . . 255
 Apt, F. G. . . . 479
 Arapahoe Indians . . . 31, 45, 47, 48, 55, 57, 58
 . . . 69, 75, 84, 89, 525, 526
 —agreement with Gen. Sanborn, 1865 . . . 529
 —attacked by Col. Carson and force . . . 43
 —given annuity goods intended for Cheyennes . . . 87
 —go south to the Arkansas . . . 31
 —massacre of, at Sand Creek . . . 87
 —raid Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency . . . 91
 —raid country south of the Platte . . . 31
 —raid ranch of Charles Autobee . . . 66
 —Southern, range of . . . 69
 —war trail of . . . 89
 Arapahoe and Cheyenne agency, located at Point of Rocks . . . 89, 90, 91
 Arend, Harold, of Downs . . . 462, 465
 Arendahronon, or Rock People, Huron confederacy . . . 92
 Argonne Forest, France . . . 455, 456
 —battle field of . . . 27
 Arikara Indians . . . 182
 Arikaree, Battle of . . . 492, 530, 538
 —Scouts of. *See* Scouts.
 Arikaree river, fork of Republican river, . . . 492, 503, 530, 531, 532
 —camp of scouts on north bank of . . . 542
 Arizona . . . 11, 332, 557, 575
 —Apache Indians in . . . 538
 —desert . . . 68
 —Indian fighting in, during Civil War . . . 530
 —percentage of women prisoners in . . . 310
 Arkansas . . . 3, 32, 331, 342, 358, 362
 . . . 388, 392, 395, 425, 427
 . . . 436, 439, 442, 557, 598
 —citizens committee from, visits Kansas, 400
 —emigrants from, enroute for Kansas . . . 401
 —free-state men from . . . 402
 —Kansas troubles of interest to . . . 400
 —Negroes . . . 336
 Arkansas City . . . 461, 466, 471, 473, 476
 Arkansas river . . . 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37
 . . . 38, 41, 42, 43, 48, 50, 57
 . . . 59, 63, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74
 . . . 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88
 . . . 90, 91, 526, 527, 529
 —American and Mexican trappers settle on upper reaches . . . 67
 —apprehension of Indian war on upper reaches . . . 525
 —Bents and St. Vrain lead trappers to upper reaches of . . . 29
 —big bend of . . . 401
 —Gant and Blackwell on upper . . . 44
 —Indians along upper reaches of . . . 31
 —notes on map of the upper . . . 89
 Armenia and the Near East, Gen. Harbord appointed to investigate conditions in . . . 11
 Armenians . . . 579, 580, 583
 Armijo, Gen. Manuel, in charge of Mexican troops on Santa Fe trail . . . 73
 —reported to be fortifying canyon near Santa Fe . . . 76
 Arms, Abraham, Wyandot Indian . . . 107, 128
 Arms, Eliza, Wyandot Indian . . . 107, 128
 Arms, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian . . . 107
 Arms, John, Wyandot Indian . . . 107, 128
 Arms, Joseph, Wyandot Indian . . . 107, 128
 Armstrong, Catherine, Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, Catherine A., Wyandot Indian . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, Eliza, Wyandot Indian (Mrs. Bland) . . . 124, 154, 161
 Armstrong, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, Ellen C. G., Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, Ethian, Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, Hannah, Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 128, 160
 Armstrong, Henry G., Wyandot Indian, 129
 Armstrong, Henry J., Wyandot Indian . . . 107
 Armstrong, James, Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 126, 128
 Armstrong, John, Topeka, at Battle of the Spurs . . . 599
 Armstrong, John M., Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 128, 184
 Armstrong, Lucinda, Wyandot Indian (Mrs. Forsyth) . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, Lucy B., Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, McIntire, Wyandot Indian, . . . 107, 129

- Armstrong, Manor, Wyandot Indian . . . 117, 129
 Armstrong, Martha, Wyandot Indian, 107, 129
 Armstrong, Mary, Wyandot Indian (Mrs. Faber) . . . 124, 154, 161
 Armstrong, Rebecca, Wyandot Indian . . . 107, 126, 128
 Armstrong, Robert, Wyandot Indian, 107, 129
 Armstrong, Russell B., Wyandot Indian, 107, 129
 Armstrong, Sarah, Wyandot Indian (Mrs. Johnson) . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, Silas, Wyandot Indian . . . 107, 129, 185
 —portrait of . . . 105
 Armstrong, Silas, jr., Wyandot Indian, 107, 129
 Armstrong, Tabitha, Wyandot Indian (Mrs. Vedder) . . . 107, 129
 Armstrong, W. . . . 533
 —wounded at battle of Arikaree . . . 534
 Armstrong, Winfield S., Wyandot Indian, 107, 129
 Armstrong, Zelinda, Wyandot Indian, 107, 129
 Armstrong family, Wyandot Indians, founding of . . . 185
 Armstrong float . . . 103
 Army, American, at Bent's fort at outbreak of Mexican War . . . 75
Army and Navy Journal . . . 73
 Arrowheads, hoop iron used for making, 58
 Arrows, medicine . . . 46
 —shot by Indians at battle of Arikaree, 534, 535, 544
 Arroyo Hondo, Turley's mill on . . . 79
 Artichokes . . . 515, 521
 Arthur, Michael . . . 381
 Artzis . . . 579
 Ash Hollow campaign . . . 56
 Ashland, Riley county . . . 407
 Assessed property value, Kansas, increased . . . 280
 Astor, John Jacob, head of American Fur Company . . . 51
 Atchison, David R. . . 188, 335, 336, 341, 348, 360, 362, 370, 372, 373, 380, 386, 389, 417, 421, 426, 431, 435, 439
 —animosity toward Benton . . . 354, 364
 —appeal to the South . . . 360
 —aspired to be elected U. S. senator from Kansas . . . 359
 —attitude regarding settlement of Indian lands . . . 368
 —Benton controversy . . . 353
 —candidacy for President waged by the *Squatter Sovereign* . . . 349
 —denounced by St. Louis citizens . . . 357
 —determination of, to terrorize the Kansas border . . . 361
 —efforts in behalf of Southern emigration to Kansas . . . 359
 —feeling in Missouri legislature against . . . 358
 —hints at unauthorized solicitation of funds in the South . . . 431
 —letter to Col. Alpheus Baker quoted . . 360
 —letter to Mayor J. D. Treadwell, of Columbia, S. C., quoted . . . 361
 —Missouri slaveholders not all in sympathy with . . . 363
 —objections to foreigners in Kansas, 356, 357
 —opposition of, to the Pacific railroad project . . . 354, 367
 —political death of . . . 359
 —political fortunes of . . . 355
 —rebuked by Missouri . . . 338
 —speeches at Platte City, Mo., quoted, 356, 359
 —with Platte county, Mo., men against John Brown in Kansas . . . 391
 Atchison . . . 281, 319, 348, 353, 378, 382, 431, 462, 465, 466, 471, 477, 478
 Atchison, date of organization . . . 350
 —proslavery committee at, urged to render an accounting . . . 430
 —proslavery town . . . 350
 —Soldiers' Orphans' Home located at, 234, 235
 —South Carolina emigrants arrive at . . 419
 —supply center during famine . . . 567
 —Theodore Roosevelt, jr., speaks at . . 465
 Atchison county . . . 292
 —proslavery in sentiment . . . 350
Atchison Champion . . . 207, 227, 327, 333
 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company . . . 15, 574
 —women employees of . . . 326
 Atlanta, Ga. . . . 399
Atlanta (Ga.) Examiner . . . 440
 Atsena Indians . . . 31
 —Col. Dodge quoted concerning . . . 31
 —come south to the Arkansas . . . 31
 —often visited with their kinsmen, the Arapahoes . . . 69
 —raid south of the Platte . . . 31
 Atter, W. H., Bolivar, Mo. . . . 383
 Attiguauquanton, or Bear People, Huron confederation . . . 92
 Attiguenongnahac, or Cord People, Huron confederation . . . 92
 Aubrey, F. X. . . . 85
 —location of crossing on trail opened up by . . . 85
 Auburn, Ala., company of Kansas emigrants raised at . . . 395
 Augenheim . . . 579
Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, opposes scheme of sending emigrants to Kansas . . . 441
Augusta (Ga.) Constitutionalist . . . 428
 —issues call for money to send men to Kansas . . . 401
 Austin, M. H. . . . 393
 Autobee, Charles, also written "Orto-bees" . . . 66
 —beaver trapper, at Bent's Stockade, 31, 65
 —sketch of . . . 66
 —takes news of murder of Gov. Charles Bent to Bent's Fort . . . 78, 79
 Automobile laws, first passed in the west, 15
 Avleson, Mrs. —, homestead of . . . 505
 Axtell . . . 231
 Ayer, Gen. Lewis M., emigrants under, start for Kansas . . . 419

B.

- Babin, M., commendation of Pershing's soldiers at battle of St. Mihil . . . 455
 Backfiring to protect against prairie fires, 511
 Bacon . . . 483
 Bacon, Lydia . . . 501
 Bad Heart, charged twice through scouts on Beecher Island, unwounded . . . 533
 Baden, Germany . . . 579
 Badger, George Edmond, of North Carolina, opinion as to slavery in Kansas . . 336
 Bagbag river, swam by a Kansan . . . 21
 Bailey, Gov. W. J., child-labor legislation urged by . . . 295
 Bain, George W., of Kentucky . . . 221
 Baker, A. I., killed by Anderson's gang of guerrillas . . . 488
 —store of, on Rock creek . . . 488
 Baker, Col. Alpheus . . . 431
 —Kansas agent to raise money, canvassed many Southern states . . . 361
 —letter of D. R. Atchison to, quoted . . 360
 —sent South as representative of proslavery forces in Kansas territory, 347, 411
 Baker, Judge Arthur Ingraham, footnote concerning the killing of . . . 488
 Baker, Furman, of Topeka, came west to engage in cattle business . . . 500

- Baker University, Baldwin, Kan. 557
 Bakery, started at Hays by S. Shlesinger, 540
 Baldhead, name by which Blackwell, trader, was known to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes 45
 Baldwin, Clifford W. 481
 Baldwin 483, 548
 —Baker University 557
 —early efforts of, towards prohibition, 195
 —education of deaf and dumb first begun at 269
 —Old Settlers' Association met at 548
 "Baldwin Ferry," landing place at Lawrence 549
 Ballentine, James S. 164
Baltimore Sun 409
 Banate, provinces included in 580, 581
 —Russia banished all her criminals to 581
 Baneroff, Hubert Howe 45, 68
 —History of Colorado 41, 70, 81
 —History of New Mexico 48, 49, 50
 Baneroff, Nemaha county 590
Bangor (Me.) Daily Mercury 342, 413
 Banker, L. W. 461, 480
 Bankhead, Col. Henry C., commanding at Fort Wallace 536
 —led second party relieving Forsyth's scouts, on tenth day 545
 Banner creek 597
 Barbee, Mary Eliza, Shawnee Indian 175
 Barbee, Sarah, Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Barbee, William, Shawnee Indian 174, 175
 Barber, John 172
 Barber, R. R. 404
 Barbour county, Ala. 445
 Barker, George J., a power in Kansas politics 229
 Barklay, Jas. F. 478
 Barksdale, Hon. Mr. 392
 Barley 515, 580, 584
 —Kansas, statistics of production 282
 Barlow, Ann Eliza, Wyandot Indian 174
 Barlow, John M., Shawnee Indian 174
 Barlow, Mary, Shawnee Indian 174
 Barnes, James M. 162
 Barnes, William, one of commanders of squad in search of John Brown 351
 Barnett, Henry, Wyandot Indian 108, 129
 Barnett, James, Wyandot Indian 108, 129
 Barnett, Jane, Wyandot Indian 108, 129
 Barnett, John, Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Barnett, Louis, Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Barnett, Margaret, Wyandot Indian 107
 Barnett, Martha, Wyandot Indian 108, 129
 Barnett, Mathew, Wyandot Indian 107, 126
 Barnett, Silas, Wyandot Indian 108, 129
 Barnett, Theresa, Wyandot Indian 108, 129
 Barnett, W. B., Hiawatha 233
 Barnett, William, Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Bartles, Jacob H. 167
 Bartlett, Sylvanus P. 162, 163
 Bartlett's map 57
 Bartol, J. R. 392
 Barton county, Mo. 450
 Bates, Edward, letter of, quoted 369
 Bates, John 211
 Bates county, Mo. 334
 —free-state settlers to 443
 —land values in, during 1856 443
 Battle, Arikaree 530
 —border war, last 548, 552
 —Corpus Christi 72
 —for free soil ended 572
 —Osawatimie, August 30, 1856 555
 —evidences of, seen in 1857 555
 —Spurs 592
 —An Historical Sketch, by James H. Lowell 598
 —Valverde 37
 Bavaria, Germany 579, 584
 Baxter, J. L. 480
 Baxter Springs 282
 Bayard, Lieut. George, kills Kiowa chief called Pawnee, near Peacock's ranch on Walnut creek 43
 Bayliss resolution, passed at Weston, Mo., 389
 —quoted from 388
 Beale, Lieut. Edward Fitzgerald, protest against his exploration of the central route to Pacific 367
 Bear 100
 —one of the totemic animals of Wyandots 97
 —People of the 97
 Bear People, or Attignauanton, one of Huron confederation 92
 Beard, William 392
 Bearskin, Catherine, Wyandot Indian 122
 Bearskin, Eliza, Wyandot Indian 151, 160
 Bearskin, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian 122
 Bearskin, Francis, Wyandot Indian 151, 160
 Bearskin, George, Wyandot Indian 108, 122
 Bearskin, James, Wyandot Indian 126, 130, 151, 160
 Bearskin, John I., Wyandot Indian 122
 Bearskin, John L., Wyandot Indian 151, 160
 Bearskin, John S., Wyandot Indian 108
 Bearskin, Joseph, Wyandot Indian 128, 130
 Bearskin, Joseph Peacock, Wyandot Indian 122
 Bearskin, Lucinda, Wyandot Indian 151, 160
 Bearskin, Margaret, Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Bearskin, Mary, Wyandot Indian 126, 130
 Bearskin, Oliver, Wyandot Indian 108
 Bearskin, Peter, Wyandot Indian 126, 130
 Bearskin, Sarah, Wyandot Indian 128, 130, 160
 Bearskin, William, Wyandot Indian 108
 Beates, Mr. — 503
 Beatty, Greever and, engage in pork-packing industry 230
 Beatty, Admiral Earl David, of British fleet, attended convention of American Legion at Kansas City, Mo. 478
 Beaubien, Judge Charles, of Taos, N. M., 50, 57, 78
 —head of colony on upper Arkansas 68
 Beaubien, N., killed at Taos during insurrection by Pueblo Indians 78
 Beaubien and Miranda Spanish land grant, later known as Maxwell grant 68
 —Lucien Maxwell gains control of 57
 Beaufort district, S. C., Kansas meeting held in 419
 Beauregard, La., Gen. Metcalf camp commander at 469
 Beaver, Hannah, Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Beaver, John, Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Beaver, John, jr., Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Beaver, Susan, Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Beaver, Susan, jr., Wyandot Indian 108, 130
 Beaver 32, 46, 65
 —one of totemic animals of Wyandots 97
 —People of the 97
 —skins 49
 —trapping, ceased to be profitable about 1838 67
 Beaver creek 530

- Beck, Franklin K., member Alabama legislature 396
- Beck, Capt. James 419
- Beck, James W. 394
- Beckwith, Lieut. E. G. 42, 85, 91
- quoted 83
- Beecher, Lieut. F. H., acting as guide for scouts 540
- adviser of Col. Forsyth 542
- shot in side, died at nightfall 533
- Beecher Island. 492, 535, 540, 541, 542
- date of battle on, between Forsyth's scouts and Indians 538
- formation of scouts upon 543
- location in Arikaree fork of Republican river, described 530, 532
- monument erected upon, in memory of Col. G. A. Forsyth and scouts 530
- site chosen morning of battle as best position for scouts 542
- white renegades fought with Indians in battle of 533
- Beecher Island Fight, The, by Scout John Hurst 530
- by Scout Sigmund Shlesinger 530, 538
- Beeler, Richard D. 593
- Beer, brewed in wash boiler at Hays 539
- sent from Leavenworth to legislators for active support against any changes in dramshop law 208, 209
- Belgian *croix de guerre* 478
- Belgium, American Legion members pay visit to 476
- German acts in, during recent war 22
- Bell, —, member of Hamelton's pro-slavery force, wounded by Eli Snyder at Trading Post 559
- Bell, Capt. — 415
- Bell, Capt. E. B., member of Buford expedition 392, 397
- Bell, Capt. E. E. 413
- Bell, J. J. 481
- Bell Air, Mo. 382
- Bell expedition, women and children absent from 440
- Belle, Cheyenne woman 37
- Belleau Wood, American troops stop German drive at 454
- French commandant resolved should be called American Marine Brigade Wood 454
- Belleville 215, 457
- Belleville Advocate* 421
- Bell's Cross Roads, S. C., Kansas meeting held at 419
- Beloit 466, 471, 477
- Bender, Judge M. A. 597
- Bender, Bessarabia 583
- Bennett, J. S. 400
- Bent & St. Vrain Company. 46, 50, 60, 63
- began business in Taos in 1832 46
- complain to superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis about liquor traffic among Indians 59
- employees of, chosen from various races 51
- forts owned by 41
- horses and mules owned by, stolen by Indians 33
- New Mexican cattle driven up to the Arkansas, wintered near Bent's Fort, 81
- partners in 45
- republic of Texas interferes with trade of 72
- volume of business done by 51
- Bent, Alfred, son of Charles 48
- Bent, Allen H., author of "Bent Family in America" 29
- Bent, Gov. Charles 30, 35, 45, 50, 51, 57, 61, 79
- Bent, Gov. Charles, account of killing of 76
- appointed governor of New Mexico 76
- birth of 28
- brought Mexicans to make adobe for Bent's Fort 32
- called White Hat by Cheyennes 31
- close rival of his brother William in esteem of traders, trappers and Indians of Upper Arkansas 48
- date of funeral 81
- early visits of, to New Mexico 32
- enters the Indian trade 29
- family of 78
- first expedition to Upper Arkansas in 1824 50
- large caravan captained by 48
- left no record of early visits to New Mexico 32
- letter to Secretary of State relative to conspiracy to expel U. S. troops and civil government of New Mexico 77
- made home in San Fernando, valley of Taos 48
- marriage of 48, 78
- murder of 46, 48, 61, 78, 81
- real cause of, by Indians of New Mexico 73
- popularity of, among Indians 79
- son of Silas Bent 28
- Bent, Mrs. Charles, maiden name Maria Ignacia Jaramillo 78
- sister of Josepha, who married Kit Carson 78
- with her children, shut up in house with body of husband, who was killed by Pueblo Indian 78
- Bent, Charles, son of William Bent and Yellow Woman 47
- death among Indians on Kansas border in 1868 47
- life saved after Sand creek affair 66
- Bent, Estafina, daughter of Gov. Charles Bent 48
- Bent, Edward, son of Judge Silas Bent 29
- Bent, George, son of Silas, and brother of William, birth of 29
- Bent, George, son of William, 29, 33, 36, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 54, 56, 61, 65, 83, 84, 85, 87, 91
- Author of "Forty Years with the Cheyennes" 533
- called "Little Beaver" by the Cheyennes 31
- children of 51
- dates of birth and death 47, 51
- left in charge of Bent's Fort 50
- letters of, to Geo. E. Hyde mentioned, 31
- marries a Mexican girl 51
- statement of, regarding destruction of Bent's Fort 32
- regarding location of Spring Bottom 90
- regarding name of Quarreling creek, 90
- trip to Old Mexico for horses and mules 60
- Bent, John, son of Silas, birth and education of 28
- Bent, Julia, daughter of William, date of birth, and marriage to Edmund G. Guerrier 47, 65
- Bent, Julia Ann, daughter of Silas, date of birth 28
- marriage to L. W. Boggs 28, 50
- same person as Juliannah Bent 28
- Bent, Juliannah. *See* Julia Ann.
- Bent, Mary, dates of birth, marriage and death 47, 88
- daughter of William Bent and Owl Woman 47
- married Judge R. M. Moore 88

- Bent, Robert (1), son of Silas and brother of George..... 29
 —birth of, at St. Louis, date..... 51
 —called Blue (or Green) Bird, by Cheyennes..... 31
 —came to Fort Bent..... 39
 —entered Indian trade..... 29
 —killed by Comanches while hunting buffalo, burial at Fort Bent..... 51
 —partnership in Bent & St. Vrain Company improbable..... 29, 46, 50
 Bent, Robert (2), son of William Bent and Owl Woman, a Cheyenne..... 47
 —dates of birth and death..... 47
 —marriage to Cheyenne girl..... 47
 Bent, Robert (3), grandson of William and son of George and a Mexican girl, —sent to school in St. Louis..... 51
 Bent, Judge Silas, sketch of..... 28, 29
 —children and grandchildren of, 28, 29, 50
 Bent, Silas, jr..... 29
 Bent, Terisna (or Teresina), daughter of Charles Bent..... 48
 Bent, W. W..... 50
 Bent, Col. William..... 33, 42, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 53, 57, 60, 61, 65, 68, 84, 89, 91
 —appointed agent for Indian tribes on Upper Arkansas..... 87
 —birth of, in St. Louis..... 29
 —called Gray Beard by Indians in his latter years..... 31
 —Little White Man by Cheyennes and Sioux..... 29, 31
 —Roman Nose by certain Indians..... 31
 —considered U. S. War Department had mistreated him in the purchase of Bent's Fort..... 82
 —continues business of Bent & St. Vrain, —contract for freighting government supplies to Santa Fe..... 85
 —date and place of death..... 88
 —employees of, said to have offered to join Col. Snively for purpose of attacking Mexican train on Santa Fe trail..... 73
 —enters the Indian trade..... 29
 —first expedition to the Upper Arkansas and the mountains..... 29
 —first permanent white settler in Colorado..... 46
 —hailed government supplies from 1854 to 1862..... 86
 —kept on good terms with all Indian tribes..... 42, 69
 —leases new fort to War Department... 87
 —marriage to Owl Woman, daughter of White Thunder, a Cheyenne, 42, 46, —to, Yellow Woman, mother of Charles, 47, 82
 —names and dates of children..... 47
 —opposed to giving liquor to Indians... 58
 —portrait of..... 32
 —ransomed captive Mexican peons..... 72
 —reasons for destroying Bent's Fort... 82
 —sends men and goods up to Platte river to trade at old Fort St. Vrain..... 84
 —sent with others to reconnoiter mountain passes during march on Santa Fe, —skilled in medicine and surgery..... 66
 —sons of, probably not in Arikaree fight, in opinion of Col. Forsyth..... 533
 —stock belonging to fort stolen by Comanches in 1839..... 70
 —stockades built by, dates and locations of..... 29, 87
 —trading houses built by..... 84
 —trapper in mountains at head of Arkansas..... 30
 —treatment given by Indian doctor for sore throat..... 66
 Bent, Col. William, vacation of new fort, turned over to agent for storing annuity goods for Indians..... 87
 —won honorary title of "Colonel" by leading General Kearny's advance upon Santa Fe..... 75, 76
 Bent, Mrs. William (1), Owl Woman... 42, 46, 47
 Bent, Mrs. William (2), Yellow Woman, 47, 82
 Bent brothers, in partnership with Ceran St. Vrain..... 29
 —log houses, locations of..... 91
 —meet Cheyennes for first time..... 31
 —on Upper Arkansas as early as 1826... 44
 —stockades, locations of..... 29, 31, 89
 —on Purgatory, short history of.... 91
 —visited by Bull Hump, Comanche... 31
 —wagon train, usual size of..... 54
 Bent family, genealogy of..... 47, 50, 51
 "Bent Family in America," quoted from, 28
 Bent county, Colo..... 90
 Bentley, O. H., History of Sedgwick County, mentioned..... 529
 Benton, Senator Thomas H..... 189, 341, 359, 363, 368, 369, 447
 —advocated the settlement of lands west of the emigrant tribes..... 187
 —champion of the Central route to Pacific..... 354, 367
 —criticism of David R. Atchison's opposition to the Pacific railroad... 354, 355
 —discountenanced the agitation of slavery..... 341
 —dubbed "Old Bullion" by political enemies..... 356
 —opinion as to slavery in Kansas..... 336
 —opposed to abolition in Missouri... 354
 —opposed to Leocompton constitution... 437
 —policies of, criticized..... 355
 —reason for hostility of Missouri towards, —remarks of, quoted..... 353, 354
 —scheme for political defeat of..... 356
 —slaves of, taken by abolitionists..... 354
 —succeeded by H. S. Geyer as U. S. senator..... 354
 —Thirty Years' View..... 75
 Benton county, Mo..... 374
 —company commanded by Capt. James McElwraith sent to Kansas in 1856... 376
 Bent's canyon, location of..... 90
 —post office..... 90
 Bent's Fort..... 31, 34, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 59, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 72, 75, 77, 81, 90
 —activities at, during summer..... 55
 —blown up by William Bent..... 46
 —chickens, pigeons and turkeys at..... 62
 —closed early at night..... 55
 —construction of..... 31, 32
 —date Fremont reached, on return from California..... 74
 —descriptions of..... 38, 39, 40, 41
 —distance from, to Independence, Mo... 46
 —distances to and from certain points... 90
 —duties of the carpenter and blacksmith, —of various employees of..... 51
 —French tailor employed at..... 61
 —General Kearny's forces reach..... 74
 —graveyard at..... 51
 —holidays celebrated at..... 56
 —important members of the establishment..... 61
 —Indians gather at, in 1840 to conclude peace..... 71
 —last days of..... 81
 —location of, due to advice of Yellow Wolf..... 31
 —luxuries for sale at..... 62

- Bent's Fort, Mexicans visit in search of missing relatives 72
- most of men employed at, had Mexican wives 52
- news of murder of Charles Bent taken to, by Charles Autobee 78
- number of Mexicans employed during building of 33
- population large, except in summer... 51
- prices asked of U. S. government for... 81
- provided with an ice house for storing fresh meats 40
- social activities during winter participated in by all 56
- some articles kept for trade with Indians 58
- Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, spent several months at 71
- time consumed in journey to Missouri and return 52
- U. S. explorers and military parties entertained at 82
- visited by Farnham in 1839 40
- winter activities at 55
- amusements of teamsters and laborers at 61
- Bent's Fort trail 57, 89
- short description of 90
- Bent's New Fort 82
- distance to and from various points... 91
- Indian annuities stored at 86
- leased to the War Department in 1859, 87
- location of 85
- various names of 87
- Bent's Old Fort 37, 90
- no government treaty ever signed at... 74
- or Fort William, location of 90
- paper on Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders, by Dr. George Bird Grinnell 28
- short history after destruction of 90
- site marked by granite monument, used as public park 90
- thirty-eight miles from new fort 90
- Beresina, Bessarabia 579
- Berley, Rev. William 418
- Bessarabia, Russia 583, 584, 588, 589, 590
- again placed under Roumania 581
- banate 581
- climate of 580
- emigrants from, settle in Russell county, Kansas 581
- first settlement made upon invitation or "manifest" of Catherine II, which she issued in 1814 579
- Fridje, daughter of Gottfried Stanislaus, made vicereine of 581
- fruitful land 580
- German villages in, Lutheran, except one 579
- good wine of, missed by German emigrants to Kansas 590
- hordes of robbers in 580
- other nationalities represented in villages of 579, 581
- paper on the settlement of, by the Germans, by William Morgenstern, of Russell, Kan., translated from the German by J. C. Ruppenthal 579
- Bethune, Gen. James N., of Mobile, Ala., 396, 399
- Betton, Frank H. 305
- of Wyandotte county, first commissioner of labor 304
- Beyond the Old Frontier, by Grinnell... 28
- Bibles, given to South Carolinians emigrating to Kansas 418
- instead of rifles 396
- Bickhart, Mrs. Dora E. 473
- Biddle, Humphrey 479
- Biddleford, Maine 1
- Bieker, A. F. 480
- Bielitz, Austrian Poland 583
- Bierle family 583
- Big Bone Licks, Ky. 99
- Big creek, Indians attack woodchoppers near 539
- woodchoppers taken to, 12 miles east of Hays 539
- Big John Indian agency, government school at 491
- Big Salt Bottom, known to Cheyennes as Red Willow Bottom or Red Willow creek 91
- short description of 91
- Big Springs, saloon started by Missourian at, destroyed by citizens 196
- Big Timbers 84, 84, 85, 90, 91
- also called Tall Timbers by Cheyennes, 83
- known as Red Shin's Standing Ground by Cheyennes 83
- Col. Bent decides to build stone fort at 84
- described by Gunnison & Beckwith... 83
- lower end of 91
- on Arkansas river, Col. Wm. Bent spent winter at 82
- trading houses established at 84
- upper end of 91
- Big Turtle, one of totemic animals of Wyandots 97
- people of 97
- Bigarms, Ethan, Wyandot Indian... 108, 126, 128, 131, 160
- Bigarms, John, Wyandot Indian... 122, 151, 160, 162
- Bigarms, Martin, Wyandot Indian... 108, 131
- Bigelow, Jacob, Wyandot Indian... 124, 154, 165
- Bigelow, Russell, labors in Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio... 185
- Bigger, L. A. 217
- Bigknife, Elizabeth, Shawnee Indian... 174
- Bigknife, Fanny, Shawnee Indian 174
- Bigknife, George, Shawnee Indian 174
- Bigknife, James, Shawnee Indian 174
- Bigknife, Nancy, Shawnee Indian 174
- Bigknife, Thomas, Shawnee Indian 174
- Bigsnew, Clarisa, Wyandot Indian... 108, 126, 131, 159
- Bigsnew, Samuel, Wyandot Indian... 108, 126, 128, 131, 159
- Bigtown, Baptist, Wyandot Indian... 126, 151
- Bigtown, Baptiste, Wyandot Indian... 122, 128, 160, 162
- Bigtown, Sally, Wyandot Indian... 151, 162
- Bigtown, Sallie, Wyandotte Indian... 122, 126, 160
- Bigtown, William B. 119, 126, 152, 160
- Bigtown, William P. 162
- Bigtree, Catherine, Wyandot Indian... 122, 152, 160, 163
- Bigtree, Eliza, Wyandot Indian... 124, 154
- Bigtree, Isaac, Wyandot Indian... 108, 131
- Bigtree, James, Wyandot Indian... 108, 131
- Bigtree, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 122, 152, 160, 162
- Bigtree, Sarah, Wyandot Indian... 108, 131
- Bijou fork 63
- Bilbo, John 403
- Billy John, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian, 177
- Bingham, Mrs. Anne E., account of grasshopper visitation 516
- daughter born to 511
- death of first child 512
- description of log house on farm of... 507
- difficulties getting a well 508
- experience with snakes 514, 515
- first night in farmhouse 506
- played organ for entertainments and church 516, 519
- saved peach crop from grasshoppers, 516
- "Sixteen Years on a Kansas Farm," 501

- Bingham, Mrs. Anne E., threshing time
on the farm 517
—with husband, sings in the choir..... 504
—teaches class in music..... 512, 513
Bingham, Col. B. F. 503
Bingham, Charles H., accidents to stock
belonging to, while on the farm..... 514
—assistance given to a neighbor in time
of death 513
—place of birth 501
Bismarck Grove, Lawrence 220, 222
—camp meetings held at..... 221, 223
Bird, W. G., labor commissioner..... 305
Bird Woman (Sacagawea) 62, 63, 64
Bird's Fort, Texas 74
Births and deaths, registration of..... 252
Bivens, John, death of his son, the first
in Holton 593
Black Beard, name given to Ceran St.
Vrain by Yellow Wolf..... 31
Black Beaver, Delaware Indian, famous
hunter employed by the Bents..... 51
Black Hills, Dak. 28, 33
Black Kettle, Cheyenne chief, raid led by, 492
Black Republicanism 429
Black Sea 580, 587
Black Sheep, Wyandot Indian 108
Black Squirrel creek, short history of..... 89
Black Whiteman 33, 34, 35, 36
—Cheyenne term for all Negroes..... 61
Blackfeet Indians 31, 57, 526
Blackhoof, Capt., Shawnee Indian..... 193
Blackleg among stock in early seventies, 513
Blackman, Rev. Earl A., of Chanute.... 471
—elected national chaplain of the Ameri-
can Legion 478
Blackman, J. C. 392
Blackmar, Frank W. 233, 333
—Kansas: A Cyclopaedia of State His-
tory 304
—Life of Charles Robinson... 340, 435, 450
Blacksheep, William, Wyandot Indian,
108, 131
Blacksmith 554
—shop at Trading Post 558, 559
Blacksnake, James, Shawnee Indian.... 174
Blackwell, Gant & 37
—location of post of..... 89
—not on Upper Arkansas until 1830.... 44
Blackwell, —, had two sons among
Kiowas 45
—joined Gant in spring of 1832..... 44
—known as "Baldhead" by Cheyennes
and Arapahoes 45
——"The Crane" by Indians..... 45
—partner of Gant 45
Blackwell, S. C. 419
Blair, Frank P. 335, 365, 432
—appointed attorney-general of New
Mexico by Gen. Kearny 56
—U. S. attorney for New Mexico.... 76
—at Bent's Fort 56
—general in Union army, United States
senator, vice presidential candidate... 56
—member of party under Wm. Bent.... 76
—named by George Bent as guardian
for his children 51
—philippic against the chief apostle of
slavery in Missouri..... 358
—speech attacking D. R. Atchison's op-
position to the Pacific railroad project, 367
Blair, L. W. R. 415
Bland, Mrs. Eliza, Wyandot Indian.... 161
Blankets 58, 71, 483, 570
—Mexican and Pueblo 65
—wrapped around bodies of Indians
placed on scaffolds..... 546
Bledsoe, John C. 386
Blevins, Howard, case of..... 317
Blinceo, Ernest E., Fort Scott..... 462, 466
469, 471
Blind, first enumeration of..... 266
—State Institution for the Education of.
See Kansas State School for the Blind.
Blizzards 489, 495
Blood, James 371
Bloomington, Kan. 549
Bloomington, Mo., proslavery meeting in, 386
Blue, Richard W. 3
—a power in Kansas politics..... 229
Blue Lodges, Missouri 387
—money raised by, to acquire free state
men's claims in Kansas..... 349
Blue-mass pills 492
Blue (or Green) Bird, name given Robert
Bent by Yellow Wolf 31
Blue Rapids 462
Blue-ribbon workers in temperance move-
ment 204
Bluebells 510
Bluejacket, David, Shawnee Indian.... 175
Bluejacket, George, Shawnee Indian.... 175
Bluejacket, Jane, Shawnee Indian.... 175
Bluejacket, Mary, Shawnee Indian.... 175
Bluejacket, Nancy, Shawnee Indian.... 175
Bluejacket, Price K., Shawnee Indian... 175
Bluejacket, Robert, Shawnee Indian.... 175
Bluejacket, Sallie, Shawnee Indian.... 175
Bluejacket, William G., Shawnee Indian, 175
Bluff creek 47
—Indian treaty made at, Oct. 14, 1865.. 529
Blum family 583
Blunt, J. G., member Wyandotte consti-
tutional convention 199, 200
Bly, Wm. D. 478
Boachman, Alexander, Shawnee Indian.. 175
Board of Control, Kansas. See Kansas
State Board of Control.
Board of control of state charitable in-
stitutions 271
Board of penal institutions 237
Board of trustees of state charitable in-
stitutions 272
Boat 583
Bob, free Negro, hunted by Missourians
and aided by Kansans... 562, 563, 564, 565
Bob creek 90
Bogart, Ernest Ludlow, Economic His-
tory of the United States... 329, 333
Boggs, Dr. — 66
Boggs, Angus L. 50
Boggs, Henry C. 50
Boggs, Mrs. Julia Ann Bent..... 28
Boggs, L. W. 28
—married Julia Ann Bent as first wife.. 50
Boggs, Mrs. Panthea Grant Boone..... 28
Boggs, Thomas O. 50, 66, 84, 91
—carried mail on plains at time of in-
surrection at Taos 78
—Carson ill at ranch of..... 36
—early day trader 65
—established settlement called Boggsville, 88
—known to Indians as White Horse.... 57
—son of Panthea Grant Boone Boggs... 28
—trader at Bent's Fort 56
—trip to Mexico for horses and mules.. 60
Boggs, Mrs. Thomas O., rescue of, dur-
ing insurrection at Taos..... 78
Boggs, W. M. 50, 56, 63, 64
—manuscript notes of, quoted.... 62, 66, 67
—in possession of Colorado State His-
torical Society 50
Boggsville, established by Tom Boggs, in
1868 88
—later known as West Las Animas, loca-
tion of 91
Boggy creek 85
"Bogus laws," Kansas 195, 595, 594, 596
—sources of 591
Bogy, Col. L. V. 371

- Boiling river, name applied to Fountain river by Cheyennes 89
- Bolivar, Mo. 383
- meeting held in, adopts resolutions of sympathy for the border people of Kansas who were being subjected to invasions 387
- Bolsheviki, Russian 23
- Bolshevism 467
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, suffering caused in Germany by his war 582
- Bonds, Missouri, depreciation of, on account of slavery agitation 363
- municipal, voted for every conceivable public improvement 575
- Bones, settlers gather to make their living, 589
- Bonner Springs, formerly Tiblow 181
- Bonney, James, founded LaJunta in 1843, 68
- Bonus, state, for Kansas soldiers in World War 472
- Boom towns, in southwestern Kansas 574
- Booms, Kansas 20
- Boone, Col. A. G., Westport, Mo. 360
- established settlement called Booneville, on Upper Arkansas 89
- recipient of southern funds raised for southern men in Kansas 360
- Boone, Daniel 28, 50, 89
- Boone, Panthea Grant, becomes Mrs. L. W. Boggs 28, 50
- Boone county, Mo. 346, 374, 375, 430, 450
- citizens of, divided on question of planting slavery in Kansas 376
- history of, cited 378
- money and provisions given to sustain proslavery men in Kansas 378
- return of all militia serving in Kansas, 379
- Booneville, on Upper Arkansas, established by Col. A. G. Boone, location of, 89
- Boonville, Mo. 430
- Kansas meeting held at, to raise funds for bona fide settlers 382
- Boonville Weekly Inquirer* 354, 394
- Boonville Weekly Observer* 344, 349
- 355, 373, 375, 380, 383, 384, 387, 390
- 399, 408, 412, 421, 425, 426, 427, 449
- compliment paid to Capt. J. W. Driffin's men raised for service in Kansas 382, 383
- outspoken against Gen. Reid's detractors 447
- Boots, shoes and clothing expensive in early days in Kansas 489
- Bordeaux, France 453
- Border conditions in Kansas 361
- Border-ruffianism, costly to Missouri 364
- Border ruffians 343, 416, 420
- action taken by Lawrence to secure relief from depredations of 372
- activities of 591
- Border troubles 437
- beginning and end of 279
- relief for victims of, sought by meeting of St. Louis citizens 371
- Rosser company took active part in 425
- Border war 20, 487, 548, 552
- last battle of, June 9, 1860 548, 552
- Missouri merchants forced to supply gratis goods for 364
- Borodina, Bessarabia 579
- Boston, John 403
- Boston, Mass. 393, 466, 450, 590
- capitalists of, largely own Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad 369
- Boston Daily Advertiser* 345, 399, 401, 421
- quoted 413, 423
- Boston Daily Evening Traveler* 367, 417, 438
- quoted 438
- Boston Journal* 404, 418, 424, 433
- Boston Post* 441
- Boston Tea Party 28
- Bostwick, Isaac, Wyandot Indian 109, 131
- Bostwick, Mary, Wyandot Indian 109, 131
- Bostwick, Shadrach, Wyandot Indian, 109, 131
- Bostwick, Theresa, Wyandot Indian, 109, 131
- Bottofr, Frank A. 480
- Botts, Hiram 495
- Bourbon county, Kan. 183, 450
- first invasion of, by proslavery men 351
- slaves brought into, and sold 342
- Bourbon county, Ky. 407
- Bowden, F. W. 392
- Bowen, D. E., claim on Washington creek, Douglas county 458
- Bowie knives 483, 487
- Bowman, Charles A., Kansas City 466, 467
- 470, 472, 478
- Bows, made of cedar found in the mountains by Cheyennes 69
- and arrows 79, 83
- Boxing laws, amendment asked to permit boxing before posts 471
- Boy Scout movement 24
- Boyce, Major R. 415
- Boyce, W. W., M. C., South Carolina, 342, 392
- Boyd, E. E. 478
- Boyd, Washington, Wyandot Indian 124
- 154, 165
- Boykin, A. H. 415
- Boykin, Capt. F. A., head of company raised in Merriwether county, Ga., for service in Kansas 403
- Boynton, R. E. 480
- Boys hired to work in coal mines, wages and working hours of 284
- Boys State Industrial School. See Kansas State Industrial School for Boys.
- Bracken, Jay H., Beloit 466, 471, 477, 480
- Bradish, Michael 162
- Bradley, John T., state senator 215, 216
- Brady, Rev. Cyrus Townsend, author of *Indian Fights and Fighters* 542
- letter of S. Shlesinger to, mentioned 545
- Braila, Roumania 580, 587
- Brake, Adam 495, 496
- Brake, Andy 495
- Brake, Eli 495
- Brake, Hezekiah, spoke the cockney English dialect 495
- Brake, Lizzie, bought and sold cattle 495
- Bramlette, C. E., deputy factory inspector 317
- Bran, Wells, of Missouri 495
- Branaman, H. A. 478
- Branch, William 165
- Branstetter, Judge Daniel 393
- Brass wire for barter with Indians 48
- Bread, skillet 53
- Breastworks of sand and dead horses 534
- Brenner family 583
- Bresette, Linna, deputy state factory inspector 306, 313
- Breslau 583
- Brest, France 453
- Brewer's congress, of 1867, refuse to support any candidate disposed toward total abstinence 210
- Brewster, S. M., attorney-general 324
- Brickell, J. B. 478, 479
- Bridger, James 46
- Bridges, lack of, delays freight teams 567
- Bridgewater, N. Y. 484
- Brienna 579
- Briey iron field, German defensive systems on west front hinged on 455
- Brininstool, E. A., Los Angeles, Cal. 530
- British armies, railroad communications necessary to, converged at Channel ports 455
- Broderick, Case 597

- Brondet, M. A. 392
 Brooklyn, N. Y. 28, 221
 Brooks, Mrs. C. H. 473
 Brooks, Preston Smith, of South Carolina 340, 392, 449
 —associated with the assault on Senator Sumner 413
 —leading agitator for active interference in Kansas affairs 413
 —letter to Capt. E. E. Bell, quoted 414
 —opinion as to slavery in Kansas 336
 Bropaukau province 582
 Brouk, James A. 480
 Brown, — 467, 470, 533
 Brown, Capt. 394
 Brown, Mrs. —, Wyandot Indian 115
 Brown, Prof. A. B., of Springfield (Mo.) Conservatory of Music 222
 Brown, Adam, Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, Senator Albert Gallatin, of Mississippi 337, 449
 —opinion as to slavery in Kansas 336
 —scheme for planting slavery in Kansas 412, 413
 Brown, B. Gratz, St. Louis 365, 449
 —estimate of, as to loss to Missouri by a single foray into Kansas, or one act of violence on Missouri river 363
 —member of Missouri house of representatives 363
 —refutation of the common belief that Missouri belonged to South 446
 —speech before Missouri legislature, 1867, quoted 446
 —statement regarding decrease of slaves in certain counties of Missouri from 1851 to 1857 443
 Brown, Dr. C. E. 481
 Brown, Catherine G., Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, Edwin 481
 Brown, Eliza, Wyandot Indian 109, 131
 Brown, Eliza Ann, Wyandot Indian, 109, 132
 Brown, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian, 109, 132
 Brown, Florella, half sister of John Brown, married Samuel L. Adair 557
 Brown, Geo. W. 371
 —Reminiscences of Gov. R. J. Walker 427
 — 435, 450
 Brown, Harriet, Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, Hezekiah, Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, Isaac, and wife, portraits of 127
 Brown, Isaac W., Wyandot Indian 109, 131
 Brown, Jane L., Wyandot Indian 161
 Brown, Col. John 394
 Brown, John 20, 548
 —half brother of Florella Brown 557
 —stops at Holton while taking slaves out of Kansas by the Underground Railroad 598
 —trouble with 391
 Brown, John, jr. 196
 —presentation of memorial of Topeka women to the Topeka legislature on the subject of prohibition 195
 Brown, John D., Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, John D., jr., Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, L. 213
 Brown, Leander, Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, Lucinda, Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, Margaret, Wyandot Indian 122
 Brown, Mary, Wyandot Indian, 109, 132, 152
 Brown, Mathew, Wyandot Indian 109, 132
 Brown, Quindaro, becomes Mrs. Abelard Guthrie 185
 Brown, Rebecca, Wyandot Indian, 109, 132, 161
 Brown, Rev. Robert, of Leavenworth Conservatory of Music 221
 Brown, Theresa, Shawnee Indian 174
 Brown, Theresa, Wyandot Indian, 109, 132
 Brown, Thompson, Shawnee Indian 174
 Brown family, Wyandot Indians 185
 —founded by captives taken from frontier, who married Wyandot women 185
 —Scotch Irish from Shenandoah valley, 185
 Browne, Charles H., Horton 466, 469
 — 471, 479
 Browning, Capt. A. M. 396
 Browning, Amella (alias Cherloe), Wyandot Indian 160
 Brown's hall, Junction City 504
 Bruce, Dr. W. W. 403
 Brulé Sioux, Wm. Guerrier, married to woman of tribe of 65
 Brunswick, Mr. —, purchase of tickets at Baptist society meeting 504
 Brussels, Belgium 476
 Buchan, William J., managing partner in the Barker, Blue and Buchan, triumvirate that dominated Kansas politics, 229
 —recollections of the passage of the prohibition amendment 229
 Buchanan, President James 279, 428, 429
 —accused of enormous ingratitude to the South 428
 —election of, as president 347
 —orders to United States troops 555
 —proslavery man 555
 Buchanan county, Mo. 348, 385, 396, 550
 —first county in Missouri to organize for sending men to settle in Kansas 379
 Buck, Dr. A. B. 478, 480, 481
 Buckboard 506, 518
 Bucklin, Dodge City citizens build railroad to, and sell to the Rock Island railroad 574
 Buckskin, beaded, composed foundation of Indian headdress 546
 —clothing made of, by French tailor, employed at Bent's Fort 61
 —garments worn by trappers 56
 —needle, described 61
 —shirt worn by Jack Stillwell 547
 —tailors at Fort Bent 61
 —trousers, uncomfortable in wet weather, 61
 Buckwheat 513
 Buffalo 41, 51, 53, 84, 281, 483, 517, 529
 —abundance of, caused Siouan tribes to emigrate westward 182
 —along line of Santa Fe trail in 1865 526
 —chased and shot near Hays by William F. Cody 539
 —found in South Park 68
 —hide stretched across to four poles, forming a scaffold 546
 —used to wrap around body of Indian killed in battle 546
 —hunt, Indians set out in April for 52
 —hunters 43
 —meat 41, 494, 496
 —paths 578
 —plentiful near Big Timbers in 1852 84
 —range of 31
 —robes 54, 83, 483, 497, 547
 —bales of, shipped to Missouri by Bent & St. Vrain 52
 —brought in for trade by Indian women 84
 —four exchanged for abalone shell 58
 —swapped for blankets 65
 —tallow, made into candles at Bent's Fort 61
 —tongues 40
 —wallows 510, 533
 Buffalo, Gove county 220
 Buffalo, Mo., Kansas meeting held at 394
 Buffalo, N. Y. 501
 "Buffalo Bill," sobriquet of William F. Cody 546
 Buffalo Daily Republic 364

- Buffalo grass 510
 Buford, Col. Jefferson 360, 421, 431
 —canvass of Southern states for Kansas
 emigrants 399
 company 407
 —billed to Missourians after attack
 on Lawrence 398
 —depredations of, in Miami county... 351
 —driven out of Miami county..... 351
 —erect a fort near Osawatimie..... 351
 —men of, in Woodson and Greenwood
 counties in 1857..... 347
 —expedition to Kansas from Alabama,
 395, 450
 —a land speculation as well as pro-
 slavery crusade 399
 —account of, in *American Historical*
 Review, by Dr. Walter L. Fleming, 396
 —dissatisfaction, disappointment and
 sickness in 397, 398
 —financial statement of..... 399
 —funds solicited for, at St. Joseph,
 Mo. 379
 —members of, refuse to settle on Kan-
 sas claims 398
 —scatter and return home..... 397, 398
 —New Orleans counted much on suc-
 cess of 409
 —short sketch of most spectacular of
 efforts of the South to capture Kan-
 sas 397
 —women and children absent from... 440
 —further plans for conquest of Kansas.. 398
 —lawyer of Eufala, Ala..... 397
 —reported as wholly disgusted with the
 Kansas business 398
 —returns to Alabama..... 398
 Bugle of Roman Nose, blown by Nibsi,
 white renegade 533
 Buksell, Jacob 590
 Bulgarians 579, 583
 Bull boats, furs from Fort St. Vrain
 taken down Platte river in..... 63
 Bull creek, Missouri forces camp on, dur-
 ing Wakarusa war..... 391
 Bull Hump 32
 —an important Comanche from 1830 to
 1850 42
 —visits Bent's stockade..... 31, 65
 Bull-cannot-rise, Cheyenne Indian..... 83
 Bull snakes 515
 Bullene, Margaret 479
 Bullet molding, a nightly occupation
 among early settlers..... 488
 Bullhead, Capt., Wyandot Indian... 109, 132
 Burckhart, — 393
 Burgwin, Capt. —, killed in storming
 of Taos pueblo 81
 Burke, C. L. 481
 Burke, Scout M., experiences in battle of
 the Arikaree 534, 535
 Burlingame 199, 483
 Burlington 473
 Burnett, R. H. 461, 478
 Burning, Amelia (formerly Amelia Cher-
 low) 169
 Burns, Lewis, of Weston, Mo., chairman
 of squatters meeting held at Salt creek,
 near Fort Leavenworth, in June, 1854, 352
 Burns, Robert 494
 Burrill, Jeremiah M., judge territorial
 supreme court, date and place of death, 596
 Burton, Joseph Ralph, ex-senator..... 474
 Butcher knives 83, 554, 566
 Butler, F. W. 479
 Butler, Rev. Pardee..... 350
 Butler, R. E. 481
 Butler county, Mo., Tennesseans settle
 in 422
 Butler county, Ohio..... 457
- Butter from Kansas sold in Washington,
 D. C. 519
 Butterfield exploring party, coal and iron
 reported discovered by..... 527
 Byers, Oliver Philip, Early History of the
 El Paso Line of the Chicago, Rock Is-
 land & Pacific Railway, written for the
 Kansas State Historical Society..... 573
 —footnote concerning 573
 —portrait of 573
- C.
- Cache la Poudre creek..... 41
 Caches, Santa Fe trail..... 73
 Cactus, planted on grave of George Bent, 51
 —planted on tops of corral walls of
 Bent's Fort 40
 Caddo creek, short history of..... 91
 Caddo Indians 91, 182
 —flee north into Union territory..... 91
 Caddoan linguistic family, Kansas once
 the home of..... 182
 Calderwood, George, of Ohio, temperance
 advocate 218
 Caldwell county, Mo..... 374, 450
 Calhoun correspondence 50, 66, 74, 89, 90
 Calhoun, A. J., military company or-
 ganized at Liberty, Mo., by..... 380
 Calhoun, J. S., Indian agent..... 81, 82
 —record concerning ransoming of Re-
 fugio Picaros and Teodora Martel,
 captured by Comanche Indians 71
 Calhoun, John, surveyor general of Kan-
 sas territory 593
 Calhoun, John A., South Carolina..... 414
 Calhoun, John C. 338, 446
 Calhoun, Ga. 404
 Calhoun county, name changed to Jack-
 son 592
 —named for John Calhoun, surveyor
 general of Kansas territory..... 593
 —commissioners of 593
 —election held in, to locate county seat, 594
 —organization of 593
 —proslavery screed written into records
 of county commissioners of 594
 —southern boundary of 593
 California 10, 36, 37, 39, 43
 64, 65, 68, 77, 85
 160, 205, 221, 332, 525
 —emigration, traffic in horses from
 Bent's Fort during 60
 —gold traded by returning men from... 65
 —government takes interest in 74
 —hours of labor fixed by 330
 —minimum wage of 328
 —Mexican money in common use in... 65
 —private coinage of 65
 —proslavery men settling in 443
 —regiment, company F, First infantry,
 Civil War 530
 —school teachers of, pass resolution rec-
 ommending suffrage amendment..... 310
 Calihan, Ray 481
 Calihan, Mrs. Ray Hile, Garden City... 473
 Callahan, Dr. H. B., Leavenworth..... 220
 Calvin, John 494
 Calvin, Thomas J., member legislature
 of 1879 214
 Cambreling, Senator Churchill Caldorn,
 opinion regarding Kansas struggle.... 355
 Camden, Mo., Kansas meeting held at... 394
 Camden, S. C., Kansas meeting held in... 415
 Camp Fillmore 89, 90
 Camp Funston 466, 467
 Camp Funston Post, American Legion,
 dissolution of 477
 Camp life with wagon train 52
 Camp meetings 494
 —at Bismarck Grove 221

- Camp of Ohio colonists at Westport, Mo. 554
 Camp of scouts on Republican river. 545
 Camp Steever, Lake Geneva, Wis., military training camp at. 15, 26
 Camp Supply, I. T. 530
 —Custer operating south from 538
 Camp Travis, Texas 12
 Campbell, A. B. 221
 Campbell, A. J. 211
 Campbell, E. M. 387
 Campbell, R. L. 392
 Campbell, Robert, merchant, of St. Louis 54, 371
 —met by Charles and Wm. Bent in the Sioux country 29
 Campbell, W. W. 469
 Camping places on road to Bent's Fort, 52
 Canada 93, 184, 565
 Canadian river 46, 57, 83, 576, 577
 Canandaigua, N. Y. 501
 Candle making at Bent's Fort described, 61, 62
 Candy-pulling frolics at Bent's Fort. 62
 Cannon, brought from Santa Fe to Bent's Fort 38, 39
 Cantey, Gen. J. W. 415
 Cantigny, France, taken by First division, A. E. F. 453
Cape Girardeau Eagle 425
 Capitan mountains, coal deposits in. 575
 Capote, or hood, worn by northern Indians 64
 Capper, Gov. Arthur, message quoted. 300
 —recommendations of, regarding age limit and hours of labor for children. 297
 Caravans on Santa Fe trail combine for protection against Indians 483
 —returning from New Mexico to Missouri, richly laden 48
 Carey, Gen. S. F., granted use of representative hall for temperance lecture. 219
 Cargile, Col. Augustus, of Kansas, seeks to secure 1,000 emigrants for Kansas. 402
 Carmichael, R. B. 392
 Ca-ron-da-wa-neh, Big Tree 96
 Carpenter, Capt. Louis H., comes to relief of Forsyth 538, 545
 Carpenter, W. R. 479
 Carr, Lucien, Missouri: A Bone of Contention 341, 450
 Carriage, eighty acres of land traded for, 516
 Carroll county, Mo. 374, 430, 450
 —southern interest in behalf of Kansas in, 379
 Carrollton, Ky. 407
 Carrollton, Mo. 430
 Carruth, Albert George 557
 Carruth, Charles Walter 557
 Carruth, James Arthur 557
 Carruth, Prof. James Harrison, biographical sketch of 557
 Carruth, Mrs. James H., (1) formerly Jane Grant, biographical sketch of. 557
 Carruth, Mrs. James H., (2) formerly Mrs. Mary E. Pedrick. 557
 Carruth, Lucy A. (Mrs. E. W. Woods). 557
 Carruth, William Herbert 557
 Carson, Mr. — 392
 Carson, Andrew, brother of Kit. 49
 Carson, Christopher. *See* Carson, Kit.
 Carson, Capt. George 394
 Carson, Kit 33, 34, 35, 36, 45, 46, 50, 57, 61, 65, 66, 90, 91
 —attacks winter camps of Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians. 42, 43
 —Cheyenne wife of, named "Making Out Road" 37
 —Chipita pet name for wife of. 61
 —commissions held in First New Mexico cavalry 37, 50
 Carson, Kit, described by J. R. Mead, and Gen. Jas. F. Rusling. 37
 —employed by the Bents as hunter. 36, 37
 —goes east with delegation of Ute Indians, 88
 —in California during Taos insurrection, 78
 —with Ewing Young's trappers. 3
 —in service of Indian Department. 37
 —known to Indians as Little Chief. 57
 —last days of 88
 —leaves Fremont expedition at Bent's Fort 74
 —marries Josefa Jaramillo 48
 —organized expedition against plains tribes at the Maxwell ranch. 57
 —pursues Crow Indians who had stolen horses and mules from Bent's Fort. 35
 —remembered by older members of Cheyennes. 37
 —reward offered for, by David Workman, 36
 —said to have been on Upper Arkansas with Gant's trappers in 1832. 44
 Carson, Mrs. Kit, death of. 88
 —house of, still standing in West Las Animas, Colo. 91
 —rescue of, during Taos insurrection. 78
 Carter, E. E. 479
 Caruthers, William 404
 Carvalho, S. N., statement regarding date of destruction of Bent's Fort. 82
 Cary, Daniel 390
 Case, J. Bronson 504, 505, 506, 512
 Cass county, Ga., company raised in, for emigration to Kansas 403
 Cass county, Mo. 374, 430
 Cassville, Herkimer county, N. Y. 553
 Castele, Jacob 168
 Catherine II, of Russia 581, 583
 —provisions of manifest authorizing Germans to settle in Bessarabia. 580
 Catholics among the Wyandots. 94
 Cato, Sterling G., appointed judge territorial supreme court 596
 Cattle 81, 492, 507, 521, 580, 586
 —caught in prairie fire 493
 —length of trip, and size of herds driven from Texas to Abilene 499
 —methods employed to stop stampedes, 500
 —not allowed to graze on wheat. 550
 —permitted to roam at will. 497
 —raising 587
 —range 497
 —shipped east from Abilene. 499
 —trails leading from Texas. 499
 —traveling herds trouble Kansas settlers, 500
 Cavallard, meaning of 53
 Cavalry, U. S. 74
 —endurance races 11
 —in camp near Big creek, protect wood-chopping party 539
 —Seventh and Tenth at Fort Hays. 539
 —troop of, stationed to guard track workers 539
 Cayuga Indians 94
 Cayundiswa, or Cherloe's Daughter, Wyandot Indian 109
 Cayundisway, Wyandot Indian 133
 Cedar, employed by Cheyennes in making bows 69
 Cedar county, Mo. 383, 450
 Cedar creek 593
 Celestial gods of the Wyandots. 95
 Census, 1855 346, 351
 —first state, some provisions of. 232
 —of Woodson and Greenwood counties, 1857 247
 —Twelfth United States report. 283
 —Thirteenth U. S. 308
 Centennial exposition of 1876. 18
 —Kansas display at 280

- Centipedes 576
- Central America, filibustering expeditions
for 408
- Central Pacific railroad 340
- from St. Louis to San Francisco..... 366
- Central route to the Pacific..... 368
- Atchison's protest against exploration
of 367
- defeating project of..... 355
- St. Louis expected to be eastern ter-
minus of 366
- Chalons, France, Third and Twenty-
eighth divisions, A. E. F., assist in
repulsing German drive towards..... 454
- Chamberlain, Ephraim 169
- Champagne suppers, given by Magiffin
in Chihuahua during Mexican War..... 75
- Chanute 471, 473
- Chapman, J. A., History of Edgefield
County, S. C. 417, 450
- Chapman, J. Butler, History of Kansas
and Emigrant's Guide..... 438, 449
- Charbonau, Cabeneau, Charbonard, Char-
bonneaux. *See* Charbonneau.
- Charbonneau, Baptiste, employed at
Bent's Fort 62, 63
- goes to California with the Mormon
battalion 64
- said to be the best man on foot on the
plains or mountains..... 63
- Charbonneau, Toussaint, husband of
Sacagawea (Bird Woman)..... 62
- Charitable Institutions, Kansas State,
Board of Trustees of, superseded by
State Board of Charities and Corre-
ctions 234
- work in Kansas..... 233
- Charities and Correction, State Board of,
235
- Charles Wolff Packing Company, Topeka,
case cited 314
- Charleston, S. C. 359
- contributed consistently to the south-
ern cause in Kansas..... 419
- Kansas Association of..... 416, 419
- many Kansas meetings held in..... 416
- Charleston Courier*..... 397, 416, 417, 420
- Charleston Mercury*..... 340, 360, 403, 415
416, 418, 419, 420, 436
- contained much Kansas news and re-
ports 414
- scheme advocated by, to secure pos-
session of Kansas land..... 349
- Charleston News* 419
- Charleston Standard*, quoted..... 442
- Charlotta, Negress, employed at Bent's
Fort 52
- Charm, Indian, to ward off arrows..... 47
- Chase, Salmon P. 361
- Chase, W. H. 595
- Chase county 7, 15
- Chattanooga, Tenn. 399, 421
- Chattanooga county, Tenn., company
raised in, for Kansas..... 421
- Chateau Thierry, France..... 11, 12, 27
- American divisions fighting at, force
retirement of Germans..... 454
- Chatham county, Ga., Kansas Associa-
tion of 403
- Chavez, Don Antonio Jose, murderers of,
brought to trial..... 73
- train of, captured on Santa Fe trail
and Chavez murdered..... 72
- Cheney, Albert R. 479
- Cheney, Mrs. H. I. 473
- Cheraw Gazette*, S. C. 434
- Cherloe, Amelia (Amelia Burning or
Browning) Wyandot Indian 109, 132
160, 169
- Cherloe, David, Wyandot Indian, 124, 155, 166
- Cherloe, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian..... 124
155, 166
- Cherloe, George, Wyandot Indian..... 124
155, 166
- Cherloe, Henry, Wyandot Indian..... 124
155, 166
- Cherloe, James, Wyandot Indian..... 160
- Cherloe, John, Wyandot Indian..... 160
- Cherloe, Joseph, Wyandot Indian..... 124
154, 166
- Cherloe, Lucy Ann (Mrs. Splitlog),
Wyandot Indian 109, 133
- Cherloe, Margaret (Cayundiswa, or Cher-
loe's Daughter), Wyandot Indian..... 109
132, 133
- Cherloe, Mary, Wyandot Indian, 124 155, 166
- Cherloe, Mary J. (Makoma), Wyandot
Indian 109
- Cherloe, Peter, Wyandot Indian.... 124, 155
- Cherokee county 284
- Cherry creek 89
- Cherry Valley, N. Y. 557
- Chester, S. C., emigrants for Kansas en-
rolled at 419
- Chestnut, James 415
- Chestnut, James, jr. 415
- Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency.. 89, 90, 91
- raid on by Arapahoes 91
- Cheyenne creek 91
- Cheyenne Indians..... 33, 35, 36, 42, 47, 55
58, 60, 62, 64, 70
75, 89, 91, 525, 526
- account of fight of, told by George
Bent 533
- attacked by Col. Carson and force.... 43
- attacked by Sumner on Solomon's
Fork of Kansas river 87
- Big Timbers known to them as Tall
Timbers 83
- Bull Hump visits Bent's stockade in
search of 66
- camp near Bent's new fort, at Big
Timbers 84
- come down to the Arkansas 31
- cowardly butchery of, by whites on
Lance creek 525
- death of Little Old Man caused panic
among 48
- depredations committed in 1868, near
Council Grove 491
- different bands of, made annual trips to
mountains to secure lodge poles..... 69
- fight battle with Kansas Indians on
reservation near Council Grove..... 491
- first serious trouble with whites..... 86
- fleshing a hide, illustration 66
- had free run of Bent's Fort 39, 55
- Hill People (His-si-o-meta-ne) 69
- Kansas Indians mortal enemies of... 491
- liquor sold to, by Mexicans from Taos, 59
- massacre of, at Sand creek..... 87
- measles fatal to 86
- meet Bent brothers for first time.... 31
- offer to send large war party against
Taos 79
- often accompanied trains from Bent's
Fort as far as Pawnee Fork 52
- pillage home of William Pollard..... 491
- quarrel over selection of new chiefs.. 90
- raids in Kansas 492
- raids south of the Platte, 1826 31
- range of 69
- separate agreement signed by, 1865... 529
- smallpox among 85, 86
- Southern 31, 37, 69
- Sumner's campaign against 86
- terrible ravages of cholera among.... 48
- village 47, 90
- war trail of 89
- William Guerrier married woman of
tribe of 65
- woman putting up a lodge, illustration, 44

- Cheyenne Indians, Yellow Wolf's band encamped near Bent's New Fort. 86
- Chicago, Ill. 85, 192, 210, 218, 281, 344
362, 366, 398, 450, 458, 499
- Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska Railway. 574
—creation and leasing of. 573
—foreclosure sale of. 578
- Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad, 576
—agree to extend line from Liberal to join the White Oaks railroad. 575
—coal traffic sought. 574
—D. A. Robinson's record in building the El Paso line. 577
—El Paso line projected to start from Lost Springs. 574
—not on original survey between Liberal and Santa Rosa. 576
—owns longest stretch of straight track in United States. 577
—telegraph line not completed until after the road was in operation. 577
—tent city followed the front. 576
—tough element follows construction gang. 576
—trains run by "each other's smoke". 577
—unmarked graves on right of way between Liberal and Santa Rosa. 576
—water for locomotives great problem. 576
—work started simultaneously at Liberal and Alamogordo. 576
- Chicago Tribune*. 339, 343, 349
371, 398, 440
- Chicken Thief*, arrival at Lawrence. 549
—small steamer loading for Kansas. 548
- Chico creek, later called Black Squirrel creek. 89
- Child, Jacob C. 424
- Child hygiene. 252, 254
- Child labor. 238
—conditions in several states. 330
—conditions, 1908 to present time. 317
318, 319
—in coal mines. 294
—increase and decrease of. 330
—permits granted to work during vacation. 319
—status of. 329
- Child-labor law. 319, 329
—agitation caused by. 316
—first enactment of. 295, 316
—1917, provisions of. 297, 299
- Child Research Bureau, establishment of. 237, 278
- Child-welfare problem, changing attitude of Kansas toward. 231
- Children, act passed to prevent desertion of. 263
—adoption of. 256, 260
—and women in industry, beginnings of. 283
—born while mother is an inmate of public institution. 258
—compulsory attendance at school. 245
—defective, care of. 265
—delinquents. 276
- Development of Public Protection of, in Kansas, by Nina Swanson. 231
—illegitimate, provisions for care of. 264
—in need of special care. 255
—legal provision against abandonment. 262
—occupations they may not be employed in. 294
—protection of, in labor in Kansas. 238
—Protective Society, of Minneapolis, Minn. 231
—state control of agencies caring for. 232
—weekly earnings of. 290
—working conditions affecting. 328
- Children's Code Commission, Kansas State. 303, 305
—report cited. 299, 315
- Chiles, Col. James. 385
- Chilton, John W. 410
- Chipita, housekeeper and laundress at Bent's Fort. 62
- Chittenden, H. M., American Fur Trade, 49, 66, 89
- Choke cherries, use of. 69
- Cholera, known as "cramps" among Indians. 47
—outbreak of. 47, 48
—among German settlers in Bessara. 586
- Choplog, Russia, Wyandot Indian. 109, 133
- Chouteau county, Montana. 590
- Christian Church, Holton. 593
- Church, Miss, a music teacher. 504
- Church, strong influence in temperance cause. 217
- Cigarettes and cigarette papers, sale or gift to minors forbidden. 252, 253
- Cimarron crossing on Santa Fe trail. 73
85, 90
- Cimarron river. 47, 69
—Middle Spring on. 91
- Cincinnati, Ohio. 472, 548, 549
- Cincinnati convention. 434, 445
- Cincinnati Gazette*. 407
- Cincinnati, Society of the. 461
- Cirle Militaire, Paris. 458
- Circleville, Ohio. 205, 206
- Civil-service examinations. 234
- Civil War. 2, 3, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 37
50, 66, 71, 87, 89, 91, 93, 182, 201, 205
231, 258, 260, 262, 329, 461, 487, 488
492, 515, 524, 557, 566, 571, 590
- First California infantry serving in. 530
—Kansas struggle the prologue to. 448
- Claiborne county, Mississippi, funds raised in, for emigrants to Kansas. 412
- Claims taken in Douglas county, 548, 549, 552
- Clark, —, laid out town of Ashland, 406
- Clark, Gen. John B., jr., of Howard county, Missouri. 374
- Clark, Bennett C. 382, 459
- Clark, Catherine, Wyandot Indian. 109, 133
- Clark, Charlotte, Wyandot Indian. 124
- Clark, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian. 155
- Clark, G. B., scout. 545
- Clark, George I., Wyandot Indian, 109, 133
—elected territorial secretary of Nebraska territory. 190
—head chief, Wyandot Indians. 185
- Clark, Harriet, Wyandot Indian. 109, 133
- Clark, "Jake". 387
- Clark, Mary J. 109, 133
- Clark, Peter, an expert shot with rifle. 496
—bargains with Indian to help capture a coon. 497
—wrestles with champion athlete of the Kaw tribe. 496
- Clark, Peter D., Wyandot Indian. 109, 133
- Clark, Col. R. H. 402
- Clark, Richard W., Wyandot Indian, 109, 133
- Clark, S. A., S. K. Turner and, Twentieth Century History of Carroll county, Mo. 450
- Clark, Sanborn. 506
- Clark, Sebra, Wyandot Indian. 109, 133
- Clark, Gen. William. 63
—letter books of, in library Kansas Historical Society. 45, 59
- Clarke, Sidney, prominent in defense of prohibition. 225
- Clark's creek. 495, 512
- Clausen, E. W., Atchison. 465, 478
- Clay, Senator C. C., of Alabama, opinion as to homestead feature of Kansas-Nebraska bill. 338
- Clay, William, Shawnee Indian. 176
- Clay Center. 215, 458, 462, 466, 471
- Clay county. 214, 374, 384, 385, 450

- Clay county, Mo., interest in settlement
of Kansas question 380
—intolerance of citizens of, during Kansas
troubles 381
—slave population of 382
Clayton, Col. Henry D. 392, 399, 440
—money and men secured for Kansas at
Hawkinsville, Ga. 348
—report to the Kansas Executive Com-
mittee of Barbour county, Alabama. . 449
—tour of the south in behalf of Kansas, 347
Clayton, J. M., of Delaware. 338, 356
Clayton expedition to Kansas, short ac-
count of 399, 400
Clemenceau, Premier Georges, tribute of,
to American forces 453
Clement, Inez Theressa, Wyandot In-
dian 109, 133
Clement, Sophia, Wyandot Indian, 109, 133
Cleveland, President Grover 3
Cleveland, Ohio 538, 546, 547
—national convention of American Legion
held at 471
Clingman, Thos. L. 449
Clinton, George, shooting of John Hurst
at Hays, 1870 by 530
Clinton, Douglas county, mill at 550
Clinton county, Indiana 524
Clinton county, Mo. 374
—proslavery activities in 382
Clothes budget for working girls. 325
—stolen from negro 562
Clothing expensive in early days in Kan-
sas 489
Clum, Henry R., acting commissioner of
Indian affairs 173
Clybor, John, white renegade with In-
dians at Beecher Island 533
Clymer, A. J., elected to the legislature, 495
Clymer, J. V. 217
Coal, coking 575
—deposits in the Capitan mountains. . 575
—in Kansas 281
—reported discovery of, along Smoky
Hill route 527
Coal mines, child labor in 294
—strike in Pittsburg district in win-
ter of 1919 468
Coat of mail, Spanish 43
Coates, Thomas P. 393
Cobb, Stephen A. 162, 163
—special commissioner for Wyandot In-
dians 162, 171
Coble, George, Kansas pioneer 528
Coblentz, Julia Anna, Mrs. A. R. Greene, 1
Cochran, member Alabama legislature. . 396
Cody, William F., camps at show
grounds of 546
—chased and shot buffalo near Hays. . 539
—obtained sobriquet of "Buffalo Bill". 546
Cofachique, French soldier buried in
cemetery of 2
Coffee, Col. John T. 383
Coffee county, Tenn. 421
Coffee creek 90
Coffin, Mrs. Julia A., death of 598
—member of the Milwaukee company. . 593
Cole, Arthur Charles, The Whig party in
the South 450
Cole, H. E. 480
Cole county, Mo. 346, 374, 390
Collier, Col. 57
Collier, Betsey, Seneca Indian. 161
Collier, J. L. 405
Collier, Mary, Wyandot Indian. 124, 155
161, 166
Collier, Sarah, Wyandot Indian, 124, 155, 167
Collins, Sergt. Maj. Carleton C., at Camp
Funston 466, 467, 479
Collins, John 169
Collins, Lewis, History of Kentucky, 408, 450
Collins, Capt. M. B. 384
Collins, Dr. Robert. 402
Collyer family, Morris county. 496
Colonies, but one in Kansas before elec-
tion of March, 1855. 345
Colonization of proslavery men in Kan-
sas, agitation of 379
Colony, establishment of, on Upper Ar-
kansas 68
—formed in Ohio to go to Kansas. 554
—from Ohio, send committee ahead to
choose location 554
Colony, Okla. 66
Colorado 46, 48, 50, 90, 221
332, 492, 517, 530, 588
—cavalry, stationed at Camp Fillmore
during Civil War. 89
—discovery of gold in 68, 81
—hours of labor fixed by 330
—percentage of women prisoners in. . 310
—regiments, Second cavalry dispatch
bearers reported killed by Indians on
Santa Fe Trail. 525
—William Bent, first permanent white
settler in 46
—and Kansas, erect monument on
Beecher Island, Colo., in honor of Col.
George A. Forsyth and scouts. 530
Colorado State Historical Society. 50
Colored ex-service men, efforts of, to es-
tablish American Legion posts. 471
Columbia, Mo. 334, 376
—Kansas meetings held at. 376, 377, 378
Columbia, S. C. 361, 419, 434
—emigrants sent to Kansas from. 418
—quotation from address before agricul-
tural convention held in. 420
Columbia (S. C.) Times. 360, 418
Columbia South Carolinian. 420
Columbus, Ga. 342
—meeting of Muscogee County Kansas
Emigrant Aid Society held at. 402
—money pledged by residents for Kansas
cause 396
Columbus (Ga.) Times and Sentinel. 399
Columbus, Kan. 457, 460, 462, 466
Comanche Indians 31, 42, 45, 47, 60, 64
69, 72, 74, 84, 525, 526
—agreement with Gen. Sanborn, 1865. . 529
—attacked by Col. Carson and force. . 43
—call William Bent, Roman Nose. 31
—certain bands of, ranged with the Ki-
owas 69
—Cuernoverde, famous chief of. 89
—kill Robert Bent on Pawnee Fork. 51
—Mexican servants in families of. 71
—raid into Old Mexico. 71
—raided by northern tribes in 1826. . 31
—steal stock belonging at Fort Bent in
1839 70
Coming of Prohibition to Kansas, by
Clara Francis 192
Commerce of the prairies, initiation of. . 483
Commercial Journal, quoted. 339
Commodities, comparison of prices of,
290, 291
Common Sense Medical Adviser. 492
Compensation bill for ex-service men. . 470
471, 477
Comstock, Bill, noted scout, killed by
Indians 541
Concordia 471, 472
Coner, H. J. 393
Congregational church 230
—Junction City 504
—Osawatomie 557
Congressional committee, report of or-
ganized effort of Missourians to control
elections in Kansas 346
Conn, Malcolm, dissuades Dick Yeager
band from burning Council Grove. 488
—trading store of, at Council Grove. . 488

- Connecticut 202, 331, 339, 347, 553
 Connelley, William E., adopted into
 Wyandot nation 94, 95
 —Albert Robinson Greene, a biographical
 sketch 1
 —An Appeal to the Record 343, 450
 —date of arrival at Tiblow, Wyandotte
 county 93
 —elected county clerk of Wyandotte
 county 93, 181
 —first published work of 182
 —help given Wyandot Indians 93
 —Kansas and Kansans 75, 192, 558
 —Kansas City, Kansas: Its Place in the
 History of the State, a paper read
 before the Wyandotte County Histori-
 cal Society, at its meeting April 4,
 1918 181
 —Life of Preston B. Plumb 450
 —Religious conceptions of the Modern
 Hurons, a paper read before the Mis-
 sissippi Valley Historical Association at
 its fifteenth annual meeting, Iowa City,
 May 11, 1922 92
 —study of Wyandot language and cus-
 toms made by 94
 —visited members of Wyandot tribe to
 learn history 181
 —Wyandot Folk Lore 98
 Connelly, Claude E., state labor commis-
 sioner of Oklahoma 331
 Conner, Mrs. Dessie Scott 473
 Conner, W. F. 471
 Connor, Brig. Gen. Fox 451
 Conscription, opposition to 25
 Constantza, Roumania, Germans settle
 at 581, 587
 Constitution of Kansas, provisions made
 for state support of benevolent insti-
 tutions 233
 Constitutions of certain states not sub-
 mitted to popular vote 436
Constitutionalist, Doniphan, proslavery
 newspaper first printed in county 350
 Contagious diseases, school children pro-
 hibited from attending school while in-
 fected with 250
 Control, Kansas State Board of, duties
 prescribed by laws of 1905 235
 Convicts, enumeration of 233
 Cook, Capt. — 404
 —head of a Cass county, Ga., company
 raised for service in Kansas 403
 Cook, "Uncle" Billy, discovers first zinc
 in Kansas 282
 Cook, George, Wyandot Indian 109, 133
 Cook, R. H. 392
 Cook, William 317
 Cooke, Philip St. G., Conquest of New
 Mexico and California 64
 —A Day's Work of a Captain of
 Dragoons 73
 —escorts Mexican train to the crossing
 of the Arkansas 73
 —with Mormon battalion, sent to Cali-
 fornia by southern route 64, 76
 Coolidge, Calvin A., Vice President of
 the U. S., visitor to annual conven-
 tion of the American Legion at Kan-
 sas City, Mo. 478
 Coon, Wyandot Indian 113, 140
 Coon, Catherine, Wyandot Indian 124, 156
 161, 167
 Coon, Francis, Wyandot Indian 124, 155
 161, 167
 Coon, George, Wyandot Indian 110, 124
 126, 128, 133, 155, 161
 Coon, Hannah, Wyandot Indian 124, 156
 161, 167
 Coon, Harley, Wyandot Indian, 122, 152, 163
 Coon, Joseph, Wyandot Indian 110, 133
 Coon, Josiah Scott, Wyandot Indian 124
 155, 161
 Coon, Mary, Wyandot Indian 110, 124, 133
 155, 161, 167
 Coon, Sarah, Wyandot Indian 110, 133
 Coon, Thomas, Wyandot Indian 110, 133
 Coon, William, Wyandot Indian 133
 Coonhawk, Henry C. G., Wyandot In-
 dian 110, 134
 Coonhawk, Mary, Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Coonhawk, Thomas, Wyandot Indian, 110, 133
 Cooper, Edward 471
 Cooper, Dr. W. G., Louisville, Ky., visits
 Kansas 407
 Cooper county, Mo. 374, 430
 —military company organized for serv-
 ice in Kansas 382
 Cord People, or Attigneonognahac, one
 of Huron confederation 92
 Cordwood, piled up for bed and pillow, 540
 Corn 71, 512, 515, 570
 —ground at Clinton mill 550
 —juice, rhymes concerning 4
 —Kansas, statistics of production 282
 —light crop in 1870 509
 —parched, used during famine 566, 567
 570, 571
 —pone and sorghum, daily portion of
 settlers, 1858 550
 —shelled 568
 —used as bait for prairie chickens 497
 — and wheat, bumper crops of 19
 Corner Stone, Columbus, Ga., lukewarm
 on the Kansas question 440
 Cornstalk, John B., Wyandot Indian, 110, 134
 Cornstalk, Sarah, Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Coro Carmel, two days' travel east of
 the Rio Grande 71
 Coronado, Francisco Vasquezde, found
 Wichita Indians living in vicinity of
 present city of Wichita 91
 Corpus Christi, Tex., emigrants for Kan-
 sas from 423
 —flag carried in battle of, used by Col.
 Warfield in recruiting Americans for
 raid into New Mexico 72
 Corral 541
 —formed with wagons accompanying
 train 52
 Corrections, Kansas State Board of, 237, 277
 Costa's Opera House, Topeka 219
 Cotter, Mrs. —, Wyandot Indian, 118, 148
 Cotter, Amos, Wyandot Indian 124, 156
 161, 167
 Cotter, Bernard, Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Cotter, Caroline E., Wyandot Indian, 110, 134
 Cotter, Cassils, Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Cotter, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian, 110, 134
 Cotter, Francis, Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Cotter, Hiram, Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Cotter, James W., Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Cotter, John, Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Cotter, Mary Littlechief, Wyandot In-
 dian 161
 Cotter, Nicholas, Wyandot Indian, 110, 134
 Cottonwood creek 91
 —Santa Fe trail crossing at 526, 528
 Cottonwood Falls 457, 466, 471, 473, 489
 Cottonwood trees 33, 83, 484, 516
 Coues, Elliott 29
 Council Grove 215, 478, 484, 485, 487, 492
 —delegation of citizens try to secure the
 Rock Island railroad for their town 574
 —hickory at 55
 —last outpost of civilization on Santa Fe
 trail 483, 524
 Council Springs, Tex., treaty of, 1846 42
 County high schools, establishment of 247

County-seat fights in southwestern Kansas 574
 Court of Industrial Relations. *See* Kansas Court of Industrial Relations.
 Covered wagons 518, 552, 572
 —brought by colonists 554
 Covington, Ky. 407, 450
 Cow chips, used for fuel 589
 Cow creek, dispatch bearers reported killed east of 525
 Cow Island 590
 Cowskin used for harness 550
 Cowboys 499
 —courage of, in cattle stampede 500
 Cowell, Chauncey J. 594, 595
 Cowen, B. R., acting Secretary of the Interior 173
 Cows 506, 510, 585
 Cowskin creek, Missouri 93
 Cox, George S. 396
 Cox, Jimmie 548
 Cox, Lewis M. 168
 Cox, Walter L. 480
 Coyotes 51, 529, 545, 558
 —hunted near Hays, by S. Shlesinger 539
 Craik, David J. 334
 Craik, David Warren 334
 Craik, Eldon Lionel 334
 Craik, Elmer Leroy, biographical sketch, portrait 334
 —Southern Interests in Territorial Kansas, paper by 334
 Craik, Mary (Rink) 334
 Cravens, Mrs. C. R. 473
 Crawford, Judge, Savannah, Ga. 402
 Crawford, John W., labor commissioner, 305
 Crawford, L. M., theatrical manager 319
 Crawford, M. J. 392
 Crawford, R. W., of Mount Vernon, Mo., 383
 Crawford, Gov. Samuel J. 492
 Crawford, Ala. 396
 Crawford county, Ark., emigrants from, settle in Kansas 401
 Crawford county, Kan. 284
 Creamer, Caroline R. 166
 Creitz, Capt. W. F. 593, 595
 Crews, T. W. B. 394
Cricket, *The*, first publication in Holton, history of 593
 Criers, Indian, duties of 58
 Crimean War 581
 —breaking out of 587
 —compared with the Kansas struggle 342
 Crippled children, first act for care of 271
 Crittenden, Gov. J. J. 448, 449
 —opposition of, to Lecompton constitution 437
 —speech on Lecompton constitution 336
Croix de guerre, France 12, 465, 478
 Crook, —, representative in Georgia legislature 405
 Crop failure in southwestern Kansas causes abandonment of entire district 575
 Crosby, William, member Topeka legislature 195
 Crouch, Capt. John 404
 Crow Indians, Kit Carson and Bent employees in fight with 33, 36
 —visits with Kiowas 35, 69
 Crozier, Judge Robert 597
 Cruise, David, killed during slave raid 598
 Cruise, James J., register of deeds, Wyandotte county 158
 Cuapa, James, Shawnee Indian 175
 Cuba 10, 428, 467
 —filibustering expeditions to 408
 Cubbison, James Kerr 457
 Cubbison, Julia Krets 457
 Cubbison, Paul Kenneth 461, 463, 478
 —brief sketch of 457

Cullison schoolhouse, meeting at, to determine route of C. R. I. & P. through Pratt county 574
 Culpepper county, Va. 424
 Culver, G. W., scout, killed in battle of Arikaree 534, 543
 Culver, Judge George William 382
 Cundiff, J. H. R. 352
 Cunningham, Col., of South Carolina 392
 Cunningham, Thomas, appointed judge territorial supreme court 596
 Curleyhead, Jacob, Wyandot Indian 124
 156, 161, 167
 Curleyhead, John B., Wyandot Indian, 110, 134
 Curleyhead, Mary (Mrs. Ketcham) Wyandot Indian 110, 134, 161
 Curleyhead, Mary, jr., Wyandot Indian 124, 156, 167
 Curleyhead, Nancy, Wyandot Indian, 110, 135
 Curleyhead, Nancy, jr., Wyandot Indian 110, 135
 Curleyhead, William, Wyandot Indian 110, 134
 Curry, Jim, in battle of Beecher Island, 541
 Curtis, Senator Charles, student at school on Kansas Indian reservation 491
 Custer, Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon, wife of Gen. Geo. A. Custer 502
 Custer, Gen. George A. 28, 492, 536
 —at Fort Hays 539
 —operating from Camp Supply south 538
 —second in command at Fort Leavenworth 502
 Custer, Col. Tom., at Fort Leavenworth, 503
 Cuthbert, Ga. 347
 "Cutting patching," nightly occupation among early settlers 488
 Czechs 579
 Czechoslovaks and Slavonians in Austrian Poland near Silesia 583

D.

Dade county, Mo. 383, 450
Daily Democratic Press, Chicago 398
Daily Jefferson Inquirer 449
Daily Missouri Democrat, St. Louis 365
 —quoted regarding the Atchison propaganda 362, 363
 Dalhart, Tex. 577
 Dallas county, Ala. 395
 Dances given by Indian soldier societies, 84
 Dannewitz, Bessarabia 585
 Dantzler, O. M. 392
 Danube river 580, 581, 587
 Darby, John F. 371
 Darlington, S. C., Kansas meeting held in 417
 Daugherty, S. A. 470, 471
 —at Garden City 466
 Daughters of the American Revolution, mark site of Bent's Old Fort 90
 Daviess county, Mo. 374
 Davis, — 396
 Davis, Charles, trader at Bent's Fort, known to Indians as Wolf 57
 Davis, Capt. H. C. 414
 Davis, Henry 165, 171
 Davis, I. W. 387
 Davis, Irwin, hired to break prairie in Douglas county 550
 Davis, Jefferson, most influential man in Pierce's cabinet 426
 Davis, Jesse, one of the commanders of squad in search of John Brown 351
 Davis, John 518
 Davis, John, Shawnee Indian 176
 Davis, R. W. 477
 Davis, W. G. R. 392
 Davis, Walter, Shawnee Indian 178

- Davis, Dr. Werter R., superintendent of public instruction in Douglas county, 548
 Davis county, name changed to Geary, 512
 Dawson, John L., homestead bill of, 338
 Dawson, Mr. —, a veteran ranchman, 575
 Dawson, A. H. H., 403
 Dawson, Catherine F., Wyandot Indian, 110
 Dawson, Catherine L., Wyandot Indian, 110, 135
 Dawson, Eudora W., Wyandot Indian, 110, 135
 Dawson, Jardina, Wyandot Indian, 135
 Dawson, Jared S., Wyandot Indian, 110, 135
 Dawson, Jordinia, Wyandot Indian, 110
 Dawson, Oella Z., Wyandot Indian, 110, 135
 Dawson, Robert A., Wyandot Indian, 110, 135
 Dawson county, Montana, 590
 Day, Barney, one of Forsyth's scouts, wounded in battle of the Arikaree, 533, 534
 Day, Emma, Shawnee Indian, 176
 Day, Joseph, Shawnee Indian, 176
 Dead Man's Hill, where hordes of Germans were mowed down in their effort to reach Verdun in 1916, 456
 Deaf and dumb, enumeration of, 266
 Deaf, School for, 234
 Deal, Fred E., 481
 Dean, Col. James, 402
 Deaths and births, registration of, 252
 DeArmond, —, 467
 DeBow, J. D. B., 409
 —director of the census of 1860, and editor of *DeBow's Review*, 440
 —of New Orleans, the heart and soul of the whole movement to promote southern emigration to Kansas, 445
DeBows Review, 386, 409, 449
 DeCourcey, Lieut. —, sent to Taos, N. Mex., to discover attitude of residents regarding American invasion, 75
 Deeg family, from Bavaria, 584
 Deer, 100, 483, 497, 509
 —one of totemic animals of Wyandots, 97
 Deer People, 92, 97
 Deerskin hunting shirts and leggings, 40
 Degen, Sam M., 479, 480, 481
 De-hen-yan-teh, Wyandot name bestowed upon W. E. Connelley, 94
 Delano, Columbus E., Secretary Interior Department, 170, 173
 Delawares and Shawnees, great hunters, 54
 Delaware Indians, 53, 189, 331, 338, 356
 —amount paid for lands of, by Wyandots, 103
 —employed at Bent's Fort, 51
 —employed as teamsters by Bent & St. Vrain, 52
 —extent of land purchase of, by Wyandots, and consideration paid, 184
 —given lands in fork of Missouri and Kansas rivers, 103, 183
 —given large part of present state of Ohio by Wyandot Indians, 184
 —living in Indiana in 1818, ceded their lands to the United States for a home in the West, 103
 —of Indiana, join those living on White river, Missouri, 103
 —reservation, 104
 —in Missouri given up, 103
 —treaty with, strongest movement for security of freedom in Kansas, 438
 —Wyandot Indians purchase land from, 103
 Delaware lands in Wyandot county, 105
 Delaware pay house, became home of Gov. William Walker, 184
 Delaware township, Wyandotte county, 105
 Delaware trust lands, 412
 Delinquent children, 271
 Democratic convention, 1856, 445
 —Kansas, dodges the prohibition question in platform, 226
 Democratic party, 210
 —in Georgia, condemned Gov. Walker for his advocacy of the submission of the Lecompton constitution to the people, 428
 —intrigues of, 187
 —platform of, plank advocating enactment of law limiting hours of labor for women in certain occupations, 316
 Denevitz, Bessarabia, 579
 Dental inspection, free service in certain public schools, 253
 Denton, Frank, 476
 Denver, J. W., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 159
 Denver, Colo., 69, 81, 84, 89, 511
 —establishment of, 1858, 58
 —one of first stores in town opened by John Smith, 58
 —women's wages in, 310
 Dependent children, care of, 255, 258, 262
 Depredations committed by southerners in Kansas, did not elicit general approval in the south, 448
 DeRoim, C. S., 480
 Detention Home, 277
 Deter, William R., 392
 Detroit, Mich., 93, 95
Detroit Daily Advertiser, 414
 Detweiler, J. R., efforts in behalf of temperance cause, 212, 213
 —establishes the Temperance Banner, 213
 —heads the I. O. G. T. order in Kansas, 213
 —presents monster petition to legislature asking legislation in favor of prohibition, 215
 —report as chief templar I. O. G. T., quoted, 222
 Deupree, C. Gait, 404
 Development of Public Protection of Children in Kansas, by Nina Swanson, 231
 DeVilbiss, Dr. Lydia A., Kansas Children's Code Commission advocated by, 315
 Dhegiha group of Siouans, migrate down the Ohio and settle on the Mississippi river, 182, 183
 Diamond Grove, on Missouri frontier, 48
 Diamond Springs, 15
 —Yeager band kill storekeeper Augustus Howell, and shoot his wife at, 488
 Diaz, Gen. Armando, of Italian army, a visitor to the American Legion national convention at Kansas City, Mo., 478
 Dickinson county, 520
 Disloyalty, United States district attorney to be advised of, 468
 Distinguished-service cross, 478
 Distinguished service of the navy, United States, 12
 District court, appeals from juvenile court taken to, 276
 District of Columbia, 220, 332, 467, 503
 —minimum wage of, 328
 —percentage of women prisoners in, 310
 District school on Washington creek, 548
 Diwitsch, Gen., Russian general in Crimean War, 581
 —Russian minister of war, disloyalty of, 587
 Dixon, J. J. A. T., 210
 Dneister river, 580, 581, 583
 Dobleluck, —, name of a robber in Bessarabia, 580
 Dobruda, 580, 581, 584, 586
 —attached to Roumania, 587
 —attached to Russia, 587
 —fruitful land, 581
 —German settlers from Bessarabia in, 581

- Dobrudja river 580
 Dobyns, H. R. 385
 Dobbs, J. L. 403
 Dodge, Augustus Caesar, of Iowa, opinion
 as to slavery in Kansas 336
 Dodge, Col. Henry 39, 41, 42, 45, 89
 —dragoons commanded by, encamped at
 Bent's Fort in summer of 1835..... 41
 —found Mexicans selling liquor to Chey-
 ennes 59
 —Gant, a trader, acted as guide for... 45
 —statement regarding the Atsena..... 31
 Dodge Expedition, journal of 45
 Dodge, William Henry 595, 597
 Dodge City 47, 461, 525, 528, 574
 —builds branch line to Bucklin and sell
 to Rock Island railroad 574
 —temporary free employment bureau es-
 tablished in 307
 Doe, John 341
 Doerr, Mrs. A. A. 473
 Dog 490, 571, 572
 Dogs, raise alarm on attack of pro-
 slavery men 551
 —used in hunting..... 558
 Dolocker family 583
 Donovan, Jack, scout 535
 —arrived with relief party..... 527
 —found Col. Carpenter..... 538
 —offer of \$50 for Indian headdress, in
 behalf of an officer..... 546
 —returned from Fort Wallace with sol-
 diers and ambulance..... 536
 —volunteered to go through Indian lines
 to Fort Wallace..... 536
 Doniphan, A. W. 358, 373, 381, 386
 —Missouri regiment of, left in Santa Fe
 to await arrival of Price's regiment... 77
 Doniphan, land office at..... 281
 Doniphan county, first newspaper pub-
 lished in 350
 —squatters' meeting held at home of
 James R. Whitehead 352
 —strongly proslavery 350
 D'Olier, Franklin 478
 —elected first national commander Amer-
 ican Legion 467
 —national commander of the American
 Legion, visits Topeka..... 470
 D'Olier, Mrs. Franklin, a Topeka visitor, 471
 Doolittle, Senator 525
 Doran, Ella 486
 Doran, Emma 486
 Doran, Frank 486
 —account of trip made to Kansas City,
 Mo., with load of wheat to mill..... 489
 —attempt to steal horses of..... 490
 —cabin of 486
 —cattle of, caught in flood..... 492
 —family leaves New York for Kansas... 484
 —rescued from log cabin home during
 floods 492
 —homestead, patent to, signed by Abra-
 ham Lincoln 484
 —narrow escape while going to mill at
 Cottonwood Falls 489, 490
 Doran, John L. 486
 Doran, Mary 486
 Doran, Mrs. Mary, effective method of
 getting rid of troublesome Kaw In-
 dian 490, 491
 Doran, Thomas F. 486, 499
 —"Kansas Sixty Years Ago," read before
 the Saturday Night Club, Topeka,
 Feb. 4, 1922..... 482
 —portrait of 482
 Doster, Judge Frank, appointed judge
 of twenty-fifth judicial district..... 525
 —brief biographical sketch of..... 524, 525
 —elected chief justice of supreme court, 525
 —"Eleventh Indiana cavalry in Kansas in
 1865," paper by 524
 Doster, Judge Frank, portrait of..... 524
 Dougherty, Anne, Shawnee Indian..... 176
 Dougherty, Maj. John..... 340, 381, 447
 Dougherty, John, Shawnee Indian..... 176
 Dougherty, Joseph, Shawnee Indian..... 176
 Dougherty, Margaret, Shawnee Indian... 176
 Dougherty, Rebecca, Shawnee Indian... 176
 Doughfaces 368
 Douglas, J. C. 201
 Douglas, Richard L., History of Manu-
 factures in Kansas..... 283
 Douglas, Senator Stephen A..... 337, 356
 368, 449
 —abortive attempts of, to organize In-
 dian territory west of Missouri..... 191
 —authorship of bill for the repeal of the
 Missouri Compromise held to be a bid
 for the presidency..... 335
 —bill repealing Missouri Compromise in-
 troduced in congress by..... 279
 —bill reported to U. S. senate for or-
 ganization of territorial government in
 country now comprising Kansas..... 188
 —quoted 366
 Douglas county 3, 196, 292
 548, 549, 550
 —forts erected by Buford forces..... 398
 —poor farm 552
 —tragic incident in early history of... 548
 Downer, Joseph 424
 Downings, family of 496
 Downs, A. D. 167
 Downs, Thomas 167
 Doy, Dr. John, rescue of from jail at St.
 Joseph in 1859 551
 Doyle, Owen, labor commissioner..... 305
 Draffin, Capt. J. W. 378, 382
 —desertion from company and lack of
 discipline in 383
 —military company of Cooper county,
 Mo., men organized for service in Kan-
 sas under 382
 —troops of, saw little service in Kansas, 383
 Draft, hindrance to 25
 Dragoons 76
 —commanded by Col. Henry Dodge, en-
 camp at Fort Bent in 1835..... 40
 Drake, Charles D. 371
 Drake, G. W. 595
 Drake, William 168
 Dramshop law of 1855, taken bodily
 from the Missouri statutes 193
 —minority report of committee appointed
 by legislature, 1862, to consider bills
 pertaining to sale of intoxicating drinks, 206
 —of 1859 197
 —of 1868 202
 —effort to amend in 1877..... 211
 —protest of George W. Glick against
 amending 211
 Dred Scott decision, null and void in
 Kansas 565
 Dress, budget for working girls, amounts
 suggested causes much comment..... 326
 Drinking cup, common, under ban in
 Kansas 323
 —individual 326
 Driver, — 184
 Driver, Caroline, Wyandot Indian, 124, 156
 Driver, Catherine, Wyandot Indian, 110, 135
 Driver, Henry, Wyandot Indian..... 165
 Driver, Isaac P., Wyandot Indian... 110, 135
 Driver, Martha, Wyandot Indian..... 160
 Driver, Sarah, Wyandot Indian 135
 Driver, Susan, Wyandot Indian..... 110, 135
 Driver, William A., Wyandot Indian, 124, 156
 161, 168
 Drouth, assigned as reason for slackened
 southern emigration 345
 —of 1860 280, 485
 "Droughty Kansas," 18

- Drum-Standish Commission Co., Kansas City, Mo. 499
- Drums 84
- Dry Arroya, of Timpas Arroya. 90
- Dry creek, Cheyenne name for Sand creek 91
- Ducks 497
- Duke, Basil 371
- Dumb, first enumeration of. 266
- Duncan, C. C. 211
- Dunkin county, Mo. 425
- Tennesseans settle in 422
- Durango, Mexico 64, 72
- Duretschuk river 581
- Durham cattle brought to Kansas by the Kentucky Kansas Association. 406
- Dust storms, Kansas 517
- Dutch colonize eastern coast of America. 482
- Dysgenics, preventive measures for the increase of 267, 268
- E.
- Eager, Dr. R. 411
- Eagle Tail Feathers, Kiowa chief. 42
- Eagles, kept at Bent's Fort. 39
- Early History of the El Paso Line of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, written for the Kansas State Historical Society by Oliver Philip Byers, of Hutchinson, Kan. 573
- Early History of the Kansas Department, American Legion, written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by Thomas Amory Lee, past department commander, Kansas department, American Legion 457
- Early settlers, marksmanship of. 487
- Earnest, H. A. 479
- Earthquake, how Wyandot Indians account for 97
- East, food sent from, to famine-stricken in Kansas 566
- provisions sent from, to Osawatomie, 571
- Eaton, L. R. 478
- Eaton, N. J. 371
- Economic History of the United States, by Ernest Ludlow Bogart. 333
- Eddy, Col. —, a ranchman of El Paso, Tex., builds the White Oaks railroad from El Paso 575
- Eddy, Mrs. Julia E. 1
- Edgar county, Ill. 231
- Edgefield, S. C. 435
- Edgefield (S. C.) *Advertiser* 414, 417
- Edgefield county, S. C. 450
- Edgefield district, S. C., took active interest in Kansas. 417
- Edmonds, Leslie E. 479
- Education 241
- compulsory, development of the principle of 246
- State Board of. See Kansas State Board of Education.
- Education and child labor. 238
- Education of orphan and minor children, 258
- Educational work in Kansas, steps taken for encouragement of. 233
- Edwards, Mr. — 512, 513
- Edwards, A. L. 418
- Edwards, Rev. Evan A., Lawrence. 466
- resigns as state historian of the Kansas department, American Legion. 470
- Egypt 587
- Eight-hour law, first passed by Massachusetts 329
- Eight Hundred and Seventieth aerial squadron 457
- Eighteen hundred and sixty, a dry year. 485
- Eighteenth amendment, Kansas the thirty-sixth state to ratify. 228
- Eiland, Allen, of Crawford, Ala., proposed southern emigration societies to be established to send slaveholders to Kansas 396
- Elbe river 580
- Elder, Peter P., Ottawa. 233
- Eldridge, Shalor Winchell, Recollections of Early Days in Kansas. 450
- Election of March, 1855. 591
- all proslavery candidates elected. 351
- total vote cast. 346
- Eleventh Indiana cavalry in Kansas in 1865, written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by Judge Frank Doster 524
- left at Moore's ranch in northwest corner of Marion county. 526
- Eleventh Kansas cavalry. 526
- Eleventh Ohio cavalry. 526
- Eley, John 392
- Elias, C. R. 478
- Elk Creek 592, 597
- Osage county, settlement of Greene family on 2
- Elkhorn, Mo., Kansas meeting held at. 394
- Ellick, Sophrone, Shawnee Indian. 176
- Elliott, Dr. Thomas A. 415
- Elliott, George P. 413
- Elliott, Hannah, Wyandot Indian. 122
- 152, 160
- Elliott, Jacob, Wyandot Indian. 122
- 152, 160
- Elliott, Mary, Wyandot Indian. 122, 152, 160
- Ellis, Abraham, known as "Bullet-hole Ellis" 201
- Ellis, R. 392
- Ellsworth, Mary (Mrs. John Madden). 457
- Ellsworth 475
- Elm root made into a yoke. 550
- Elmore, Judge Rush, of Alabama. 596
- experience of, with slaves in Kansas in 1856 345
- El Paso, Tex. 574, 575, 576
- population of 574
- El Paso Northwestern Railroad. 575
- El Puebla, location of. 67
- Elry, L. M. 392
- Emery, John G. 476, 478
- national commander American Legion, present at third annual convention of Kansas American Legion. 477
- Emery, Prof. P. A., aid granted to, for education of deaf and dumb. 269
- Emigrant Aid Company. 343, 423, 426
- Emigrant train 560
- Emigrants on way West, horses sold to by Bent's traders 60
- Emigration to Kansas. 566
- in 1856, *New York Herald's* figures of, 347
- Emory, Lieut. William H., journal of, quoted 76
- A Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth 64, 76
- Employees, protection afforded those testifying against their employers. 324
- Employers, penalties for violation of child-labor laws 240
- Employment bureaus 306
- Emporia 231, 457, 459-462, 466
- 470, 471, 478, 503
- early efforts of, toward prohibition. 195
- Emporia, State Normal School. See Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia.
- Encyclopedia Britannica 282, 333
- Enfield, Ray 481
- England 504
- English, colonize eastern and northeastern coasts of America. 482
- English Channel 454

- English family, starving on claim in Morris county, rescue of.....485, 487
- English language, not spoken but understood by squaw.....547
- required to be taught in all public and parochial schools.....249
- Enlisted men, the life of, not easy in time of war.....451
- Ensminger, Christian.....589
- Entraygues, d', Lieut.....453
- quoted.....454
- Epilepsy, treatment for.....235
- Epileptics, State Hospital for. *See* Kansas State Hospital for Epileptics.
- Epizoötic, epidemic of, among horses.....513
- Erie, railroad mobs of.....370
- Eufala, Ala.....431
- Eufala, Ga.....397, 399
- Europe.....589
- Kansas question viewed in, with solicitude.....342
- Eutaw Whig*.....396
- Euwer, Elmer E.....471, 478
- Evans, A.....415
- Evans, Joseph B.....389
- Evans, Thomas.....418
- Ewing, Robert C.....386
- Ewing, Col. T. M.....386
- Execution, first legal, in territory now embraced in Kansas, by Wyandot Indians.....185
- "Exodus," southern.....520
- Expectant mothers, provision made for care of certain.....254
- Explorer and trapper, trails of.....483
- Exploring expeditions sent out by the U. S., to examine country near the Mexican boundary.....74
- Express*, steamer, chartered by the Kentucky Kansas Association.....406
- F.
- Faber, Mrs. Mary, Wyandot Indian.....161
- Factory inspection.....321
- betterment orders issued.....324
- provisions for.....305
- recommendations of inspectors.....323
- sanitary conditions.....323
- statistics.....321, 322
- Factory Inspector, state. *See* Kansas state factory inspector.
- Fain, William F., Georgian, deputy sheriff of Douglas county, Kan.....403
- raised company of Calhoun county, Ga., men for Kansas.....403
- Fairfield, S. C., meeting held at, to secure men and money for the Kansas propaganda.....414
- Fairfield district, S. C., emigrants from locality of, start for Kansas.....418
- Families of men murdered in Marais des Cygnes massacre.....559
- Family industries, Wichita.....328, 329
- Famine in Kansas, distribution of aid from Atchison, Osawatomie, etc.....567
- supplies sent from the East.....568, 571
- year before the Civil War.....566
- Fargo Springs, fight with Springfield over location of county seat of Seward county.....574
- Farley, Louis, scout, best shot in Forsyth's command.....535
- death of.....535
- killed two Indians while he lay in grass with broken leg.....535
- Farm acreage of Kansas, statistics.....280
- Farmers' Alliance, advocates of, invade Kansas.....19
- Farmers Educational and Coöperative Union against preparedness.....25
- Farnham, Thomas Jefferson.....50, 51
- account of raid by Comanche Indians on Bent's Fort and the loss of every head of stock.....70
- description of life at Bent's Fort during the season of business.....41
- visited Bent's Fort in 1839.....40
- Farrar, Foss.....476, 478
- Farwell, John V., X. I. T. ranch headquarters at Middle Water.....576
- Faulkner, Charles E., member legislature of 1879.....214
- Faust, Dr. J. W.....479
- Fayette, Mo., Kansas meetings held at, *Lafayetteville Independent*.....400
- Feather beds, Cheyenne Indians scatter contents of, over prairies like snow.....491
- Feeble-minded, Asylum for.....234
- Feeble-minded, School for. *See* Kansas State Training School, Winfield.
- Feeble-minded children, first enumeration of.....266
- Females, number gainfully employed in Kansas in 1910.....308
- Fernandez, N. M.....79
- Ferrill, Quinn.....479
- Ferryboats.....502, 592
- Fever and ague.....492, 505
- Fickling, F. W.....418
- Fidelity National Bank and Trust Company, Kansas City, Mo.....457
- Field, —, of Lafayette county, Mo.....373
- Field, Robert.....394
- Fields, J. J.....213
- Fields, Gen. John P.....383
- Fighter, Hannah, Wyandot Indian.....111, 135
- Fighter, Harriet S., Wyandot Indian, 111, 135
- Fighting Cheyennes, by George Bird Grinnell.....530, 533, 535
- Filibuster, southern, vote in Kansas in spring of 1856, and beat a retreat at approach of winter.....347
- Filibustering, found a ready response in Kentucky.....408
- Filibusters.....439
- and financiers.....450
- Finch, John B., of Nebraska, debates prohibition question with Gov. Charles Robinson at Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, 225
- Finley, James B., labors in Wyandot mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio.....185
- Fire-eaters.....436
- of the South.....341
- Fire escapes, inspection of.....306
- Firearms, early settlers well versed in use of.....488
- First Rough Rider regiment, Spanish-American War.....465
- Fish, R. M., contractor at Fort Hays.....539
- Fish.....497
- died during drouth.....566
- Fisher, —, early day trader.....56, 65
- Fisher, F. B.....479
- Fisher, J. A. J.....352
- Fisher's Hole, named for one of the traders at Bent's Fort.....57
- Fisher's Peak.....57
- Fitzpatrick, Thomas, guide during march on Santa Fe.....76
- Indian agent.....52, 71, 81, 82
- trapping party of.....46
- Flag, American.....75, 76
- floating from Fort Riley.....506
- Texan.....72
- white, held up as a truce by Indians.....535
- Flag, with large purple star, taken from Liberty arsenal and hoisted on tree in proslavery camp on Wakarusa.....381
- Flaunor, J. H.....392

- Flax, heckled and spun..... 585
 —Kansas, statistics of production of... 282
 —breaker 585
 Fleming, Mrs. A. E., daughter of Rev.
 S. L. Adair and Florella Brown Adair, 557
 Fleming, D. G. 418
 Fleming, Daniel 162
 Fleming, W. L., The Buford Expedition
 to Kansas 450
 Fleshman, Perry 594
 Fletcher, W. 415
 Flies, early settlers bothered with..... 508
 Flintlock guns, walls of Bent's Fort hung
 with 38
 Flintlock muskets 83
 Flood, Wyandot legend of 101
 Floods 489
 Florida 358, 392
 —coast, colonized by the Spanish..... 482
 —pioneers from the swamps of 494
 Flour 483
 —and salt, high in price and hard to
 get 489
 —furnished Union armies in Southwest
 by Ceran St. Vrain 50
 —sent during famine 571
 Flour mills in Kansas, rapid increase of, 283
 Floyd, John N. 466, 471, 474, 476
 —state committeemen of the American
 Legion 474
 Fluffer, Joe, pseudonym of A. R. Greene, 3
 Fly Creek, N. Y. 557
 Foch, Ferdinand, marshal of France.... 454
 —accompanies visiting American Legion
 members over battlefields of France... 476
 —praises American troops after Meuse-
 Argonne battle 455
 —tribute to American soldiers on suc-
 cess of battle of St. Mihiel..... 455
 —visitor to American Legion convention
 at Kansas City, Mo. 478
 Folston, S. L. 478
 Food, scarcity of, on account of crop
 failures 566
 Forbes, Judge A. M. 387
 Ford, Henry, peace efforts of..... 21
 Foote, Mrs. G. 473
 Foote, Henry S. 413
 Foreman, Milton, of Chicago..... 458
 Forsyth, Mrs. — —, Wyandot Indian,
 107, 129
 Forsyth, Gen. George A., and advisers,
 chose Beecher Island as best position
 on which to give battle..... 542
 —and other wounded, in hospital at
 Fort Wallace 546
 —and scouts, camped on north bank of
 the Arikaree, opposite Beecher Island,
 to which they moved Sept. 17, 1868.. 542
 —answer to anxious scouts 531
 —author of *Thrilling Days in Army Life*,
 531, 543
 —call for prayer from scouts..... 534
 —called council of scouts..... 536
 —citizen scouts of..... 530
 —command of, left Fort Hays for first
 scout in northwesterly direction... 540
 —numbered fifty-one, of which forty-
 six were rescued 543
 —reached Fort Wallace on the night
 of Sept. 5, 1868, after one week in
 the field 541
 —turned north after leaving Sheridan, 542
 —dispatched four scouts to summon re-
 lief from Fort Wallace..... 543
 —encamped Sept. 16, 1868, within about
 one-half mile from an ambush of the
 Indians 542
 —enrollment of thirty men at Fort
 Harker 531
 Forsyth, Gen. George A., familiarly called
 "Sandy" by those who knew him... 503
 —hero of the battle of the Arikaree... 503
 —last order given, as remembered by
 scout 533
 —men of, to be given any positions in
 the quartermaster's department, by
 order of Gen. Sheridan..... 538
 —monument erected in honor of, by Kan-
 sas and Colorado in 1906..... 530
 —ordered Aug. 25, 1868, to raise com-
 plement of scouts 531
 —orders to scouts to make for the island, 532
 —organizes a company of frontier men
 for Indian warfare..... 540
 —relief of, by Col. Carpenter and Scout
 Donovan 538
 —by Stillwell's party 538
 —scouts under, fight Cheyennes at Arik-
 aree creek, in Colorado, 1868..... 492
 —scalped three dead Indians..... 547
 —sent message to Col. Bankhead, asking
 for help 536
 —stood up while giving orders..... 533
 —talks against abandonment of the
 wounded 537
 —third call for volunteers to go through
 lines, successful 536
 Fort, erected by settlers in Holton town-
 ship 592
 Fort Atkinson, treaty of 1853..... 42
 Fort Bascom, N. M. 43
 Fort Bliss 575
 Fort Dodge 526, 575
 —wagon train to, from Fort Hays.... 540
 Fort Fauntleroy, formerly Bent's New
 Fort 87
 —later Fort Wise and Fort Lyon..... 87
 Fort George, name sometimes applied to
 Fort St. Vrain..... 41
 Fort Hall 41
 Fort Harker, enrollment of Forsyth's
 scouts at 530, 531
 —Scout John Hurst's arrival at..... 538
 Fort Hays 492, 530, 539
 —C. W. Parr a post scout at..... 540
 —Gen. G. A. Forsyth and scouts
 marched to 531
 —completed enrollment of scouts at. 531
 —hospital 530
 —Jack Stillwell started from..... 547
 —wagon train from, to Fort Dodge.... 540
 Fort Hays Normal School. *See* Kansas
 State Teachers College, Hays.
 Fort Lancaster 72
 Fort Laramie 41, 42, 65, 84, 526
 —purchased by War Department and
 turned into military post..... 81
 Fort Larned 91, 525, 526
 —extravagant statement concerning num-
 ber of troops stationed at..... 526
 Fort Leavenworth 38, 64, 352
 —council of Indian tribes convoked at,
 in 1848 187
 —Infantry and Cavalry school..... 10
 Fort Lyon 82, 84, 85, 91, 526
 —abandonment of old site and location
 of new 87
 Fort Myer 10
 Fort Pierre Journal 66
 Fort Reynolds, old, location of..... 89
 Fort Riley 524, 525, 538
 —flag floating at..... 506
 Fort Riley reservation..... 591
 Fort Riley road from Fort Leavenworth, 352
 Fort St. Vrain on South Platte river... 34
 46, 49, 57, 63
 —abandoned 42
 —built for trade with northern Indians.. 42
 —date of building..... 41

- Fort St. Vrain, William Bent sends men
with goods to trade at..... 84
- Fort Scott 213, 450, 462, 466
471, 473, 477, 555
- land office at..... 281
- oil wells drilled near..... 282
- South Carolinians pay visit to, in cam-
paign against free-state settlers..... 351
- Fort Scott Normal School 457
- Fort Sherman, Idaho 10
- Fort Smith Herald 422
- Fort Spurs 599
- Fort Sumner 68, 575
- Fort Titus, fight at 592
- Fort Union 530
- Fort Wallace 530, 531, 537
- commanded by Col. Bankhead..... 536
- Custer's trail from 536
- Forsyth and scouts brought to, by
relief parties after Battle of Arika-
ree 538, 541, 544, 545
- hospital at 546
- scouts in Arikaree fight reorganized by
Lieut. Papoon 546
- trophies secured by 546
- volunteers from, go to, for
help 536, 537
- Fort William 31
- description of 38
- or Bent's Old Fort, location of..... 90
- Fort Wise, named in honor of Gov. Wise
of Virginia 87
- renamed Fort Lyon 87
- Fort Worth, Tex. 74
- Fort Zarah 526
- Forter, Mrs. Emma A., History of Mar-
shall county, Kansas 417, 450
- Fortress Monroe 10
- Forts, erected along the line of the Santa
Fe trail 483
- erected in Kansas by Buford men, lo-
cation of 398
- erected in Miami county by southern-
ers 351
- Forty Years with the Cheyennes, by
George Bent, half-breed Cheyenne.... 533
- Foster, ——— 480
- Foster, Aaron 594
- Foster, Horace J. 471
- Foster, Mrs. J. Ellen, of Iowa 221
- work in behalf of prohibition in Kan-
sas 225
- Foster, J. O. 481
- Fountain Creek 31, 44, 49, 59, 67
- Bent's stockade at the mouth of.... 31
- Fountain river 89, 90
- short history of 89
- Foutragère, wearer of 478
- Fourth Army Corps, Fourth division.... 205
- Fourth of July, at Bent's Fort..... 56
- celebrated at Osawatomie, 1857, with
sham battle 555
- Fowler, George 185
- Fowler, Jacob 29
- Fox, J. M. 387
- France, ——— 9, 11, 26, 103
- Achievements of the American Expedi-
tionary Force in, 1917-1919, by Lieut.
McKinley W. Krieh, Corps of Engi-
neers, U. S. A. 451
- adequate railroad facilities leading from
southern and southwestern portions to
the seat of war 454
- battle fields of, visited by American
Legion members at invitation of French
republic 476
- construction work done by American
forces 451
- German atrocities in, during war 22
- hardships of American soldiers in,
1917 451
- France, pilgrimage made to, by American
Legion on invitation from President of
French republic 476
- railroad building by A. E. F. during
the Great War 453
- France and Russia, war between..... 581
- Francis, Clara 45
- The Coming of Prohibition to Kansas, 192
Francisco, Mexican herder, warns Chey-
ennes of smallpox at Bent's Fort 33
- Franck family 583
- Franklin, Howard county, Mo. 36
- proslavery meeting held at 352
- Fredonia 462
- Free employment bureau, statistics com-
piled by 307, 308
- work of 306, 307
- Free Negro, Robert, called Bob for
short 561, 562, 563, 564, 565
- Free soil, manuscript dedicated to..... 553
- democracy in the North..... 429
- immigration 426
- Free-soilers 364
- in Kansas 391
- Free-soilism 381
- Free state 554
- migration to Kansas 391, 557
- influx in Bourbon county..... 351
- settlement, around Trading Post..... 558
- settlers, shot by proslavery men un-
der Hamelton 555
- under Jim Lane, defend themselves,
der Hamelton 555
- voters, near Osawatomie 555
- Freedom's Champion, Atchison 343
- Freeman, John D. P. 164
- Freeman, William C. 168
- Freeman's Champion 425, 449
- Freemont, Henry 167
- Freight teams, bring shelled corn to
famine stricken 568
- delayed by lack of bridges..... 567
- Freighters 485
- on Santa Fe trail 530
- Fremont, Col. John C.... 36, 37, 50, 51, 56
57, 61, 63, 89, 367
- date reaching Bent's Fort on third ex-
pedition 74
- dates reaching Bent's Fort on first trip
to and return from California..... 74
- expedition under, reached Fort St.
Vrain July 10, 1842..... 49
- Kit Carson in service of..... 37
- Mariposa expedition, contribution asked
for by Benton 355
- report of 64
- second visit to Fort St. Vrain..... 49
- French 92, 579, 580, 590
- armies, railroad communications nec-
essary to, converged at Paris..... 455
- colonize eastern and northeastern
coasts of America 42
- corps held salient before town of St.
Mihiel 455
- employed at Bent's Fort 56
- gratitude of, towards United States.. 456
- immigrants attempt to raise silk in
Neosho valley 2
- trappers 35
- Wyandotte Indians have blood of.... 185
- French Canadians 79
- "Frenchie," scout at Battle of Arikaree, 533
- Friedenthal, Bessarabia 579
- Friendless women, home for, established
in Leavenworth county 257
- Friends of Kansas 425
- organization formed at Richmond, Va., 424
- Fristoe, Amos 387
- Frontier posts 530
- Frost, Cady, Wyandot Indian..... 111, 135

Frost, Hannah, Wyandot Indian.... 111, 135
 Frost, Michael, Wyandot Indian.... 111, 135
 Fruit, sent during famine 571
 Fuel, various kinds used by early settlers, 589
 Fuernier, Bessarabia 579
 Fugitive slave 565
 Fugitive slave law 374
 Fulkerson, Dr. J. M. 385
 Fuller, Albert, log house of 598
 Fuller, Ivy A. 481
 Fulton, J. S. 470
 Fulton, James C. 392
 Funkhouser, A. 382
 Funston, Frederick 21
 Fur-bearing animals 483
 —hunters and trappers in Kansas in
 search of 281
 Fur trade, Bent brothers engaged in. 29, 31
 —great decline of 42
 Furs, shipped from Fort St. Vrain.... 63
 —traffic in 60

G.

Gadberry, Gen. J. M. 415
 Gadsden plunder 368
 Gadsden treaty 367, 368
 Gage, Rev. Mr., of Junction City, Baptist minister 503, 504, 506
 Gainesville, Ga., Kansas meeting held in, 411
 Galatz, Roumania 580, 587
 Galbraith, Frederic W., jr. 478
 —date of death 472
 —national commander American Legion 472, 476
 —visits Kansas American Legion 472
 Galena Lead and Zinc Company, build first modern smelter at Galena 282
 Gales and Seaton 354
Gallatin Sun 376
 Galloway, George 390
 Galveston, Tex. 574
 Gamblers, follow the building of the Rock Island extension from Liberal. 576
 Gambling 596
 Game 542, 557, 558,
 —abundance of, in Morris county.... 497
 —and fur-bearing animals, hunters and trappers in Kansas in search of. 281
 Gant & Blackwell 37
 —build small stockade or trading post on upper Arkansas, few miles below Fountain creek 44, 89
 —d'd not reach Upper Arkansas country until 1830 44
 —trading post of, in ruins, 1835 45
 Gant, Capt. John 45
 —acted as guide for Col. Dodge in 1835, 45
 —first Indian trader to make friends with the Arapahoe Indians 31, 45
 —remembered by some of oldest members of Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes, 45
 —said to be first trader to induce Indians to drink liquor 45
 —trading among Pottawatomie Indians in 1839 45
 Garden City 462, 466, 471, 473
 Gardner [Miss], sister of T. Gardner, taught first school on Washington creek, 1861 548
 Gardner, Joseph, an ardent abolitionist, whose cabin was a station on the "Underground Railroad" 550, 551, 552
 —came to Lawrence, May, 1855. 548
 —claims staked by, near Lone Star, Douglas county 548
 —entire property and money of, on emigration to Kansas 549
 —family of, came to Kansas in 1857, 548, 549
 —firing on proslavery men who besieged his home 551
 —hired Negroes to quarry rock.... 550, 552

Gardner, Joseph, reward for his head offered by Missouri sheriff for participation in Doy rescue. 551
 —teacher in winter, farm laborer in summer 548
 Gardner, Theodore 548
 —correspondence with Sol Miller. 549
 —firing on proslavery raider 551
 —herding of stock 550
 —raises ten acres of corn 550
 —relation of "The Last Battle of the Border War" 548, 550
 Garlington, Robert 418
 Garnett, W. A. 407
 Garnett, Kan. 205, 206, 450
 —founded by colony of Louisville, Ky., emigrants 407
 Garrard, Lewis H. 46, 47, 49, 50, 57, 58
 —cañon at Bent's Fort, mentioned by. 39
 —dimensions of Fort William given by, 38
 —quoted 78
 Garrett, Byron, Wyandot Indian... 111, 139
 Garrett, Charles B., Wyandot Indian... 111, 135, 184
 Garrett, Cyrus, Wyandot Indian... 111, 136
 Garrett, Edward, Wyandot Indian... 111, 136
 Garrett, Eliza, Wyandot Indian... 111, 136
 Garrett, Eliza J., Wyandot Indian... 111
 Garrett, Henry, Wyandot Indian... 111, 136
 Garrett, Joel W., Wyandot Indian... 111, 136, 185
 Garrett, Maria, Wyandot Indian... 111, 135
 Garrett, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 111, 136
 Garrett, Mary Ann, Wyandot Indian, 111, 136
 Garrett, Nancy, Wyandot Indian... 111, 136
 Garrett, Nancy, jr., Wyandot Indian, 111, 136
 Garrett, Russell, Wyandot Indian... 111, 136
 Garrett, Theodore F., Wyandot Indian 111, 136
 Garrison, William Lloyd 548
 Gary, Ed. See Guerrier, Edmond.
 Gary, Old Bill. See Guerrier, William.
 Gayamee, Betsy, Wyandot Indian... 111, 136
 Gayamee, James, Wyandot Indian, 111, 136
 Gayamee, Jesse, Wyandot Indian, 111, 136
 Gayle, Col. John, formerly a member of congress 395
Gazette and Courier 416
 Geary, Gov. John W., 383, 425, 434, 447
 —acceptable to the people of the South, 427
 —difficulties awaiting him in Kansas... 427
 —letter to the President quoted... 591, 592
 —meets expedition under Capt. H. D. Clayton 400
 Geary, Okla. 65
 Geary county, formerly called Davis... 512
 Gelbfueszler 579
 General Staff College, Washington, D. C., 451
 Genesis of Prohibition, or, How "The Woman Thou Gavest to be with Me" Did It, by Grant W. Harrington... 228
 Georgetown, Ky. 408
 Georgetown, Mo., Kansas meeting at... 387
 Georgetown, S. C., emigrants to Kansas from 416
 —Kansas meeting in 415
 Georgia 342, 347, 348, 359
 362, 392, 399, 406, 421, 429
 430, 433, 438, 444, 445, 466
 —ardent advocates and bitter opponents to the Kansas propaganda in 441
 —colonists of, in Kansas, driven into Missouri 399
 —emigrants from, arrive at St. Louis, bound for Kansas 402
 —embezzlement of funds collected for, by one J. W. White. 404
 —few if any slaveholders among those who came to Kansas 406
 —in Kansas 404
 —in Miami county 351

- Georgia, many return after short stay in Kansas 406
- women, children and servants form one-half of those coming to Kansas, 403
- had more miles of railroad than any other state 358
- late in entering into the race for southern supremacy in Kansas 401
- movement in Kansas disappointing from the very start 405
- not the easiest to sustain 403
- provisions of a bill presented to the legislature of, proposing state aid to the emigrants to Kansas 404, 405
- Georgia Platform*, published at Calhoun, Ga. 404
- Georgia Triweekly Examiner* 350
- Gephart, Judge Marshall 597
- German and Irish residents in Kentucky look to Kansas for refuge 407
- German Poland 579, 582
- Germans 580
- attack of, on Chateau-Thierry stopped by American troops 12, 454
- defensive systems of, hinged on Briey iron field 455
- from Dobrudja, settle in Roumania 581
- in Bessarabia, description of early houses 584
- given land and granted freedom from military service forever 580
- marry young orphan girls 587
- officers chosen to govern 584, 585
- principal fuel of 585
- provisions of Russian government for 584
- service compelled by Russian government during Crimean war 587
- suffered many hardships on their journey to 579, 580
- treatment of criminal classes 585
- troubled by robbers 580, 586
- unusual severity of one winter 585
- in Dobrudja, few become Russian citizens 581
- given three years to become Russian subjects 581
- in Missouri, against slavery 443
- known to be prejudiced against slavery, 338
- meeting of, in Topeka, called in opposition to any change in liquor laws, 208
- of St. Louis, political supporters of Senator Benton 356
- peace organizations of, financed by 21
- propaganda of 22
- work of sympathizers with 21
- Germany 25, 582, 590
- Germany, end of hostilities with 451
- Getty, R. W. 481
- Geyer, Senator Henry Sheffie 335, 449
- succeeds T. H. Benton in U. S. Senate, 354
- Gibbons, Dr. —, of Colorado 221
- Gibson, Catherine, Wyandot Indian 137
- Gibson, Charles, Wyandot Indian 111
- Gibson, Henry, Wyandot Indian, 111, 126, 137
- Gibson, Jane, Wyandot Indian, 111, 126, 137
- Gibson, John, Wyandot Indian 111, 126, 128, 137
- Gibson, Joseph, Wyandot Indian 111, 126, 137
- Gibson, Marissa, Wyandot Indian 111, 126, 137
- Gibson, Mary, Wyandot Indian 111, 126, 137
- Gibson, Matilda, Wyandot Indian 111, 126, 137
- Gibson, William, Wyandot Indian 111, 126, 128, 137
- Gila river route 64
- Gila monsters 576
- Gilbert, Rev. J. E., pastor M. E. Church, Topeka 217, 219, 220
- died in Washington, D. C. 220
- Gilchrist, Judge Charles K. 597
- Giles, Andrew 414
- Giles, Fry W. 201
- Gillinsville, S. C., Kansas meeting held in 419
- Gilman, J. Richard 480
- Gilmore, S. J. 220
- Gilpin, William, of Gilpintown, Jackson county, Mo. 189
- prepares resolutions for organization of Nebraska territory 189
- Girard, Kan. 478
- Girls, working, budget recommended for, by Court of Industrial Relations 325
- Girls' Industrial School. *See* Kansas State Industrial School for Girls.
- Girls' Reform School. *See* Kansas State Industrial School for Girls.
- Gist, George W. 389
- first president of Leavenworth Town Company 350
- Gist, Nathaniel, jr. 415
- Gladstone, Thomas H., experience in the South quoted 347
- visit to Kansas in 1856 347
- Glasgow, Mo., Kansas meeting held in 384
- Glasgow Times* 376, 384
- Glasscock, J. M. 387
- Gleed, Charles S. 220
- Gleed, J. Willis 220
- Glick, George W., protest against amendment of dramshop act of 1868 211
- Glidden, Harrison 480
- Glogau, Germany 582
- Gnadenthal, Bessarabia 579
- Gold, discovery of, in Colorado 63, 81
- and silver 60
- Gold seekers, discover gold between Bent's fort and the Platte 87
- return to the states from California 65
- Gold-bearing shales 20
- Golden Gate 494
- Goodale, Tim, joined Kit Carson in trading enterprise 65
- mentioned by P. G. Lowe 65
- Goodell, Tim. *See* Goodale, Tim.
- Goodland 471, 478
- temporary free employment bureau established in 307
- Goodlander, C. W., Early Days in Fort Scott 406, 450
- Goodloe, Daniel R., Is It Expedient to Introduce Slavery into Kansas? 369
- Goodwell, Okla., derivation of name 577
- Gordon, — 377
- Gordon, J. W. 593
- Gordon, T. C. 381
- Gordon county, Ga. 405
- Gottfried, Stanislaus, made lake of Dneister river at Akkerman 581
- Gould, Jay, quoted regarding loss of life in building the Union Pacific railroad, 576
- Government land 554
- Gowenlock, Thomas E., of Clay Center, major of the First division staff, A. E. F. 458
- Gradual Emancipation of Missouri 416
- Graham, Ardi McConnell 7
- Graham, Mrs. Clarissa Chase 7
- Graham, David Nelson 7
- Graham, Ira Day, An Appreciation of Maj. Gen. James Guthrie Harbord... 7
- biographical sketch 7
- Graham, Lloyd McConnell 7
- Graham flour, ground by grist mill 571
- Granada 439

- Granaries 501
Grand Army of the Republic..... 3
—formation of a new, discussed..... 459
Grand river 400
Grant, Capt. 45
Grant, Dr. E. H. 593
Grant, Jane, married Prof. J. H. Car-
ruth in 1841..... 557
Grant, Capt. John L. 404
Grant, Gen. U. S. 572
Grape, cure for lung troubles..... 530
Grass, Senator Daniel, of Independence, 215
Grass, plenty of, on Arikaree Fork..... 531
—protection on Beecher Island..... 534, 535
—sun-killed 566
Grass houses, built by Wichita Indians
on Caddo creek 91
"Grasshopper State," Kansas..... 19
Grasshoppers 18, 506, 514, 517
—invasions of 280, 516
—leave in spring of 1875..... 518
Gray, C. L. 597
Gray, M. R. 481
Gray, P. L., History of Doniphan
County 350, 450
Gray Beard, Cheyenne medicine man,
took his name from William Bent.... 31
Gray Beard, name given William Bent
in later years of his life..... 31
Gray county, county-seat fight responsible
for loss of C. R. I. & P. railroad
through 574
Grazing season, duration of..... 498
Great Bend, Nonpartisan League affair
in 474, 475
Great Lakes 93, 95, 187
Great Plains 182
Great Spirit 534
Great War 451
Great Water 102
Greeley, Horace 494
—advice of, "Go west, young man"..... 501
Green, Andrew, Negro, also called Turtle
Shell by Cheyennes 61
—confused with Dick 61
—cook at Bent's Fort..... 40, 52, 61
—known to Indians as Black Whiteman, 61
Green, Dick, Negro, employed at Bent's
Fort 52, 61
Green, H. M. 201
Green, Senator James S., of Missouri..... 341
436, 449
Green (or Blue) Bird, name given Robert
Bent by Yellow Wolf..... 31
Green corn feast of Wyandotte..... 189
Greenback convention, Kansas, dodges
the prohibition plank in platform..... 226
Greene, Albert Robinson, biographical
sketch by William E. Connelley..... 1
—Civil War soldier 2
—Joe Fluffer, pseudonym of 3
—various offices held by 2, 3
—writings of 4
Greene, Arthur A. 1
Greene, Elisha Harris, moves to Kansas
with his family 1, 2
Greene, N. F. 505
Greene, "Old Man," [H. M.], state sena-
tor, poem addressed to 5
Greene county, Mo. 450
—proslavery meeting held in..... 383
—volunteers of, for service in Kansas... 383
Greenfield, Dade county, Mo..... 383
Greenhorn and San Carlos trail..... 89
Greensburg, Kansas 575
Greever and Beatty, engage in pork pack-
ing industry 230
Greever, Charles F. 230
Greever, George W. 229
—biographical sketch 230
Greever, George W., Democratic repre-
sentative from Wyandotte county, cast
vote that made prohibition possible in
Kansas 228
—military record of 230
Greever, Mrs. George W., personal men-
tion of 229
Greever, Hiram 230
Greever, John B. 230
Greever, Mrs. Margaret Virginia Newland, 230
—biographical sketch 231
—her effort responsible for the passage of
the prohibitory amendment 230
Greever, William S. 230
Glegg, Josiah, the best authority on the
Santa Fe trade 493
Greyeyes, Catherine, Wyandot Indian,
111, 137
Greyeyes, Eliza, Wyandot Indian... 111, 137
Greyeyes, Guy W., Wyandot Indian, 111, 137
Greyeyes, Henry C., Wyandot Indian,
124, 156, 161, 168
Greyeyes, John W., Wyandot Indian, 111, 137
—portrait 120
Greyeyes, Kate, Wyandot Indian, por-
trait 120
Greyeyes, Silas M., Wyandot Indian, 111, 137
Greyeyes, Squire, Wyandot Indian... 111, 137
Grier, Major William Nicholson..... 57
Grier, J. P. 597
Grieves, Loren C. 478
Griffin, Albert 218
Griffin, Ga., meeting held at, to en-
courage emigration to Kansas..... 402
Griffin (Ga.) *Empire* 402
Griffinsteinst, Bill, frontier trading store,
at Wichita 528
Grimes, James 213
Grinnell, George Bird, author of "Figh-
ting Cheyennes" 533
—Bent's Old Fort and its Builders, paper
by 28
—biographical sketch 28
—portrait of 30
Gros Ventres Indians 590
—of the Prairies 69
Grover, —, of Kansas, addressed
meeting at Liberty, Mo..... 380
Grover, Abner T., chief scout, commonly
known as Sharp Grover and Jack Sharp
Grover 541
—guide and Indian fighter with Col.
Forsyth and his scouts 536, 542
—interpreted a chief's orders during bat-
tle, and replied to the chief in his own
language 544
—joined scouts at Fort Wallace and as-
sumed position of guide..... 541
—located in pit next to Colonel Forsyth, 544
—wounded by Indians before joining the
scouts 541
Guerrier, Edmond, date of birth..... 65
—married Julia, youngest daughter of
William Bent 47, 65
Guerrier, Henry 65
Guerrier, William, date and place of
death 65
—employed at Bent's Fort..... 64
—married a Cheyenne woman..... 65
—peculiarities of dress..... 64
Guerrier, Mrs. William..... 65
Guild, Herbert H. 470, 471
Guilfoyle, Matt, of Herington..... 466, 467
469, 471, 475, 476, 478, 480
Guitar, — 377
Gulf of Mexico..... 98, 182
Gulf States 395
Gunnison, Capt. J. W. 42, 85, 91
—quoted 83
Guns 79, 539, 558, 559, 560, 570
Gunther, H. I. 595

Guthery, John, unjustly hung for alleged horse stealing 560, 561
 —colonist from Indiana..... 560
 —liked by children..... 560
 Guthrie, Abelard, Wyandot Indian.. 112, 137
 "..... 186, 187, 191
 —attempts made to discredit him at home and in Washington..... 188
 —came from Dayton, Ohio, to marry Quindaro Brown 185
 —defeats military candidate for election as delegate to congress..... 188
 —denied seat in house of representatives, 188, 189
 —letter in support of his claim for expenses and per diem as delegate to congress from the territory of Nebraska.. 190
 —nominated for delegate to congress.... 190
 —statement of, relative to establishment of territorial government for Kansas.. 188
 —threatened with arrest by officers of Fort Leavenworth on charge of revolution 188
 Guthrie, Mrs. Abelard, Wyandot Indian, portrait of 186
 Guthrie, Abelura, Wyandot Indian. (See also, Guthrie, Abelard)..... 112, 137
 Guthrie, Jacob, Wyandot Indian... 112, 137
 Guthrie, James, Wyandot Indian... 112, 137
 Guthrie, Morsona, Wyandot Indian... 112, 137
 Guthrie, Nancy, Wyandot Indian... 112, 137
 Guthrie, Quindaro Nancy, Wyandot Indian (wife of Abelard Guthrie), portrait of 186
 Guymon, Okla. 577
 Gypsum, in Kansas..... 281, 282

H.

Haff, Sanford 185, 211
 Hagenbusch, Dr. Frank..... 480
 Halstones 516
 Hale, — 361
 Hale, C. H. 476
 Hale, R. H. 480
 Half John, Sally, Wyandot Indian.. 137, 160
 Half John, Sarah, Wyandot Indian... 112
 Half-King, head chief of Wyandots at upper Sandusky, death of..... 95
 Hall & Porter, drug store of..... 519
 Hall, —, guide accompanying Mormon battalion to California..... 64
 Hall, Dr. — 504
 Hall, Mrs. Dr. — 504
 Hail, F. H. 597
 Hall, Willard P. 393
 —the first effort to organize Kansas and Nebraska made in congress by..... 334
 —member of congress from Missouri, introduced bill for organization of the Territory of the Platte..... 189
 Hallock, Charles, account of his trip made with one of the Bent trains, printed in *Harper's Magazine* in 1857..... 54
 Halstead 279
 Hamann family 583
 Hamelton, Capt. Charles A.... 394, 555, 558
 —arrival at Trading Post with pro-slavery force and massacre of free-state settlers 558
 —at head of company of southerners en route for Kansas 403
 —attempt to force Eli Snyder to join forces of 558
 —shot but not killed by Eli Snyder.... 559
 —subscriptions raised in Macon, Ga., to aid in sending company of men to Kansas 402
 —wives of victims of Trading Post massacre follow to scene of massacre.... 559
 Hamilton, Capt. A. S. 404
 —raises men in Cass county, Mo., for service in Kansas 403
 Hamlin, George F., state senator... 215, 216
 Hancock, R. C. 384
 Hancock county, Ga. 411
 Hancock county, Va. 425
 Hanging, description of 561
 —Sam Scott hung in sight of his home, 566
 Hannibal, Mo. 502
 Hannibal & St. Joseph Railway..... 502
 —Missouri land owned by 369
 —owned largely by Boston capitalists... 369
 Hantla, Rev. John P., of Spearville.... 461
 "..... 463, 478
 Harbord, Mrs. Effie Gault 7
 Harbord, George W. 7
 Harbord, Maj. Gen. James Guthrie, Appreciation of, by I. D. Graham..... 7
 —army experience of 10
 —decorations awarded to 12
 —placed in command of Marine brigade, 11
 —portrait of 8
 —service of, in World War..... 11
 Hardee, B. H. 403
 Hardin county, Iowa 572
 Harding, S. B., Life of George R. Smith, founder of Sedalia 364, 369, 387, 450
 Harding, President Warren G. 548
 Hardtack and coffee 540
 Hardy, Clarence 481
 Harlan, Hon. James, Secretary of the Interior 525, 528
 Harlee, Dr. Robert 417
 Harney, Colonel William S., Ash Hollow campaign of 56
 Harper's Ferry, Va. 598
Harper's Magazine 47, 54
Harper's Weekly 494
 Harries, H. C. 481
 Harrington, F., scout in Arickaree battle, 534
 Harris, —, of Fulton, member Georgia legislature 405
 Harris, Anson M. 553
 Harris, Harry Jasper 559, 560, 563, 566
 "..... 567, 568, 570, 571, 572
 —ancestors of 553
 —author of "My Story"..... 553
 —became head of family at eleven..... 556
 —date of birth 553
 —electrical and steam engineer of city waterworks and electric-light plant, Higginsville, Mo. 553
 —farmed 20 acres with aid of mother and sisters 556
 —fishing and hunting of 558
 —memory at fault in his account of wounding of Eli Snyder at Trading Post 559
 —snakes encountered by 559, 560
 —wild midnight ride of 568, 569
 —wolves chase 568, 569
 Harris, Harvey 166
 Harris, Henry C. 553
 —births in family of 553
 —death of, in Higginsville, Mo. 556
 —house of, sheltered widows and families of Hamelton's victims 559
 —joined Ohio colony bound for Kansas. 554
 —oxen of, stolen by Jayhawkers.... 555, 565
 —poisoned by powders given for ague, becoming helpless cripple for thirty-eight years 556
 —Sam Scott loans oxen to, for two months without pay 565, 566
 —swaps Kansas farm for one in Hardin county, Iowa 557
 —trades land to Preacher Adair..... 557
 —village blacksmith 554
 —with free-state forces under Jim Lane 555, 556

- Harris, Mrs. H. C. 569
 —death of 556
 Harris, James 378
 Harris, Mrs. Jennie Greene 1
 Harris, Martha E. 553
 Harris, Mary J. 553
 Harris, W. A. H. 218
 Harris family, account of their removal
 to Kansas 572
 —agree in 555
 —birth dates of 553
 —experiences during famine of 1860. 566
 567, 571
 —homestead of 555, 556, 560, 566
 —lived in Higginsville, Mo., about fifty
 years 556
 —neighbors of, in Kansas 555, 562
 Harrison, Ben 396
 Harrison, H. 385
 Harrison, Col. John N. 3
 Hartford (Conn.) *Courant* 443
 Hartford (Conn.) *Evening Press* 419
 Hartzell, Capt. Arthur E. 451
 Harvard University 457, 478
 Harvest hands, placement of, by free em-
 ployment bureaus of Kansas 307
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M. 477
 Harvey, county 469
 Ha-she-tra, significance of word 94
 Haskell, Dudley C., Albert R. Greene,
 private secretary to 2
 —inspector of general land office 3
 —nominated by prohibitionists for gover-
 nor, but declines to run 210
 Haskell county-seat fight responsible for
 loss of C. R. I. & P. railroad through
 county 574
 Hasty, Lewis A., Wichita 466, 467, 469
 470, 478
 —brief sketch of 457
 Hat, Anthony, Wyandot Indian, 112, 126, 137
 Hat, John, Wyandot Indian 161
 Hat, John (Tauomee), Wyandot Indian,
 112, 126, 128, 137
 Hat, John, jr., Wyandot Indian, 112, 126, 137
 Hat, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 112, 126, 137
 Hat, Sarah, Wyandot Indian... 112, 126, 137
 Hatcher, —, accompanied Abert's ex-
 pedition from Bent's Fort through the
 country south of the Arkansas 57
 —known to Indians as "Freckled Hand," 56
 —trader at Bent's Fort 56
 —trip made to Mexico for horses and
 mules 60
 Hatton, Gen. S. B. 379
 —elected captain of company of Boone
 county, Mo., citizens for service in
 Kansas 378
 Haucke, Frank 478, 480
 Hawaii 467
 Haworth, Erasmus 282
 —Cement and Plaster Industry in Kansas, 333
 Hawk, one of totemic animals of Wyandots 97
 —People of 97
 Hawke, Dr. C. C. 471, 478
 Hawkins, —, a Bent employee, formerly
 employed by Rocky Mountain
 Fur Co. 64
 —wife a Mexican woman who had been
 captured by Comanches and bought
 from Kiowa's at Bent's Fort 64
 Hawkinsville, Ga., money and men se-
 cured for Kansas at 348
 Hawthorne, C. 481
 Hayden, Charles 595, 597
 Haymakers, on return from Fort Wal-
 lace, mistaken for Indians 541
 Hayms, Samuel 392
 Haynes, —, contractor for Cheyenne
 and Arapahoe agency buildings 91
 —had contract for building the Cheyenne
 and Arapahoe agency at Point of Rocks, 89
 Haynes creek 89
 Hays, S. M., of Council Grove, the first
 white settler to locate in present Morris
 county 483
 Hays, few buildings in, most of the
 housing in tents 539
 —townspeople of, watch Wm. F. Cody
 chase and kill buffalo 539
 Haywood, W. B. 480
 Head, Prof. B. S., of Missouri State
 University 374, 376
 Head, James D. 393
 Health, Kansas State Board of 235
 —establishment of 251
 Heath's creek, Pettis county, Mo., Kan-
 sas meeting held on 387
 Hebbard, J. C. 220
 Heberle family, from Bavaria 584
 Hebrank, Frederick, lived on Big John
 creek 496
 Heddens, J. M. 211
 Hegwer, Henry 217
 Heiche, Emily, Shawnee Indian 178
 Helen Mar, steamboat from Tennessee
 river, takes Tennessee emigrants to
 Kansas 421
 Hemp 428
 —and flax, preparation of, for spinning... 585
 —rope, suggested as a remedy for abo-
 lition editors 390
 Hemphill, R. W. 477, 480, 481
 Hempstead, Irl 480
 Henderson, Capt. Robert 3
 Heno 101, 102
 —thunder god of Wyandot Indians 96
 Henry county, Mo. 374
 Hepworth, R. J. 481
 Herald of Freedom, Lawrence, cited. 340, 342
 343, 347, 362, 364, 367, 372, 396, 402, 404
 405, 406, 407, 419, 421, 423, 424, 425
 431, 433, 434, 436, 440, 443, 444, 449
 Herbert, E. H. 396
 Herbert, W. W. 418
 Herd law 498, 510
 —passage of 521
 Herders, constantly on duty 498
 Herington, M. D., amusing story of how
 he secured the C. K. & N. railroad for
 his town 574
 Herington 466, 471, 475, 478, 521, 574
 Herrman, Henry F. 480
 Hess, A. B. 279
 Hess, Mrs. A. B. 279
 Hess, Edith, biographical sketch 279
 —portrait of 280
 —State Regulation of Woman and Child
 Labor in Kansas 279
 Hesse, Germany 579
 Hesse Darmstadt, Germany 579
 Het, Mrs. John, Wyandot Indian 161
 Hewitt, J. N. B., greatest authority on
 Iroquois Indians 96
 Hiatt, James M., author of "The Blue
 Ribbon Workers" 218
 Hiawatha 233
 Hickam, Ellen (Mrs. Frederick P. New-
 land) 231
 Hickam, J. W. 378
 Hicklan, —, slaves taken from, by
 John Brown and party 598
 Hickman, J. J., of Kentucky 221
 Hickok, "Wild Bill," at Hays 539
 Hicks, Mrs. —, Wyandot Indian .. 185
 Hicks, Betsey, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138

- Hicks, Catherine, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hicks, Caroline, Wyandot Indian..... 161
Hicks, Francis, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hicks, Francis A., Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hicks, Henry, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hicks, James, Wyandot Indian... 112, 126
128, 138, 160
Hicks, Jane, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138, 161
Hicks, John, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hicks, Maria, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hicks, Mary Coonhawk, Wyandot Indian, 122
152, 163
Hicks, Matilda, Wyandot Indian... 112
138, 161
Hicks, Philip B., Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hicks, Rebecca, Wyandot Indian... 160
Hicks, Sarah, Wyandot Indian... 124, 156
161, 168
Hicks, Susan, Wyandot Indian, 122, 152, 163
Hicks, Virginia... 112, 138
Hicks, William, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hide hunters, Indians attempt to drive
out, in second battle of Adobe Walls.. 44
Higgins, Joseph... 392
Higginsville, Mo. 553, 556
Highflier, steamboat, with emigrants and
slaves for Kansas... 407
High schools, establishment of county
and township... 247
Highland turtle, one of totemic animals
of Wyandots... 97
—people of... 97
Highway robbers, follow the building of
the Rock Island extension south from
Liberal... 576
Hill, —, of St. Louis, Mo.... 373, 375
Hill, Col. J. F. 400
Hill, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hill, Ray... 480
Hill, Sarah, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hill, Susan, Wyandot Indian... 112, 139
Hill, Thomas, Wyandot Indian... 112, 138
Hill People (His-si-o-me-ta-ne)... 69
Hillsboro... 589
Hillsboro, Ohio... 204
Hillman, Wilkerson... 166
Hindenburg line broken... 27
Hines, C. S. 479
Hinnen, J. G. 595
Hinsz, Karolina... 579
Hoaglin, W. S. 595
Hoch, Gov. E. W., favorable attitude to-
ward labor legislation shown in mes-
sage of... 296
Hochuli, Otto... 597
Hockham & Co. 595
Hodder, Prof. F. H., head department
of history, University of Kansas... 334
Hofaer, Daniel, banker and mayor, Hig-
ginsville, Mo. 553
Hoehm, Johann, of Plotsk... 587
Hoerolt, N. Dak. 589
Hoffnungsfeld, Bessarabia... 579
Hoffnungthal, Bessarabia... 579
Hoisington, Col. P. M. 479
Holcomb, Frank M., county clerk Wyand-
otte county for sixteen years... 229
—president Peoples National Bank, Kan-
sas City... 229
Holcomb, R. W. 481
Holden, Harley E., of Needesha... 461, 478
Hollingsworth, Capt. L. F. 390
Holloway, John N., History of Kansas,
cited or quoted... 343, 346, 350, 352
356, 360, 372, 390, 391, 397, 399, 428
430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 437, 450, 461
Holloway, Webster W., of Kansas City, 463
464, 465, 471, 478, 479
—assistant United States district at-
torney... 460
—brief sketch of... 457
Holly Springs, Miss., company of emi-
grants organized at, for Kansas... 412
Holmes, Jesse... 404
Holton, E. D., bell in Presbyterian
church at Holton, a gift of... 593
Holton... 590, 599
—chosen as permanent county seat of
Calhoun county... 594
—first school taught by Anna Parrott... 593
—first settlers in... 592
—Holton House erected by T. G. Watters, 593
—list of first things in... 593
—named for E. D. Holton, of Milwau-
kee, Wis., whose generosity outfitted
the train for the first settlers... 592
—Methodist Church the first to organize
in... 593
—Narrow Gauge depot at... 592
—station on the Jim Lane trail... 598
—town company organized... 593
—town site surveyed by J. B. Ingersol... 593
Holton Town Association, steps taken by,
to secure a court house... 595
Homestead, description of... 555
—law, feature of Kansas-Nebraska bill, 338
—South wished postponement of, until
the Kansas-Nebraska act was tested
out... 338
Homicide, early Kansas law regarding... 249
Honeysuckle... 510
Honolulu, H. T. 1
Hood River, Ore. 1, 6
Hoof and Horn Club, Kansas City, Mo., 499
Hoof pestilence among cattle, ravages
herds of German settlers in Bessarabia, 587
Hoogland, Edward... 597
Hoo-kies and oo-kies, Wyandots' con-
ception of... 95
Hoo-ma-yoo-wa-neh, ruler of Upper
World and Second Upper World in
Wyandot legend of the creation... 95, 96
98, 100
—wife of... 95
Hoop iron, used by Indians for making
arrow heads... 58
Hooper, Jacob, Wyandot Indian... 112, 139
Hooper, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 112, 139
Hooper, Peter, Wyandot Indian... 112, 139
Hooper, Rebecca, Wyandot Indian... 112, 139
Hooper, William... 500
Hopkins, John S. 595
Horn, Dr. —, of Junction City... 512, 515
Horse creek, present name for Short
Timber creek... 90
Horse creek council, near Fort Laramie,
in 1851... 84
Horse flesh, eaten by Arikaree scouts when
besieged by Indians... 536, 537, 543, 545
Horse thief... 560
Horses... 38, 34, 49, 51, 52, 58, 74, 75, 76
483, 490, 497, 506, 507, 510, 512
521, 531, 532, 533, 536, 540, 542, 543
558, 559, 562, 565, 568-572, 580, 589
—carcasses of, used for breastworks by
besieged scouts during Arikaree fight... 534
—epidemic of epizootic among... 513
—wild, Cheyenne party catching... 31
—and mules, driven off by Indians during
Arikaree fight... 542
—great traffic in, by Bent & St.
Vrain... 52, 60
—Mexican brands on those purchased
from Indians... 50
—stolen in old Mexico and brought
out by Kiowas, Comanches and
Apaches... 71
Horton... 462, 466, 471
Hotchford family... 496
House Journals, Kansas, cited... 295, 296
297, 300

Houses, built of yellow clay and covered with reeds 584
Houston, James D. 412
Houston, John F. 379
Houston, President Sam, of Texas, Cheyenne peace treaty signed by, at Bird's Fort (present Fort Worth)..... 74
—visit to Bent's Fort, where treaty of peace was signed with Comanche Indians, an error..... 74
Howard county, Mo. 36, 374, 419, 430
—company raised by Col. Congreve Jackson starts for Kansas from 384
—Kansas meeting held in..... 436
—men from, go to Kansas to become actual settlers 383, 384
Howe, E. W., quoted..... 523
Howell, Augustus, killed at Diamond Springs by Dick Yeager band of border ruffians 488
Howell, Mrs. Augustus, shot by border ruffians 488
Hoyt, Major David S., murder of..... 593
Huddleston, Eli 549
Hudson, Prof. —, of Missouri State University 374
Hudson, Douglas 480
Hudson, Maj. J. K., editor *Topeka Daily Capital* 224
Hudson, Ohio 557
Huffman, Lieut. Gov. Charles S. 315
Hughes, B. P. 414
Hughes, Gen. Bela M., of Buchanan county, Mo. 391
Hughes, John Taylor, dimensions of Fort Bent given by..... 38
—"Doniphan's Expedition" quoted..... 75
Hugoton 574
—Samuel N. Wood killed at..... 489
Hull, Mrs. Louise Thorne..... 15
Humboldt, Allen county, law enacted turning all moneys received from dram-shop licenses for use of schools of that village 201, 202
Huns 22, 26, 27
Hunt, Adam, Wyandot Indian..... 112, 139
Hunter, H. R. 481
Hunter, J. J. L. 392
Hunter, Robert Mercer Taliaferro, home-stead bill of 338
—quoted regarding making Kansas or Nebraska slaveholding states..... 335
Hunter, Samuel jr. 402
Hunters, always accompanied a wagon train in from Bent's Fort to supply members with fresh meat 54
—and trappers in Kansas..... 281
Hunting, Amory 201
Hunting shirts, deerskin 40
Huntsville, Mo., account of proslavery meeting held in 392
—Kansas meetings held in 392, 393
Hures 92
Huron cemetery in old Wyandotte..... 229
Huron cosmology 94
—some knowledge of, remained with Wyandots 94
Huron Indians 100
—Bear People and Cord People original settlers 92
—changes in religious beliefs of, during last two centuries 94
—confederacy 94
—collapse of 93
—known as Wendoot 92
—confederation of four tribes 92
—date Deer People applied for admission into confederacy 92
—date Rock People were made a part of confederacy 92
—destroyed as a nation by their kindred, 186

Huron Indians, finally combined with the remnant of the Tionontati, and ancient name Wendoot became name of new tribe 93
—habitat of 92
—Jesuit missionaries among 92
—name imposed on, by French..... 92
—Religious Conception of the Modern Huron Indians, a paper read before the fifteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Iowa City, May 11, 1922, by W. E. Connelley 92
—tradition that they and Senecas were formerly one people..... 92
Huronia 92
Hurrel, Judge Cyrus F. 597
Hurst, John, The Beecher Island Fight, 530
—biographical sketch of 530, 531
—experienced in fighting Indians on plains and in Arizona 538
—on guard duty night before battle of Arikaree 531
—Scout with Col. Forsyth in 1868..... 530
—shot by George Clinton at Hays, 1870, 530
—wagon master at Fort Harker..... 538
Hutchinson, Capt. 479
Hutchinson, G. W. 371
Hutchinson, William, newspaper correspondent 200
Hutchinson, 237, 281, 308, 312, 324, 463, 573
—banner temperance town of the state, 216
—Chamber of Commerce of..... 470
—free employment bureau established in 307
—Industrial Reformatory at 234, 268
—Kansas American Legion holds third annual convention at 477
—offered free right of way through town to C. R. I. & P. as inducement to change route from Sterling to..... 574
Hyatt, W. S. 392
Hyde, George E., George Bent's letters to, mentioned 31, 84

I.

Ice during winter of famine..... 567
Idaho 10, 310
Idiots, care of 235, 261
—enumeration of 233, 266
Illegitimate children, care of..... 255, 264
—laws of inheritance relative to..... 265
—provisions for support of..... 265
Illinois 3, 7, 40, 221, 224, 231, 279, 347
369, 406, 409, 421, 422, 436, 450
457, 458, 501, 502, 511, 525, 573
—regiments, Third cavalry, sent to Dakota after Civil War..... 524
Immigration to Kansas, diverted from Missouri 362
—southern 342
Independence, Mo., 85, 90, 370, 372, 385, 483
—distance to Bent's Fort 46
—merchants of, nearly ruined by Kansas invasions 364
—proslavery interest shown by 384
—southern emigrants pass through on way to Kansas 344
Independence (Mo.) Messenger..... 377, 404
Independence Western Dispatch, 343, 375, 379
Independent Order of Good Templars, 210, 222, 223, 227
—date and place of organization..... 205
—Grand lodge, proceedings quoted..... 212
—resolutions favoring constitutional amendment in support of prohibition 213
—number of lodges in Kansas..... 205
—petitions presented to legislature, 1872, in temperance cause 207

- Indian alarm 491, 532
 annuities, often stored at Bent's New
 Fort 86
 arrowheads 515
 banded knife scabbard 546
 blankets used for covering dead 546
 boys in battle of Arikaree 544
 burying ground on Republican raided
 by souvenir hunters 546
 campaign, troops mobilized on Santa Fe
 trail for 526
 campaigns of 1868-1869 492
 charges, description of 533, 543
 chief giving command during battle of
 Arikaree 544
 corn 580
 — in Kansas 282
 criers, duties of 58
 carrings and rings made of tin 546
 Fights and Fighters, by Cyrus Town-
 send Brady 542
 — fights near Adobe Walls 42, 43
 — headress, description of 546
 — lands, attitude of David R. Atchison
 — regarding settlement 368
 — — belonging to Wyandot and Shawnee,
 — in Wyandotte county 103
 — loss heavy in battle of the Arikaree 535
 — ponies 533, 534
 — raids in western Kansas 517
 — sharpshooters 536
 — squaws 75, 535
 — titles, extinguished to secure lands for
 — white settlers 183
 — trade 58
 — — Bent brothers associated in 29
 — trail 531
 — — from Bent's fort to head of Smoky
 Hill river 91
 — troubles 367
 — war, apprehension of, on Upper Ar-
 kansas 525
 — wars between tribes north and south
 — of the Arkansas river 69
 — — wives of employees at Bent's Fort 52
 — — women, dress of 40
 — — engage in dances at Bent's Fort 56
 Indiana 3, 103, 212, 219, 331, 347,
 406, 436, 511, 513, 524, 525, 548, 550
 — regiments, Eleventh cavalry, in Kansas,
 1865 524, 525
 Indianapolis, Ind. 450
 — selected as permanent national head-
 quarters for American Legion 467
 Indian territory 47, 342, 427, 574
 — annexed to Missouri for judicial pur-
 poses 191
 — Southern plan to make slave state of, 437
 Wyandot Indians remove to, after Civil
 War 93
 Indians 41, 55, 58, 61, 79, 90, 200, 534, 596
 — ambush prepared by 542
 — Apaches in Arizona 538
 — apprehension of, at close of Civil War, 525
 — assembled at Fort Bent 74
 — attack Mexican train at Sheridan, 541, 543
 — attack wagon train encamped between
 Fort Wallace and Sheridan 531
 — avoided Colorado, after Sand creek af-
 fair 87
 — Bill Comstock killed by 541
 — Cheyennes 530, 533, 535
 — cholera among 47
 — council convoked at Fort Leavenworth,
 1848 187
 — display of horsemanship 543
 — employed at Bent's Fort as trappers
 and hunters 51
 Indians, emigrant tribes, petition con-
 gress to establish territorial govern-
 ment over Indian country 187
 — — settled in country on western bound-
 ary line of Missouri 187
 — fight at Beecher Island 538
 — guard burial ground of warriors killed
 at Arikaree 546
 — in Arizona and New Mexico, fighting
 during Civil War 530
 — in battle of Arikaree, estimate of num-
 bers 543
 — in Kansas, pushed west by settlers 281
 — killed by Louis Farley while he lay
 wounded 535
 — liquor supplied to 59, 193
 — New Orleans molasses brought in hogs-
 heads for trade with 53
 — nomadic bands of 483
 — northern, Fort St. Vrain built for trade
 with 42
 — occupy eastern portion of Kansas 183
 — panic-stricken when cholera appears 47
 — raiding south of the Platte in 1826 31
 — scalped by Forsyth scouts on Beecher
 Island after fight 547
 — set out on summer buffalo hunt about
 April 52
 — speak at temperance camp meeting at
 Bismarck Grove, Lawrence 221
 — squaws at battle of Arikaree 542, 543
 — tribes south of the Arkansas afraid to
 trade at Bent's Fort 42
 — village near Walnut creek 540
 — war party of 531
 — white renegades with, at Beecher Island, 532
 — with show of W. F. Cody 546
 Industrial and Educational Institute. *See*
 Kansas Industrial and Educational In-
 stitute.
 Industrial conditions in Kansas 279
 Industrial Farm, care of women admitted
 to 258
 Industrial Reformatory, Hutchinson 234
 Industrial School for Boys. *See* Kansas
 State Industrial School for Boys.
 Industrial School for Girls. *See* Kansas
 State Industrial School for Girls.
 Industrial training in schools, state aid
 given towards 247
 Industrial Welfare Commission, 240, 241, 253
 314, 324, 325, 326
 — constitutionality of 312
 — establishment of 239
 — provisions of act creating 308, 309
 — purposes of 310, 311
 — reports cited and quoted 290, 303, 308
 311, 312, 313, 333
 — termination of 313
 — work of 311
 Industrial Workers of the World 466
 467, 471
 Industries in Kansas 281
 Industry, statistics of 284, 285, 288, 289
 Ingalls, John James, estimate of 6
 Ingersol, J. B., Holton town site surveyed
 by 593
 Insane, enumeration of 233
 — establishment of state hospitals for
 care of 266, 267, 268
 — powers of State Board of Charities
 and Corrections over 234
 Intercollegiate Prohibition Convention,
 held in Topeka, 1915 228
 Interest, prevailing rates of, in early
 Kansas 281
 Internal revenue commissioner 330
 Internal revenue department 319
 Inzer, Rev. John W., Alabama, noted
 Legion orator 463

Iola	317
—oil wells drilled near	282
Iowa	43, 45, 190, 207, 279
	331, 336, 358, 422
	478, 557, 572, 573
—Kansas emigration through	362, 372
—money collected in, to defeat prohibition amendment in Kansas	225
Iowa City, Iowa	92
Iowa University	279
Irion, Frederick	588
Irion family, from Posen, German Poland	582, 589
Irish and German residents in Kentucky, looked to Kansas as a refuge	407
Irish potatoes, statistics of Kansas production	282
Iron, reported discovery of, along Smoky Hill route	527
Iroquoian dialects	96
—League, extent of conquests of	93
—formed about 1570	92
Iroquois, Algonquin term, meaning of	92
—linguistic family, Huron Indians member of	92
Iroquois Indians, J. N. B. Hewitt authority on	96
—made conquest of the land from New England to the Mississippi river	186
Irrigating ditches, dug for Cheyenne and Arapahoe agency	91
Irwin, W. R.	162
—Indian commissioner, Neosho agency, Indian territory	161
—special commissioner for Wyandot Indians	171
Ise, Charles D.	480
Ismail	580, 586, 587
Isothermal lines determine political conditions in Kansas	427
Iuka, once county seat of Pratt county	574
Iverson, Senator Alfred, of Georgia	402
Ivy, V. H.	409

J.

J. H. Lucas, steamboat, brings Kentucky emigrants to Kansas	407
Jack rabbits	17
Jacks	483
Jackson, Gov. Claiborne F.	394
Jackson, Col. Congreve, company of, armed and mounted start for Kansas	384
Jackson, Capt. Hancock	392, 393
Jackson county, Kansas, commissioners of	597
—courthouse of, address of James H. Lowell, upon the dedication of the courtroom	590
—footnote concerning	595
—district court of, earliest records of	596
—judges of	597
—formerly called Calhoun county	592
—steps taken to provide a county jail	595
Jackson county, Mo.	189, 373, 374
	390, 394, 430, 550
—did little in Kansas	385
<i>Jackson Mississippi</i>	428
Jackson resolutions, passed by the Missouri legislature	353
Jacksonville, Miss., proslavery meeting held in	411
Jacques, Gen. Baron Alphonse of the Belgian army, visitor to the national convention of the American Legion at Kansas City, Mo.	478
Jail, ordered built for Calhoun county	594, 595
James, Edwin	31
Jamison, Gen. David F.	415
James Fork of White river	103
Japan current, report on, by Silas Bent, mentioned	29
Jaramillo, Josefa, becomes wife of Christopher Carson	48
Jaramillo, Maria Ignacia, becomes Mrs. Charles Bent	48
Jaramillo, Pablo, brother of Mrs. Bent and Mrs. Carson	78
Jarrell, Arch W.	461, 462, 465
Jasper county, Mo.	346
Jayhawker, a nickname, said to mean a thief	555
Jayhawkers of Kansas	565
—stole oxen	555, 557, 567
Jefferson City, Mo.	354, 407, 449
Jefferson hotel, St. Louis, Mo.	459
<i>Jefferson Inquirer</i> , 336, 338, 353, 356, 357, 363	
	367, 368, 380, 383, 389, 394, 395
	397, 408, 411, 412, 427, 445, 448
—opinion as to repeal of the Missouri Compromise	337
Jefferson Memorial Library, St. Louis, Mo.	354
Jenkins, W. B.	417
Jennings family	496
Jennings, J. C., state labor commissioner of Texas	331
Jennison, Col. Charles Ransford, effort to force a resolution through Republican convention indorsing prohibition	226
Jernigan, Q. A.	392
"Jerry," name applied to the early day western railroad laborer	577
Jersey creek, Wyandotte county	184, 185
Jessup, William	165
Jesuits, early missionaries among Hurons	92
Jeter, T. B.	415
Jewett, Dr. Charles, of Connecticut, work for temperance cause in Kansas	202
Jicarilla Apache scouts with Kit Carson in 1864	43
Jim Lane Fort	592
Jonathan, Margaret, Wyandot Indian	112
Jonathan, Margaret, jr., Wyandot Indian	124, 156, 161, 168
Jonathan, Margaret, sr., Wyandot Indian	139
Johnson, Capt. —, of Eufala, Ala.	431
Johnson, Judge	395
Johnson, Alexander, Wyandot Indian, 113, 139	
Johnson, Allen, member of Wyandot nation	94
Johnson, Mrs. Allen, member of Wyandot nation, W. E. Connelley adopted into the family of	94, 95
Johnson, Carl	481
Johnson, Catherine, Wyandot Indian	113
	139, 161
Johnson, Judge Charles F.	597
Johnson, E. Polk, A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians	409, 450
Johnson, Elias, of Brooklyn, N. Y.	221
Johnson, Elizabeth	172
Johnson, Ellen, Wyandot Indian	113, 139
Johnson, F. W.	480
Johnson, Col. Gordon	479
Johnson, Hadley D., of Iowa, led voters to Neb. Ter.	190
Johnson, Job, Wyandot Indian	113, 139
Johnson, John E.	172
Johnson, Paul R.	479
Johnson, Richard, Wyandot Indian, 113, 139	
Johnson, Mrs. Sarah (Armstrong), Wyandot Indian	107, 129
Johnson, Rev. Thomas, in charge of Shawnee Manual Labor School, candidate for territorial delegate for congress from Nebraska territory	190
Johnson, W. E.	415
Johnson, W. L. A., labor commissioner	305
Johnson, Warren	493, 498
Johnson, William, Wyandot Indian, 113, 139	
Johnson, William, jr., Wyandot	113, 139

- Johnson, William Alexander, History of Anderson County, Kansas..... 407, 450
- Johnson county, Arkansas, committee from, visits Kansas and secures holdings 400
- emigrants from, settle in Kansas..... 401
- Johnson county, Mo..... 374
- enthusiasm for Kansas opposed by citizens 385
- Johnston, —, raises money in south to send men to Kansas..... 348
- Johnston, C. H..... 480
- Johnston, Saunders W., of Ohio..... 596
- Jones, A..... 386
- Jones, A. W..... 431
- agent for the "Friends of Kansas," a proslavery organization 425
- editor of *Lecompton Union*, conducted speaking tour in South..... 348
- Jones, Gen. Adam Crane, leads party of Laurens county, S. C., men to Kansas 418
- Jones, Mrs. Adam Crane, accompanies Laurens county company to Kansas as "a maternal guide to the gallant band," 418
- Jones, Charles 392
- Jones, G. P., Hutchinson laundryman, attacks constitutionality of the Industrial Welfare Commission act 312
- Jones, G. W., at head of South Carolinians who visit Bourbon county..... 351
- Jones, Capt. H..... 404
- Jones, Israel 166
- Jones, John A., proposition to equip a company of Kansas emigrants..... 402
- Jones, Sheriff S. J..... 390
- aided by Jackson county, Mo., men in capturing Lawrence 381
- Jornson, Tom 480
- Jordan creek, dried up, and fish died in, 566
- fishing in 557
- named by Harris family..... 555
- Josefdorf, Bessarabia 579
- Judd, Byron 163, 164
- Junction City 3, 471, 476, 477, 501
- land office 503, 511, 517, 519, 538
- Methodist church 281
- scarcity of trees in, 1869-1870..... 504
- solid growth of 506
- quoted regarding discoveries of coal and iron while surveying the Smoky Hill route for the Butterfield exploring party 527
- Junction City Sentinel* 525
- Junction City Union*, quoted regarding Indian attack along Santa Fe trail..... 525
- Juvenile court 274, 276, 277
- act creating, provided one for each county 275
- delinquents 272
- refuses admission to all not immediately concerned in the trial 275
- Juvenile farms 377
- Juvenile offenders, paroles for 277
- Juvenile prisoners, treatment of 271
- K.
- Kafir corn 515
- Kagi, John H..... 598
- Kahls family 496
- Kansa or Kaw Indians 15
- Kansas 15, 36, 46, 91, 182, 191
- 202, 231, 331, 332, 336, 337
- 372, 502, 517, 557, 572, 589
- aid for, solicited from the east..... 18
- allurements of 592
- an armed camp from 1855 to 1865..... 279
- attempt to prevent settlement of..... 183
- attention attracted to by display at Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, 280
- attracted unusual attention abroad... 342
- Kansas, bartered to the free-soilers, charged by the South..... 429
- border of, terrorized by D. R. Atchison and friends to discourage northern emigration to Kansas 361
- border troubles 279
- St. Louis business suffers on account of 362
- brief early history of 279
- census of 1855 contrasted with number of votes cast 346
- central colony of southerners proposed by Col. Buford in 398
- climate of, distasteful to southerners, 347
- cold to President Wilson's speeches on preparedness 25
- colony formed in Ohio, to make it free state 554
- constitutions framed for 592
- crop failures in 18
- drumshop law passed by legislature of 1855, quoted 193
- depredations committed by southerners 448
- description of 529
- Dred Scott decision null and void in..... 565
- drought in 509
- early industrial conditions in..... 279
- early living conditions in 280
- election of March, 1855 591
- total vote cast 346
- emigrants from into 342
- financial impetuosity of 19
- first indorsement of temperance question by the Republican state convention of 1874 209
- first school laws adopted from the Missouri laws 241
- first state to incorporate prohibitory amendment in her constitution 192
- first vote of women for presidential candidate in 25
- furnished large quota of first volunteers of A. E. F. in France..... 452
- Georgia colony in..... 399
- German families decide to settle in..... 587
- German propaganda spreads over..... 21
- great advertiser 18
- gypsum in unlimited quantities found in 282
- honor of pushing national prohibition belongs to 228
- importance of struggle for..... 342
- in 1854 591
- Indian implements and utensils found in 18
- interest of southern states in..... 395
- language and expressions of..... 509
- leaders saw impracticability of southern movement in 441
- lost to the South 433
- militancy of, during Spanish-American War 21
- mineral products of..... 281
- natural resources and industries..... 281
- newspapers of 1865, characteristics of, 527
- object of ridicule..... 16
- opening of, speech of D. R. Atchison, 356
- opposed to draft..... 25
- organic act 596
- pacifism in 20, 22
- patriotic enthusiasm neutralized by peace-league movements 22
- patriotism overcomes pacifist doctrine in 26
- plants of, catalogue made by Prof. J. H. Carruth..... 557
- populism in 19
- pronounced by the *Charleston Mercury* to be the best slave country in this latitude 340

- Kansas, proslavery men in majority in spring of 1855 344
 —proslavery party's excuse for surrendering 434
 —Quaker doctrine of nonresistance preached in 21
 —rain in 509
 —ranked seventh as an agricultural state in 1900 282
 —ranked sixteenth in manufactures 282
 —regiments, Ninth cavalry, Co. A 2
 —Eleven cavalry 526
 —Twentieth infantry 457, 460
 —report of the special committee appointed to investigate troubles in 449
 —slavery existing in 279
 —"Soldier State" 21
 —southern designs on 441
 —southern emigrants to, carried free by railroads 444
 —southern interest in, waning by year 1857 419
 —southern program in 426
 —statistics of, 1861-1865 280
 —steamboats bound for 548, 549
 —struggle of, to build a commonwealth 591
 —struggle over, a prologue to the Civil War 448
 —supplies sent to, during famine 566, 567
 —territorial families of 553
 —judges of supreme court 596
 —officers appointed to help make a slave state 279
 —thirty-sixth state to ratify the eighteenth amendment 228
 —trade, pecuniary interest of St. Louis in 369
 —transformation of southwestern part since advent of railroads 578
 —tribute to 516
 —war work in 26
 —why the South failed in 437
 —women prisoners in 310
 Kansas Academy of Science 557
 Kansas and Colorado, erect monument on Beecher Island, Colo., in honor of Col. George A. Forsyth and his scouts 530
 "Kansas and Liberty," words on caps of abolitionists 356
 Kansas Association, St. Joseph, Mo. 379
 Kansas Association of Charities and Corrections 236
 Kansas Association of Charleston, S. C. 416
 Kansas Association of Marion, S. C. 417
 Kansas associations, organized in South Carolina 418, 419
 Kansas Asylum for Education of Deaf and Dumb, changed to Kansas Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb 269, 270
 Kansas Authors' Club 15
 Kansas Bureau of Labor, reports cited, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 303, 305, 306, 307, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 323, 324, 327, 330, 333
 —short sketch of 304
 Kansas Chieftan 360
 Kansas Children's Code Commission 332
 —establishment of 315
 —report of 333
 Kansas Children's Home Society 257
 Kansas conference bill 449
 Kansas Conference of Charities and Corrections. *See* Kansas Conference of Social Work.
 Kansas Conference of Social Work. 233, 236
 Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, 240, 241, 253, 313, 332, 333
 —establishment of 314
 —hearings of 325
 —minimum wage recommended by 325
 Kansas crusade 408
 Kansas emigrants, came through Iowa to escape intimidation 371
 —from the East 370
 —southern estimates of 344
 Kansas Emigrants' Aid Society of Lowndes county, Ala. 396
 Kansas emigration, loss to St. Louis by reason of being diverted through Iowa, 372
 Kansas Emigration Society 386
 Kansas Executive Committee of Barbour county, Ala. 399, 449
 Kansas Farmer, I. D. Graham, editor of, 7
 Kansas Free State, Lawrence 343, 353
 362, 407, 417, 420, 424, 449
 —extends invitation to Southerners to settle in Kansas 348
 Kansas grand lodge of Good Templars, 210
 Kansas Historical Collections 2, 37, 73
 227, 279, 280, 282, 283, 310, 333
 342, 388, 417, 431, 450, 457
 491, 530, 558, 573, 592, 598
 Kansas Improved Stock Breeders' Association 7
 Kansas Indians 489
 —cession of lands to United States in 1825 183
 —conquest of country about mouth of the Kansas river by 183
 —lands of, secured by United States by treaty of 1825 103
 —location of principal town of 183
 —mortal enemies of the Cheyennes 491
 —new reservation of 103, 104, 183
 —once lived near mouth of Osage 183
 —reservation of 501
 Kansas Industrial and Educational Institute, Topeka 24
 Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission, 327, 331
 Kansas issues, southern conventions discuss 444
 Kansas Land Company 349
 Kansas laws, cited 232, 233, 234, 236, 237
 238, 239, 240-245, 304, 333
 Kansas laws, statutes, etc. 333
 Kansas League, subsidiary organization of the Self-defensive Association 388
 Kansas Legion, organized by the free-state party 435
 Kansas meetings to promote Southern interests held in Missouri 376, 377, 378
 379, 380-388, 436
 Kansas Nation 45
 Kansas National Guard 15, 25, 457
 —recruiting 22
 —training of 26
 Kansas-Nebraska, territorial organization of 190
 Kansas-Nebraska act 441
 —observations on 334
 Kansas-Nebraska bill 353, 355, 356, 357
 367, 368, 385, 395, 400
 —denounced as a stepping-stone for demagogues 442
 —opinions regarding, in Congress 338
 —passed in 1854 548
 Kansas-Nebraska fever, spread of 409
 Kansas Normal School, Leavenworth 231
 Kansas Orphans' Home 257
 Kansas Pacific Railroad 163, 220
 —Bismarck Grove under management of, 221
 —Sheridan the western terminus of 531
 Kansas Peace and Equity League, meeting of 22, 23, 24
 —unpatriotic speeches of 23
 Kansas propaganda, Southern interests ask for itemized account of 429
 Kansas river 87, 93, 103, 104, 131
 132, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 147
 153, 158, 164, 184, 185, 187, 484, 549

- Kansas river, southern boundary of Cal-
 houn county 593
 Kansas School for the Deaf 269
 Kansas State Agricultural College 12
 244, 258
 —drill on campus of 14
 —Gen. Harbord, on faculty of 9
 —student at 7
 —I. D. Graham, on faculty of 7
 Kansas State Asylum for Feeble-minded, 234
 Kansas State Asylum for Idiotic and Im-
 becile Youth. *See* Kansas State Train-
 ing School.
 Kansas State Board of Administration 237
 Kansas State Board of Agriculture 7, 282
 Kansas State Board of Charities and
 Corrections 237, 263
 Kansas State Board of Education 298
 —created in 1873 244
 —federal aid for vocational schools, dis-
 tributed by 248
 —required to prescribe and revise course
 of study 244
 Kansas State Board of Review, duties of, 249
 Kansas State Charitable Institutions,
 Board of Control of 235
 —Board of Trustees of 232, 258
 —given power to regulate manage-
 ment of 233
 —commissioners to visit 233
 —some requirements of act providing
 for 258
 Kansas State Dairy Association 7
 Kansas state factory inspector 299
 —duties of 239
 —woman deputy appointed 306
 Kansas State Federation of Labor 316
 —report of, cited 300
 Kansas State Historical Society 3, 15, 28
 45, 105, 192, 451, 530
 Kansas State Hospital for Epileptics 268
 Kansas State Hospital for the Insane 267
 Kansas State Industrial Reformatory,
 Hutchinson 237, 263, 276, 277
 —credits granted for good behavior 273
 Kansas State Industrial School for Boys,
 Topeka 234, 237, 257, 260, 273, 274, 293
 —establishment of 272
 Kansas State Industrial School for Girls,
 Beloit 234, 237, 257, 260, 268, 274, 293
 —creation of office of parole officer 277
 —establishment of 273
 —punishment for misconduct in 274
 Kansas State Journal, Topeka 224, 227
 Kansas state labor commissioner 298, 299
 Kansas State Normal School. *See* Kan-
 sas State Teachers College.
 Kansas State Penitentiary 233, 237, 268
 271, 273, 277
 Kansas State School for the Blind, 234, 270
 Kansas State School Book Commission 246
 Kansas State Soldiers' Home, establish-
 ment of 260, 261
 Kansas State Swine Breeders' Association, 7
 Kansas State Teachers College, Em-
 poria 244, 258, 457
 Kansas State Teachers College, Hays 244
 Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, 244
 Kansas State Temperance Society, first
 annual meeting 200
 —resolutions passed 199, 200
 Kansas State Temperance Union 208, 216
 218, 220, 222, 227
 —charged with using money sent to
 carry prohibition amendment for St.
 John's campaign 225
 Kansas State Training School, Winfield, 234
 266, 267, 269
 Kansas statutes, cited 302, 303
 Kansas supreme court 312
 "Kansas swindle" 430
 Kansas Temperance Palladium 227
 Kansas Territorial Register 407
 Kansas Tribune 431
 Kansas troops, distinguished by fighting
 in France 27
 Kansas University 23, 233, 244, 254, 258
 266, 279, 282, 451, 457, 553
 —Bureau of Child Research established
 at 237, 238
 —Graduate School of 231, 279, 334
 —Hospital 254
 —care of crippled children provided
 for 271
 Kansas Weekly Herald 343, 348, 353
 372, 379, 395, 396, 399, 400-404
 407, 408, 411, 413, 415, 417
 418, 422, 424, 425, 441
 —quoted regarding the Georgia move-
 ment 405
 Kansas Weekly Press 449
 Kansas Year Book on Agriculture 282, 283
 Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History,
 F. W. Blackmar 333
 Kansas as a State of Extremes, and Its
 Attitude During this World War, ad-
 dress by George P. Morehouse, Presi-
 dent Kansas State Historical Society, 15
 Kansas Sixty Years Ago, by Thomas F.
 Doran 482
 Kansas City, Kan., 93, 103, 104, 190, 191, 220
 308, 317, 319, 457, 460, 461, 462
 463, 466, 467, 470, 471, 472
 478, 483, 499, 502, 554, 574
 —free employment bureau established in, 307
 —granted power to establish separate
 schools for white and colored children, 244
 —largest city in Kansas 281
 —Peoples National bank of 229
 —Stockyards Exchange building 499
 —Theodore Roosevelt, jr., speaks at 465
 —Washington Avenue M. E. Church es-
 tablished by Wyandot Indians 186
 —Kansas City post, American Legion 469
 Kansas City, Kansas: Its Place in the
 History of the State, by W. E. Con-
 nelley, secretary of the Kansas State
 Historical Society 181
 Kansas City, Mo. 46, 281, 356, 370, 372
 397, 398, 404, 407, 450, 457, 461
 —date of arrival of Clayton expedition
 at 399
 —effort to clear herself of complicity with
 border assaults 371
 —national convention of American Legion
 held at 478
 Kansas City Enterprise 404
 Kansas City Journal 220
 —A. R. Greene correspondent for 3
 Kappal, Gottfried 589
 —family, from Pomerania, Germany 582
 Kassel, Germany 579
 Katho-tho, John, Shawnee Indian 177
 Katzbach, Bessarabia 579, 585
 Kaw Indians. *See* Kansas Indians.
 Kaw Seen, Shawnee Indian 177
 Kay county, Oklahoma 334
 Kayraho, Caroline, Wyandot Indian,
 113, 140
 Kayraho, Jane (Mrs. Pipe), Wyandot
 Indian 113, 126, 128, 139
 Kayraho, John, Wyandot Indian 113, 124
 126, 140, 156, 160, 161, 164
 Kayraho, Mary, Wyandot Indian 113, 126
 128, 140, 160
 Kayraho, Mary, jr., Wyandot Indian 113
 126, 140
 Kayraho, Milton, Wyandot Indian, 113, 139
 Kayraho, Solomon, Wyandot Indian,
 113, 140
 Kayraho, Solomon, jr., Wyandot In-
 dian 113, 140

- Kearney, Gen. Stephen Watts..... 56, 75
 —army of, on way to New Mexico and California..... 39
 —Baptist Charbonneau a guide with... 64
 —force of 1,700 men under, reaches Bent's Fort..... 74
 —leaves Santa Fe for California..... 76
- Keitt, Lawrence Massillon, M. C., South Carolina..... 414, 419
 —accuses Walker of losing Kansas to the South..... 428
- Keitzer, Ellen, Shawnee Indian..... 177
 Keitzer, Molly, Shawnee Indian..... 177
 Keitzer, William, Shawnee Indian..... 177
- Keller, Mrs. Carrie P..... 1
 Keller, John L..... 595
 Kelley, Mrs. Agnes Graham..... 7
- Kelley, J. R., cooperage factory of, in Kansas City..... 317
 Kelley, J. W..... 392
 Kelley, R. S..... 352
 —and J. H. Stringfellow, founders of Squatter Sovereign, Atchison..... 348
- Kellogg, C. M., state senator..... 215
 Kennan, Owen..... 392
 Kennedy, Henry D..... 415
- Kentuckians, many on road to Kansas..... 406, 407
 Kentucky..... 26, 221, 224, 343, 347, 354, 363, 379, 392, 395, 407, 421, 422, 425, 430, 436, 441, 442, 450
 —always spoken of as settled from Virginia..... 423
 —considered herself apart from the South..... 447
 —emigrants from, into Kansas, 342, 406, 408
 —Know-Nothingism in..... 409
 —only mildly a slave state..... 439
 —sent some gold hunters to Arkansas..... 408
 —sharpshooters, equipped for Kansas..... 440
 —sprang from Virginia..... 423
 —Virginians in 1850..... 423
- Kentucky Kansas Association, charter steamer *Express* for trip to Kansas.... 406
- Keplinger, Jesse J., county clerk, Wyandotte county..... 158
- Kerr, Rev. L..... 390
 Kerr, Sarah..... 169
 Kershaw, J. B..... 415
 Ketchan, Mary, Wyandot Indian..... 161
- Key, Thomas J., editor of *Constitutionalist*, formerly of Alabama..... 350
- Kharkov, Russia..... 580
 Kherson province, Russia..... 581
- Kiene, Llewellyn L., the "Battle of the Spurs" and "John Brown's exit from Kansas" mentioned..... 598
- Kiev, Russia..... 580
 Kilia, Bessarabia..... 580, 586, 587
- Kimber, Abbie..... 457
- Kindergarten schools, establishment of free..... 248
- King, Austin A., Ray county, Mo..... 373, 392
- Kinyon, N. N., criticized for his stand against the Kansas policy of his own state..... 413
- Kiowa Apaches ranged with the Kiowas, 69
 Kiowa Indians.... 31, 35, 42, 45, 48, 64, 70, 72, 74, 75, 84, 525, 529
 —agreement with Gen. Sanborn, 1865.... 529
 —attacked by Col. Carson, and force.... 43
 —call William Bent "Roman Nose".... 31
 —medicine lodge, held on Bluff creek, south of present Dodge City..... 47
 —raided by northern tribes in 1826.... 31
 —raids into Old Mexico..... 71
 —range of, extended from the Cimarron south to the Red river on the Texas frontier..... 69
 —Smallpox among..... 85
 —To-hau-sen (Little Mountain) chief.... 42
 —war with, in 1859..... 43
- Kirkland, D. B..... 414
 Kirkland, W. G..... 415
 Kirkville, Mo..... 439
 Kishenev, Bessarabia..... 579, 583, 585
 Kitterman, O. A..... 481
 —post commander American Legion at Salina..... 473, 476
- Klein, Mrs. R. G..... 473
 Klem, Mary Jeanette, Missouri in the Kansas Struggle..... 345, 445, 450
- Kloestitz, Bessarabia..... 579
 Knapp, Wm. M., Cottonwood Falls.... 466, 467, 469, 470, 471, 478
- Knight Commander, St. Michael and St. George, Great Britain..... 12
 Knights of Columbus..... 26
 Knights of the Golden Circle, lodges of organization akin to, in Carroll county, Mo..... 379
 Knitting socks and stockings..... 517
 "Knoeples Suabians"..... 579
 Know-Nothing council..... 386
 Know-Nothing party in the U. S..... 338
 Know-Nothingism, David R. Atchison's propaganda styled as..... 362, 363, 364
 —prevalence of, in Kentucky..... 407
 Know-Nothings..... 441
 —of the north, became free-soilers and abolitionists..... 364
- Knox county, Ill..... 7
 Knoxville, Mo., Kansas meeting held at, 394
 Kosel..... 583
 Korthantte, Otto..... 553
 Kownslar, F. A..... 386
- Krana, or Krasna, Bessarabia, Catholic village..... 579
 Krets, Julia (Mrs. J. K. Cubbison).... 457
 Kreuter, Earl L..... 481
 Krentzers (coins)..... 580
- Kriegh, Lieut. McKinley W., Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., biographical sketch of..... 451
 —Summary of the Achievements of the American Expeditionary Force in France, 1917-1919, written for the Kansas State Historical Society..... 451
- Krinoi river..... 581
 Krug, George H., and wife, portrait of... 589
 Krug, Jacob C., and wife, portrait of... 586
 Kugelnick, Bessarabia..... 579
 Kurtz, Wm. F., of Columbus..... 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 469, 470, 479, 480
 —candidate for national vice commander of American Legion..... 471
 —position held by..... 457
- Kuykendall, James..... 593
 —appointed commissioner of public buildings of Calhoun county..... 594
- L.
- Labor, organization for the regulation of, 304
 Labor Bureau. *See* Kansas state bureau of labor.
 Labor Commissioner. *See* Kansas State Labor Commissioner.
 Labor laws, administration of..... 315
 Labor legislation..... 295, 329
 —conditions affecting women..... 326, 327
 —conclusions and comparisons..... 326
 —history of..... 292
- Laborde, J. B..... 418
 La Canada, N. Mex..... 79
 Lafayette, Marquis, Gen. Pershing at the tomb of..... 456
 Lafayette county, Mo..... 373, 374, 386, 429
 Lafayette county, Mo., emigrants to Kansas from..... 385
 —money expended by, in fighting the battles of the South in Kansas..... 386

- LaGrant, Earl W. 479, 481
 La Junta, Colo. 67
 —founded by James Bonney in 1843.... 68
 Lake, G. Q., Kansas City druggist.... 319
 Lake Huron 92
 Lake Simcoe 92
 Lamar, L. Q. C., His Life, Time and
 Speeches 428, 450
 Lambert, — — 469
 Lambert, Calvin H. 463, 466, 471
 —elected state historian of the Kansas
 department, American Legion..... 470
 Lambert, Isaac E., jr.... 457, 459, 460, 461
 462, 463, 465, 467, 479
 —brief sketch of 457, 458
 —resignation of, to accept position under
 Judge Advocate General's Department,
 U. S. army 462, 463
 Lancaster (Pa.) Whig 367
 Lance creek, cowardly butchery of Chey-
 ennes by whites on..... 525
 Land, eighty acres of, traded for a one-
 seated carriage 516
 —grants for railroads in Minnesota ter-
 ritory 339
 —in Seward county sold, in order to get
 back under taxation..... 575
 —offices in Kansas 281, 350
 —proportion of, in Southern states for
 every man, woman and child in..... 442
 —scheme, southern 350
 —sharks in early Kansas..... 281
 —speculation, Buford's expedition par-
 tially for 399
 Land of My Boyhood, The, poem..... 485
 Landmarks along road from Missouri
 frontier to Bent's Fort..... 52
 Lane, Gen. James H. . 384, 431, 548, 553, 592
 —and free-state settlers, defense against
 proslavery men 555, 556
 —plunder of the Georgia colony..... 405
 —stories of hostile intentions against
 Lexington and Westport, Mo..... 437
 Lane, "Jim," scout with Col. Forsyth,
 discharged for cause..... 544
 Lane, M. R., scout with Col. Forsyth,
 footnote 544
 [Lane, J. and Lane, M. R. Both names
 appear on Beecher Island monument.
 See His. Col. v. 9, p. 453.]
 Lane trail in Kansas..... 592, 598
 —map of, mentioned 592
 Lane's party, coming of, to Kansas.... 360
 Langres, France, headquarters of Army
 Schools, A. E. F., located at..... 451
 Lanpley, C. B. 396
 "Lansing Man" 17
 Lape, Earl 481
 La Popes, near Saltillo, Mex..... 71
 Larkin, Thomas H. 371
 Larned 473
 —establishment of hospital for care of
 insane 266
 La Rue, — —, slaves taken from, by
 John Brown and party..... 598
 Lasso 499
 Last Battle of the Border War, by Theo-
 dore Gardner 548, 550
 Last Chance saloon, near Westport, Mo.
 54, 55
 Lauderdale county, Ala., company raised
 in, to go to Kansas..... 396
 Laurens county, S. C., men enrolled un-
 der leadership of Gen. Adam Crane
 Jones, for emigration to Kansas..... 418
 Law, relative to slave property..... 563, 564
 Law and Order Party of Kansas..... 360
 —issues appeal for men and money for
 the Kansas struggle 360
 Law and Order Party of Kansas, number
 of men in..... 360
 —proslavery men of Kansas take the
 name of 435
 Lawrence, Robert J., commissioner ap-
 pointed to allot lands of Wyandot In-
 dians 158
 Lawrence ... 191, 196, 219, 220, 266, 293, 294
 406, 431, 451, 460, 461, 463, 466
 471, 477, 478, 524, 548, 549, 557
 —action taken to secure relief from dep-
 redations of border ruffians..... 372
 —Anderson and Yeager bands participate
 in destruction of 488
 —attack on, Buford men in 398
 —"Baldwin Ferry" landing at foot of
 New Hampshire street 549
 —business men hold meeting and pass
 resolutions declaring severing of com-
 mercial relations with certain Missouri
 towns 370
 —delegations of business men visit Alton,
 Ill., with view of establishing business
 relations with 370
 —destruction of 390
 —failure of Gen. Reid to sack, over the
 protest of Governor Geary, ridiculed
 by the southern press 447
 —Good Templars lodge in 205
 —massacre 2
 —members of the United Brethren
 church, from Virginia, settle south
 of town of 424
 —men raised by Mayor Payne, of Kan-
 sas City, aid Sheriff Jones in capture
 of 381
 —Murphy or blue ribbon movement in-
 augurated in 212
 —siege of 370
 —treaty of Gov. Shannon with 391
 Lawrence Business College 279
 Lawrence Daily Journal World..... 325, 333
 —quoted 330
 Lawrence Palladium, quoted 226
 Lawrence Republican 220
 Lawrence Standard 220
 Lawrence Tribune, quoted regarding pas-
 sage of the Eleventh Indiana cavalry
 through the city 525
 "Lawyer," Indian doctor, treats William
 Bent for sore throat 67
 Layne, Mrs. C. H. 473
 Layne, W. E. 553
 Lea, Luke, of Tennessee 459
 Lead and zinc in Kansas 282
 Leavenworth, Col. Henry 90
 —agreement signed by, 1865 529
 Leavenworth 191, 200, 211, 220, 222
 231, 281, 319, 389, 450
 473, 483, 502, 538, 549
 —Buford's men in, cause uproar..... 397
 —constitution 593
 —convention 433
 —date of organization 350
 —grand lodge of I. O. G. T. organized in,
 205
 —Kentucky emigrants settle on Salt
 creek near 406
 —Lawrence merchants agree to transfer
 their business relations to such as dis-
 countenance border-ruffianism 370
 —organized by citizens of Weston, Mo. . 350
 —Protestant Orphan Asylum 257
 —St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum 257
 —Saline county, Mo., men, fought at... 394
 —State Normal School 244
 —temperance convention held at, in 1874, 210
 Leavenworth Call 208
 Leavenworth Commercial 208
 Leavenworth Conservatory of Music.... 221
 Leavenworth Daily Conservative, quoted,
 525, 526

Leavenworth Daily Times	227	Leroux, —	—
—article opposed to change in liquor laws quoted	207	—guide accompanying Mormon battalion to California	64
—quoted	208	LeRoy, John F.	481
Leavenworth Herald	347, 417	Letcher, W. H.	394
—a proslavery paper, started under an elm tree on the levee, the first paper in the territory	350	Letton, J. E., of Louisville, Ky.	221
Leavenworth Journal	449	Lewis and Clark, return from the Pacific, —expedition, accompanied by Sacagawea (Bird Woman)	62
Leavenworth Register, quoted	349	Lewis, David, Wyandot Indian	113, 140
Leavenworth county	230, 284, 292, 450	Lewis, Jane, Wyandot Indian	113, 140
—intolerant spirit manifested by proslavery residents towards the antislavery party	350	Lewis, John, jr., Wyandot Indian	113, 140
—proslavery from the first	350	Lewis, John (Coon), Wyandot Indian	113, 140
Lecompte, Judge Samuel D., of Maryland	595, 597	Lewis, Noah, Wyandot Indian	140
Lecompton	427, 550, 551, 293	Lewis, Sarah, Wyandot Indian	140
Lecompton constitution	334, 341, 400, 428, 432, 436, 449, 451, 592	Lewis, William, Wyandot Indian	113, 140
—failure of, sealed fate of South in Kansas	432, 435	Lexington, Ky., southern emigration from	406
—opposition of many southern leaders to	437	Lexington, Mo.	372, 437
Lecompton constitutional convention	427, 434	—citizens and business men of, resolve against steamboats carrying abolitionists	385
Lecompton National Democrat	449	—convention, July, 1856	449
Lecompton Union	348, 392, 408, 449	—Kansas meeting held in	386
Lee, —, said to have been a captain in U. S. army	46	—proslavery convention called to meet at	372, 373, 374, 375, 377, 387, 394
—said to have been partner in Bent & St. Vrain company	45, 46, 50	—vexed at conduct of river boat owners	372
Lee, Abbie Kimber (Mrs. R. I. Lee)	457	Lexington, Va.	423
Lee, Louis, sheriff at San Fernando, N. Mex., killed by mob during insurrection	77, 78	Lexington & Covington railroad	407
Lee, Robert Ives	457	Lexington Citizen	347
Lee, Thomas Amory	461, 462, 464, 465, 466, 467, 469, 470, 471, 473, 475, 476, 479, 481	Lexington (Mo.) Express	372, 357, 441
—brief sketch of	457	—quoted	429, 432, 433, 434
—past department commander, Kansas department, American Legion, "Early History of the Kansas Department, American Legion," written for the Kansas State Historical Society	456	Lexington Observer and Republican	409
—portrait of	458	Leyer family	583
—selected as chairman of the Mississippi Valley States Conference of the American Legion	476	Liberal	573, 575, 576, 577
Lee, Dr. W. H.	377, 378	—Rock Island railroad reaches, in March, 1888	574
Lee, Gen. William Raymond	457	—temporary free employment bureau established in	307
Leekley, R. M.	479	Liberty, Mo.	370, 393
Leekley, Reuben, Arkansas City	461, 466	—arsenal at, seized by Clay county men who appropriate government supplies for the Kansas campaign	381
Legion of Honor, France	12, 465, 478	—meeting held at, to raise funds for aid of the Southern cause	381
Legislature of Kansas	236	—meeting of proslavery men held at, approve action of mob destroying the Parkville Luminary	381
—of 1855, extract from Gov. Reeder's message pertaining to liquor, quoted	193	—men and money raised to assist Jones	430
—petitions presented to, for regulation of liquor traffic among Indians	193	—military company organized at, under leadership of A. J. Calhoun	380
—Platte county, Mo., men elected to	389	—resolution passed at a meeting in, quoted	380
—of 1859, confirms selection of Holton as county seat and changes name of county from Calhoun to Jackson	594	Liberty Life Insurance Company	457
—of 1860, passed act in defense of prohibition	200	Liberty loan, fourth	27
—of 1872	205	—propositions, oversubscribed	26
—of 1873, inclined to leave temperance legislation alone	209	Liberty Weekly Tribune	357, 372, 376, 379, 380, 381, 395, 414, 416, 423, 449
—of 1874, legislation against liquor	209	—a Know-Nothing organ	432
—of 1877, efforts to amend dramshop law of 1868	211	—quoted	345
—of 1879, fight on prohibition by liquor lobby	216	Liddell, Anderson &	595
—prohibitory amendment passed by	192	Liepmann, Morris V.	481
—various bills and resolutions for amending the dramshop act introduced in	214, 215	Light, Wyandot tradition of	98
—of 1921, adjusted compensation bill passed by	477	Lightning Suabians, from the province of Wurttenburg, Germany	579
Leon, Butler county, Maj. Gen. Harbord once principal of schools of	9	Lightning and thunder, without rain	518
		Lillich, Adam	171
		Linchpins	483
		Lincoln, President Abraham	6
		—calamities predicted by Democratic party in case of his reelection	23
		—Military Order of the Loyal Legion founded on date of death of	461
		—patent to Doran homestead signed by	484
		—times of	1
		Lincoln county, Ky., emigrants for Kansas start from	408
		Linder, William P., of Kirksville, Mo.	438

- Linn county 216, 284, 351
 —Texas Rangers defeated in battle on
 Middle creek 351
 Linn county, Mo. 374
 Liquor, dealers in, open disregard of
 drumshop restrictions 212
 —dealt out sparingly at Bent's Fort to
 employees 56
 —Gant, the trader, said to be the first
 man to induce Indians to drink..... 45
 —Indians demand for 58
 —restrictions regarding sale to minors.. 250
 Little, Adam 165
 Little, Col. Edward C. 472, 473
 Little Arkansas 42, 72, 527
 —Indians made agreement at mouth of,
 1865 529
 Little Beaver, name given George Bent by
 Yellow Wolf 31
 Little Big Horn, massacre at..... 503
 Little Chief, Christopher, Wyandot In-
 dian 113, 140
 Little Chief, Isaac, Wyandot Indian..... 140
 Little Chief, John, Wyandot Indian, 113, 140
 Little Chief, Mary, Wyandot Indian.... 113
 140, 161
 Little Cimarron 57, 76
 Little Mountain (To-hau-sen), Kiowa
 chief 42
 Little Old Man, Cheyenne Indian, tragic
 death of 47
 —death of, caused another panic among
 Cheyennes and Arapahoes..... 48
 Little People, creation of 99
 —land of 102
 Little river 528
 Little Robe, Cheyenne chief, raid led by, 492
 Little Santa Fe, Mo. 524
 Little Turtle 34, 35, 36, 97, 98, 99, 100
 —one of totemic animals of Wyandots.. 97
 Little White Man, Sioux name given
 Wm. Bent by Yellow Wolf..... 29, 31
 Little Wolf, Cheyenne Indian..... 31
 Live stock in Kansas 282
 Livingston county, Mo. 374, 443, 450
 Locker, Cornelius 392
 Locofocos 435
 Locomotives, Rock Island's greatest
 problem was water for 576
 Locust invasion of 1874 280
 Lodge, Cheyenne woman constructing,
 illustration of 44
 —poles 531
 Log cabin 485
 —schoolhouse 497, 548
 Log chains 483, 484
 Log house, home of Gardner family... 551
 Lone Star, Kansas 334, 548
 Long, Elizabeth C., Wyandot Indian, 113, 140
 Long, Ethan A., Wyandot Indian... 113, 141
 Long, Henry C., Wyandot Indian... 113, 140
 Long, Irvin P., Wyandot Indian... 113, 141
 162, 163
 —John Sarahass and George Wright,
 depositions regarding certain mem-
 bers of the Wyandot tribe 160, 161
 Long, James M., Wyandot Indian, 113, 141
 Long, Martha M., Wyandot Indian, 113, 140
 Long, Stephen H. 31
 Long, William, Wyandot Indian... 124, 156
 161, 168
 Long-horned Texas cattle 499
 "Long sweetening" 53
 Longfellow, H. W. 494, 509
 Longhouse, Zachariah, Wyandot Indian, 122
 126, 128, 152, 160, 163
 Longaker, Charlotte, becomes Mrs. E.
 A. Squires 593
 Lorraine, choice of, as the American
 sector 454
 Los Pinos, N. Mex. 530
 Lost Springs 574
 Lottridge, Chas. L., Pratt 466, 467
 Loughborough, —, of St. Louis, 373, 375
 Louis Philippe 342
 Louisiana 48, 103, 346, 362
 379, 392, 436, 439, 460
 —practically all the activities of the
 state in relation to Kansas confined to
 city of New Orleans 409
 —territory of 29
 Louisiana Purchase 282
 Louisville, Ky. 407
 —colony, settled in what is now the town
 of Garnett 407
 Louisville Democrat, quoted 436
 Louisville Gazette and Courier 408
 Louisville Herald 435
 Louisville Intelligencer 344
 Louisville Journal 344, 408
 Low, M. A., of Topeka 573
 —genius and guiding spirit of the Rock
 Island's El Paso line 577
 —president of the Chicago, Kansas &
 Nebraska Railway 573
 —2,000 miles of standard-gauge railroad
 constructed by the Rock Island west of
 the Missouri river under his direction, 578
 Low German colonies 579
 Lowe, Percival G., Five Years a Dragoon, 65
 Lowe, Col. Sam A., of Pettis county,
 Mo. 373, 374
 Lowell, Ellen R. 590
 Lowell, George A. 590
 Lowell, James H., an artist in New York
 City 590
 —biographical sketch of 590
 —The Battle of the Spurs, an historical
 sketch 598
 —The Romantic Growth of a Law Court,
 an address delivered upon the occasion
 of the dedication of the court room in
 the new Jackson county courthouse,
 Holton, Kan., Sept. 1, 1921..... 590
 Lowell, Mrs. James H. 590
 Lowell, Kate R., now Mrs. Brutus Sew-
 ell, of Bancroft, Nemaha county..... 590
 Lower Dry creek..... 90
 Lowndes county, Ala., the Kansas Emi-
 grant Aid Society organized in..... 396
 Lowry, G. P. 371
 Lowry, J. J., of Howard county, Mo.... 374
 Lucero, Jose Francisco..... 71
 Lucier, Ralph 481
 Lucky, Rev. Arthur J., Manhattan..... 466
 Luddington, R. W., wholesaler liquor
 dealer of Lawrence, activities in oppo-
 sition to prohibition amendment..... 229
 Ludlow, William, expedition into Yellow-
 stone Park 28
 Lugubihl, Sibilla 168
 Lumpy, Lewis, Wyandot Indian, 113, 141, 160
 Lumpy, Rebecca, Wyandot Indian... 113, 141
 Lumpy, Theresa, Wyandot Indian, 113, 141
 Lung troubles, grape cure for..... 589
 Lupton, — 68
 Lupton's Fort, built in 1832..... 41
 Lusitania, sinking of..... 22
 Lutheran church, Plotsk, Bessarabia,
 Russia, illustration of..... 584
 Lutherans 579, 590
 Lyder, Ann 166
 Lyder, Landon 168
 Lykins county, now Miami county.. 350, 568
 Lynch, — 396
 Lynch, W. O., Popular Sovereignty and
 the Colonization of Kansas..... 450
 Lynn, Miss Margaret, of the faculty of
 Kansas University 553
 Lynn, family near neighbor of Harris
 family, near Osawatimie..... 555
 Lynn, Mass. 393

Lyon, Henry P.....	424
Lyon county, Kansas	7
Lyon creek	507, 513, 518, 519
Lions, ex-service men from, badly treated by Nonpartisan League members at Great Bend	474

M.

Maas, Frederick	589
Maas, Magdalena, becomes Mrs. William Morgenstern	579
McAler, Faye	480
McAlpine, Nicholas, Wyandot Indian.....	167
—married Maria Walker, daughter of Joel Walker	104
—one of the founders of Kansas City, Kan., portrait	104
McArthur, Major —, of Thickety Fork, S. C.	415
McCahon, James	292
McCall, H. C.....	396
McCall, Sergt. W. H., adviser of Col. Forsyth	542
—entrenched behind dead horse, shot on arising	534
McCalla, Mr. —, of Kansas.....	390
McCann, E.	481
McChristy, Col. William.....	410
McClain, Gen. —	407
McClain, B. D.	479
McClain, William A.....	395
McClane, Mary, Shawnee Indian.....	177
McClane, Rose Ann, Shawnee Indian.....	177
McClane, Sophia, Shawnee Indian.....	177
McConnell, Mary E. (Mrs. I. D. Gra- ham)	7
McCord, C. R.	392
McCoy, John C., commissioner for Wy- andot Indians in awarding lands in sev- erality to members of.....	106, 119 125, 158, 159
McDaniel. —, claims to hold a colo- nel's commission in Texas army.....	73
—leader of band recruited in Missouri which murdered Don Antonio Jose Chavez on Santa Fe trail.....	73
McDonald, D. J.	417
McDougal, George, Shawnee Indian.....	193
McDowell, H. H.	394
McDowell, Wm. C.	597
Mace, Daniel	367
McElwath, Capt. James, company com- manded by, sent to Kansas in 1856..	376
McFarland, Alice	332
McFarland, Judge N. C., Senate joint resolution No. 3 prepared by.....	215
McGee, Capt. E. M.	404
McGiffert, R. D.	478
McGowan, Gen. S.	414
McGuire, John	481
McHenry, Frank L.	167
Machine guns	456
Machinski family	583
McIntire, Ruth	333
McIntosh, Richard E.	333
McIntyre, Lieut.	43
McKee, Mary, Wyandot Indian.....	124, 157 161, 169
McKeehan, Dr. L. P.	479
McKenzie, Mr. —	506
McKenzie, Livery B., Wyandot Indian, 124, 156, 161, 168	
McKenzie, Russell, Wyandot Indian.....	124 157, 161, 168
McKinley, J. W.	480
McKinley, President William	25
McKinzie	496
McLoughlin, Lou, scout wounded in bat- tle of Arikaree	544
McMahon, Timothy	163
McMullin, Mrs. —, Wyandot Indian, 146	
McMurray, N. R.	385
McNamara, Rev. John, Three Years on the Kansas Border	449
MacNider, Hanford, elected national com- mander American Legion	478
Macon, Ga.	466
—Kansas Emigration Association, resolu- tions passed by	403
—Kansas meeting held in	402
<i>Macon Journal and Messenger</i>	402
<i>Macon Telegraph</i> , quoted	403
Macon county, Mo.	387
—Kansas meetings held in.....	386
McPherson, —, president of the Union Pacific Railroad	369
McPherson, Chas. C.	479
McPherson	574
McPherson College	334
McPherson county	526, 574
McQuary, A. G.	479
McQueen, Robert	396
McRae, Alex.	392
McRae, Gov. John J., of Mississippi, re- fers to Kansas in his annual message to the legislature	411
Madden, Judge John	457
Madden, John, jr.	461, 479
—brief sketch	457
Madden, Mary Ellsworth	457
<i>Madison Daily Banner</i>	407
Magill, J. S.	417
Magoffin, —, at Bent's Fort, at Out- break of Mexican War	75
—imprisoned at Chihuahua as a spy, and champagne suppers given by, to ob- tain freedom	75
Maiack river	581
Mail, coat of, Spanish	43
Mail coaches on Santa Fe trail.....	526
Maine	331, 457
Major, Samuel C.	384
Majors, Alexander, Seventy Years on the Frontier	85
Making Out Road, Cheyenne wife of Kit Carson, died of old age about 1890....	37
Makoma, Wyandot Indian.....	108, 133
Mallies, Mrs. Fred	473
Malone, James	480
Maloney, James	495
Maloney, Pat	495
Malott, William, farm of, near White Church, Wyandotte county, may have been site of principal Kansas Indian town	183
Man of fire	99, 100
Man of Flint	99, 100
Mannsburg	579
Ma-no-hoo-ka-she-ro-no	97
Manufacturing, government statistics concerning	281
Manypenny, George W., Indian commis- sioner	368
Maplehill	477, 573
Marais des Cygnes	191
Marais des Cygnes massacre, Connelley's account of, in "Kansas and Kansans,"	558
—description of	558, 559
—men of Saline county, Mo., responsible for	394
—victim of, saved his life by playing possum	559
—wives of victims follow to scene of.....	559
Marais des Cygnes river	555, 568
March, Capt. Campbell, of the Natchez Fencibles, recruits company for service in Kansas	411
Marcy, Capt. Randolph B., large cotton- wood seen by him on Canadian river, 83	
Marietta, Marshall county	334
Marietta, Ohio	28

- Marine brigade, stopped Germans at
 Chateau-Thierry 11
 Marion, S. C., Kansas Association of... 417
 —volunteers for Kansas from..... 417
 Marion county 15, 526, 590
 —Germans from Bessarabia, Russia, set-
 tle near, in 1885..... 589
 Marion county, Ga., emigrants from,
 bound for Kansas 403
 Marion county, Mo. 450
 Mariposa expedition of Col. Fremont... 355
 Marne river, operations on 454
 Marriages, between minors, requirements
 concerning 251
 —consanguineous, forbidden by law... 250
 —laws designed to prevent undesirable... 249
 —prohibited between defectives.... 267, 268
 —requirements concerning 250
 Married women, rights of 293
 Marrs, A. C. 481
 Marshal, Jacob 168
 Marshall, Dr. J. W. W. 414
 Marshall, Joe T. 471, 472
 Marshall, Mo. 394
 Marshall county 334, 450
 —Palmetto company of South Carolin-
 ians settle in 417
 Martel, Teodoro, record concerning ran-
 soming of 71
 Martin, Gen. Charles Irving.. 461, 464, 479
 —brief sketch 457
 —brigadier general in Thirty-fifth divi-
 sion 460
 —member of the famous Twentieth
 Kansas 460
 Martin, Deidarmi and family, neighbors
 of the Harris family 561
 Martin, Frank 561, 562, 563
 —gave news of attempt to capture
 Robert, slave 562
 Martin, Franklin 561
 Martin, George W. 342, 431
 Martin, Hannibal 561
 Martin, Jane, Shawnee Indian..... 177
 Martin, John 597
 Martin, Gov. John A. 525
 Martin, Leander 561
 Martin, Mary Nettleton 457
 Martin, William 561, 565
 —led party of ten men who recovered
 free papers, horse and clothing of slave
 Bob 563
 —warning to slave hunters of hanging on
 return to Kansas..... 565
 Martin, Capt. William..... 390
 Martin, William H. 457
 Martin family, free Negro Robert worked
 for 562, 563
 —residence of 561, 562
 Martines, Audres 72
 Maryland 392, 596
 Marysville 417, 478
 —act of incorporation provided that
 black or mulatto children were not to
 be permitted to attend schools provided
 for white children..... 244
 Ma-shoo-ta-ah 98
 Mason, Mrs. Henry Freeman..... 1
 Mason & Dixon's line..... 445
 Mason City, Iowa..... 478
 Mason county, Va., emigrants to Kansas
 from 424
 Masonic lodge, brought to Kansas by
 Wyandot Indians 185
 Massachusetts 28, 207, 332, 336, 347
 374, 382, 438, 447, 557, 590
 —comparison of pay of men and women
 school teachers in..... 310
 —labor legislation in..... 329
 —percentage of women prisoners in.... 310
 Massachusetts, proposed boycott of goods
 manufactured in 386, 392
 —regiments, Thirteenth infantry..... 590
 Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company.. 279
 Massey, B. F. 447
 Maternity hospitals, licensing of..... 254
 —restrictions concerning 254, 255
 Mather, Samuel F. 163
 Mathian, F. D. 481
 Maxwell, Lucien B., accompanied Fre-
 mont as a hunter..... 57
 —in control of Beaubien and Miranda
 Spanish land grant..... 57
 —known to Indians as Big Nostrils... 57
 —married daughter of Judge Beaubien.. 50
 —personal mention of..... 68
 —sent by Fremont to Bent's Fort for
 horses 74
 —traded with Arapahoos..... 58
 Maxwell land grant, extent of..... 68
 —sold to English syndicate..... 68
 May, Oscar P. 479, 480
 Mayer, Henry F., Ed Gary's guardian.. 65
 —statement of, in Report of Joint Special
 Committee which Investigated Indian
 Affairs 65
 Mayes, Edward, "L. Q. C. Lamar: His
 Life, Times and Speeches"..... 450
 Mayo, William J. 395
 Mead, J. R., contributed chapter on
 "The Little Arkansas" for O. H. Bent-
 ley's "History of Sedgwick County"... 529
 —description of Carson quoted..... 37
 Meade Center 575
 Meade county, votes bonds to aid in con-
 struction of C. R. I. & P. railroad
 through 574
 Meagly, George L. 169
 Meal, unbolted wheat..... 41
 Means, ex-Gov. John H., of South Caro-
 lina 414
 Measles, among Cheyennes usually fatal,
 —outbreak of, among members of Bu-
 ford expedition 397
 Meat-packing industry in Kansas..... 283
 Meats, home-cured 512
 Mecklenburg, Germany 579
 Medals, given by various countries for
 distinguished services 12
 Medicine arrows 46
 Medicine lodge, held on Bluff creek,
 breaks up in disorder and participants
 flee when cholera appears..... 47
 Medicine Lodge council, 1867..... 45
 Medill, Mrs. Sherman, Leavenworth.... 473
 Meek, Joseph, employee of Rocky Moun-
 tain Fur Co. 63
 Meek, Richard A., Parsons.... 466, 467, 470
 471, 477, 479
 Memorial Building, Topeka.... 3, 466, 477
 Memphis, Tenn. 368
 Memphis Bulletin 439
 Memphis Eagle and Inquirer..... 437
 Men, weekly earnings of 289
 Mener, Edward 171
 Menno, So. Dak. 587
 Mennonites 520, 587
 Mentally deficient, segregation in state in-
 stitutions the most efficient method of
 caring for 268
 —and physically defective children, care
 of 265
 Mercantile library, St. Louis, Mo..... 324
 Merchants of western Missouri compelled
 to advance gratis goods for border
 wars 364
 Merrill, Rev. Moses, diary of..... 45
 Merriwether county, Ga., company raised
 for service in Kansas..... 403
 Metcalf, Antoinette Brigham Putnam... 457
 Metcalf, Isaac Stevens 457

- Metcalf, Brig. Gen. Wilder S. 459, 461, 465, 466, 477, 479
- brief sketch of 457
 - brigadier general and camp commander at Beaugard, La. 460
 - portrait of 460
- Methodist Episcopal Church 93
- division of, in 1844 186
 - land allotted to, by Wyandot Indians, 157
 - land reserved for 151
 - mission established among Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, first ever established in the world by that church, 93, 185
 - of Holton 593
 - South, land allotted to, by Wyandots. 157
 - land reserved for 151
- Metz, fortified area of 455
- Metz-Lille railroad, cutting of, by American troops 456
- served as German main line of communication for army of crown prince, 456
- Meuse-Argonne battle, American divisions participating in 455
- date of beginning of 455
 - duration of 455, 456
 - number of troops and guns captured during 456
- Meuse river, France 456
- defensive works along 455
- Mexican 54
- border 10, 11
 - Kansas National Guard sent to protect American interests 22
 - boundary, U. S. expeditions to explore country near 74
 - caravan, escapes force under Warfield, 74
 - dollar 60
 - girls 75
 - laborers, number employed in construction of Bent's Fort 33
 - outbreak of smallpox among 33
 - land grant to colonists on Upper Arkansas 68
 - peons became famous warriors among Comanches and Kiowas and led war parties into Old Mexico 72
 - prisoners brought in by reconnoitering party under William Bent 76
 - servants, at Bent's Fort 41
 - soldiers, samples of 76
 - traders, make Pueblo their headquarters for whisky-selling operations 59
 - train at Sheridan, scouts under orders to relieve, after being attacked by Indians 541
 - trains on Santa Fe trail, plans to attack 73
 - trappers, settled on Upper Arkansas. 67
 - troops, encamped on Santa Fe trail to protect parties returning from Missouri to New Mexico 73
 - wagon trains, held up at Pawnee Fork by flood in 1844 52
 - war 46, 63, 408
 - outbreak of 74
 - women, engage in dances at Bent's Fort, 56
- Mexicans 52, 53, 59, 63, 77, 78, 79, 80
- brought to Bent's Fort to make adobe brick 32
 - came to Bent's Fort in search of missing relatives 72
 - two killed by Indians at Sheridan 542
- Mexico 51, 71, 74, 483
- great herds of horses and mules brought back from, by the Bents 60
 - refusal of Senator Benton to vote for treaty of peace with, rouses hostility of Missouri towards 353
- Mexico, trading trips made into, by Hatcher, Fisher and Boggs 65
- Miami county, Kan. 557
- battle of Osawatomie fought in 555
 - committee appointed to receive and give out supplies during famine 567
 - formerly Lykins county 350
 - free slave hunted in, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565
 - Jordan creek, named by Harris family, description of 555
- Miami county, Ohio 230
- Miami Indians 189
- Michigan 331, 358, 502, 557
- Middle creek 562
- Middle creek, Linn county 351
- Middle creek, Miami county, fort erected by Southerners on 351
- Middle Spring on Cimarron 91
- Middle Water, Texas 576, 577
- Military Order of the Loyal Legion, founded on date of Lincoln's death 461
- Milkweed, called by New Yorkers "snow on the mountain" 511
- Milky Way, Wyandot tradition of 101
- Mill at Clinton, 1860 550
- grist, at Swanton (Stanton) on the Pottawatomie 568, 571
 - saw and grist, ground only meal and Graham 571
- Millar, Wilhelmina 165
- Millar, William 164
- commissioner for Wyandot Indians in awarding lands in severalty to members of 106, 117, 125
- Millar. See also Miller.
- Milledgeville, Ga., address by J. W. White, of Kansas, quoted 402
- Miller, —, Indian agent, George Bent's description of 87
- Miller, Elva (Mrs. LaRoy Craik) 334
- Miller, J. P. 417
- Miller, John G., of Missouri, bill of, for organization of Nebraska 354
- Miller, R. C., elected to territorial council of Nebraska territory 190
- Miller, Sol, emigration to Kansas, spring of 1857 549
- Miller, W. H., History of Kansas City, Mo. 372, 450
- Miller, Wilhelmina 171
- Millerand, President Alexandre, of French republic 476
- Milliner, average daily wage 283, 284
- Millio, Alexander 589
- Millville, Mo., Kansas meeting held at 394
- Milo, Maine 457
- Milwaukee, Wis. 592, 593
- Milwaukee company 592
- Mine inspector, state 299
- some duties of 239
- Mineral products, most important of Kansas 281
- Minimum wage, for minors 240
- paid by California, Oregon, Washington, District of Columbia 328
 - laws 303, 324, 331
- Ministers hostile to slavery denounced and their dismissal called for 384
- Minneapolis, Minn. 231, 459
- national convention of American Legion held at, in 1919 467
- Minnesota 26, 231, 340, 368
- child labor conditions in 330
 - hours of labor fixed by 330
 - Renville county 530
 - territory of, railroad land grants in 339
 - Virginia emigrants visit before coming to Kansas 424
 - World War veterans of 475
- Minor, definition of 240

- Minor children, care of..... 255
 Minor gods 100, 101
 —of the Wyandots..... 95
 Minors, adoption of..... 256
 —enumeration of, provided in laws of
 1859 232
 —laws concerning 293, 294
 —restrictions regarding smoking..... 253
 —right to select own guardians..... 256
 Mint juleps, called "hailstorm" by em-
 ployees at Bent's Fort..... 56
 Mints, private, coinage of..... 65
 Mirage 526, 529
 Miry creek, name applied to Mud creek
 by Cheyennes 91
 Missionary Association, American, or-
 ganization of Congregational churches
 in Kansas territory..... 557
 Mississippi 347, 379, 392, 406, 427
 429, 430, 436, 439, 449
 —company of men from, leave for Kan-
 sas 411
 —Kansas emigration agitators invaded
 early 411
 —Kansas meeting held in..... 411
 —never contributed largely to the per-
 manent peopling of Kansas..... 413
 —opposition in, to sending men to Kan-
 sas 413
 Mississippi Historical Society publica-
 tions 413, 450
 Mississippi river 18, 93, 100, 182, 183
 186, 368, 369, 399, 439, 502
 —trade of upper..... 365
 Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 450
 —Religious Conceptions of the Modern
 Hurons, a paper read before the fif-
 teenth annual meeting of, at Iowa
 City, May 11, 1922..... 92
 Mississippi Valley States Conference of
 American Legion, formation of, at Chi-
 cago 476
 —meeting held at Kansas City, Mo..... 477
 —Thomas A. Lee selected as chairman of
 Chicago meeting 476, 477
 Mississippian 413
 —quoted 411
 Missouri 3, 36, 46, 52, 73, 77, 93
 103, 183, 188, 189, 224, 230, 331, 334
 335, 340, 341, 342, 345, 347, 348, 352
 353, 359, 360, 362, 364, 367, 392, 395
 409, 422, 431, 435, 436, 438, 439, 441
 442, 449, 457, 459, 461, 495, 502, 525
 549, 550, 551, 553, 573, 591, 592, 598
 —attitude of, relative to slavery in Kan-
 sas 341
 —Blue Lodges, money raised by, to ac-
 quire free-state men's claims in Kan-
 sas 349
 —border warfare with 20
 —business conditions in 362
 —cavalry, Doniphan's regiment of..... 75
 —considered herself apart from the
 South 447
 —considered herself as a part of the
 West 447
 —counties ask for statement of money
 expended by proslavery interests in
 Kansas 429
 —counties bordering on Kansas or along
 the Missouri river, the most active
 during the Kansas struggle 395
 —Democracy, proslavery wing of, op-
 posed to Wyandot Indians settling at
 forks of the Kansas and Missouri riv-
 ers 187
 —depreciation of bonds of, on account
 of slavery troubles..... 363
 —did not demand the repeal of the Mis-
 souri Compromise 362
 —disappearance of the institution of
 slavery in 443, 444
 Missouri, duped and swindled by taking
 part in the Kansas propaganda..... 433
 —emigrants, sell slaves before moving to
 Kansas 341
 —estimate of free-state emigrants set-
 tling in during year 1856..... 443
 —firstborn daughter of Kentucky..... 408
 —first Kansas meeting ever held in,
 probably at Westport 388
 —friend of slave hunters, residing near
 Osawatimie 565
 —horses and mules bought from Indians
 sold in 60
 —hostility of, towards Senator Benton.. 353
 —in the Kansas struggle 345
 —Indian territory to the west annexed
 to, for judicial purposes 191
 —interest of, in Kansas 353
 —lands 340
 —laws 241
 —legislature, B. Gratz Brown's speech
 before 446
 —loss of public confidence in 363
 —majority of the more peaceable citizens
 of, deplored the agitation of the slav-
 ery issue 447
 —military companies, demands of leaders
 of, more imperious and dangerous to
 refuse than those of any despot in
 Europe 364
 —mules 48, 483
 —nature of aid extended by the various
 counties of, towards settlement of Kan-
 sas 376
 —Negroes 336
 —number of slaves in, in 1850 438
 —political conditions in, at time of Wy-
 andots settling on border 187
 —population in 1850 and 1860..... 339
 —population living north of the Missouri
 river in favor of making Missouri a
 free state 444
 —proposed tax to reimburse Missourians
 for their forays in Kansas, not a popu-
 lar one 448
 —proslavery people from, flocked to
 Kansas 279
 —railroad building in 362
 —reaps a bitter fruitage in attempting
 to terrorize the border to eliminate
 emigration to Kansas 361
 —regiments, Twelfth cavalry 524
 —Thirteenth cavalry, dispatch bear-
 ers belonging to, reported killed by
 Indians on Santa Fe Trail..... 525
 —Twenty-fifth cavalry, Co. H..... 230
 —relation of, to the Kansas struggle
 bound in political fortunes of David
 R. Atchison 355
 —Senator Benton opposed to abolition in, 354
 —slaveholders, attitude of, towards Kan-
 sas 340
 —South not back of, in Kansas struggle, 440
 —southern money sent to border coun-
 ties of, during the border troubles... 431
 —statute forbidding clergymen from
 holding state offices 375
 —statutes, dramshop law passed by Kan-
 sas territorial legislature of 1855,
 copied from 193
 —Virginians settle in 425
 —wealthy planters of northern, sell out
 and move south, fearing they might
 lose their slaves 364, 444
 —west line of 187
 —wrath in, on learning that one foray
 into Kansas cost \$100,000 448
 Missouri and Illinois, comparison of
 growth of 369
 Missouri Compromise 182, 187, 279
 335, 355, 356, 450
 —repeal of, forced 190
 —results 362

- Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis.. 344, 347, 355
 357, 361, 364, 367, 371, 386, 402, 407
 416, 419, 424, 427, 434, 443, 447, 449
 —quoted 363, 365, 366, 367, 368, 416
 —states one border war cost Missouri
 \$2,500,000 364
Missouri Historical Review 339
Missouri Historical Society.. 28, 29, 41, 334
Missouri Intelligencer 36, 396
 Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad, 517, 521
 Missouri Pacific railroad, lands of Mat-
 thias Splitlog purchased for yard pur-
 poses 93
Missouri Republican 336, 347, 352, 355
 356, 358, 360, 361, 367, 369, 372
 377, 382, 385, 386, 388, 390, 391
 392, 396, 397, 399, 400, 402, 403
 406, 408, 410, 412, 420, 422, 425
 426, 428, 429, 431, 432, 436, 437
 439, 442, 443, 444, 445, 448, 449
 —applauded Geary's course in Kansas.. 427
 —espoused the cause of the South..... 365
 —quoted 366, 412, 427
 Missouri river 29, 45, 93, 103, 128
 130, 133, 134, 136, 140, 141
 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148
 149, 153, 155, 165, 183, 184
 185, 187, 188, 191, 280, 363
 371, 372, 380, 399, 406, 444
 484, 489, 502, 554, 578, 590
 —first boats to Omaha in 1857..... 549
 —forts erected by Buford men..... 398
 —landing points on 483
 —steamboat built by Matthias Splitlog
 for operating on 93
 —steamboatmen, Kansas passenger trade
 of, curtailed by the proslavery element
 of Missouri 362
 —steamboats, ninety per cent owned in
 St. Louis 372
 —suggested as a place for abolition
 presses 390
 —unnavigable condition of, given as a
 cause of slackened emigration to Kan-
 sas 345
 Missouri State Historical Society library, 334
 Missouri University 375, 377
 Missouri Valley railway..... 502
Missouri Weekly Statesman..... 336, 342, 344
 355, 356, 357, 358, 361, 364
 369, 372, 373, 375, 377, 378
 379, 383, 385, 390, 397, 398
 400, 409, 423, 426, 430, 449
 Missourians, forays of, into Kansas..... 591
 —in the majority in Kansas in December,
 1854 343
 —setting pegs in territory of Kansas in
 June, 1854 343
 —thought they had as good a right to
 vote in Kansas as did the New Eng-
 landers 346
 —unable to believe the Atchison commit-
 tee innocent of misappropriation of
 southern funds 431
 Mitchell, A. A. 478
 Mitchell, A. H. 480
 Mitchell, A. M., chairman of squatters'
 meeting at home of J. R. Whitehead,
 Doniphan county 352
 Mitchell, Frank 394
 Mitchell, John, quoted..... 438
 Mix, Charles E., commissioner Indian
 Affairs 158
 Mobile, Ala. 397, 399
 —men sent to Kansas..... 396
Mobile Daily Advertiser..... 337, 395
Mobile Daily News..... 364, 397, 411, 444
Mobile Daily Tribune, 396, 397, 398, 404, 418
 Mobs, lives of Americans living in New
 Mexico threatened by..... 74
 Molasses 53, 483
 Moldavia, banate 580, 581, 583
 Moldavians (a Turkish branch)..... 579
 Mollenkamp, E. W. 553
 Moneka, women from, assist women of
 Mound City in destroying saloon
 started in their midst..... 201
 Money 588
 —given to slave freed in Missouri.. 562, 565
 —lenders in early Kansas..... 281
 —purchasing power of..... 283
 —raised in South and sent to border
 counties of Missouri during the Kansas
 troubles 431
 —scarcity of, in early days in Kansas,
 489, 583
 —scarcity of, in Missouri..... 362
 —sent into Kansas by the South..... 349
 Mononcue, Thomas, Wyandot Indian..... 113
 141, 160
 Monroe, Mrs. Lilla Day, quoted... 310, 311
 —Some Woman Suffrage History, cited.. 310
 Monroe county, Ga., emigrants from,
 bound for Kansas..... 403
 Monteur, James, Wyandot Indian (*See*
also, Monture, James)..... 128
 Montfaucon 456
 Montgomery, James 553
 Montgomery, R. M. 478, 480
 Montgomery, Ala. 450
 —convention held at, to stimulate emi-
 gration to Kansas, ridiculed by a Sa-
 vannah paper 445
 —Kansas meeting held at..... 395
Montgomery Advertiser 428
 —quoted in regard to southern emigra-
 tion to Kansas..... 395
Montgomery Daily Journal.... 398, 438, 442
Montgomery Mail 338
 Monture, James, Wyandot Indian... 122, 126
 152, 160, 163
 Monture, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 125, 133
 141, 157, 161, 169
 Monture, Philip, Wyandot Indian.... 113
 141, 160
 Monument in honor of Gen. Geo. A.
 Forsyth and citizen scouts..... 530
 Mooers, Dr. J. H., surgeon with Forsyth's
 scouts, struck by bullet..... 533
 Moon, W. L. 392
 Moon, created to be wife for the Sun... 99
 —legend concerning 99
 Moore, Capt. —, head of Upson
 county, Ga., company raised to go to
 Kansas 403
 Moore, Maj. —, of Americus, Ga.... 402
 Moore, H. Miles, Early History of Leav-
 enworth City and County.... 352, 389, 450
 —first secretary of Leavenworth Town
 Company 350
 Moore, Mrs. L. M., and fifty-five others,
 ladies of Topeka, memorial presented
 to the Topeka legislature on the sub-
 ject of prohibition..... 195, 196
 Moore, Judge R. M. 47
 Moore, Mrs. R. M., date of death..... 47
 Moore, W. M., member 1879 legislature, 214
 Moore's ranch, Eleventh Indiana cavalry
 stationed at 526
 Mora, N. M. 71, 72, 88
 —attacked by force under Col. Warfield, 72
 Mora creek, crossing of 90
 Morange, Gen. W. C. 435
 Morehead, Charles S., elected governor
 of Kentucky by the Know-Nothing
 party 408
 Morehouse, Charles H. 15
 Morehouse, George Pierson, biographical
 sketch 15
 —Kansas as a State of Extremes, and Its
 Attitude During This World War,
 president's address before the Kansas
 State Historical Society, 1918 15

- Morehouse, Horace 15
 Morehouse, James H. 15
 Morehouse, Robert H. 15
 Morgan, Dr. E. C. 479
 Morgan, J. S., claim of, adjoined present University campus on south..... 549
 —house of, at Lawrence..... 549
 Morgan county, Va. 524
 Morgenstern, Christian 582
 —coachman for Polish nobleman..... 583
 —with family and few possessions flees from Silesia 583
 Morgenstern, Eugenia 579
 Morgenstern, Frederick William 582
 Morgenstern, Hildegard Merceda 579
 Morgenstern, Samuel 579, 587
 —birth of 582
 —patriarch of the group who settled in Russell county 582
 Morgenstern, William, from Saxony..... 581
 —biographical sketch of 579
 —The Settlement of Bessarabia, Russia, by the Germans, translated by J. C. Ruppenthal from the German..... 579
 Morgenstern, Mr. and Mrs. William, portraits of 582
 Morgenstern, Mrs. William, death of... 579
 Morgenstern, William Frederick 579
 Morgenstern family 587, 589
 Morin, Major Jesse 390
 Mormon battalion, accompany Capt. P. St. George Cooke to California..... 76
 —enlisted during Mexican War, in order to reach California, where they wished to settle 77
 —permitted to take families with them during expedition to California 77
 —troubles 367
 Mormons 345
 —sent to Pueblo, to spend winter of 1846-'47 68
 Morrall, Dr. Albert 417
 —laid out town of Palmetto..... 417
 Morris, George W. 381
 Morris, Ira, secretary of the first board of directors of Atchison Town Company 350
 Morris, Ross 481
 Morris county 15, 486
 —first white settler to locate in..... 483
 —Rangers, guard the frontier against hostile Indians and guerrillas..... 489
 Morris Grove, Junction City 518
 Morris schoolhouse 519
 Morrison, Roy 480
 Morse, Col. Isaac E. 409
 Morton, Judge John T. 595, 597
 Moss, James 364
 Moss, Sidney A., attorney of Wichita, 460, 479
 Mother Bickerdyke Home and Hospital.. 257
 260, 261
 Motherhood, legislative enactments for the protection of 250
 Mothers and children, public protection of the health of 249
 Mothers' compensation act 332
 —provisions of 300
 Mound City, saloon demolished by women of vicinity 201
 Mound township, Miami county 567
 Mountain sheep, a curiosity to most of Southern Cheyennes 62
 Mountaineers, slavery repugnant to 422
 Moving-picture films, state censorship provided for 249
 Mud, Kansas 517
 Mud creek, called Miry creek by Cheyennes, location of 91
 Mud Turtle 95, 98
 —one of totemic animals of Wyandots... 97
 —People of 97
 —underground passageway dug for nocturnal use of sun 99
 Mudeater, Alfred, Wyandot Indian... 114, 141
 Mudeater, Benjamin, Wyandot Indian, 114, 141
 Mudeater, Benjamin, jr., Wyandot Indian 141
 Mudeater, Dawson, Wyandot Indian, 114, 141
 Mudeater, Irvin, Wyandot Indian... 114, 141
 Mudeater, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 114, 141
 Mudeater, Mathew, Wyandot Indian... 114, 141, 185
 Mudeater, Mathew, jr., Wyandot Indian, 114
 Mudeater, Nancy, Wyandot Indian... 114, 141
 Mudeater, Susan, Wyandot Indian... 141
 Mudeater, Susannah, Wyandot Indian... 114
 Mudeater, Zalinda, Wyandot Indian, 114, 141
 Mueller, Major — 479
 Muenzenmayer, H. A. 476
 Muir, Mary, Wyandot Indian 114, 141
 Muir, Mathew W., Wyandot Indian, 114, 141
 Mulatto, master of, not responsible for his education 241
 Mule deer 69
 Mules 33, 34, 49, 51, 52, 58, 74
 75, 79, 483, 539, 593
 —and horses, great traffic in, by Bent & St. Vrain 52, 60
 —hauling to frontier posts..... 530
 —loaded with camp equipment for Arikaree scouts 530
 —used for barricade and food by Arikaree scouts 544
 Mullen, Mrs. —, Wyandot Indian..... 116
 Muncie, Wyandotte county 184
 Mundy, Isaac, elected to territorial council of Nebraska territory..... 190
 Municipal aid bonds, Kansas laws concerning 578
 Municipal bonds, voted for every conceivable public improvement 575
 Munker's barn, settlers gather at, for protection against Cheyenne raid 491
 Munker's creek, affluent of the Neosho river 484
 Murders, on the Marais des Cygnes, 558, 559
 Murphy, Francis 221
 —excursion to western Kansas given for benefit of 220
 —temperance lecturer 204, 219
 Murphy, M. R. 392
 Murphy, Tom, Arikaree scout..... 531
 Murphy or blue ribbon movement in Kansas in 1877 212
 Murphy temperance clubs 218
 Murray, —, an Irishman, trader at Bent's Fort 56
 —in later years in charge of Bent's Fort during absence of William Bent to the states 57
 —known to Indians as Flat Nose..... 56
 Murray, Capt. R. W. 419
 Muscogee County (Ala.) Kanas Emigrant Aid Society 402
 Mush 509
 Musket 560, 570, 572
 —flint lock 83
 —old-fashioned 558
 Muskogee, Okla. 590
 Musselman, N. B. 479
 Mustang creek, Okla. 42
 "My Story," by Harry Jasper Harris... 553
 Myers, Judge Louis A. 597
 Myrick, Herbert, author of "The Mysterious Renegade," in *Pearson's Magazine* 533

N.

- Naked Head, Ohio, Comanche, chief of
Circle band 42
- Napton, Judge William B., of Saline
county, Mo. 374, 386, 475
- Narcotics, sale of, to minors forbidden... 252
- Narrow Gauge depot, Holton 592
- Nasby, Petroleum V. 494
- Nashville, Tenn. 399, 421, 444, 450, 525
—convention 445
- Nashville & Chattanooga railroad 421
- Natchez, Miss. 411
- Natchez Courier* 412
- Natchez Fencibles 411
- Nation, Carrie 201
- National Antislavery Standard*..... 353, 355
364, 401, 435, 439, 449
- National Child Labor Committee..... 330
—report of 333
—state legislatures visited by 331
- National Christian Temperance Union,
meeting at Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, 225
- National Conference of Charities and
Correction, invitation extended to,
to hold its twenty-third session in Kan-
sas 233
—meeting held in Topeka in spring of
1900 233
- National Democracy of Kansas.... 433, 435
—address quoted 432
—proslavery party in Kansas becomes,
429, 432
- National Era* 396, 416
- National Guard 24
- National Intelligencer* 344, 361, 369, 411
422, 441, 442, 449
- files of, in University of Kansas
library 334
—supported Gov. Walker and his Kan-
sas policy 429
- National Military Sisterhood, Kansas De-
partment of American Legion, consid-
ers affiliation with, as American Le-
gion auxiliary 469
- National Prohibition party, organization
of 210
- National Temperance Society 205
- National War Risk Insurance conference, 467
- National Wheat Show held at Wichita... 463
- National Woman's Christian Temperance
Union, meeting held in Topeka 219
- Natural gas in Kansas..... 281
- Natural sciences, J. H. Carruth, profes-
sor of, Baker University 557
- Navajo Indians, campaign against 37
- Nease, Stephen G. 480
- Nebraska territory 184, 340
—bill introduced in congress by Wm. A.
Richardson for organization of 189
—bounds of proposed territory in 1853, 189
—failure of Richardson bill for organiza-
tion of 189
—organization of provisional government
July 26, 1853 188, 189, 190
- Nebraska 182, 322, 331, 334, 336, 337
356, 372, 395, 409, 421, 466
—bill for organization of 354
—hours of labor fixed by 330
—Indian title to lands extinguished in,
before those of Kansas 368
—movement for organization of 191
—securing of, for slavery contemplated, 352
—Willard P. Hall, representative from
Missouri, introduces bill in congress
to organize 334
- Nebraska and Kansas, organization of,
into territories 190
- Nebraska City, Neb. 190
- Nebraska Historical Society, portion of
Wyandot Indian papers published by.. 181
- Historical Publications of 45
- Neglected children 255, 262
- Negro blacksmith at Bent's Fort 56
—called Washington, outfitted with his
master's money and property and
started for Canada 565
—children 241, 502
—provision for equal educational advan-
tages with white children..... 243
—exodus, footnote concerning 520
—question 369
—slavery 448
—thieves 390
- Negroes 363, 399, 408, 419
550, 551, 552, 599
—brought to Kansas from Arkansas... 401
—brought to Kansas from Kentucky... 407
—carrying loads on the head..... 520
—employed at Bent's Fort..... 52
—taken through Holton on "Under-
ground Railroad" 598
- Neighbors, Robert S., superintendent of
Indian affairs in Texas 42
- Nelson, John, Indian wife of, present at
battle between Arikaree scouts and her
relatives 547
—member of party rescuing Forsyth's
scouts 547
—member of W. F. Cody's show at
Cleveland, Ohio 547
—wore a buckskin shirt, mistaken for
Jack Stillwell 547
- Nelson, Dr. S. L., of Salina 473, 476
- Neodesha 461, 462
- Neosho agency, Indian territory... 160, 161
- Neosho river 184, 400, 484
—French immigrants attempt to raise
silk in valley of 2
—Wyandot Indians given tract on, which
proved unsatisfactory 103
- Neosho valley 554
—fever and ague in 505
- Nettleton, Mary (Mrs. Wm. H. Martin), 457
- Neu Elft, Bessarabia 585
—colony 588
- Neutral Nation, relatives of the Hurons, 92
- New England 186, 448, 590
—number of settlers from, in Kansas in
1855 346
- New England Emigrant Aid Company,
345, 374
—emigration program of, discouraged the
South 343
- New Englanders 346
—better informed on the activities of
citizens in Kansas than were the south-
ern men 353
- New Fort Lyon, location of..... 91
- New Georgia, name selected for town
Georgians expected to found near
Osawatomie 404
- New Hampshire 249, 331
- New Haven Colony..... 398
- New International Yearbook..... 333
- New Jersey 331, 347
- New Market, Va. 424
- New Mexico 32, 33, 35, 37, 39
43, 50, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63
66, 73, 74, 75, 79, 81, 88
331, 483, 557, 574, 575, 577
—Americans residing in, threatened by
mobs on account of attacks on Mex-
ican trains on Santa Fe trail..... 74
—attempts of southerners to bring into
Union as a slave state opposed by
Ceran St. Vrain..... 50
—cattle 81
—Charles Bent appointed governor... 76
—Frank P. Blair appointed U. S. attor-
ney 76
—General Kearny's plan for civil govern-
ment of 76

- New Mexico, government takes new interest in 74
- Indian fighting in, during Civil War... 530
- land grants, most famous of..... 68
- proclamation issued to people of, by Gen. Kearny 75
- recruiting Americans on American soil for raid into..... 72
- regiments, First cavalry..... 37
- Ceran St. Vrain colonel of, resigns on account of ill health..... 50
- whisky made in, supplied all Indians south of the Platte river..... 59
- New Orleans, La..... 61, 338, 368, 372, 396, 397, 431, 439, 445, 449
- counted much on success of the Buford expedition 409
- Kansas meetings held in..... 409, 410
- molasses, known as "long sweetening" on the frontier..... 53
- practically all the activity of the state of Louisiana in relation to Kansas confined to city of..... 409
- St. Charles hotel..... 409
- St. Louis hotel..... 410
- New Orleans Bulletin*..... 410, 413, 436, 444
- New Orleans Delta*..... 392, 397, 399, 412, 414, 418, 421, 428
- New Orleans Picayune*, 358, 403, 407, 439, 449
- comments on the Buford expedition to Kansas 409, 410
- New Rochelle, France..... 453
- New York state..... 28, 92, 199, 205, 358, 484, 501, 530, 531
- percentage of women prisoners in..... 310
- New York Courier and Inquirer*..... 434, 443
- New York Daily Times*..... 442
- New York Evening Post*, opinion of St. Louis correspondent of, regarding St. Louis as the mart for Kansas trade... 365
- New York Herald*..... 342, 347, 403, 412, 416, 417, 426
- quoted regarding Kansas emigrants... 343
- New York Independent* quoted..... 225
- New York Morning Express*..... 396
- New York Semiweekly Times*..... 351, 398, 406, 424
- New York Settlement Company..... 442
- New York Times*..... 341, 348, 362
- article holding Missouri and St. Louis responsible for the hostility of border ruffians towards Kansas..... 370
- New York Tribune*.. 337, 359, 392, 402, 421, 422, 423, 433, 439, 444, 494
- quoted 349
- Newberry, S. C..... 450
- Kansas association organized at..... 418
- Newberry Mirror* 418
- Newland, Mrs. Ellen Hickam..... 231
- Newland, Frederick P..... 231
- Newland, Margaret (Mrs. Geo. W. Greever), a village school teacher in old Wyandotte 229
- Newman, Fred James 553
- Newman, J. C. 480
- Newman, M. P., county clerk, Wyandotte county 128
- Newman, Ga., committee of five sent to Kansas to explore the territory politically 403
- Newmarket, Mo. 230
- Newspapers, devote but little space to discussion of prohibition question... 219
- publish articles against prohibition... 220
- Newton, temperance newspaper threatened with destruction of property by whisky element 225
- Nibsi, white renegade with Indians at Beecher Island 533
- Nicaragua, plans for filibustering expedition to 403
- Walker expedition to 439
- Nice, France 456
- Nichols, Caroline, Wyandot Indian.... 142
- Nichols, Margaret, Wyandot Indian.... 142
- Nichols, Mary, formerly Mary Warpole, Wyandot Indian 161
- Nichols, Smith, Wyandot Indian 142
- Nigger Bob 563
- Night schools, free 248
- Niles' Register 48
- Ninth battalion, company B, organization of 15
- Nisbet, Eugenius Aristides 402
- Nisbet, James A. 402
- Nixon, Dr. 475
- Nixon, A. 392
- No Man's Land, Rock Island Railroad surveys line of road through 576
- Noble, Edward 414
- Nofat, Susan (Mrs. Punch), Wyandot Indian 122, 152, 160, 163
- Nonpartisan League 471, 476
- campaign in Kansas 475
- friction with the American Legion... 473
- members of, treated to coat of tar and feathers by irate crowd at Great Bend, 474
- Salina the Kansas headquarters of... 473
- trouble in Kansas, 1921 473
- Noonan, A. E. 479
- Norfolk Herald* 424
- Normal school, Leavenworth 244
- Norris, Mrs. George 473
- North, contributes 17,000 voters to Kansas 434
- North America, German settlers learn of free lands in, and emigrate to, settling in South Dakota 587
- North American Indians 182
- North Carolina 331, 336, 347, 353, 392, 399, 438, 442, 444
- emigration to Kansas from 413
- Tennessee peopled from 440
- North Dakota 589
- Nonpartisan League captures state government 473
- North Platte river 33, 60, 65, 526
- North Topeka, a dense forest in 1859... 484
- Northern, Dr. A. B. 403
- Northern immigration 592
- to Kansas, *New York Herald's* figures of 347
- Northrop, Anne E., biographical sketch, 501
- Northrop, Herman 501
- Northrup, Andrew, Wyandot Indian, 114, 142
- Northrup, Hiram M., Wyandot Indian 114, 142
- Northrup, McHenry, Wyandot Indian 114, 142
- Northrup, Margaret, Wyandot Indian 114, 142
- Northrup, Milton, Wyandot Indian, 114, 142
- Northrup, Thomas, Wyandot Indian, 114, 142
- Northwestern Confederacy, formed of tribes opposing advance of the white man into the region of the Great Lakes and the valley of the Ohio.... 187
- old league known as, revived at Ft. Leavenworth by emigrant Indians in 1848 187
- Wyandots keepers of the council fires... 187
- Norton, Hannah, Wyandot Indian.... 114, 142
- Norton, Henry C., Wyandot Indian, 114, 142
- Norton, Minnie 473
- Norwood, James A. 414
- Notary seal attached to free papers of slaves 562, 564
- Nullifiers 368
- Nute, Ephraim, jr. 371

- Oak and walnut timber on town site of North Topeka 484
- Oats 515, 580, 584
- Kansas, statistics of production 282
- O'Brien, W. L., labor commissioner, 305, 306
- Ocalo creek 90
- Occupations, statistics of 286, 287
- Oceana*, steamboat 397
- Ochiltree, Judge William B., of Texas.. 422
- O'Connor, J. H. 477
- O'Connors, Trooper 27
- O'Day, Tom 495
- Oder river 580, 583
- *Odessa 579, 580, 583, 587
- Ogden, land office at 281
- Ogden, Utah 576
- Ogdensburg, N. Y. 531
- Ogle county, Ill. 487
- Ohio 3, 28, 93, 185, 186, 204, 205
218, 230, 331, 347, 358, 406
436, 457, 511, 553, 557, 596
- regiments, Eleventh cavalry 526
- Thirtieth infantry 205
- removal of Wyandot Indians to Kansas from, in 1843..... 103
- Ross county 557
- settlement on Vermillion in Kansas.. 417
- Virginians in, in 1850..... 423
- Ohio river 182, 183
- falls of, Siouan linguistic family lingered long at 182
- valley 187, 448
- Ohois, Naked Head, Comanche, chief of Circle band 42
- Oil in Kansas 281
- Oklahoma 65, 66, 73, 334, 495, 589, 590
- child labor conditions in 331
- Indian tribes located in, subsequent to treaty of 1865 529
- Olathe 524
- establishment of Institution for Education of Deaf and Dumb..... 269
- Old Fort Lyon, location of..... 91
- Old Liberty Kansas Association, successor to the Kansas Association of Marion, S. C. 418
- "Old Lodge Skin creek," Cheyennes name for the Rio Huerfano 89
- Old Optimo, on the Beaver river, one of two habitations on the Rock Island railroad between Liberal and Santa Rosa 576
- Old Settlers' Association at Baldwin City, Theo. Gardner's address, the "Last Battle of the Border War"..... 548
- Oliver, C. M. 392
- Oliver, Mordecia 374, 375
- Olmstead, Ed. 593
- Omaha, Neb. 45, 466, 549, 576
- Omaha*, large side-wheel steamer, bound for Leavenworth 549
- Omaha Indians, cross Missouri and settle near mouth of the Platte river..... 183
- derivation of name 183
- Omnibus 502
- One-eyed Juan, a celebrated rider brought back from Mexico by the Bent's for breaking horses 60
- Onondaga county, N. Y. 501
- Oo-kies and Hoo-kies, Wyandots' conception of 95
- Opium, sale to minors unlawful..... 252
- Oppeln 583
- Ortmeyer, Harry Alvin... 470, 471, 478, 479
- brief sketch of 457
- perfects system of accounts for Kansas American Legion 472
- Ortmeyer, Harry John 457
- Ortmeyer, Lillie May 457
- Orangeburg, S. C., Kansas meeting held in 415
- volunteers for Kansas from..... 417
- Order La Solidaridad, Republic of Panama 12
- Order of Prince Danilo, Italy 12
- Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Italy 12
- Oregon 6, 7, 37, 332, 368, 513
- hours of labor fixed by 330
- minimum wage of 328
- trail, on North Platte 65
- wagon road to 354
- O'Reilly, H. C. 479
- Orphans, care of 255, 258, 259
- Orphan's Home, Atchison. *See* Soldiers' Orphans' Home.
- Orr, Charles L. 481
- Orr, Col. James L., of South Carolina, 433, 434
- Ortebee, Charles, wives of 66
- Ortebee, or Otterby, John, son of Charles Ortebee 66
- Ortebee. *See, also*, Autabee.
- Ortubize, Pierre 66
- Osage county 284
- Osage Indian, stricken with cholera.... 47
- Osage Indians 47
- ascend Osage river and settle on prairies in present Bourbon county about time of Pike's expedition 183
- cede lands to United States and go onto a reservation 183
- Osage river 183, 568
- Osage Indians once lived on..... 183
- Osage township, Miami county..... 555, 567
- Osawatomie 404, 554, 556, 557
559, 560, 561, 562, 568
- asylum for care of insane established at 266
- battle of 555
- celebration of Fourth of July, 1857, with sham battle 555
- Clay county, Mo., men fought at... 381
- Congregational Church, organized by Rev. S. L. Adair 557
- distribution of provisions from the East during famine 571
- fight at 378
- forts erected near, by Buford forces.. 398
- men notified of attempt to capture free Negro 563
- part of Buford's company erect fort near 351
- Saline county, Mo., men fought at... 394
- Osawatomie township 555
- Osborne 466
- Osceola, Mo., Kansas meeting held at... 394
- Oswald, Ernest 589
- Oswaldt family, from Pomerania, Germany 582
- Oswego, N. Y. 210
- Otero county, Colo. 90
- Otero-Bent county line, Colo. 90
- Ott, E. S., pledges money to send southern emigrants to Kansas 347
- Ottawa 3, 233
- Otter creek, a branch of Lyons creek... 508
- Otter Woman 34
- elopes with Black Whiteman, Cheyenne Indian 33
- Ovenshine, Brig. Gen. Samuel 10
- Ovenshine, Emma (Mrs. J. G. Harbord), 10
- Owen, Mary Jane, Shawnee Indian..... 177
- Owl Woman, daughter of White Thunder, becomes Mrs. William Bent..... 46
- death of 47
- Ox teams 421, 530
- average daily mileage made by..... 52
- Ox whip, used to kill rattlesnakes..... 559
- Ox yokes 483

- Oxbows 54
 —coveted by Indians for making bows... 55
 Oxen 51, 52, 55, 483, 485, 489, 490
 512, 549, 550, 556, 559, 561, 568
 570, 571, 572, 584, 585, 589, 592
 —care of, on a journey..... 52, 53
 —stolen by Jayhawkers..... 555, 557
 Oxen and covered wagons bought by col-
 onists 554
 Ozark mountains 93, 101, 524
- P.
- Pacific ocean 63, 188, 369
 Pacific railroad 355
 —Benton regarded as chief protagonist
 of 354
 —David R. Atchison's criticism of Ben-
 ton's activities for..... 354
 —opposition attacked in speech of F. P.
 Blair 367
 —Missouri Democrat quoted concerning,
 367
 —surveys 42, 83
 —various routes for, discussed in con-
 gress 368
 Pacifist doctrine in Kansas..... 20-26
 Pack mules 58
 Pa-co-se-kah, Shawnee Indian..... 178
 Palfrey, Gen. H. W..... 410
 Pallet 551, 552
 Palmer, Capt. Frank G..... 419
 —graduate of State Military School of
 South Carolina 416
 —leads South Carolinians to Kansas, 416,
 417
 Palmer, Paul C..... 481
 Palmetto, laid out by Dr. Albert Morrall,
 417
 Palmetto colony 418, 419
 —end of 417
 —hardships of 417
 —members of 417
 Palmetto company, of South Carolinians,
 fought with proslavery forces at Hick-
 ory Point and at Slough creek..... 417
 —under leadership of Capt. Frank G.
 Palmer, settle in Marshall county..... 417
 Palmetto politicians 447
 Palmyra (Mo.) Sentinel..... 342
 Panama, Thomas H. Benton advocates
 U. S. aid to a railroad in..... 355
 Panama Pacific International Exposition,
 San Francisco 7, 10
 Panics 2, 3
 Paola 190, 473
 —early proslavery stronghold..... 350, 426
 Papascal, a rancho, near St. Jago, Du-
 rango, Mex. 71
 Papers and magazines peddled to officers
 and soldiers at Fort Hays..... 539
 Papin and Roubidoux, Capt. John Gantt
 agent for trading company of..... 45
 Papin, Julia, wife of Benito Vasquez.... 45
 Papoon, Lieut. See Pepoon, Lieut.
 Paposes, with squaws, at battle of Arik-
 aree 542
 Pappan's Ferry, Topeka..... 484, 593
 Paris, France 454, 456, 458, 476, 579
 Park, Andrew 371
 Parke, Lieut. John Grubb, given much
 information by Hatcher, a trader at
 Bent's Fort 57
 —map of, mentioned in Calhoun cor-
 respondence 89, 90, 91
 Parker, Ely S., Commissioner of Indian
 Affairs 170
 Parker, Samuel 37
 Parkman, Francis 57
 —camped at mouth of Short Timber
 creek in 1847..... 90
 Parks, John W., Shawnee Indian..... 178
 Parks, Joseph 180
 Parkville, Mo. 370, 554, 560
- Parkville (Mo.) Luminary..... 344, 355
 —destruction of, by proslavery mob.... 377
 381, 390
 Parkville (Mo.) Southern Democrat..... 344
 Parmenter, Glen 481
 Parole officer at Industrial School for
 Girls 277
 Parr, Cephas William, post scout at Fort
 Hays 540
 Parrish, Dr. Wm..... 481
 Parrott, Anna, first school in Holton
 taught by 593
 Parsons, C. O., state chairman World
 War Veterans of Minnesota..... 475
 Parsons 308, 466, 477
 —free employment bureau established at,
 307
 —hospital for care of insane located at.,
 266
 Party on Middle creek, Miami county,
 562, 563
 Pate, Henry Clay 392
 —border character 392
 —company under leadership of, leaves
 Petersburg, Va., for Kansas..... 425
 Patterson, Mr. — 522
 Patterson, C. J. 480
 Patterson, J. H. 480
 Patterson, James 436
 Patterson, L. J. 415
 Patterson's creek, location of..... 90
 Paul, M. M., Blue Rapids..... 462
 Paupers, Kansas, enumeration of..... 233
 Pawnee, Kiowa chief, killed by Lieut.
 George D. Bayard, of Maj. Sedgwick's
 command, brought on war with younger
 members of Kiowa tribe 43
 Pawnee 591
 —first territorial legislature met at, and
 then adjourned to the Shawnee Manual
 Labor School 591
 Pawnee Fork 50, 51, 52
 —called Red Arm creek by Indians, in
 remembrance of Red Arm, Comanche,
 who was killed in an attack on Bent's
 wagon train 54
 Pawnee hills, location of 89
 Pawnee Indians 182
 —exterminated by war party of Chey-
 ennes and Arapahoes 89
 —Skidi, once lived at mouth of the
 Wabash river 182
 —steal horses from Thunder Bull's band
 of Arapahoes 84
 —surprised by Cheyennes, who kill and
 scalp them 84
 Paxico 573
 Paxton, William McClung, Annals of
 Platte County, Mo..... 389, 390, 450
 Payne, Milton J., mayor of Kansas City,
 Mo., raises men and money to aid
 Sheriff Samuel J. Jones in capturing
 Lawrence 381
 Peabody, David G., of Clinton, Doug-
 las county 550
 Peace between Indian tribes in 1840.... 70
 Peace League movements neutralize pa-
 triotic enthusiasm in Kansas..... 22
 —organizations, catchwords of..... 25
 Peacock, Boyd, Wyandot Indian.... 114, 142
 Peacock, Daniel, Wyandot Indian.... 122, 126
 128, 153, 160, 163
 Peacock, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian, 125, 157
 160, 161, 172
 Peacock, George, Wyandot Indian.... 114
 142, 160
 Peacock, Granville, Wyandot Indian, 114, 142
 Peacock, Isaac, Wyandot Indian..... 160
 Peacock, Isaac, jr., Wyandot Indian.... 125
 157, 161, 169
 Peacock, James, Wyandot Indian.... 122, 126
 153, 160, 163

- Peacock, Margaret B., Wyandot Indian.. 160
 Peacock, Mathew, Wyandot Indian..... 160
 Peacock, Moses, Wyandot Indian... 122, 153
 160, 163
 Peacock, Rosannah, Wyandot Indian, 114, 142
 Peacock, Samuel, Wyandot Indian.. 114, 142
 Peacock, Sarah, Wyandot Indian..... 114
 142, 160
 Peacock's ranch, on Walnut creek..... 43
 Peacocks, taken to Bent's Fort, called
 thunder birds by Indians..... 62
 Peanut, planting of, in Kansas..... 515
 Pearson, Samp, entertainer and fiddler,
 494, 495
Pearson's Magazine 533
 Peck, Lieut. W. G., and Lieut. J. W.
 Albert, left at Bent's Fort by Fre-
 mont to explore the country south of
 the Arkansas river 74
 Peck, Robert M., of Los Angeles, Cal.,
 quoted 43
 Pecos pueblo, ruins of 76
 Pecos river 72, 573, 575, 576
 Pedrick, Mrs. Mary E., became Mrs.
 James H. Carruth 557
 Pedroja, E. E. 481
 Peixotto, Dr. Jessica B. 332, 333
 Pemberton, Lewis H. 378
 Pemiscot county, Mo. 425
 Penal Institutions, Board of..... 237
 Penatekas 42
 Penatethka 42
 Penfield, Dr. —, office of, in old Consti-
 tution Hall, Topeka 593
 Penitentiary. *See* Kansas State Peniten-
 tiary.
 Penn's & Savory's forts..... 41
 Pennsylvania 184, 185, 186, 263, 280
 347, 358, 590, 596
 Pennsylvanians in Kansas in December,
 1854 343
 Peon captives, ransoming of those held
 by Indians, a recognized part of duties
 of all Indian agents in the Southwest,
 Peons, Mexican, captured by William
 Bent's party during march on Santa
 Fe 76
 People's Grand Protective Union of
 Kansas, resolutions against prohibi-
 tion adopted by 229
 —organized by liquor dealers..... 223
 People's National Bank, Kansas City,
 Frank M. Holcomb, president of.... 229
 Pepoon, Lieut. Silas, Tenth U. S. Cav-
 alry, commander of reorganized scouts
 at Fort Wallace..... 546
 Perkins, —, History of Marion county,
 Mo. 445
 Perrin, James M. 414
 Perry, J. D. 539
 Perry, Josiah B. 419
 Perry, Commodore Matthew Calbraith,
 in Japan 29
 Perry, Thomas, Shawnee Indian..... 178
 Pershing, Gen. John J. 11
 —at tomb of Lafayette 456
 —determination of, to assemble Ameri-
 can troops in World War..... 454
 —movement on St. Mihiel long contem-
 plated by 455
 —report on capture of Metz-Lille rail-
 road 456
 —visitor at American Legion convention
 at Kansas City, Mo..... 478
 Pestilence among German settlers in Bes-
 sarabia, Russia 586
 Peters, DeWitt C., Life of Kit Carson,
 36, 37, 44, 45, 46
 —Carson story of, discredited 37
 Peters, Shirley 480
 Petersburg, Va. 424
 —company under Capt. H. C. Pate
 leaves, for Kansas 425
 —Kansas meetings held in 424
 Pettis county, Mo. 373, 374
 —Kansas meetings held in 387
 —people of, not radically proslavery on
 the whole 387
 Pettit, John 597
 —appointed chief justice territorial su-
 preme court 596
 Phares, Dr. W. A., of Wichita..... 460, 461
 463, 465, 466, 467, 469, 470, 479, 480
 —biographical sketch of 457
 —borrows money for use of the Kansas
 American Legion 461
 —portrait of 464
 —presented with badge and silver tea-
 service by Kansas American Legion... 477
 —retirement from leadership of Kansas
 American Legion 471
 Phelan, James 392
 Phelps, Dodge & Co., acquire railroad
 built by Colonel Eddy 575
 Philippine constabulary, organization of, 10
 Phillips, Mrs. J. D. 473
 Picaros, Refugio, record concerning ran-
 soming of 71
 Picking Bones Woman, Cheyenne, wife
 of Charles Ortebee 66
 Pictus cemetery, Paris 456
 Piepenburg, Aaron 479
 Pierce, Pres. Franklin, 335, 355, 369, 426, 434
 Pierce, M. R. 480
 Pierceville 90
 Pike, Albert 392
 —address at New Orleans quoted..... 338
 Pike, Zebulon M., expedition of..... 183
 —found Indians in present Vernon
 county, Mo. 183
 Pike county, Ga., emigrants for Kansas
 from 403
 Pike's Peak country, rush following dis-
 covery of gold in 87
 Pike's stockade, location of 89
 Pilcher, Joshua 45
 Pilcher, William, experience with prairie
 fire 493, 494
 Pilots, service of all those licensed to
 run on Missouri river bought up by
 packet lines 371
 Pinckard, P. M. 384
 Pioneers 500
 —primitive occupations of 501
 —tribals and privations of..... 489, 494
 —tribute to 501
 Pipe, Mrs. —, Wyandot Indian 113
 Pipe, Hannah, Wyandot Indian ... 114, 143
 Pipe, Mrs. Jane, Wyandot Indian 139
 Pipe, John, Wyandot Indian 114, 142
 Pipe, Margaret, Wyandot Indian... 114, 143
 Pipe, Maria, Wyandot Indian..... 114, 142
 Pipe, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 114, 142, 143
 Pipe, Thomas, Wyandot Indian... 114, 143
 Pipe, Winfield, Wyandot Indian... 114, 142
 Pipe, Indian, smokers pass from hand to
 hand until finished 40
 Pistol, double-barreled 554
 Pittsburg 470, 471, 473
 —coal deposits around city of..... 281
 —great coal strike in mining district of,
 during winter of 1919 468
 —second annual convention of Kansas
 American Legion held at 466, 470
 —State Manual Training Normal School
 located at 244
 Placer mining 590
 Plains, great 29
 —rich in wild game 483
 —roamed by nomadic Indians 483
 Plains Indians, meeting to effect a treaty
 with 527
 Planter's hotel, Leavenworth 502

- Platte, territory of 189
Platte Argus 390, 411, 426
 Platte City, Mo. 358, 364, 370, 435
 Platte county, Mo. 352, 355, 374
 385, 430, 450
 —Atehison organized by citizens of 350
 —free speech abhorrent to proslavery
 men of 390
 —heavy emigration to Kansas from 389
 —many slaves within its confines 388
 —practically all leading men who went to
 Kansas from, elected to Kansas legisla-
 ture in 1855 389
 Platte County Emigrant Aid Society,
 organized at Platte City, Mo. 390
 Platte county resolutions 344
 Platte County Self-defensive Association,
 date of organization and purposes of, 388
 —passing of 390
 Platte purchase 183
 Platte river 31, 41, 42, 46, 49, 59
 63, 74, 84, 87, 89, 334
 —Arapahoe Indians raid south of 31
 —marauding north of 525
 —Omahas and Ponkas settle near mouth
 of 183
 —region between, to Little Arkansas, to
 be abandoned by Indians, by terms of
 treaty of 1865 529
 Plattsburg, Mo. 382
 Playgrounds for schools 254
 Plevna river 580, 584
 Pilley, A. J., Arikaree scout, volunteers to
 go to Fort Wallace for reinforcements, 536
 Plotsk, Bessarabia, Russia 579, 585
 586, 587, 588
 —established by Germans 584
 —illustration of Lutheran church at 584
 Plow, breaking 559
 —wooden 584
 Plows, old and modern 550
 Plum thickets 498
 Plumb, Preston B. 450
 Plums 522
 —and choke cherries gathered and dried
 for winter's use by Cheyenne Indians, 69
 Pocha-naw-quoip (Buffalo Hump), third
 chief of Penatekas 42
 Poche-he-qua Heip (Buffalo Hump) 42
 Poe, Washington 402
 Pogatschuff, a robber chieftain in north-
 ern Russia 580
 Poindexter, Clarence H., Kansas City 462
 466, 467, 469
 Point of Rocks, on upper Arkansas, loca-
 tion of 90
 —perhaps identical with Apache Stone
 Bluff 91
 Point of Rocks, N. M. 89
 Poison, restrictions regarding sale of, to
 minors 250
 Politics, Kansas uncertain in 19
 Polk county, Mo. 383, 450
 —activities in, during the Kansas trou-
 bles 387
 Pollard, William, home pillaged by Chey-
 enne Indians 491
 Polygamists of Salt Lake 357
 Pomerania, Germany 579, 582
 Pomeroy, J. F. 593, 595
 Pond creek, name applied to upper
 branch of Wild Horse creek 90
 Ponds, siphoned empty by Rock Island
 Railroad for use south of Liberal 576
 Ponies, used by Indians to transport be-
 longings 531
 Ponka Indians, cross Missouri river and
 settle near mouth of Platte river 183
 Poor, care of 256
 Poor (Lean) Bear, Apache chief 42
 Pooser, Dr. — 418
 Pope, Gen. John, letter to Secretary of
 the Interior Harlan regarding Indians
 on the Little Arkansas 528, 529
 Population of Kansas, statistics 280
 Populism, wave of, in Kansas 19
 Porcupine, Betsy, Wyandot Indian 115, 143
 Porcupine, John, Wyandot Indian 115, 143
 Porcupine, one of totemic animals of
 Wyandots 97
 —People of 97
 —quilled buckskin garments worn by
 trappers 56
 —quills 40
 Porcupine Bull, Southern Cheyenne 47
 —statement relative to first meeting of
 the Cheyennes and Bent brothers 31
 —tells of use of adobe brick in construc-
 tion of Bent's Fort 32
 Porter, Hall and, drug store of 519
 Porterfield, Sarah (Mrs. Geo. W. Greever),
 death of 230
 Portneuf river 46
 Posey, Mr. —, men enrolled for Kan-
 sas under direction of 415
 Postal Telegraph Co. 319
 Potatoes 483, 510, 514, 566, 580, 584
 Pottawatomie Indians 189
 —Capt. Gant trading among, in 1839 45
 —Prairie band of, lands of, mapped 105
 —village 45
 Pottawatomie river 566, 568, 571
 Potts, Gov. Benjamin F. 590
 Powell, John 392
 Powell, John L. 396
 Powell, W. E. 392
 Prairie 489, 492, 497, 529
 541, 555, 560, 563, 578
 —breaking of 281, 550, 588
 Prairie (Jicarilla) Apaches 47, 61, 69, 70, 84
 —called William Bent "Roman Nose" 31
 —outbreak of smallpox among 85
 —ranged with the Kiowas 85
 Prairie chickens 494, 497, 570
 Prairie dogs 17
 —hunted for food by besieged scouts at
 Beecher Island 537
 Prairie fires 492, 502, 503, 508
 —amusing incident concerning 493
 —backfiring to protect against 511
 —methods of fighting 492
 Prairie schooner 484
 Prairie township, Wyandotte county 105
 Pratt 466
 —secures line of C. R. I. & P. railroad 574
 Pratt county, troubles between Iuka,
 Saratoga and Pratt 574
 Pratte, B., & Co., St. Louis merchants 49
 Prayer, called for by Col. Forsyth during
 Arikaree fight 534
 Prentiss, O. D. 417
 Presby, Mr. and Mrs. 220
 Presbyterian church, Holton 593
 Prescott family, lived near Osawatimie 555
 President, Prohibition candidate for, votes
 received in Kansas in election of 1874, 210
 Preston, Andrew 424
 Preston, H. D., member Wyandotte con-
 stitutional convention 199
 Prewett, R. T. 436
 Price, Major Ebenezer, in command of
 Clay county, Mo., men, seize govern-
 ment arsenal at Liberty, Mo. 381
 Price, Maj. John G. 380
 Price, John M. 292
 Price, Prof. —, of Missouri State Uni-
 versity 374
 Price, Gen. Sterling 74, 77, 374, 375
 —takes Taos pueblo by storm 79
 Price, William C. 188, 383
 —opposed to Wyandots settling at forks
 of the Kansas and Missouri rivers 187

Priest, Frank	480
Prigg, Frank F., judge district court of Reno county, holds Industrial Welfare Commission act constitutional	312
Prince, L. Bradford, Concise History of New Mexico	46, 57
Prisoners, Mexican, captured by party under William Bent during march on Santa Fe	76
Private institutions, law passed by legis- lature of Kansas for inspection of	237
Probation officers, duties of	263, 275, 276
Prohibition, The Coming of, to Kansas, by Clara Francis, librarian Kansas State Historical Society	192
—The Genesis of, or, How "The Woman Whom Thou Gavest to Be With Me" Did It, by Grant W. Harrington	228
—organizing for the election	220
—review of forces that helped	217
Prohibition clubs, organized for work in Kansas	222
Prohibitory amendment, attempts to dis- credit and defeat	223
—Kansas first state to incorporate, in her constitution	192
—total vote for and against	226
Prophet, Catherine, Shawnee Indian	178
Proslavery Aid Association, formed at Liberty, Mo.	381
Proslavery convention, held at Lexing- ton, Mo., 1855	366
Proslavery Emigration Aid Society, or- ganization of, at Weston, Mo.	391
Proslavery men, attack home of Joseph Gardner, in Douglas county	552
—colonization of, agitated for Kansas	379
—from Missouri, decide first Kansas elec- tion	591
—in Kansas, outnumbered by free-state men	419
—proposed to organize for self pro- tection	392
—kill Napoleon Simpson, Negro, de- fending home of Joseph Gardner	552
—pushing into Texas and California	443
—reported that 1,000 had been driven out of Kansas between April and August, 1856	347
—under Hamelton shoot free-state set- tlers	555
Proslavery party in Kansas becomes the national Democracy	429, 432
Prostitution, punishment for those dis- posing of females under eighteen for purposes of	262
Protestant Orphan Asylum, Leavenworth	257
Prowers, Colo., Bent's New Fort, located near site of present	85
Przemysl, Germans from Poland settle at	583
Pruth river	580
Public domain	438
Public Lands, Political History of	450
Public Protection of the Health of Mothers and Children	249
Pueblo, Colo.	29, 31, 44, 49, 57, 59 67, 74, 84, 89, 90, 91, 527
—date of founding	67
—location of	89
—Mormon women and children and weaker men spend winter of 1846-47 at, —stockade built by the Bents and St. Vrain at	29
Pueblo de San Carlos	89
Pueblo Indian scouts	76
Pueblo Indians	48, 80
—blankets of	65

Pueblo Indians, chief of, killed during attack on Turley's mill at Arroyo Hondo	79
—Mexicanized	77
—scalps of, brought in by war party	84
—with Mexicans, murder Gov. Charles Bent	78
Puerto de Luna	575, 576
Pulver, John	171
Pumpkin, Hollna, Shawnee Indian	177
Pumpkin, Jane, Shawnee Indian	177
Pumpkin, John, Shawnee Indian	177
Pumpkin, Louisa, Shawnee Indian	177
Pumpkin pies	519
Punch, Eliza, Wyandot Indian	113, 122 143, 160, 164
Punch, Elliott, Wyandot Indian	126
Punch, George, Wyandot Indian	160
Punch, John, Wyandot Indian	122, 153 160, 171
Punch, Margaret, Wyandot Indian	115
—	126, 128, 143
Punch, Margaret, jr., Wyandot Indian	115
—	126, 143
Punch, Margaret B., Wyandot Indian	122
—	153, 160, 164
Punch, Mrs. Susan, Wyandot Indian	160
Punch, Thomas, Wyandot Indian	115
—	126, 143
Punch, Thomas, sr., Wyandot Indian	160
Punch, Thomas, jr., Wyandot Indian	160
Purgatoire river. See Purgatory river.	
Purgatory river	31, 36, 72, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91
—Bent Brothers and Cheyennes first met at mouth of	31
—Bent's second stockade located near mouth of	30
—formerly the Rio de las Animas	68
—known to Cheyennes as "Difficult River to Cross"	90
—short history of	90
Putnam, Antoinette Brigham (Mrs. Isaac Stevens Metcalf)	457

Q.

Quail	494, 497
Quaker doctrine of nonresistance preached in Kansas	21
Quantrill, William Clark	2, 201
Quantrill raid	488
Quapaw agency, George Wright inter- preter at	94
Quapaw Indians	94
—derivation of name	183
Quarreling creek, name applied to Apishpa creek by Cheyenne	89
—George Bent quoted regarding origin of name	90
Quillwork, hunting shirts of trappers decorated with	40
Quincy, Ill.	502
Quindaro town site	185
Quinine	492
—prescribed for ague	556
Quinn, —	393
Quitman, Gen. John Anthony	392, 412

R.

Rabbits	497, 521
Rader, Mrs. A. F.	473
Radicalism	467
Radke, August	588
Radke, John	588
Radke, Samuel	587
Radke family	582, 598
Raff, Hiram	217
Railroad, agitation for construction of one from Missouri river to the Pacific ocean	188
—building and grading, Union Pacific	538

- Railroad, building in Kansas, views of a
North Carolinian regarding..... 369
—in Missouri, compared with other
states..... 20
—wildcat schemes..... 281
—facilities, lack of, in early Kansas days,
—from Missouri river to Pacific ocean,
meeting in interest of central route
held in council house of Wyandot na-
tion in 1853..... 189
—land grants in Minnesota..... 339
Railroad commissioners..... 4
Railroads..... 583
—carried Kansas emigrants from the
South free..... 444
—more miles of, constructed in free states
than in slave states..... 358
Railway to the Pacific..... 446
Rain, in Kansas..... 509
—lack of, caused famine in Kansas..... 566
567, 588
—plenty in 1871..... 512
Rainbow, tradition concerning..... 100
Raines, Judge Oscar..... 597
Ramp, W. F..... 481
Ramsey, Margaret, married George Adair, 557
Randolph Citizen, Huntsville, Mo., 377, 379
384, 385, 391, 393, 396, 397
399, 403, 425, 438, 442, 449
—protest against action of Huntsville
citizens..... 392
—quoted regarding Kansas..... 345
Randolph county, Mo..... 374, 392
—company raised in, sent to Kansas..... 393
Range, settlers and herd law wipe out, 498
Rankin, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
Rankin, Hannah, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
Rankin, Isaac, Wyandot Indian..... 115, 143
Rankin, Samuel, Wyandot Indian..... 115, 143
Rappahannock county, Va..... 424
Rasperry..... 484, 515
Rath, Charley, scout, a partner of Bob
Wright, at Dodge City..... 528
Ratibor, Silesia..... 583
Raton mountains..... 57, 575
Raton Pass, N. Mex..... 76
Rattlesnake..... 514, 515, 559
Rau, Dorothea, becomes Mrs. Christian
Morgenstern..... 582
Rawlins, Owen..... 384
Ray, Orman P., Repeal of the Missouri
Compromise..... 335, 450
Ray county, Mo..... 373, 374, 430
—company formed to go to Kansas..... 394
—Kansas meeting held in..... 393
—Virginians settle in..... 425
Rayado ranch..... 57, 65
Recreation places provided for school chil-
dren..... 254
Red Arm, Comanche, killed in attack on
Bent's wagon train at Pawnee Fork... 54
Red Bluff, near Mustang creek, in Indian
territory..... 42
Red Cross..... 26
Red Deer Creek..... 42
Red Earth river, Fountain river known
to Spaniards by name of..... 89
Red flag wavers..... 466
Red Ochre river, name Spaniards applied
to Fountain river..... 89
Red river..... 351
Red Shin, Cheyenne Indian, fight with
others of his tribe over a woman.... 83
Red Shin's Standing-ground, name ap-
plied to upper end of Big Timbers by
Cheyenne Indians..... 83, 84, 91
Red Skin..... 84
Red willow, mixed with tobacco by In-
dians for smoking..... 91
Red Willow creek..... 91
Redbud..... 510
Redelsberger, David..... 589
Redmon, R. R..... 480
Redpath, James, estimate of number of
Platte county, Mo., people, who were
in favor of the admission of Kansas as
a free state..... 391
Reed, George W., editor *Kansas State
Journal*..... 224
Reeder, Gov. Andrew H..... 434
—attitude of the South towards..... 426
—branded as an abolitionist..... 426
—extract from message to legislature of
1855, pertaining to liquor, quoted.... 193
—land speculations of, given as a reason
for removal..... 426
—tendered a public dinner by the Platte
County Self-defensive Association, which
he declined..... 426
Reese, Amos..... 390
Reform schools..... 272
Reform ticket, in Kansas, 1876, insignif-
icant vote of..... 211
Registration of births and deaths..... 252
Reichert, Michael..... 589
Reid, Aquila J..... 597
Reid, H..... 597
Reid, Gen. John W., desertions from army
of..... 383
—failure of, to sack Lawrence over pro-
test of Gov. Geary, ridiculed by south-
ern press..... 447
—formerly of Saline county, Mo..... 394
—leads Platte county, Mo., men against
John Brown in Kansas..... 391
Reimann family..... 583
Religion, footnote concerning..... 94
Religious Conceptions of the Modern
Hurons, a paper read before the Mis-
sissippi Valley Historical Association at
its fifteenth annual meeting, Iowa City,
May 11, 1922, by William E. Con-
nelley..... 92
Remington, Mrs. J. B..... 557
Renegade whites with Indians at
Beecher Island..... 533
Rener family..... 589
Reni, Roumania..... 580, 587
Reno county, C. R. I. & P. offered bonds
to build line of road through..... 574
—voted bonds to aid in construction of
the Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska rail-
way..... 578
Report of the special committee appointed
to investigate troubles in Kansas.... 449
Republic Building, Kansas City, Mo..... 461
Republican party..... 210
—formation of..... 190
—in Kansas, refuses to incorporate pro-
hibition plank in platform of..... 225
—platform, plank advocating enactment
of law limiting hours of labor for
women..... 316
—state convention, 1874, indorsement of
temperance principles in platform
adopted by..... 209
Republican river..... 503, 581
—scouts camped on, during return to Ft.
Wallace..... 545
—valley, Cheyenne Indians visited for
winter's supply of choke cherries and
plums..... 69
Resner, Andrew..... 588
Resner family..... 582, 583
Resources, natural, in Kansas..... 281
Revere, Paul..... 493
Revolutionary War..... 95
Revolvers..... 483, 487, 499, 551, 558
Reynolds, A. E., presents site of Bent's
old fort to Daughters of the American
Revolution as a public park..... 90

- Reynolds, E. B., of Indiana, inaugurates blue ribbon temperance movement in Lawrence in 1877 212
- Reynolds, J. C. 392
- Reynolds papers, in Jefferson Memorial Library, St. Louis, Mo. 354, 447
- Rheims, France 476
- Forty-second division, A. E. F., fighting east of 454
- Rhine river 26
- Rhode Island 347
- percentage of women prisoners in 310
- Rhodes, C. H., a Kansas historian 436
- The Significance of Kansas History 436
- Rhodes, James Ford, History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 .. 345, 398, 405, 433, 435, 448, 450
- Rice, Major B. H. 415
- Rice, Ibban J. 415
- Rice, J. H. 218, 220, 221
- Rice, Dr. Richard B. 419
- Rich, Fred 481
- Richards, Wallace 481
- Richardson, Rev. A. M., of Lawrence 225
- Richardson, F. X. 392
- Richardson, William A., bill for organization of Nebraska territory, introduced in Congress by 189
- Richardson bill, for organization of Nebraska territory, failure of 189
- Richfield Enterprise 376, 449
- Richfield Monitor 449
- Richland, Kan., A. R. Greene postmaster of 2
- Richland, S. C., men from, start for Kansas 418
- Richmond, Mo., Kansas meeting held in 393, 394
- Richmond, Va. 398, 424, 440
- citizens of, leave for Kansas 424
- Kansas meeting held in 425
- organization called "Friends of Kansas" formed at 424
- Richmond Dispatch 424
- Richmond Enquirer, quoted 440
- Richmond Enterprise 382
- Richmond South 428
- Richmond Weekly Mirror 369, 379
- 393, 394, 449
- Richmond Whig 424, 425
- quoted regarding the Lecompton constitution 437
- Riddle, Caroline (Mrs. Frank Doster) 525
- Ridgeway, R. 392
- Riding contests 11
- Rieder, Alexander J., of Kansas City 463
- 465, 466, 467, 469, 371
- Rifle pits connected by trenches 536
- Rifles 339, 483, 488, 555, 558
- used by Indians at battle of Arikaree, 534, 535
- Riggs, Samuel A. 292
- Riley, Maj. Bennet 31
- Ringgold, Ga. 404
- Rink, Mary (Mrs. David J. Craik) 334
- Rio Almagre (Red Ochre or Red Earth river) 89
- Rio de Las Animas 68
- Rio de Las Animas Perdides, Spanish name for Purgatory river 90
- Rio del Norte 71
- Rio Don Carlos, short history of 89
- Rio Grande 525
- Rio Huerfana, short history of 89
- Rio San Carlos 68
- short history of 89
- Ritchie, Col. John 598, 599
- member Wyandotte constitutional convention 199
- Riveley, M. P., store on Salt creek, near Fort Leavenworth 352, 389
- Rivers, Wyandot tradition concerning 100
- Robb, George S., of Salina 462
- Robber bands, German settlers in Bessarabia troubled by 586
- recruited from the three banate, and remained when the Germans came 581
- Roberts, David 381
- Roberts, Rev. J. 63
- Roberts, Major L. B. 451
- Roberts, "Judge" R. G., of Fort Scott, canvassed southwest Missouri in behalf of proslavery party in Kansas 383
- Robertson, David G. 7
- Robertson, Thompson & Bodington 457
- Robes, bales of, unloaded on levee at Westport for transportation to St. Louis by steamboat 54
- trade in 56, 58
- Robinson, Mr. —, of Boone County, Mo. 379
- Robinson, B. F., commissioner for the United States in awarding lands in severalty to Wyandot tribe 106, 119
- 125, 158, 159
- Robinson, Gov. Charles 343, 435, 450
- debates prohibition question at Bismarck Grove, Lawrence 225
- Robinson, D. A., engineer of the track-laying outfit of the Rock Island, makes unusual record 577
- pulled Golden State Limited from Dahlart to Liberal, 112 miles, in 105 minutes 577
- tribute to 577
- Robinson, R. H. 436
- Robinson, W. C. 480
- Robitaille, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
- Robitaille, James, Wyandot Indian 115, 143
- Robitaille, Mary Ann, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
- Robitaille, Robert, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
- Robitaille, Robert Walford, Wyandot Indian 115, 143
- Robitaille, Rosalie, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
- Robitaille family, Wyandot Indians 185
- Robley, T. F., History of Bourbon County to the Close of 1865 342, 351, 450
- Rock, quarried by Negroes in Douglas county 550, 552
- Rock creek, Douglas county 549
- Rock Island, Ill. 368, 450
- Rock People, or Arendahronon, one of Huron confederation 92
- Rocky Ford, Colo. 90
- famous for its melons 68
- Rocky Mountain Fur Company 63, 64
- Carson joins 37
- trapping brigades of, break up about 1838 and go to Oregon, California and other places 37, 63
- Rocky Mountains 189, 366
- Rocroft, —, father of Sam, received one peck of shelled corn 568
- homestead of, joined Harris homestead on the west 560
- Rocroft, Miss —, sister of Sam Rocroft 562, 563
- Rocroft, Mark, and family 560
- Rocroft, Sam, accompanied H. J. Harris on trip to mill 570, 571
- attended party with his sister and others 562, 563
- report of teams loaded with corn, 567, 568
- sang songs and told stories 569
- Rocroft, Sarah, asked aid to kill wolf in her father's chicken yard 560
- Roe, Richard 341
- Rogers, Betsy, Shawnee Indian 178
- Rogers, David, Shawnee Indian 178

- Rogers, Elizabeth, Shawnee Indian..... 178
 Rogers, Graham, Shawnee Indian..... 193
 Rogers, Henry Foxall, Shawnee Indian.. 179
 Rogers, General Jackson, Shawnee Indian, 178, 179
 Rogers, Polly, Shawnee Indian..... 178
 Rogers, Sally, Shawnee Indian..... 179
 Rogers, Susan, Shawnee Indian..... 179
 Rogers, William, Shawnee Indian..... 193
 Rogers, Wilson, Shawnee Indian..... 178
 Rolfs, E. W..... 471, 476, 477
 Rolla, Mo..... 524, 525
 Rollins, Maj. James S., of Missouri..... 340
 367, 375, 377, 447
 —opposed to David R. Atchison..... 358
 Roman Catholic Church, adherents among
 the Wyandots..... 93, 94
 Roman military colonies..... 374
 Roman Nose, bugle belonging to, blown
 by Nibsi, white renegade..... 533
 —Cheyenne chief, commanded Indians at
 battle of Beecher Island..... 492
 —name given William Bent by certain
 Indian tribes..... 31
 Romantic Growth of a Law Court, by
 James H. Lowell, an address delivered
 upon the occasion of the dedication
 of the court room in the new Jackson
 county courthouse, Holton, Kan., Sept.
 1, 1921..... 590
 Roosevelt, Theodore..... 21
 —Rough Riders in Cuba..... 21
 Roosevelt, Theodore, jr..... 459, 463
 —commanded his regiment in Argonne bat-
 tle in which he was severely wounded,
 —trip made through the United States at
 own expense in interest of the Amer-
 ican Legion..... 465
 —visit to Kansas..... 465
 —with A. E. F. in France..... 465
 Root, Frank A., Overland Stage to Cali-
 fornia..... 85
 Root, Dr. J. P..... 201
 Rope..... 483
 Rosedale..... 319, 483
 Rosenfeld, Bessarabia..... 579
 Ross, B. F., of Macon, Ga..... 402
 Ross, William..... 392
 Rosser, F. H..... 392
 Rosser, Col. Thomas H., of Petersburg,
 Va..... 424
 —arrival of company of, at Westport,
 Mo..... 425
 Rosser company, took active part in
 border troubles and soon had enough, 425
 Rotary clubs..... 465
 Roubidoux, Papin and, trading company
 of..... 45
 Rouett, Maj. Henry L., of Clay and La-
 fayette counties, Mo..... 379, 384, 393
 Rough Riders, Roosevelt's, in Cuba..... 21
 —Second volunteer regiment of..... 10
 Roumania..... 580, 587
 —ally of France during Crimean War..... 581
 —under Turkish sovereignty..... 581
 Roy, D. C., Osborne..... 466, 467, 480
 Royalton, Ohio..... 205
 Rubles, paper and silver, value of..... 585
 Rucker, J. S..... 392
 Ruel, Lavoise..... 49
 Rufians and Indians, wives and children
 often at mercy of, while men are away, 489
 Rule creek, location of..... 91
 Ruppenthal, Jacob C..... 480, 579
Rural Spirit, Portland, Ore..... 7
 Rush, W. M..... 384
 Rusling, Gen. James F., description of
 Kit Carson..... 37
 Russell, Col. W. H..... 360, 378
 Russell..... 461, 582, 587, 588
 Russell county..... 211, 587
 —German settlers in..... 581, 588, 589
Russell Record..... 579
 Russia..... 579, 581, 583, 584, 585, 587
 Russian bolsheviks..... 23
 Russians..... 579, 580
 Rust, Albert..... 392
 Rutherford, Lucien B..... 480
 Rutland, J. M..... 414
 Rutland, Mass..... 28
 Ruxton, George Frederick..... 57, 61, 64, 67, 84
 —account of attack on Turley's mill
 quoted..... 79, 80, 81
 —the English traveler, reached Bent's
 Fort in 1847..... 51
 Ryan, Ernest A..... 478, 480
 Rye, Kansas, statistics of production..... 282
 Ryland, E. M..... 371
- S.
- Sabin, Edwin L..... 46, 57, 61, 65
 Sacagawea, Bird Woman, accompanied
 Lewis and Clark expedition..... 62
 —date and place of death..... 63
 Saddle blankets, used to make wounded
 scouts comfortable during Arikaree
 fight..... 535
 Saddlebags..... 540
 Saddles used for pillows..... 532
 Safford, Judge Jacob..... 597
 Sage, Rufus B..... 45, 49, 50, 52, 57
 60, 64, 72, 89, 90
 Sage creek..... 89
 St. Bartholomew's parish, S. C., meeting
 held in, to raise funds for aiding the
 southern cause in Kansas..... 419
 St. Bernard parish, La., money for the
 Kansas propaganda raised in..... 410, 411
 St. Clair county, Mo., Kansas meeting
 held at Osceola..... 394
 St. Jago, Durango, Mex..... 71
 St. James, —, partner of St. Vrain
 in store in Denver..... 81
 St. John, Gov. John P..... 217, 218, 221
 223, 224, 226, 228
 —candidacy for governor..... 212, 213
 —extract from message as governor on
 subject of temperance..... 213
 —identified with the temperance move-
 ment since coming to the state..... 212
 —member state senate, 1874..... 74
 —State Temperance Union charged with
 using its funds to help the campaign
 of..... 225
 St. Joseph, Mo., 372, 484, 502, 551, 573, 574
 —Kansas Association formed in..... 379
 St. Joseph & Iowa Railroad Company,
 leases the Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska
 Railway, a Kansas corporation..... 573
St. Joseph Cycle..... 379
St. Joseph Gazette..... 344, 376
St. Joseph Journal quoted..... 431
 St. Louis, Mo..... 29, 45, 46
 49, 51, 59, 62, 66, 71, 354, 357
 366, 393, 396, 397, 398, 405, 407, 416
 423, 450, 457, 458, 524, 529, 549, 554
 —American Legion caucus held at..... 459
 461, 462
 —convention..... 459, 465
 —base of supplies for Bent brothers and
 St. Vrain..... 30
 —decided free-state stand taken by city
 of..... 353, 365
 —determination of, to secure the termi-
 nus of the Pacific railroad..... 367
 —Georgia emigrants for Kansas arrive at, 402
 —he'd to account for border outrages... 370
 —Jefferson Memorial Library..... 334
 —meeting held at, to condemn border
 lawlessness and raise funds for relief
 of victims of..... 371

- St. Louis, Mo., Mercantile Library Association 29, 334
- merchants (called upon to break the combine of the river packets 372
- retarded by slavery agitation in Missouri 362
- southern settlers arriving at, for Kansas 346
- trade of Kansas looked forward to... 365
- wrath of, against D. R. Atchison for his hostility to the Central railroad route 368
- St. Louis & Western Railroad 372
- St. Louis county, Mo. 390
- St. Louis Evening News* 342, 344
- 353, 362, 366, 370, 372, 373, 374, 385
- 386, 387, 389, 394, 398, 401, 404, 406
- 420, 421, 422, 425, 436, 437, 446, 449
- editorial opinion regarding abolitionists and slave sympathizers 341
- quoted regarding Kentucky 409
- St. Louis Historical Society 29
- St. Louis Intelligencer* 335, 344, 346
- 347, 350, 358, 360, 361, 370, 371
- 372, 387, 388, 391, 393, 394, 396
- 397, 399, 409, 410, 411, 413, 421
- 422, 423, 425, 433, 443, 444, 449
- St. Mihiel, France, American forces employed during battle of 454, 455
- St. Nazaire, France 453
- St. Paul, Minn. 368
- St. Peter, Mary, Wyandot Indian, 115, 144
- St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, Leavenworth 257
- St. Vrain, Bent & 50, 72
- St. Vrain, Col. Ceran 30, 33, 45, 50
- 51, 52, 56, 57, 68
- active in business and politics in New Mexico 81
- business activities of, after leaving firm of Bent & St. Vrain 50
- called Black Beard by Cheyennes 31
- colonel of First New Mexican cavalry, 50
- company of trappers and traders of, storm Indian pueblo at Taos 61
- date and place of death 88
- forms partnership with Bent brothers, 29
- goats taken to Bent's Fort by 62
- goods taken to Taos sold at a sacrifice, 49
- length of time connected with the Bents 48
- married daughter of Judge Beaubien.. 50
- mills of, near Taos, New Mex. 50
- never in charge of Bent's Fort 49
- portrait of 34
- withdrew as partner of William Bent after 1850 50
- St. Vrain, James de, a native of French Flanders 48
- St. Vrain, Marcelline or Marcellus.. 48, 49
- had Pawnee wife 49
- in charge at Fort St. Vrain on South Platte river 46, 48
- known to Cheyennes as Marcelline 57
- settled on ranch near mouth of Fountain creek near present Pueblo 49
- St. Vrain, Mrs. Marcelline, family of... 49
- known to Cheyennes as Tall Pawnee Woman 49
- St. Vrain's Fork, tributary of South Platte river 48
- St. Vrain's Fort. *See* Fort St. Vrain.
- Salem Gazette*, quoted 365, 366
- Salem Observer* 345
- Salina 214, 216, 308, 462
- 473, 475, 478, 504, 538
- free employment bureau established at, 307
- headquarters of the Nonpartisan League in Kansas located at 473
- Post No. 62, Kansas American Legion, issues protest stating that Townsley and his paid organizers of Nonpartisan League are unwelcome guests in 474
- Saline county, Mo. 374, 430, 450
- Kansas meeting held in and settlers for Kansas furnished by 394
- Saline river, encampment of scouts on... 540
- Salisbury, H. T. 480
- Saloon, women's crusade against 209
- Salt and flour, high in price and hard to get 489
- Salt in Kansas 281
- Salt creek, near Leavenworth on Fort Riley road 352
- Kentucky emigrants settle on 406
- Squatters' meeting held at Riveley's store 389
- Salvation Army 26
- Samuel, Frank E. 466, 467, 469
- 470, 471, 481
- department adjutant, Kansas American Legion, appointed secretary 465
- portrait of 467
- Samuel, William R. 393
- San Antonio Texan*, prediction of, that that part of Texas would be free state in its political and social complexion... 423
- Sanborn, Gen. John R., meets Wichita Indians to make treaty with 528
- report to Gen. John Pope relative to his agreement with Indians 529
- San Carlos 57
- San Carlos and Greenhorn Trail 89
- Sand, trenches dug in, for protection of Arikaree scouts against Indians 534
- 535, 543
- Sand creek, or Big Sandy 57
- regular camping place for wagon trains and parties going up or down the Arkansas river 91
- short sketch of 91
- Sand Creek Commission 47
- Sand creek massacre 58
- Cheyennes and Arapahoes slaughtered at, in 1864 87
- New Mexican scouts at 66
- Sand hills 48
- Sanders, Mrs. D. W. 473
- Sandoval, Diego 72
- Sandoval, Fowler (Paulo) 71
- San Fernando, N. Mex. 48, 50
- San Fernando de Taos 77
- Sanitary conditions of working classes, 287, 288
- San Miguel, N. M. 76
- San Mihiel, France 27
- Santa Ana, Gen. Antonio López de, issues decree at Tacubaya, in 1843, forbidding all trade between New Mexico and the United States 74
- Santa Fe, Mo. (*See, also*, "Little Santa Fe") 382
- Santa Fe, N. Mex. 36, 46, 49, 51, 59, 60, 64
- 73, 74, 75, 76, 81, 85, 483, 527
- American flag raised over governor's palace, date of 76
- cannon from, taken to Bent's Fort... 39
- caravan for 33
- colonists from, settle on Adobe creek, near Pueblo, Colo. 68
- market for American trappers 32
- trade for, looked after by Charles Bent, 48
- traders encamped at Bent's Fort at outbreak of Mexican war 74
- train for, attacked in 1829 31
- workmen from, help build Bent's Fort, 32
- Santa Fe Trail 15, 46, 488, 530, 574
- Eleventh Indiana cavalry saw service on, after close of Civil War 524
- Indian attacks along, in 1865 525
- Mountain branch of, known as Bent's Fort Trail 90
- noted points touched by 483

- Santa Fe Trail, plans of Snively to at-
 tack Mexican trains on..... 73
 —surveyed by the government..... 483
 Santa Rosa, N. Mex..... 576, 577
 Sarahass, Jane, Wyandot Indian.... 115, 143
 Sarahass, John, Wyandot Indian.... 115, 143
 —George Wright and Irvin P. Long,
 deposition regarding certain members
 of the Wyandot tribe..... 160, 161
 Sarahass, Lucy, Wyandot Indian.... 115, 143
 Sarahass, Margaret, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
 Sarahass, Richard, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
 Sarahass, Susan, Wyandot Indian.... 115, 143
 Sarahass, Thomas, Wyandot Indian, 115, 143
 Sarahass, Wesley, Wyandot Indian.... 115, 143
 Sarata, Bessarabia..... 579
 Saratoga, Pratt county..... 574
 Sar-star-ra-tse, highest known office in
 Wyandot political system..... 95
 Saratov, Russia..... 580
 Satank, Indian chief..... 43
 Saturday Night Club, Topeka..... 482
 Savannah, Ga..... 444, 445
 —Kansas meeting held in..... 403
Savannah (Ga.) Daily Morning News... 403
Savannah Georgian..... 443
 —quoted..... 402
Savannah (Ga.) Republican..... 402, 406
 Sawmills in Kansas..... 283
 Scalp dance, held in front of Bent's trad-
 ing houses..... 84
 Scalp shirt, worn by Little Old Man,
 Cheyenne Indian..... 47
 Scharton, Ernest..... 590
 Schell, Ludwig..... 589
 Schlechter family, from Bavaria..... 584
 Schneider, Henry..... 589
 Schneider, William..... 589
 School, first in Holton, taught by Anna
 Parrott..... 593
 —first on Washington creek, Douglas
 county, taught by Miss Gardner..... 548
 —terms, minimum length of..... 248
 Schoolhouse..... 584
 —brought to Kansas by the Kentucky
 Kansas Association..... 406
 —log, description of..... 497
 School Text Book Commission. *See*
 Kansas State School Book Commission.
 Schools, consolidation of..... 246
 —English required to be taught in all
 public and parochial..... 249
 —part-time..... 332
 —primitive..... 1
 —provisions for territorial..... 242, 243
 Schwandt, —, from Posen, German
 Poland..... 582
 Schwandt, William, settled at Russell in
 1878..... 587
 Scorpions..... 576
 Scott, Charles F., The Discovery and
 Development of Natural Gas in Kan-
 sas, cited..... 282, 333
 Scott, Dr. J. R..... 481
 Scott, Sam, proslavery man, hung to
 tree in sight of his home by armed
 men..... 566
 Scott county, Kentucky, company of
 sharpshooters equipped in, for Kansas, 408
 Scout creek, east of Denver, William
 Bent had trading house at..... 84
 Scouts, at Fort Hays, carry dispatches
 between posts..... 539
 —called in council by Colonel Forsyth.. 536
 —casualties of..... 535, 543, 546
 —charge upon haymakers, mistaken for
 Indians..... 541
 —Colonels Carpenter and Bankhead go
 to relief of..... 545
 —Donovan and Stillwell go to Fort Wal-
 lace seeking relief..... 537, 538
 Scouts, in Arikaree battle, burial ground
 of Indians raided by, for souvenirs... 546
 —number serving under Colonel Forsyth,
 530, 543
 —pay of..... 540
 —relief of..... 537, 538, 544
 —reorganization of, at Fort Wallace,
 with Lieut. Repon commander..... 546
 —scarcity of food after departure of In-
 dians in Arikaree battle..... 544, 545
 —subsist on meat cut from dead horses,
 536, 537, 543
 —three members frightened and refuse
 to fire a shot..... 532, 533
 Scouts in Arikaree battle, list of.
 —Armstrong, W..... 533, 534
 —Burke, M..... 534, 535
 —Culver, G. W..... 534, 543
 —Curry, Jim..... 541
 —Day, Barney..... 533, 534
 —Donovan, Jack..... 536, 537, 538, 546
 —Farley, Louis..... 535
 —"Frenchie"..... 533
 —Grover, Abner T. (Sharp)..... 536, 541
 —Harrington, F..... 534
 —Hurst, John..... 530, 531, 532, 533, 534
 535, 536, 537, 538, 543
 —Lane, "Jim"..... 544
 —Lane, M. R..... 544
 —McCall, Sergt. W. H..... 534, 542
 —McLaughlin, L. A..... 544
 —Murphy, Thomas..... 531
 —Pily, A. J..... 536
 —Shlesinger, S..... 530, 538, 546
 —Stillwell, Jack S..... 532, 533, 534
 536, 538, 542, 547
 —Trudeau, Pierre..... 536
 —Whitney, Chauncey B..... 530
 —Wilson, W..... 543
 Screven, James P..... 403
 Scroggs, W. O., Filibusters and Finan-
 ciers..... 439, 450
 Seamstresses, average daily wage of, 283, 284
 Seaton, Gales &..... 354
 Seaver, H. A..... 201
 Sebastopol (Crimean) War..... 581, 587
 Second division, A. E. F., World War,
 452, 478
 Sedalia, Mo..... 450, 524
 Sedgwick, Maj. John, in command of
 troops along Upper Arkansas in late
 fifties..... 43
 Segur, George..... 488
 Selden, Braxton..... 424
 Self-defensive Association, membership
 of..... 388
 Sells, E..... 206
 Seneca..... 231
 Seneca Indians..... 94, 161
 Service of Supply, magnitude of, during
 World War..... 11, 12, 13
 Settlement of Bessarabia, Russia, by the
 Germans, by William Morgenstern, of
 Russell, Kan., translated from the
 German by J. C. Ruppenthal..... 579
 Seventh cavalry, at Fort Hays..... 539
 —band of, serenades Anna E. Bingham, 503
 Seventh division, A. E. F., tablet erected
 to the memory of dead of, placed in
 state headquarters of American Legion
 in Kansas..... 477
 Seward county, bonds issued by Cimarron
 township declared illegal and de-
 stroyed..... 575
 —county-seat fight between Fargo Springs
 and Springfield, defeats bonds for Rock
 Island Railroad..... 574
 —lands of, sold in order to get back un-
 der taxation..... 575
 Sewell, Brutus..... 590
 Sewell, Mrs. Brutus (née Kate R. Lowell), 590

- Shaba, Bessarabia, village made up of
fruit growers and wine growers 580
- Shaking Herself, Cheyenne Woman..... 37
- Shaler, N. S., author of "Kentucky"
..... 408, 450
- Sham battle, Osawatomie, July 4, 1857, 555
- Shane, Mary, Shawnee Indian 179
- Shank, W. O. 477
- Shannon, Rev. James, president of Uni-
versity of Missouri 374, 375
- impassioned speech of 377
- Shannon, Gov. Wilson 434
- agreement with, known as the "treaty
of Lawrence" 391
- calls on militia at beginning of Waka-
rusa war 390
- criticized for attending the Lexington
convention 375
- part in the treaty of Lawrence con-
demned by some, but approved by bet-
ter-minded men 427
- successor to Governor Reeder 426
- understood to be of southern principles, 426
- Sharp, Col. —, of Lexington, Mo. 394
- Sharp, F. C. 386
- Sharp's Rifles 356, 552
- Sharra, Col. Abram, of Eleventh Indiana
cavalry 525
- Shattuck, Okla. 589, 590
- Shaved Head, Comanche chief 42
- a great friend of the Whites and in-
fluential among tribes 42
- Shawnee Alfalfa Club 7
- Shawnee county 199
- Shawnee Indians 53, 94, 189
- description of all lands allotted and
patented to members of the tribe in
state of Kansas 173 *et seq.*
- employed as teamsters by Bent & St.
Vrain 52
- employed at Bent's Fort 51
- given lands on southern side of Kan-
sas river and fronting on Missouri 183
- lands allotted in severalty 104, 105
- petitions presented to legislature of
1855 for passage of law prohibiting
manufacture and sale of intoxicating
liquor among Indians 193
- refuse to sell lands to Wyandot In-
dians 184
- select lands immediately south of Kan-
sas river and settle on reservation in
1838 104
- treaty with those who had remained
at Cape Girardeau made in 1825 103
- Shawnee Manual Labor School 190, 591
- Sheep 580
- and cattle 583
- Shelby, Joseph O. 392
- in command of Kentucky emigrants
bound for Kansas 408
- prominent in the army of the Con-
federacy 408
- Shelley, N. G. 392
- Shelton, D. 218
- Shepard, J. M. 385
- Sheridan, Daniel 598
- Sheridan, Gen. Philip H. 492
- issued orders to give Forsyth's men
any position they could fill in the
quartermaster's department 538
- Sheridan, Indians attack wagon train
near 531
- Mexican train attacked at 541
- two Mexicans killed by Indians at.... 542
- western terminus of Kansas Pacific
Railroad, August, 1868 531
- Sherman, John 449
- scrap book of, mentioned 343, 359
398, 422, 431
- Sherman, Morris 163, 166
- Sherman, Gen. William T. 449
- Sherman Letters, correspondence between
General and Senator Sherman..... 449
- Shibley, Robert Y. 417
- Shields, Gen. William 385
- Shlessinger, Sigmund 538-547
- author of "The Beecher Island Fight," 538
- biographical sketch of 538
- engaged in business in Cleveland, Ohio, 546
- in correspondence with Jack Stillwell... 547
- letter to Mr. Brady mentioned 545
- mule driving for Contractor Fish at
Fort Hays 539
- praised by Colonel Forsyth for part in
Arikaree battle 538
- remained with reorganized command of
scouts 546
- worked on wagon train between Forts
Hays and Dodge 540
- Short Timber creek 33, 34, 82
- brief history of 90
- Shoshoni Indian reservation 63
- Shoshoni Indians, one of war party killed
in attempt to gain admittance to
Bent's Fort 54
- Siberia, Russian criminal classes sent to, 585
- Sibley Commission 483
- Sickle, Mrs. Edwin 473
- Sickle, hand 585
- Sickness among early settlers..... 492
- Silesia, Germany 579, 582, 583
- Silk industry, French immigrants attempt
to establish in valley of Neosho river, 2
- Silliman, Prof. Benjamin 339
- Silverheel, Betsey, Shawnee Indian.... 179
- Silverheel, Moses, Shawnee Indian.... 179
- Silver Heels*, steamer from Cincinnati to
Kansas 548
- Silver water set, in cabin of steamer
Omaha 459
- Simmons, Ray E. 481
- Simmons, Stewart, of Hutchinson. 463, 465
- Simpson, Napoleon, Negro, escaped from
Jackson county, Mo. 551, 552
- killed while defending Gardner home. 552
- Sims, J. C. 392
- Singeisen, Edward 589
- Singing, employed by cowboys to quiet
restless cattle 500
- Siouan linguistic family, once lived about
the headwaters of the Ohio river.... 182
- Sioux country, expedition of Bent
brothers to 29
- Sioux Indians 42, 526
- language 29
- Sitting in the Lodge, Cheyenne woman.. 37
- Six Nations, formation of 92
- Sixteen Years on a Kansas Farm, 1870-
1886, by Anne H. Bingham 501
- Skaggs, Dr. J. E. 404
- Skaneateles lake, Onondaga county,
N. Y. 501
- Skiddy 505
- Skidi Pawnees, once lived at mouth of
the Wabash river 182
- Skillet bread 53
- Skunk creek, location of 90
- Slack, John 378
- Slave, called "Bob," history of.... 561, 562
563, 564, 565
- story of, in Andreas' History of
Kansas 565
- hunters 562, 563, 564
- warned of hanging if they returned
to Kansas 565
- population, the true wealth of the
state 420
- state, talk of forming from part of
Kansas and the Indian territory.... 427
- Slavery 550, 557
- attempt to advertise, as the sole in-
terest of Missouri, distasteful to Mis-
sourians 447

- Sortor, Elisha 167
- South, an unwonted apathy in, towards the whole Kansas propaganda..... 440
- antislavery men in, during the Kansas excitement 442
- attitude of, towards the territorial administrations of the various Kansas governors 426
- contributed 5,000 voters to Kansas... 434
- defeated in Kansas 429
- dependent upon the North for nearly everything used 338
- discouraged by stupendous program of emigration proposed by the New England Emigrant Aid Company..... 343
- emigration from, to Kansas..... 344
- fundamental reasons for failure in Kansas 437
- gifts to Kansas cause, not in money, but pledges which were not collected.. 432
- shrink from any investigation of the Kansas outrages 448
- well-organized propaganda carried on by, to induce emigration to Kansas... 347
- South Canadian river 42, 43
- Adobe fort located on 42
- South Carolina .. 347, 353, 392, 399, 420, 421
431, 433, 435, 437, 442, 444, 447, 450
- ardent champion of the movement to capture Kansas for the South..... 413
- controlled the issues in three presidential contests 446
- financial distress of 420
- her assumed primacy in what was called "the South" challenged by Missouri 446
- Kansas meetings held in..... 415
- peopled more Western and Southern states than any other state in the Union 441
- raised more money for Kansas emigrants than any other Southern state, 361
- State Military Academy 416
- South Carolinians, activities of, in Bourbon county 351
- arrival of, in Kansas 416, 417
- at sack of Lawrence, at Hickory Point, and at Slough creek 417
- organized into military companies after arrival in Kansas..... 417
- South Dakota, German settlers from Bessarabia settle in 587
- South Park, Colo. 68, 89
- South Platte river .. 41, 49, 57, 63, 69, 72, 89
- Southern cause in Kansas, men selected to canvass southern states for..... 392
- Southern Cheyennes 62
- Southern Citizen* 438
- Southern emigrants to Kansas, railroads carry free 444
- Southern emigration to Kansas, 1856, high-water mark of 346
- New York Herald's* figures..... 347
- Southern hospitality 566
- Southern immigration and settlement... 342
- Southern Interests in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858, by Elmer Leroy Craik, A. M. 334
- bibliography of source materials..... 449
- Southern leaders, many opposed to acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution 437
- Southern Monitor*, Philadelphia 419
- Southern planters, sons of, too lazy to work 439
- Southern propaganda in Kansas, itemized statement of receipts and expenditures asked for 429
- Southern states which contributed to making Kansas free, partial list of.... 442
- Southerners, preponderance of, in Kansas in 1855 346
- Southwest Kansas, settlement of, to limited extent, followed building of railroad 575
- Southwestern Cornerstone*, paper named to receive contributions for the Kansas cause 401, 402
- Spanish-American War 21, 260, 460, 465
- outbreak of 10
- Spanish coat of mail, worn by Kiowa Indian 43
- colonized the Florida coast and the southwestern Pacific coast 482
- cruelty 25
- land grant 89
- the Beaubien and Miranda, controlled by Lucian Maxwell..... 57
- Sparks, Keith L. 479
- Spartan courage of early settlers... 549, 550
- Spaulding county, Ga., emigration from to Kansas 403
- Spearville 461, 463
- Speech, Thomas H. 449
- Speed, Henry J. 395
- Speed, Thomas, The Union Cause in Kentucky 408, 450
- Speed, Col. William P. 382
- Spencer rifles 533
- Spiegel Suabians 579
- Spillman creek 492
- settlers massacred by Cheyennes in 1868 491
- Spinning wheel 585
- Spirit of the South* 361
- Splitlog, —, Wyandot Indian 185
- Splitlog, Mrs. —, Wyandot Indian... 133
- Splitlog, Eliza, Wyandot Indian 115
- Splitlog, Felix, Wyandot Indian 115
- Splitlog, John, Wyandot Indian 116
- Splitlog, Lucinda, Wyandot Indian... 126, 159
- Splitlog, Mrs. Lucy Ann, Wyandot Indian 126, 128, 159
- Splitlog, Margaret, Wyandot Indian 109
- Splitlog, Martha, Wyandot Indian... 115, 126
- Splitlog, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 126, 159
- Splitlog, Matthias, Wyandot Indian 94, 115
- engine and steamboat built by, during Civil War 93, 94
- home on Cowskin, in the Ozarks 93
- knowledge of the doings of great council 94
- legend of the comet 99
- money saved to, in sale lands to Missouri Pacific Railroad 93
- Splitlog, Richard, Wyandot Indian... 115
- Splitlog, Sarah, Wyandot Indian... 115
- Splitlog, Susan, Wyandot Indian... 126, 159
- Splitlog, Thomas, Wyandot Indian... 126, 159
- Spring, L. W., "Kansas" 345
- Spring Bottom, camping place on north side of Arkansas river, location of... 90
- Spring Branch, stream running through Baxter Springs 282
- Spring wheat 515
- Springfield, Ill. 502
- Springfield, Kan., fight with Fargo Springs over location of county seat of Seward county 574
- Springfield (Mass.) Daily Republican*... 371
380, 401, 404, 421, 422, 443
- views on various plans for settling Kansas with southerners 439
- Springfield, Mo. 383

- Sproul, Dr. S. M., captain of military company organized to invade Kansas, 383
 Spybuck, George, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145, 161
 Spybuck, James, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145
 Spybuck, John, Wyandot Indian, 122, 127, 128, 150, 159
 Spybuck, Margaret, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145
 Spybuck, Mary, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145
 Spybuck, Mary B., Wyandot Indian, 153, 160, 164
 Spybuck, Peggy, Shawnee Indian, 179
 Spybuck, Pharissee, Shawnee Indian, 179
 Spybuck, Virginia, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145
 Squatter Sovereign, Atchison, 355, 380, 390, 396, 403, 404, 408, 411, 412, 416, 419, 424, 425, 434, 437
 —founded by Robert S. Kelley and J. H. Stringfellow, 348
 —most outspoken proslavery paper started in Kansas, 348
 Squatters, 416
 —accounts of various meetings of, held in Kansas, 352
 —meeting held at Riveley's store on Salt creek, on Fort Riley road, June, 1854, 352
 Squaws, with Indians at battle of Arikaree, 535, 547
 —chanting and singing at beginning of battle changed to wailing on defeat of the Indians, 542, 543
 Squeendeechtee, John, Wyandot Indian, 116, 127, 128, 145
 Squires, E. A., marriage of, 593
 Squirrel, John, Shawnee Indian, 176
 Stacy, Lucy, Mrs. Elisha H. Greene, 1
 Stafford, Lew, 593
 Stafford, Col. S. Stephen, armed men taken to Kansas by, 379
 Stage stations, on Upper Arkansas, 89
 Staley, Ed., 481
 Stampede, devastation caused by, 500
 Standingstone, John H., Wyandot Indian, 122, 153, 160, 164
 Standingstone, Killbuck, Wyandot Indian, 160
 Stanford, F. C., 479
 Stanislaus, Gottfried, king of Sweden, captures provinces from Roumania, 581
 Stanton, Fred. P., criticised in resolutions passed by proslavery men at Leecompton, 427
 —gubernatorial career in Kansas devoted to southern interests, 427
 —opinion as to slavery in Kansas, 336
 Stanton, Miami county, steam sawmill and grist mill located at, 568
 Star of the West, stern-wheel steamer, bound for Leavenworth, 549
 Stars and Stripes, 24
 Stars and Stripes, official newspaper of the A. E. F., 453
 —war orphans supported from earnings of, 453
 State bonus for Kansas soldiers in World War, 472
 State capital, prediction it would be moved to Abilene, 518
 State colleges, 233
 State Record, Topeka, 227
 State Regulation of Woman and Child Labor in Kansas, by Edith Hess, A. B., University of Kansas, 1919, 279
 State School Code Commission, 249
 State tax for support of common schools, provision made for, 243
 Statement of Facts and a Few Suggestions in Review of Political Action in Missouri, 1856, 445, 449
 Statistics of industry, summary of, 288, 289
 Staunton, Va., 424
 —company of men from, leave for Kansas, 423
 Steamboat, 46, 54
 —built by Matthias Splitlog for operation on Missouri river, 93
 Steamboats, at Cincinnati, bound for Kansas, 548, 589
 —prize offered by Omaha for first one to arrive there in spring of 1857, 549
 Steamship bounties, 368
 Steele, George, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145
 Steele, Mary, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145, 161
 Steele, Matilda, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145
 Stephens, L. S., 382
 Stephenson, George M., Political History of Public Lands, 338, 450
 Sterilization of defectives in state institutions provided for, 268
 Sterling, 574
 Stevens, Aaron D., with John Brown at Harper's Ferry, bore name of Capt. Charles Whipple, 598
 Stevens county, bankrupt condition of, 575
 Stevenson, C. G., conductor of track-laying outfit of the Rock Island's El Paso line, 577
 —tribute to, 577
 Stewart, Byron, 594
 Stewart, John, a free Negro, voluntary missionary of Methodist Church among Wyandot Indians, 93
 —Wyandot mission on Upper Sandusky founded by, 93, 185
 Stewart, John E., owner of claim where present Douglas county poor farm is located, 552
 Stewart, Martin, 164
 Stewart, Robert M., candidate for governor of Missouri, 448
 —president of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad, 369
 Stillwell, Jack [S. E.], adviser and scout with Forsyth at battle of Arikaree, 533, 534, 542, 547
 —aged nineteen at time of fight, 532
 —first to volunteer to go for reinforcements, 536
 —relief party under reaches besieged scouts, 538
 Stinson, S. T., member Wyandotte constitutional convention, 200
 Stock, bothered with flies, 508
 —settlers loath to kill during famine, 567
 —wintering on grass, 566
 Stockton, John S., 163, 171
 Stockton, Mary E., 165
 Stockyards Exchange building, Kansas City, 499
 Stoddard county, Mo., 425
 —Tennesseans settle in, 422
 Stone, George W., 396
 Stone, Irene G., The Lead and Zinc Fields of Kansas, 333
 Stone, Martha Driver, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145
 Stone, Rosannah, Wyandot Indian, 116, 145
 Stookey, Jacob, Wyandot Indian, 122, 127, 128, 153, 160, 164
 Storm, 511
 Stoufer, Abe K., county clerk of Stevens county, letter to Historical Society quoted, 575
 Stove-pipe hat given to slave, 565
 Straight creek, Battle of the Spurs fought on, 592
 —northwest of Holton, 598
 Street, William D., The Victory of the Plow, cited, 280
 Streeters, of Junction City, 504

Strickler, Gen. — — — — — 208
 Stringfellow, Benjamin F. 341, 345, 360, 363
 370, 388, 390, 391, 431, 435, 436, 449
 —opinions as to slavery in Kansas. 340
 —what he considered a requisite for vot-
 ing in Kansas 346
 Stringfellow, Dr. John H. 431, 435
 —one of the founders of the *Squatter*
 Sovereign, Atchison 348
 —raises money for members of Buford
 expedition 398
 —speaker of the house of representatives, 433
 Striped turtle, one of the totemic ani-
 mals of Wyandots 97
 —people of 97
 Strohecker, Dr. E. L. 402, 472
 Strong, Lavinia F., Mrs. Horace More-
 house 15
 Stubbs, Gov. Walter Roscoe, recom-
 mended the restriction of child labor. . 297
 Sturgis, Gen. Samuel G., post commander
 at Fort Leavenworth 502
 Suabians, settle in Bessarabia, Russia. . 579
 —from the province of Wurttemberg, Ger-
 many 579
 Sublette, — — — — — 46
 Submarines 22
 Suffield, C. L. 480
 Suhtai 69
 "Suicide of Slavery" 449
 Sullivan, Giles 481
 Sullivan county, Tenn. 231
 Sumac 510
 Summary of Achievements of the Ameri-
 can Expeditionary Force in France,
 1917-1919, written for the Kansas
 State Historical Society, by Lieut.
 McKinley W. Krieh, Corps of En-
 gineers, U. S. A. 451
 Summonduwot, Eliza Mononcue, Wyandot
 Indian 116, 145
 Summonduwot, Mary, Wyandot Indian,
 116, 145
 Sumner, Col. Edwin Vose. 361
 —disperses Topeka legislature on order
 from U. S. government. 196
 —seizes annuity goods intended for Chey-
 ennes, and divides them between his
 troops and the Arapahoe Indians. . . . 87
 Sumter Kansas Association, funds raised
 by, for promoting proslavery interests
 in Kansas 418
 Sun, underground passageway dug for, by
 the Mud Turtle 99
 Sunday school 557
 Sunflower, the floral emblem of Kansas. . 15
 Sunsets on Santa Fe Trail. 526
 Supply wagons 499
 Supreme court, Kansas territory, list of
 judges of 596
 Sutherland, D. C. 481
 Swamp flag 101
 Swans 98, 101
 —traditions of Wyandots concerning. . . 97
 Swanson, Nina, biographical sketch of. . 231
 —author of *The Development of Public*
 Protection of Children in Kansas. . . . 231
 Swanton (Stanton), on the Pottawatomie
 river, location of grist mill 568
 Swede 521
 Sweden and Russia, war between in 17th
 century 581
 Sweden, Gottfried Stanislaus, king of. . . 581
 Swimming hole 557
 Switzerland 454
 Switzer, Col. William F. 340, 377, 378
 —author of *History of Missouri*. 335, 450
 —statement of, regarding slavery in
 Kansas 376
 Switzler resolutions, comments on. . . . 377

Symms, John Cleves, must have secured
 his idea of the universe from the Wy-
 andots 95
 Syracuse, N. Y. 501, 517
 Syrup, made from juice of watermelons, 550

T.

Taber, Ira L. 593
 Tacubaya, Mex. 74
 Taggart, Capt. — — — — — of Kansas, heads
 company of Georgians, who contem-
 plated starting a town near Osawatomie
 to be called New Georgia. 404
 Tail Woman, death of, by cholera. . . . 47
 —wife of White Thunder. 47
 Tall, Charles, Wyandot Indian. 145
 Tall, John, Wyandot Indian. 145
 Tall, Mary, Wyandot Indian. 145
 Tall, Susan, Wyandot Indian. 145
 Tall, Thersassa, Wyandot Indian. . . . 145
 Tall, Thersassa, jr., Wyandot Indian. . . 145
 Tall Timbers, name Cheyennes gave the
 Big Timbers 83
 Tallecharles, Wyandot Indian. 116
 Tallecharles, John, Wyandot Indian. . . 116
 Tallecharles, Mary, Wyandot Indian. . . 116
 Tallecharles, Susan, Wyandot Indian. . . 116
 Tallecharles, Thersesse, Wyandot Indian. . 116
 Tallecharles, Thersesse, jr., Wyandot In-
 dian 116
 Tallman, Charlotte, Wyandot Indian,
 116, 145
 Tallow candles, making of. 61
 Taos, N. M. 32, 37, 41, 46, 49, 50
 51, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65
 66, 68, 78, 81, 89, 90
 —insurrection of 1847, cause leading to. . 73
 —liquor from, supplied to Indians. . . . 58
 —market for American trappers. 32
 —mills of Ceran St. Vrain near. 50
 —pueblo 77, 81
 —taken by storm by Col. Price. 79
 —trade, looked after by Charles Bent. . . 48
 —workmen from, help to build Bent's
 Fort 32
 Tar and feathers given certain Nonpar-
 tisan League members for attack on
 ex-service men near Ellinwood 474
 Tarantulas 576
 Tartars 579, 580, 583
 —steal from German settlers in Bessa-
 rabia 586
 Tarutino, Bessarabia 579, 585
 Tauromee, Wyandot Indian, 112, 126, 128, 137
 Ta-we-ska-reh 99, 100, 101
 —slain by the Good One. 101
 Ta-we-ska-roongk 99
 Taylor, Mr. — — — — —, proslavery man, liv-
 ing near Osawatomie. 562, 563, 564
 Taylor, George, member legislature of
 1879 214
 Taylor, J. B. 392
 Taylor, Simpson F., sells plantation in
 Virginia in order to remove to Kansas, 423
 Taylor, W. R. 415
 Tax, state school, provision made for col-
 lection of 243
 Taxation, exemption from, proposed for
 property used exclusively for educa-
 tional, benevolent and charitable pur-
 poses 233
 Teamsters 539
 Tecumseh, armed men of Clay county,
 Mo., under command of S. H. Wood-
 son, voted at 381
 —members of Clayton expedition select
 place of settlement near. 400
 —Shawnee county, Good Templars lodge
 in 205
 Tehn-a-re-squa-ro-no 97
 Tehn-da-a-ra-ro-no 97

- Tehn-de-so-ro-no 97
 Tehn-gont-ro-no 97
 Tehn-gow-wish-hi-yoo-wa-neh-ro-no... 97
 Tehn-yeh-ro-no 97
 Tehn-yo-yenk-ro-no 97
 Telegraph line over Rock Island line south of Goodland not completed for many months after the completion of the road 577
 Temperance campaign, carried on in Kansas 222
 —convention, held at Leavenworth 1874, 210
 —sentiment, growth of 200
 —societies, influence of 204
Temperance Banner, established by J. R. Detwiler 213
 —Osage Mission, established in interest of prohibition, quoted..... 226, 227
 Templeton, Mr. — 519
Temps, Le, a noted French newspaper... 453
 Tennessee 229, 231, 337, 342, 343
 347, 379, 392, 395, 420
 422, 425, 430, 433, 436
 438, 441, 444, 459, 515
 —emigrants from, into Kansas 342
 —many sent to Kansas prove false to the South 405, 421
 —not all in favor of slavery in Kansas 421
 —small cavalcade of, reach St. Louis on way to Kansas 421
 —sprang from North Carolina 440
Tennessee Historical Magazine..... 338, 450
 Tent cloth and store boxes made a store-room for bakery at Hays 539
 —houses in Hays 539
 —liquor house, and tent hotel 538
 Tenth Cavalry at Fort Hays..... 539
 Tepees 483
 Teplitz, Bessarabia 579, 585
 Terrestrial gods of the Wyandots..... 95
 100, 101
 —Wyandot legend of birth of..... 99
 Tesson, Baptiste, charivariated at Bent's Fort 62
 —Frenchman, employed at Bent's Fort, 56
 —with Fremont in 1843 56
 Texans 91
 —expeditions cause decree forbidding all trade between New Mexico and the United States 74
 Texas 10, 12, 42, 73, 74, 362
 392, 425, 439, 499, 557, 574
 —appropriation made by legislature to defray expenses of emigrants emigrating to Kansas 422
 —cattle, size and length of horns..... 499
 —barons, outfits of 499
 —child labor conditions in 331
 —emigrants from Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, and other states pouring into 422
 —flag, carried in battle of Corpus Christi 72
 —many immigrants free state in their beliefs 423
 —Panhandle 576
 —proslavery men settling in 443
 —railroads in bankruptcy 576
 —Rangers, engaged in battle on Middle creek, Linn county, and defeated... 351
 —joint South Carolinians in Bourbon county 351
 —Republic of, early attempts to attack Santa Fe 72
 —resolutions favorable to emigration to Kansas passed by the legislature of.. 422
 —steer, a wild and restless animal..... 500
 Texas railway commission 576
 Thacher, Solon O., member Wyandotte constitutional convention 199, 200
 Thanksgiving Day 519
 Thayer, Eli 435, 438, 444
 —colonization plan of, interested Virginia landowners 425
 —efforts of, to establish a colony in Virginia 423
 —History of the Kansas Crusade..... 345
 —speech of, mentioned 343
 —The Suicide of Slavery 449
 —statement of, that three-fourths of St. Louis merchants were favorable to Kansas as a free state 366
 Thayers, the, Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad stock owned by 369
 Thomas, Mr. —, of Texas 376
 Thomas, "Uncle", Chester, of Topeka... 500
 Thompson, A. W. 415
 Thompson, J. T. V., of Clay county, Mo. 374, 381
 Thompson, Jacob, Secretary Department of the Interior 158
 Thompson, T. J. 352
 Thompson, Theophilus 169
 Thorpe, —, killed by war party while on way to Westport, Mo. 84
 Thugs, follow building of Rock Island extension 576
 Thunder Bull, Arapahoe Indian 84
 Three Fingers, former chief of Cheyennes, half-tone portrait 86
 Three Years on the Kansas Border, by John McNamara 426
 Threshing machines, steam 517
 Threshing time on farms 517
 Tiblow, Esther Jane, Shawnee Indian... 179
 Tiblow, Marianna, Shawnee Indian..... 179
 Tiblow, Wyandotte county 93, 181
 Tifis, Germans settle near 587
 Tilton, Rev. J. E., of Kentucky 221
 Timber 592
 —grey wolves from 558
 —on Jordan creek, Miami county 555
 —scarcity of, along Arkansas river..... 82
 Timpas Arroya, or Dry Arroya, location of 90
 Timpas creek or river 75
 Tionontati, relatives of the Hurons... 92, 93
 Tishimingo county, Miss., many anti-slavery men in 413
 Title succession, study of, in the United States 105
 Titus, H. T. 392
 —one of the dashing proslavery leaders in Kansas 434
 —starts for New Orleans with men no longer needed in Kansas 439
 —swollen with pride over his newspaper notoriety in Kansas 439
 Toad 97, 98
 Tobacco 58, 71, 96, 253, 428
 —mixed with red willow by Indians for smoking 91
 —sale to minors unlawful..... 252
 Tod, James, 477, 480
 Todd, Mr. — 505
 Todd, J. F., labor commissioner..... 305
 To-hau-sen (Little Mountain) Kiowa Indian chief 42
 —army ambulance presented to, by Major Sedgwick 43
 —Kiowa camp of, attacked by Carson's men 43
 Tohontaenrat, or Deer People, one of Huron confederation 92
 Toley, Charles, Shawnee Indian..... 179
 Toley, Francis, Shawnee Indian..... 179
 Toley, Martha, Shawnee Indian..... 179
 Toley, William, Shawnee Indian..... 179
 Toll bridge on Smoky Hill river..... 505
 Tomahawk 83, 570
 Tomlinson, William P., Kansas in 1858, 851, 449

- Toney, Joab 166
 Tonganoxie township, Leavenworth
 county 230
 Tonkawa, Okla. 334
 Too-da-re-zhu, name given to W. E.
 Connelley on adoption into family of
 Allen Johnson, of Wyandot nation... 94
 Toombs, Senator Robert, of Georgia... 339
 340, 402, 435
 —quoted regarding Kansas 342
 Toothman, W. H. 165
 Topeka 1, 22, 85, 191, 202, 218, 222
 231, 233, 281, 308, 314, 317, 318, 319, 326
 449, 450, 457, 460, 461, 462, 466, 469
 471, 472, 473, 476, 477, 478, 491, 501
 524, 525, 573, 574, 592, 593, 598, 599
 — asylum for care of insane established at, 266
 — Boys' Industrial School 234
 — Kansas Peace and Equity League meets
 in 22
 — last efforts of enemies of prohibition
 before state election 226
 — Methodist Episcopal Church 220
 — movement directed against the liquor
 business by women of 195
 — said to be the headquarters of the
 whisky ring 225
 — scene of whisky riot in 1857 196
 — temperance meetings held in churches
 of 217, 218
 — Theodore Roosevelt, jr., speaks at... 465
Topeka Commonwealth 227
 — not in favor of prohibition 221
 — quoted 216
 — regarding passage of senate joint
 resolution No. 3 220
 Topeka constitution 592
Topeka Daily Capital 24, 25, 224, 227
 313, 324, 325, 333, 524
 — quoted 225, 327
 Topeka legislature, dispersed by Col.
 Sumner 196
 Topeka movement 435
 Topeka Orphans' Home 257
Topeka State Journal 317, 333
 — quoted 326
Topeka State Record, quoted 208
 Torbert, Mr. —, of Cooper county,
 Mo. 374, 386
 Totemic animals of the Wyandots... 95
 Toulme, J. B. 411
 Townley, A. C. 475
 — resolutions of executive committee of
 Kansas department American Legion
 concerning his acts of disloyalty dur-
 ing the World War 474
 — with corps of paid assistant organiz-
 ers, invade Kansas to spread the Non-
 partisan doctrine 474
 Towns along Union Pacific railroad spring
 up over night 538
 Township center, shelled corn distributed
 from 568
 Township high schools, establishment of, 247
 Townsites, removed to unencumbered
 tracts to escape payment of bonded
 indebtedness 575
 Tracy, E. D. 402
 Trade, handsome profits of, between east-
 ern settlements and western colonies.. 483
 Traders, place themselves under pro-
 tection of the chief of tribe they are
 trading with 58
 Trading with railroad builders and em-
 ployees of the Union Pacific 538
 Trading Post, murder at, 1858 558
 Trading posts along the Santa Fe Trail, 483
 488
 Tragedies along Santa Fe Trail 483
 Trail, Bent's Fort 57, 89, 90
 — Custer's, from Ft. Wallace northward, 536
 Trail, Indian 542
 — main, from the Arkansas river 42
 — old Spanish 76
 Trails of the trappers and explorers... 483
 Train, special, on Wabash railroad for
 Ohio colony 554
 Trampe, or Trampeau, David, a French-
 man, employed by William Bent to
 work on new fort at Big Timbers... 85
 Transcaucasia, Gen. Harbord appointed
 to investigate conditions in 11
 Transportation of school children from
 homes to consolidated schools 247
 Trappers 41
 — at Bent's Fort 75
 — description of dress of 40
 — luxuries carried at Bent's Fort, for
 sale to 61
 — and hunters in Kansas 281
 Trapping brigade in Rocky Mountains,
 broken up about 1838 63
 Travois, Indian 47, 531, 535
 — description of 43
 Treadwell, Col. B. F., of South Caro-
 lina 392, 431
 Treadwell, J. D., mayor of Columbia,
 S. C., letter of D. R. Atchison to,
 quoted 361
 Treat, Judge Samuel 354
 Treaty, Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahoes,
 Apaches and Cheyennes, signed by
 chiefs and head men of, Oct., 1865,
 on Bluff creek, Sedgwick county... 529
 — of Council Springs, Tex., 1846 42
 — of Fort Atkinson, 1853 42
 Tree trunk, Indians hide behind 544
 Trees 96
 Trego gold shale 527
 Treiber family from Bavaria 584
 Trench mortars 456
 — warfare training 26
 Trexler, Harrison Anthony 379, 429
 — opinion regarding the reasons for the
 slavery agitation in Missouri 353
 — Slavery in Missouri 340, 450
 Trinidad, Colo. 527
 — coal fields 574
 — Trinity river, Texas 74
 Tripp, H. R. 479
 Tripp, S. Dak. 587
 Troops, extravagant statement of num-
 ber, stationed at Fort Larned 526
 — perform escort duty for mail coaches
 and wagon trains along Santa Fe
 Trail 526
 Trott, A. P. 503
 Troy, old settlers reunion at, in 1881, 350
Troy Chief 352, 549
 Truancy, among school children... 245, 246
 — law, 245, 329
 — 1909-1915, provisions of... 300, 301
 — officers 302
 Trudeau, Pierre, scout at Arikaree battle,
 volunteered to go through Indian lines
 with Jack Stillwell, for reinforcements
 from Fort Wallace 536
True Delta, New Orleans, criticises a
 meeting held in that city to secure aid
 for the emigration to Kansas 410
 Tschaus grapes 580
 Tse-seh-howngk 99
 Tse-seh-how-oongk 99
 Tse-sta 99, 100, 101
 — work of recreation extended for an im-
 mense period 102
 Tsou-ti-ha-te-zha-too-te-ro-no 97
 Tucker, Charley 548
 Tullahoma, Tenn., citizens of surround-
 ing counties meet at, to organize to
 send emigrants to Kansas 421

Turkey and Russia, war between, ends with defeat of Turkey.....	581
Turkey creek	381
Turley, —, betrayed by Mexican who had been his friend, and shot.....	80
—warned of insurrection, treated report with indifference	79
Turley's mill, on the Arroyo Hondo, attack on party of Americans at.....	79
—burning of	79
Turner, G.	392
Turner, S. K., and Clark, S. A., Twentieth Century History of Carroll County, Mo.	450
Turnips	509
Turtle Shell, another name the Cheyennes had for Andrew Green.....	61
Tuscumbia, Ala.	350
Tuton, James Madison, member Topeka legislature	195
Twentieth Century History of Carroll County, Missouri, by Turner and Clark, quoted	379
Twentieth Kansas regiment.....	460
Twenty-dollar gold pieces.....	504
Twin Sons, the terrestrial gods of the Wyandots	95
Twitchell, R. E.	48, 68, 81
Two Butte creek.....	91
Tyler, Daniel, Concise History of the Mormon Battalion	64, 77
Typhoid fever	512

U.

Ufendelsohn, A.	553
Utah country	46
"Uncle Tom's Cabin," arrest of manager of company playing, for employing a minor to play part of Little Eva	318
Underground Railroad	550, 551
—free slave Bob started upon.....	565
Underground Railway Company, members of, near Osawatomie, Capt. Snyder in charge of the affairs of.....	565
Union, S. C., Kansas meetings held in.....	415
Union Pacific railroad	503, 517
—cattle shipped east from Abilene over.....	499
—company	163
—construction train, description of cooking car of.....	540
—taken to end of track, about seven or eight miles west of Hays.....	539
—Jay Gould's statement concerning the number of men who lost their lives in the building of, between Omaha and Ogden	576
—Kansas troubles prevented borrowing money abroad for completion of.....	369
United Brethren Church.....	424
—Holton	593
United States	503
—status of, in regard of labor legislation	329
United States Bureau of Insular Affairs, Washington	10
United States Department of Labor, women's bureau of	327
United States Department of the Interior	170
United States district attorney, evidences of disloyalty to be reported to.....	468
United States Geological Survey.....	90
United States mails, Tom Boggs a carrier of	78
United States Marines, losses at Chateau-Thierry	12
United States military World War service	15
United States regiments, First dragoons,	76, 87

United States regiments, Second volunteers, Rough Riders.....	10
—Fourth infantry	10
—Seventh cavalry, at massacre on Little Big Horn	503
—band	503
—Ninth infantry, Second Division, A. E. F.	478
—Sixteenth infantry, First Division, A. E. F.	476
—Twenty-sixth infantry, First Division, A. E. F.	457
—Twenty-ninth engineers	451
—Seventieth infantry	457
—Three hundred Twenty-sixth machine-gun battalion, Eighty-fourth division.....	457
—Three hundred Sixtieth infantry, Ninetieth division	457
United States regiments. <i>See, also</i> , American Expeditionary Forces.	
United States Secretary of the Interior..	367
United States supreme court.....	312
United States troops in New Mexico.....	77
—orders from President James Buchanan to disarm all men.....	555
United States War Department, negotiations with Col. Bent looking to purchase of Bent's Fort.....	81
Updegraff, W. W.	201
Upper Sandusky, Ohio.....	183
—mission established by John Stewart, first ever founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the world.....	185
Upper Dry creek	90
Upson county, Ga., emigrants from, bound for Kansas.....	403
—Kansas meeting held in.....	403
Urick, A. L., Iowa state labor commissioner	331
Utah	268, 332
—hours of labor fixed by.....	330
—percentage of women prisoners in.....	310
Ute Indians, delegations of, taken east by Kit Carson	88
—scouts with Kit Carson in 1864.....	43
—war trail of	89
Utica, N. Y.	205

V.

Valhalla	485
Valverde, battle of	37
Van Buren, Ark.	557
—emigrants from, settle on Walnut creek	401
Van Buren (Ark.) <i>Intelligencer</i> , quoted..	400
Vance, Edmund	394
Vance, Jonathan	412
Vancouver Barracks	10
Vanderhorst, John	417
Van Horn, Col. Robert Thompson.....	3
Van Meter, Hannah, Wyandot Indian.....	116, 127, 146
Van Meter, Sarah, Wyandot Indian.....	116, 127, 146
Van Meter, Thomas, Wyandot Indian.....	116, 127, 128, 146
Van Noy, Billy	496
Van Pelt, Ada, of Nebraska	221
Vasquez, Benito, said to have been a partner in Bent & St. Vrain Co., 45-50	45
Vasquez, Benito, jr., parentage of	45
Vasquez, F. A. Baronet, interpreter for various Indian tribes	45
—date of death	45
Vasquez, Louis, builder of Vasquez's Fort, —an old mountain man.....	41, 45
Vasquez's Fort	41
Vaught, A. S.	417
Vauquois, peak of, scene of severe fighting between French and Germans.....	456
Vedder, Mrs. —, Wyandot Indian..	107, 129
Veitch, Dan A.	386

- Venison 494
 Verdigris river 400
 Verduin, France 456, 476
 Vermont 347, 436
 Vernon county, Mo., free-state settlers to 183, 443
 Versailles, peace conference at 581
 Veteran's bureau of American Legion 476
 Victor, Mrs. Frances Aurette (Fuller) Barrett, The River of the West... 63, 64
 Victor, William L. 378
 Vicksburg Whig 426, 434
 Vigil and St. Vrain, Las Animas, land grant secured from Mexican government 68
 Vigil, Don Cornelio, prefect of San Fernando, N. Mex., killed by mob during insurrection 77, 78
 Vigil, Don Donaciano, acting governor of New Mexico 81
 Vigilance committee, formed at squatters' meeting at home of J. R. Whitehead, June, 1854 352
 —suggested by southerner to deliberate in secret on the disposition of those refusing to contribute to the Kansas cause 420
 Vineyards 583
 Virginia 28, 87, 205, 230, 335, 347, 392, 395, 441, 442, 524
 —efforts of Eli Thayer to form a colony in 423
 —emigrants from, to Kansas, not always favorable to southern interests, 423
 —Kentucky peopled from 440
 —once most popular state of Union... 353
 —was rapidly becoming a nonslaveholding state 425
 Virginia, steamboat, leaves Louisville, Ky., with 300 emigrants for Kansas, including many slaves 407
 Virginia Republican, Charleston 425
 Virginians, majority who emigrated, settled in free states 423
 —residing in Kentucky and Ohio in 1850 423
 —settle in Missouri 425
 Vital statistics, preservation of 252
 Vocational schools, financial aid for granted by federal government..... 248
 —training for disabled soldiers, campaign for, by American Legion..... 471
 Volga river, German settlers on 581
 Votes, money spent by border ruffians for, to control a Kansas election..... 448
- W.
- Wabash railroad 554
 —river 182
 ——Skidi Pawnee living on 182
 Waco Indians 182
 Wages, weekly, of children 290
 —weekly, of men and women 289
 Wagon master, responsible for trains placed under charge of 52
 Wagon trains 483
 —attacked by Indians between Fort Wallace and Sheridan 531
 —camp life with 52
 —captured by Indians 525
 —fare of men accompanying 53
 —from Fort Hays to Fort Dodge visited by begging Indians 540
 —held up by flooded streams 52
 —men accompanying formed into messes, 53
 —on Santa Fe Trail 526
 —one of Bent's attacked by Comanches at Pawnee Fork 54
 —wagon master, governing head of.... 379
 Wakarusa creek, proslavery men encamped on 379
 Wakarusa war, Platte county, Mo., men at 390
 Walker, —, leaves Fremont Expedition at Bent's Fort 74
 Walker, William, the filibuster, aversion to the agitation of the slavery question, 354
 Walker, Adaline, Wyandot Indian... 117, 146
 Walker, Alice, Wyandot Indian... 117, 146
 Walker, Clarence P., Wyandot Indian, 117, 146
 Walker, Emma, Wyandot Indian ... 117, 146
 Walker, Everett, Wyandot Indian... 117, 146
 Walker, H. J. 479
 Walker, Hannah, Wyandot Indian... 116, 146
 Walker, Harriet P. (now Mrs. McMullin), Wyandot Indian 116, 146
 Walker, Ida C., Wyandot Indian... 117, 146
 Walker, Isaiah, Wyandot Indian... 117, 146, 163, 164, 185
 Walker, Joel, brother of Gov. William Walker 104, 117, 146
 Walker, Justin, Wyandot Indian... 117, 146
 Walker, Lillian, Wyandot Indian... 117, 146
 Walker, Lydia B., Wyandot Indian, 117, 146
 Walker, Malcolm, Wyandot Indian... 117, 164
 Walker, Maria, became Mrs. Nicholas McAlpine 104
 Walker, Maria, Wyandot Indian... 117, 146
 Walker, Martha R., Wyandot Indian, 116, 146
 Walker, Mary, Wyandot Indian... 117, 146
 Walker, Mary A. 163
 Walker, Mathew R., Wyandot Indian... 117, 146, 185
 —elected to Territorial Council of Nebraska Territory 190
 Walker, Percy L., Wyandot Indian.. 117, 146
 Walker, Col. Robert D. 403
 Walker, Gov. Robert John... 361, 434, 450
 —Lecompton speeches resented in Mississippi 428
 —contemplates the abandonment of the attempt to make Kansas a slave state, 428
 —generally conceded to have been most able man appointed to office in Kansas, 427
 —gossip as to his political policy in Kansas 427
 —not without friends in the South... 429
 —South makes fight on 427
 —state Democratic convention of Georgia asked his recall 427
 —thought to be ambitious for the presidency 428
 Walker, Sarah L., Wyandot Indian.. 117, 146
 Walker, Thos. A. 553
 Walker, Thomas G., Wyandot Indian, 117, 146
 Walker, Gov. William 104
 —examines Platte purchase as home for Wyandot tribe 183
 —journal of, quoted 190
 —portrait of 184
 —provisional governor of Nebraska territory 190
 Walker, William, Wyandot Indian.. 116, 146
 Walker expedition to Nicaragua 439
 Walker family, Wyandot Indians, founded by captives taken from frontier settlements who intermarried with Wyandot Indians 185
 —Scotch-Irish from Shenandoah Valley, 185
 Wallace, Capt. John 390
 Wallingford, D. F. 390
 Walnut 594
 Walnut creek 52
 —high water in the year 1844 540
 —Indian village in vicinity of 540
 —wagon train camped on, about thirty miles north of Hays 540
 Walnut timber on townsite of North Topeka 484

- Walthal, James L., of Mound township,
 Miami county 567
 Walthal, Samuel H., of Osage township,
 Miami county 567
 Walton, John Comrade 548
 Warnego 503
 Wamsley, Alexis 394
 Wa-pa-ouna, Shawnee Indian 180
 War, life of an enlisted man not easy in, 451
 War bonnet 47
 War College, Washington, D. C. 11
 War in the Crimea 342
 War Labor Policies Board 313
 War relief agencies 26
 Ward, John E., member of Georgia
 legislature 405
 Ward, Prof. M. L. 220
 Ward, T. V. 392
 Wardlaw, Dr. J. H. 414
 Warfield, Col. ———— 73
 —expedition under, surprised by Mexi-
 cans and compelled to walk back to
 Bent's Fort 72
 —recruiting Americans on American soil
 for raid in New Mexico 72
 —starts in pursuit of Mexican caravan.. 74
 Warfield raid 74
 Warpath coat 65
 Warpole, Catherine W., Wyandot In-
 dian 117, 127, 147
 Warpole, David, Wyandot Indian..... 117
 127, 147
 Warpole, Francis Whitewing, Wyandot
 Indian 147
 Warpole, Henry, Wyandot Indian..... 117
 Warpole, Henry Whitewing, Wyandot In-
 dian 147
 Warpole, James, Wyandot Indian..... 117
 127, 147
 Warpole, John, Wyandot Indian..... 117
 127, 128, 147
 Warpole, Mary, Wyandot Indian..... 117
 127, 147
 Warpole, Mary (now Mary Nichols),
 Wyandot Indian 161
 Warpole, Sarah Whitewing, Wyandot
 Indian 117, 147
 Warren, Dr. I. S. 386
 Warren, Thomas J., 415
 Warrensburg, Mo., resolutions passed at,
 quoted 385
 Warwick, E. B. 481
 Washburn College, Law School..... 457
 Washerwoman, average daily wage, 283, 284
 "Washington," Negro hunted by Mis-
 sourians 565
 Washington, Boyd, Wyandot Indian.... 172
 Washington, George, Wyandot Indian.... 180
 —widow of, Wyandot Indian..... 123, 153
 160, 164
 Washington, Sarah J., Wyandot In-
 dian 123, 153, 160, 164
 Washington, state of 332
 —hours of labor fixed by 330
 —minimum wage of 328
 Washington, D. C. 50, 59, 84, 188, 189
 220, 345, 354, 411, 427, 428, 433
 439, 449, 450, 451, 503, 516, 519
Washington Globe 337
Washington Republican quoted 339
Washington Sentinel 386, 426
Washington Union 355
 —regarding Gov. Walker's course in
 Kansas 428
 Washington county, Ohio 28
 Washington county, Va. 230
 Washington creek, district school on,
 1861 548
 Washita, Cheyenne camp on 492
 Wa-si-cha-chis-chi-la, Sioux word mean-
 ing Little White Man 29
 Wasp, John, Wyandot Indian..... 117, 147
 Wasson, ———— 599
 Watch, of slave hunter, given to freed
 Negro 565
 Water, dug for, by Scout Burke during
 Arikaree fight 534, 535
 —scarcity of along Rock Island south of
 Liberal 576
 Waterman, Mayor 410
 Waters, F. R., secretary of the Drum-
 Standish Commission Co., Kansas City,
 Mo., extract of letter to T. F. Doran
 concerning length of Texas cattle horns, 499
 Watertown, N. Y. 557
 Watters, T. G., erects Holton house.... 593
 Watters, Mrs. T. G., her son the first
 child born in Holton 593
 Watson, Judge ———, of Arkansas..... 392
 Wa-tron-yo-no-neh 99
 Wattles, Augustus, house of, on Rock
 creek, Douglas county 549
 Waverly, Mo. 440
 Way, Miss Amanda 221
 Way or Path of Burning Colors.... 100, 101
 Wea Indians 45
 Webb, Miss, a guest of the Streeters, of
 Junction City 504
 Webb, Dr. T. H. 449
 Webb, scrap books.. 334, 340, 343, 344, 349
 365, 366, 367, 379, 384, 386, 388
 389, 395, 397, 398, 399, 400, 403
 405, 406, 409, 425, 433, 435, 438
 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 449
 Weed, Dr. ———— 593
 Weed, Mahlon, S., Lawrence 461, 463
 Weede, M. S. 479
 Weede, O. A., Atchison..... 466, 469, 470
 471, 477, 478, 481
Weekly Brunswick 401
Weekly Missouri Statesman 428, 429
 430, 431, 435, 436
 437, 439, 442, 445
 Weightman, Maj. Richard Harrison,
 stabs F. X. Aubrey to death during
 quarrel 85
 Weisbender, C. P. 480, 481
 Weischse river 580
 Welch, W. R. 392
 Well water 510
 Wells 584
 Welsh 511
 Wendoot, name went through various
 forms and finally ended as Wyandot, 93
 —significance of the word 92
 Wernsdorf, ———, from Bropaukau, 581, 582
 Wesley, L. C. 481
 West Las Animas, Colo., first known as
 Boggsville 91
 West Plains, old stage station on govern-
 ment route from Fort Dodge to Fort
 Sumner, N. Mex. 575
 West Pointers 355
 West Virginia 26, 28, 331
 West wind 505
 Western emigration 438
 Western Reserve University, Ohio, pro-
 slavery sentiments among faculty of, 557
 Western Union 319
 Westlake, Henry S. 594
 Weston, Mo. 364, 370, 388, 389
 —brief account of proslavery meeting at, 390
 —citizens of, organize Leavenworth.... 350
 —company from, in Wakarusa war 390
 —merchants of, not insensible to ad-
 vantage of squatter trade 388
 —protest meeting held at, against the
 action of the Platte County Self-de-
 fensive Association 388
 —resolutions passed by 389
Weston Reporter 391, 427
 —quoted 388

- Westport, Mo. 46, 51, 66, 84, 85
 87, 184, 190, 361, 370, 384
 389, 391, 425, 437, 483, 544
 —Buford expedition outfitted at..... 397
 —camping grounds of wagon trains six
 miles distant from 54
 —first Kansas meeting in Missouri prob-
 ably held at 388
 —Last Chance saloon, typical frontier
 amusement resort 54, 55
 —meeting held at, in 1857 passed resolu-
 tions welcoming emigrants from all
 parts of the United States 392
 Westport and the Santa Fe trade..... 73
 Westport Landing, Mo. 483
 Wheat, Benoni 201
 Wheat 490, 580, 584
 —and corn, bumper crops..... 19
 —and small grains, cut by hand..... 585
 —Kansas, statistics of production..... 282
 —planting in Douglas county, 1858, a
 failure 550
 —rescued from trees where it had lodged
 during flood 492
 —show, national, held at Wichita..... 463
 —spring 515
 —taken to mill to be ground..... 489
 Wheeler, George M., survey map..... 85, 90
 Wheeling, W. Va. 28, 185, 205
Wheeling Intelligencer 425
 Whig, party 435, 450
 —of Missouri, not necessarily hostile to
 the institutions of slavery..... 340
 Whigs 357, 358, 393
 —southern and antislavery northern..... 338
 Whipple, Capt. Charles..... 599
 —with John Brown, at Harper's Ferry,
 real name Aaron P. Stevens..... 698
 Whippy Swamp Cross Roads, S. C., citi-
 zens of, hold meeting to encourage emi-
 gration to Kansas..... 418
 Whips 483
 Whisky 200, 207, 223, 448, 483
 —an early day remedy for snake bite... 515
 —cases in district court..... 596
 —current value of, in fifties..... 596
 —Indians south of the Platte river re-
 ceive from New Mexico..... 59
 —peddlers from Taos supply Indians
 with 58
 —riot in Topeka in 1857..... 196
 Whitaker, L. L..... 415
 White, Col. Carl R..... 403, 466, 469
 —candidate for State Treasurer..... 470
 —resigns as finance officer in American
 Legion 470
 White, George L., member Legislature,
 1879 215
 White, J. W., absconds with funds col-
 lected for sending Georgia emigrants
 to Kansas 404
 White, Jane (now Mrs. Cotter), Wyandot
 Indian 118, 148
 White, Joseph, Wyandot Indian..... 118, 148
 White, Susan, Wyandot Indian..... 118, 148
 White Church, Wyandotte county..... 183
 White City 574
 White Cow Woman, captured by the
 Cheyennes when a child..... 69
 —still living with the Cheyennes in 1908, 69
 White Face Bull, Cheyenne chief..... 32, 47
 White flag of truce held up by Indians.. 535
 White Hat, name given Chas. Bent, by
 Yellow Wolf 31
 "White mule," American Legion, members
 at Pittsburg convention warned against, 470
 White Oaks, railroad, became the El
 Paso Northeastern at Puerta de Lena,
 on Peace river 575
 White renegades with Indians at Beecher
 Island, Nibsi and John Claybor..... 533
 White river, Indiana, Delaware Indians
 living on, in 1818 103
 White river, Missouri..... 103
 —James Fork 103
 White Thunder, keeper of the medicine
 arrows among the Cheyennes..... 46
 Whitecrow, Betsey, Wyandot Indian..... 117
 Whitecrow, Jacob, Wyandot Indian, 117, 147
 161, 162, 166, 167
 Whitecrow, James, Wyandot Indian..... 117
 Whitecrow, Leander, Wyandot Indian... 117
 Whitecrow, Lucinda, Wyandot Indian... 117
 Whitecrow, Sarah, Wyandot Indian..... 117
 Whitecrow, Therese, Wyandot Indian... 117
 Whiteday, Henry (or Wa-pa-cuna),
 Shawnee Indian 180
 Whitefeather, Francis, Shawnee Indian.. 180
 Whitefeather, Jacob, Shawnee Indian... 180
 Whitefeather, Nancy, Shawnee Indian... 180
 Whitefeather, Susan, Shawnee Indian... 180
 Whitehead, J. R., of Doniphan county,
 squatters' meeting held at home of... 352
 Whitetree, Dr., Wyandot Indian..... 160
 Whitetree, Mary Peacock, Wyandot In-
 dian 160
 Whitewing, Wyandot Indian..... 185
 Whitewing, Betsy, Wyandot Indian, 118, 147
 Whitewing, Eliza, Wyandot Indian, 118, 147
 Whitewing, George, Wyandot Indian..... 125
 157, 161, 169
 Whitewing, Jacob, Wyandot Indian, 118, 127
 128, 148
 Whitewing, James, Wyandot Indian..... 123
 150, 159
 Whitewing, John, Wyandot Indian..... 128
 Whitewing, John, sr., Wyandot Indian... 118
 127, 147
 Whitewing, John, jr., Wyandot Indian,
 118, 147
 Whitewing, Mary, Wyandot Indian, 123, 151
 159, 161
 Whitewing, Mary, jr., Wyandot Indian, 123
 157, 159
 Whitfield, Gen. John W..... 412
 —credited with raising money for the
 Kansas cause in New Orleans..... 410
 —delegate to congress from Kansas, con-
 ducts speaking tour in South..... 348
 Whitford, Dr. James H., member of legis-
 lature of 1872 205, 206
 Whitney, Chauncey B., diary of..... 530
 Why the South failed 437
 Wichita 281, 303, 317, 319, 457, 459, 460
 462, 464, 466, 467, 469, 470
 471, 473, 475, 476, 478, 529
 —first annual convention of Kansas De-
 partment, American Legion, held at.. 463
 —headquarters Kansas Department,
 American Legion at 463
 —meeting of Indians and whites on site
 of 527
 —recent survey of, by child survey
 agents 328
 —Wichita Indians settle on site of pres-
 ent city of 91
 Wichita Chamber of Commerce 459
 Wichita Club 466
Wichita Eagle 227
 Wichita Indians 182, 527
 —fearing Texans, fled north into Union
 territory 91
 —grass houses of, built on Caddo creek, 91
 —lived on site of present city of Wichita, 91
 Wichitaahoa creek 91
 "Wild Bill" Hickok, at Hays..... 539
 Wildcat railroad building 20
 Wild ducks, 497
 Wild flowers in Kansas 510
 Wild fruit 484
 Wild game, much driven out of Kansas
 by drought of 1860 485

- Wild grapes 498, 522
 Wild Horse creek, present name for Short
 Timber creek 90, 91
 Wild rose 510
 Wilder, Daniel Webster, Annals of Kan-
 sas 181, 212, 227, 336, 346
 347, 350, 352, 360, 385, 399, 402
 410, 431, 433, 435, 448, 449, 626
 —Story of Kansas, cited..... 279, 333
 Wilkes, Maj. Warren D. . . 418, 419, 420, 431
 —appointed agent to solicit funds for the
 support of the South Carolina colony
 in Kansas 417
 Wilkinson, Joseph H. 424
 Wilks, J. E. 553
 Willard, Frances E., work in behalf of
 prohibition in Kansas 225
 Williams, Abraham, Wyandot Indian . . 123
 128, 157, 159
 Williams, Charlotte, Wyandot Indian,
 118, 148
 Williams, Daniel, Wyandot Indian. . 118, 148
 Williams, Dick, Lawrence 463
 Williams, Isaac, Wyandot Indian. . 118, 127
 128, 148
 Williams, Joe 481
 Williams, John, Wyandot Indian. . 118, 148
 Williams, John, sr., Shawnee Indian. . 180
 Williams, John W. 479
 Williams, Joseph, Wyandot Indian. . 118
 148, 596
 Williams, Margaret, Wyandot Indian, 118, 148
 Williams, Mary, Wyandot Indian. . 118, 148
 Williams, Mary D., Wyandot Indian. . 123
 154, 160, 165
 Williams, Mary Jane, Wyandot Indian,
 118, 148
 Williams, Mary L., Wyandot Indian. . 124
 Williams, Mary S., Wyandot Indian. . 157
 161, 169
 Williams, R. M., State Senator..... 215
 Williams, Sarah, Wyandot Indian. . 118, 148
 Williams, Sarah D., Wyandot Indian. . 123
 153, 160, 165
 Williams Susan, Wyandot Indian. . 118
 127, 148
 Williamson, R. M. 396
Wilmington (S. C.) Herald 413, 415
 Wilske family 583
 Wilson, Mrs. Drusilla 221
 —campaign work in temperance cause in
 Kansas 219
 —date and place of death..... 219
 Wilson, Gen. — 393
 Wilson, W., scout killed in battle of
 Arikaree 543
 Wilson, Henry 438
 Wilson, J. C., Muscotah..... 233
 Wilson, Col. J. D. 417
 Wilson, Gen. James H. 525
 Wilson, Jonathan, settled in Lawrence,
 in 1873 219
 Wilson, President Woodrow, advocates
 preparedness 23
 —speaks before Farmers' Educational and
 Coöperative Union in Kansas. 25
 —Kansas crowds not enthusiastic over
 preparedness speeches of 25
 Winants, A. 597
 Winchell, James M., president Wyandotte
 constitutional convention 200
 Wind, terrific 505
 Wind River, Wyo. 63
 —Indian reservation 64
 Windland, Samuel 587
 Windlandt, —, from Posen, German
 Poland 582
 Windschlag, William 589
 Windschlag family, from Pomerania,
 Germany 582-589
 Winfield 471, 477, 478
 —School for Feeble-minded 234, 266
 Winn, N. R. 481
Winsboro Courier 418
Winsboro Register 342
 —disapproval of the Kansas policy of
 its home state, quoted 441
 Winter of 1869-1870, a mild one in Kan-
 sas 506
 —of 1855 and 1856 in Kansas, of un-
 paralleled severity 345
 Winterset township, Russell county 579
 Wisconsin 15, 26, 61, 422, 436, 592
 —child-labor conditions in 331
 —hours of labor fixed by 330
 Wise, Gov. Henry Alexander, of Vir-
 ginia 429, 436
 —approves effort of Eli Thayer to es-
 tablish a colony in Virginia..... 423
 Wisely, L. A., of Platte county, Mo. . . 374
 Wislizenus, F. A., the German traveler,
 visited Bent's Fort in 1839. 41, 67
 —A Journey to the Rocky Mountains
 in the Year 1839 41
 Witch Buffaloes 99
 Withers, George A. 462, 466, 467
 470, 471, 479
 Witt family 583
 Wittenburg 579
 Wolf, Cheyenne Indian chief 31
 Wolf 100
 —bounty for scalp and hide..... 560
 —one of the tolemic animals of the Wy-
 andots 97
 —People of the 97
 —shot by H. J. Harris 560
 Wolf's Den creek, now known as Haynes
 creek, location of 89
 Wolves 51, 558, 569, 570
 Women and child labor in Kansas, bibli-
 ography of 333
 —definition of 240
 —State Regulation of, by Edith Hess,
 A. B., University of Kansas 279
 —suffrage and improved working con-
 ditions for women, relation between..... 310
 Woman Who Fell from Heaven..... 95
 Woman's crusade, in Kansas 209, 219
 —inaugurated at Hillsboro, Ohio 204
 Woman's National Christian Temper-
 ance Union 218
 Woman's suffrage 502
 Women, active part taken by, in fight for
 prohibition in Kansas 219
 —and children in industry, beginnings of,
 and girls, attempts to alleviate health
 of those working 253
 —care of those admitted to Industrial
 Farm 258
 —effort made to increase minimum wage
 of 333
 —entry of, into independent business . . 326
 —home for friendless, established in
 Leavenworth county 257, 258
 —improved conditions of, manifest since
 given the ballot 310
 —law concerning seats for, 295, 319, 320, 321
 —paid less than men while performing
 same labor 286
 —some statistics, regarding wages and
 occupations of 283
 —in Kansas 327, 328, 329
 —standards recommended for the em-
 ployment of 313
 —various enterprises and occupations of,
 in Kansas 327
 —vote of, in Kansas, reflected President
 Wilson 25
 —wage earner, attitude of, towards
 conditions of employment..... 291
 —weekly earnings of 289

- Women's Auxiliary of the American Legion, steps taken for establishment of, 467
 —Kansas department, first year's growth of, 473
 Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, 327
 Wood, Mrs. E. W., daughter of James H. and Jane Grant Carruth, 557
 Wood, John P., deputy U. S. marshal, after fugitive slaves, 598
 Wood, Maj. Gen. Leonard, 10
 Wood, Samuel N., prominent among those against prohibition, 225
 —sends word to rebel sympathizers to take oath of allegiance, 496
 —tribute to, by Thomas F. Doran, 489
 —U. S. commissioner, 496
 Wood, Hon. W. T., of Lafayette county, Mo., 373
 Woodburn, Judge Fred T., 597
 Woodchoppers, shot at by Indians, 539
 Woodcutting, 583
 Wooden plow, 584
 Woodford, Maj. George, work in behalf of prohibition in Kansas, 225
 Woodson, Col. Samuel H., of Jackson county, Mo., 373, 375, 385, 411
 —Clay county, Mo., men under command of, vote at Tecumseh, 381
 Woodson, Silas, of St. Joseph, Mo., appointed by Kansas Association of St. Joseph to visit Southern States to urge emigration to Kansas, 379
 —representing proslavery organization of Buchanan county, Mo., 348
 —spoke in behalf of Kansas in Alabama, 395, 396
 Woodward, O., 414
 Woolfrey, Capt., 479
 Workman, David, advertisement in the *Missouri Intelligencer* offering reward for Christopher Carson, 36
 World War, 11, 15, 21, 249, 460, 518
 —attitude of Kansas toward, 15, 20
 —veterans of Minnesota, 475
 —date of Armistice, 455
 Worth, Patience, 485
 Wray, Yuma county, Colo., 530
 Wright, David, Wyandot Indian, 125, 157, 161, 169
 Wright, George, Wyandot Indian, 161
 Wright, George, Wyandot Indian, member of Wolf clan of, 94
 —deposition regarding certain members of the Wyandot tribe, 160, 161
 —interpreter at Quapaw agency, 94
 —sage of the Wyandots, 94
 —known as Ha-she-tra in Wyandot language, 94
 Wright, Robert, of Dodge City, 528
 Wright, Col. W. F., one of the first lawyers of Georgia, 403
 Wyandot, 190
 Wyandot Indians, 158
 —abandon homes at Upper Sandusky for reservation in Kansas, 183
 —absentee members losing lands in Wyandotte county through tax laws, 93
 —among last Indians of eastern Kansas to move west, 183
 —attempt to purchase lands of Shawnees, who refuse, 184
 —came to Kansas from Ohio in 1843, 103
 —Christianity among, 94
 —civilized and Christianized, 184
 —commissioners for awarding lands in severalty, 106, 119, 125
 —confirmed in their ancient capacity of keepers of the council fire, 187
 —convention to organize provisional government in Nebraska territory called, 189
 Wyandot Indians, death of last full-blood in Canada in 1820, 184
 —council at Washington, to ask for alterations in report of commissioners to allot lands to members of tribe, 159
 —description of lands awarded to, in severalty, 128
 —dissolve tribal government in 1855 and become citizens of U. S., 93
 —finally located in Sandusky county, Ohio, 93
 —first legal execution in territory embraced in Kansas by, 185
 —first session of great council presided over by the Big Turtle, 97
 —given a tract of 148,000 acres to be located on the Neosho river, 103
 —green-corn feast of, 189
 —had many myths regarding the creation, 98
 —Hoo-ma-yoo-wa-neh, ruler of Upper World, etc., 95
 —in Indian territory, believed last battle had been fought in Ozark mountains because of the abundance of chert, 101
 —John Stewart, a voluntary missionary of Methodist Church among, 93
 —land of the Little People, 95
 —lands of incompetent and orphan class allotted under treaty of 1867, 162
 —last full-blood, 93, 184
 —list of families and individuals, competent class, 107, 117
 —incompetent class, 122, 123
 —lands issued to, 151
 —list of members asking temporary exemption from citizenship, 128
 —list of orphans, receiving lands in Kansas, 124, 125
 —receiving lands in severalty, 154
 —list of persons and families asking temporary exemption from citizenship under treaty of 1855, 126, 127
 —lists of all individual members of the tribe, 107
 —location of council house of, 185
 —majority of members of tribe move to Indian Territory, 93
 —Masonic lodge brought to Kansas by, 185
 —Methodist Episcopal Church brought to Kansas by, 185
 —no full-bloods ever came to Kansas, 93
 —no member of tribe was more than one-quarter Indian when tribe came to Kansas, 185
 —old records of, now in possession of W. E. Connelley, 181
 —origin of name, 93
 —pagan ceremonies of, 94
 —political leaders in councils of the Red Nations before settlement of Ohio, 186
 —purchase lands from Delawares, whom they befriended when driven from Pennsylvania, 184
 —schedule, embracing portion of names of those of the incompetent and orphan classes, under treaty of 1855, with descriptions of lands patented to them, etc., 171
 —sell land in Ohio and move to the fork of Missouri and Kansas rivers, on lands purchased from Delawares, in what is now in Wyandotte county, Kansas, 93
 —some of tribe retained attachment to Roman Church, 93
 —some knowledge of Huron cosmology remained with, 94
 —story of the creation, 95, 96
 —totemic animals of, 95, 97
 —tradition, concerning the earthquakes, 97
 —first death among, 96

Wyandot Indians, tradition, concerning the good and evil ones.....	100
—light	96
—rivers	100
—thunder	96
—treaty with the United States, Jan. 31, 1855	103
—tribal government dissolved and lands allotted to	103
—various worlds of	95
—Woman Who Fell from Heaven.....	96, 97
	98, 99, 101, 102
Wyandot lands, owned by Spain and France and once a part of Louisiana,	103
—public burial ground	157
—purchased from Delawares	103
Wyandot nation	191
—Deer clan	94
—election held Oct. 12, 1852, for election of delegate to congress	188
—large infusion of French blood in	185
—some of the movements started by	190
—wife head of family in	94
Wyandott City	106, 119, 125, 161
—commissioners, report, Feb. 22, 1859,	106
—ferry, lands reserved for	151
Wyandott Ferry Company	158
Wyandott ferry tract, description of	158
Wyandotte constitution	592
—provision made for establishment of uniform system of common schools.....	243
Wyandotte constitutional convention, 201, 227	227
—discussion of temperance question dropped in	200
—resolution of, towards prohibiting introduction, sale or manufacture of spirituous liquors within the state.....	199
Wyandotte county.....	93, 105, 163, 181
	228, 230, 304, 407
—Frank M. Holcomb county clerk of, sixteen years	229
—oil wells drilled in	282
—William E. Connelley elected county clerk of	93
—Wyandot and Shawnee Indian lands in,	103
—reservations under second article of treaty	157
Wyandotte County Historical Society, Kansas City, Kansas: Its Place in the History of the State, a paper read by William E. Connelley at its meeting April 4, 1918.....	181
Wyandotte Gazette	188
Wyandotte State Asylum for the Blind, name changed to Kansas Institution for the Education of the Blind.....	270
Wyman, Dr. J. W.	418
Wyoming	63, 310

Y.

Yale	557
Yancey, William Lowndes, of Alabama.....	428
Ya-nes-te-ro-no	97
Yankee messenger service	319
Yankees, settle on a good landing of the Missouri, on solicitation of delegation of Missourians	444
Yankton, S. Dak.	587
Yates, Capt. George W., at Fort Riley.....	503
Yazoo City, Miss., company raised at, for emigration to Kansas.....	412
Yeager, Dick, border ruffian band of dissuaded from burning Council Grove	488
—participates in destruction of Lawrence	488
Yellow Paint river, name given to an upper branch of Purgatory	90
Yellow Wolf, Cheyenne Indian.....	31, 32

Yellow Wolf, advises with Bent brothers as to location of trading house.....	31
—gives Indian names to Bent brothers.....	31
Yellow Woman, becomes Mrs. William Bent after death of her sister, Owl Woman	47, 82
—returns to Bent's Fort with children after cholera outbreak	48
—stepmother of George Bent.....	49
Yellowstone Park, William Ludlow expedition into	28
Ye-re-he-se-ro-no	97
Ye-to-zhu-ro-no	97
Yoakum, Henderson K., History of Texas,	73
Yoke of oxen	554, 559
Yoo-he-ra, Two Swans, tradition concerning	97
Yoo-wa-ta-yo	101, 102
York family arrive in Junction City from England	504
Youmans, Miss —, works in behalf of prohibition in Kansas	225
Youmans, Leroy	418
Young, Adam, Wyandot Indian.....	118, 149
Young, Catherine, Wyandot Indian.....	118, 149
Young, Dr. Claude	476, 481
Young, Eliza, Wyandot Indian	118, 149
Young, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian,	118, 149
Young, Ewing, Kit Carson in California with trappers of	36
Young, Hiram, Wyandot Indian.....	118, 149
Young, Jacob, Wyandot Indian,	118, 149, 160
Young, Margaret, Wyandot Indian.....	118, 149
Young, Martha, Wyandot Indian.....	118, 149
Young, Mary, Wyandot Indian	160
Young, Peter, Wyandot Indian.....	118, 149
Young, Col. Sam. A., Boone county, Mo.,	377
	379, 386
—company of, passed certain resolutions before starting to Kansas.....	378
Young Ladies' Seminary, Canandaigua, N. Y.	501
Young Men's Christian Association.....	26
Yucca plant	510

Z.

Zane, —, infant son of Noah and Tabitha, Wyandot Indians.....	119, 150
Zane, Alexander H., Wyandot Indian,	119, 150
Zane, Alexander X., Wyandot Indian.....	168
Zane, Alonzo, Wyandot Indian.....	119, 150
Zane, Amanda, Wyandot Indian.....	119, 150
Zane, Ebenezer, jr., Wyandot Indian	119, 150
Zane, Ebenezer O., Wyandot Indian	118, 149
Zane, Eldridge B., Wyandot Indian,	118, 149
Zane, Eli Leslie, Wyandot Indian.....	119, 150
Zane, Eliza, Wyandot Indian.....	119, 150
Zane, Elizabeth, Wyandot Indian.....	118, 150
Zane, Elizabeth Rebecca, Wyandot Indian	119, 150
Zane, Ethan, Wyandot Indian.....	119, 150
Zane, Hannah, Wyandot Indian.....	118, 149
Zane, Hannah, sr., Wyandot Indian,	119, 150
Zane, Hannah, jr., Wyandot Indian,	119, 150
Zane, Hannah E., Wyandot Indian.....	119, 149
Zane, Irwin P., Wyandot Indian.....	119, 149
Zane, Isaac, Wyandot Indian.....	119, 150
Zane, Isaac O., Wyandot Indian.....	119, 149
Zane, Isaac R., Wyandot Indian.....	119, 150
Zane, Isaac W., Wyandot Indian	118, 149
Zane, Isaiah, Wyandot Indian	118, 149
Zane, James C., Wyandot Indian.....	119
	150, 164
Zane, Jane S., Wyandot Indian.....	119, 150
Zane, Jefferson, Wyandot Indian.....	123, 154
	160, 165

Zane, John, Wyandot Indian.. 123, 154, 160	Zane, Tabitha, Wyandot Indian... 119, 150
Zane, Joseph C., Wyandot Indian... 119, 149	Zane, Theresa, Wyandot Indian 171
Zane, Julia C., Wyandot Indian... 119, 150	Zane, Theresa, Wyandot Indian..... 123
Zane, Lawrence G., Wyandot Indian, 119, 149	154, 160
Zane, Louisa, Wyandot Indian, 123, 154, 160	Zane, William, Wyandot Indian... 119, 150
Zane, Margaret, Wyandot Indian.. 123, 154	Zane family, Wyandot Indians from
160, 165, 171	Pennsylvania 185
Zane, Mary E., Wyandot Indian..... 149	Zanesville, Ohio 185
Zane, Noah, Wyandot Indian..... 119, 150	Zarah 525
Zane, Rebecca, Wyandot Indian... 118, 149	Zinc and lead in Kansas 282
Zane, Sarah, Wyandot Indian..... 119, 150	Zollicoffer, J. G. 392
Zane, Sarah R., Wyandot Indian... 118, 149	Zurich, Switzerland 579
Zane, Susannah, Wyandot Indian.. 119, 150	Zwicke, Philip 590
Zane, Susannah D., Wyandot Indian, 118, 149	



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

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

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